

Exploring attitudes and perceptions about the knowledge acquisition process and experiences of Ngangelizwe youth graduates in the Eastern Cape to understand the significance of their education: A Freirean approach.

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Abstract

Education is a critical phenomenon which cannot be ignored as its effects cut across all spheres of life, especially the social and economic aspects. In the particular case of South Africa, education has been a serious issue of concern for a very long time and after the transition process took place in 1994 it became a priority on all agendas of governance.

Expanding on the already existing debate about education in South Africa, this thesis specifically explores attitudes and perceptions about the knowledge acquisition process and experiences of Ngangelizwe youth graduates to understand the significance of education in their lives. As Freire wrote about the phenomenon of education from the point of view of the oppressed and marginalized in society, his theory explains and aids as a tool for careful analysis in this case.

Moreover, considering that at the centre of Freire's world view was the belief that humans have an ontological vocation to become more fully human, the youth graduates of Ngangelizwe became a good case as they live under conditions that one would regard as dehumanizing and oppressive. The youth graduates' actions and attitudes would therefore guide and provide indication as to whether their education, both from academic spaces and the community, has empowered them to challenge the dehumanizing and oppressive nature of the dominant culture as a means to becoming fully human in their life and time, particularly in their community of Ngangelizwe.

While the general finding has been that the participants' education portrays both elements of banking and problem-posing education, it was also discovered that it all depends on the level and forces of education that the participants receive their inspiration from. This is due to the fact that education is not one dimensional, it begins from the moment one is born up until he or she no longer exists on earth. Therefore, education does not belong to one group of people; everyone has the ability to educate in as much as he or she has the ability to be educated.

Abbreviations

AIDS – Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

ANC – African National Congress

AUC- African Union Commission

COSATU – Congress of South African Trade Unions

CS – Civil Society

DBE – Department of Basic Education

EC – Eastern Cape

FET – Further Education and Training

HIV – Human Immunodeficiency Virus

KSD – King Sabata Dalindyebo

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

IMF – International Monetary Fund

NP – National Party

O.R – Oliver Reginald

SA – South Africa

SACP – South African Communist Party

Stats SA – Statistics South Africa

UDF – United Democratic Front

UNAIDS – United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS

WC – Western Cape

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1. Research topic

As a contribution to the academic discourse in sociology, this thesis directs its analysis towards education which is deemed to be the means of acquiring critical knowledge. The group of people that the research focuses on is youth graduates from the township of Ngangelizwe in Mthatha, Eastern Cape, and the Freirean approach is applied as a framework of analysis. The thesis topic is therefore framed as follows: *Exploring attitudes and perceptions about the knowledge acquisition process and experiences of Ngangelizwe youth graduates in the Eastern Cape to understand the significance of their education: A Freirean approach.*

1.2. Discussion

Education undoubtedly plays an important role in the society. With South Africa's social and economic development being threatened by many challenges, mainly relating to poverty and inequality, education is one subject that needs to be endlessly discussed in academic discourse. This is because education also has an important role that it plays in the process of social and economic development of the country. This is a constant assertion made by various individuals and stakeholders, cutting across different disciplines and expertise, locally, nationally and internationally. Having grown up in a township myself, seeing and personally experiencing the socio-economic ills that manifest themselves through poverty and inequality in my own community, also having experienced the challenges of unequal and quality education, I was inspired to research more on the educational aspect as it has an undeniable role that it plays in the process of development.

The important element that comes out in this research is how the youth (explained in detail in chapter 2.7) university graduates who have had a first-hand experience of education through their knowledge acquisition processes and experiences (not limited to the class and lecture room) view the significance of education in their lives.

The Freirean approach essentially differentiates between the different kinds of education that people receive and how their actions, as social agents, are a reflection of the teachings and principles of that education. In other words, what their actions suggest about their education. Thus, the definition of education that this thesis works with is the one argued by Paulo Freire. This definition denotes critical pedagogy, the type of education which helps a person to develop and reach a sense of critical consciousness. This consciousness stems from critical thinking which encourages one to transform from being a passive being to one that not only questions but also analysis and responds to issues that occur, mainly pertaining to the society and its betterment or transformation as some would deem. Being critical essentially means to express thoughtful views or opinion towards something.

Critical consciousness, as explained by Freire (1985:93), is “the process in which humans, not as recipients but as knowing subjects, achieve a deepening awareness both of the sociocultural reality that shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality”. This study is conducted as an attempt to understand the actual significance of education in the lives of youth graduates from the disadvantaged background and community that is Ngangelizwe (chapter 5 provides a critical discussion of Ngangelizwe). That is to reflect, through their education, whether they have acquired the capacity to think critically beyond the surface of ‘the real social problems’ and participate as active agents in the challenges suffered by themselves and other people in their community. In other words, are they exercising this critical capacity through their acquired problem posing education or is it perceived that their education process did not give them this capacity and they are thus not able to think critically and be active social agents involved in the problems of their community? The answers to this question are received from the conducted in-depth interviews with research participants.

1.2.1. The education challenge

The educational challenge in South Africa is currently demonstrated by the fact that education is seen as a priority on all agendas, be they national, provincial or local, as Viljoen (1998) asserts. With regards to academic (class/ lecture room) education, it is certainly an issue of concern in the country especially if we consider the 2011 census report which shows that education is still a privilege for many South Africans due to the fact that many still do not have proper access to it. Moreover, the quality and standards

are not the same in all learning institutions whereby you find that private schools based in urban areas, for instance, are more resourced and have higher success rates (in terms of student outcomes) than public schools in rural and township areas.

At the same time, the economic, political and social aspects experienced by the people in South Africa cannot be absent when trying to understand this phenomenon. If we take a look at the pace and level of social and economic development in South Africa, particularly in townships and rural areas, there is a strong and compelling urge for one to critically scrutinize the significance of education in people's lives. When we talk about social and economic development in this case we regard factors such as infrastructure and resources needed to set-up and maintain facilities such as schools, hospitals, recreational centres, safety and security, transport and overall the empowerment of previously disadvantaged groups.

The youth is an important group in this research because they make up 40% of the population (Statistics South Africa, 2012). This supposes that youth development is significant not only for the present but future of the country, continent and globe at large.

After 22 years of democracy, the pace at which South Africa is improving and the number of people who are receiving formal education, what they (can) do with that education, is an indication that we need to rethink the concept and value of education in order to be clear about what it actually means, its true purpose and who it regards in the South African context. Paulo Freire provides the most realistic and relatable explanation of what qualifies as what one can call progressive education, critical pedagogy which is problem-posing. We thus need to understand education in South Africa with regards to the current socio-political and economic situation.

Viljoen (1998:5) argues that we also need to look at the education crisis from “a drive to unravel the environment in which education has to play a major role”. It is undeniable that education is designed to play a particular role, hence why, based on this notion, the specific group of Ngangelizwe youth graduates has been selected to analyse the matter (as guided by Freire's theory).

Essentially, in a time where many stakeholders, including the national government, education practitioners, civic movements, private and public corporations, admit that education is a crucial area of concern, as earlier noted, evidently it is impossible to neglect the economic, political, social and ideological influence of education. This

influence shapes how individuals make sense of reality, how they form narratives about everyday life and also how, in return, they collectively shape the society, be it consciously or unconsciously.

1.2.2. The legacy of the past on education today

Viljoen argues that “without denying the assumption of an own responsibility, one can state that the condition of education in South Africa is in line with, and owing to the standard of the education and teaching that people received, or did not receive in the past” (1998:5). This forces us to refer back to history, which is the apartheid era that affected and still affects the reality of South Africans in all spheres including education today, even long after its abolishment in 1994.

South Africa suffered nearly five decades of apartheid rule during which the black people were oppressed in many aspects of their lives in the society. Due to the remains of the past this still manifests itself in many spheres of society. For instance, today past imbalances do not manifest themselves through explicit racial oppression and segregation, they manifest through social and economic inequality which essentially still largely affects the same group that was structurally and systematically oppressed during apartheid. This logic is clearly seen in the township of Ngangelizwe which was demarcated for the black population consisting of a Xhosa population majority (discussed in chapter 5). The research participants, as such, are all black, Xhosa people because that is the majority of Ngangelizwe’s population.

1.3. Justification

The topic of education has been tackled a number of times and in a number of ways. What makes this topic ever interesting and relevant is the fact that education remains an issue thus its impact should be explained and understood from a contextual perspective. That means there will always be emerging discourse about education because the issue affects and impacts the society in various ways thus rendering the topic and conversation (in any context that it emanates) important.

Overall, one scholarly work cannot do justice to the education discourse and conversation because it is very dynamic and has many facets. At the same time, this is

yet another reason why education discourse and academic research needs to continue approaching the issue from angles that will bring out other important issues which eventually contribute to the already existing studies about education.

In South Africa education is certainly an issue which cannot be ignored; beyond the 2011 census indications, the *#rhodesmustfall* and *#feesmustfall* campaigns are recent examples which serve to prove that education discourse is relevant, it affects everyone in different ways and can thus not be ignored. While these campaigns broadly speak to the issue of access, quality and culture of education in South African institutions of higher learning, its foundations emanate from the fundamental issues which pertain to the existing inequality in the country.

It is thus crucial to interrogate the actual significance of the education that students are receiving by directly gaining insight of their knowledge acquisition process and experiences. That is what this research seeks to explore by applying the case of Ngangelizwe youth graduates. It allows them to share their wealth of reflections, dating from primary to tertiary education coupled with their socialization in the household, in social spaces outside their homes, in essence, the community at large.

Considering that Ngangelizwe is an impoverished and underdeveloped township, people from this community face the issues that many write and report about, nationally and internationally, on a daily basis. These are issues such as poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, and others. People living in these affected communities have a first-hand experience. Therefore, their reflections about these issues are valuable as they articulate their direct encounters and views. As Freire (1970) suggests, (critical) education must be holistic in the sense that it must be acquired in all spheres of life and not limited to the class or lecture room. Therefore, by targeting youth graduates from a community which is threatened by many socio-economic issues, the research explores the proposed topic in a more holistic manner as the case allows one to provide a reflected analysis. Also, based on the notion that theory must explain reality and reality must inspire theory, this research explores how far this is the case in the lives of the participants and their community.

1.4. Problem statement

Applying the case of Ngangelizwe youth graduates, this study seeks to analyse the knowledge acquisition process and experiences to understand the significance of education using the Freirean approach as a theoretical framework. The title of the research thus reads: *Exploring attitudes and perceptions about the knowledge acquisition process and experiences of Ngangelizwe youth graduates in the Eastern Cape to understand the significance of their education: A Freirean approach.*

Key research question are:

- What is education?
- What is the role of education in one's life?
- What is the role of education in the community and society at large?
- How does the process of acquiring knowledge take place and what does it entail?
- What does one learn from the school and what does it prepare him/her for beyond school?
- What does one learn from the community and what does it prepare him/her for in life?
- What principles or guiding steps does the Freirean approach stipulate and what do these Freirean principles or steps imply about education and the knowledge acquisition process of a student/person?

1.5. Goals and objectives

Informed by the topic, the main goal of this study is to explore Ngangelizwe youth graduates' experiences and perceptions about the education they have received and to find out how this education has prepared them to approach the multifaceted challenges experienced in their community.

In order to address the main goal, this research is guided by the following objectives:

1. To analyse Ngangelizwe's youth graduates' reflections regarding their knowledge acquisition process and learning experiences according to the concepts of banking and problem-posing education.

2. To discover which institution(s) –the school, community, home, social clubs or religious bodies – they perceive to have mostly contributed to the framing of their overall education which informs their views, values and actions.
3. To explore what the youth graduates of Ngangelizwe perceive to be the actual purpose of education in one’s life and subsequently find out why they pursued their academic qualifications.
4. To study how their thoughts about what they perceive to be the role of education have shaped and are still shaping their personal choices and outcomes.
5. To investigate the relationship that the youth graduates have with their community and what they deem to be their role as members of such a community.

As such, in chapter 6, 7 and 8 the study mainly focuses on five themes as a guiding tool that speaks to the research objectives. First it looks at the socio-economic background and infrastructure of Ngangelizwe. Secondly, it looks at the relationship that the research participants have with their community as it gives answers to their allegiances and convictions about the development of their community. Third, it looks at the participants’ educational history and realities. It then moves on to the fourth theme which has to do with the community of Ngangelizwe and its struggles. Here the thesis looks at and critiques the graduates’ involvement in their community. Lastly, an account about how one’s choices and actions, particularly those of the youth graduates, are influenced by certain factors such as their environment, economic and social conditions and people in their lives, is discussed.

1.6. Assumptions

The initial assumptions of the study were:

- Education influences one’s ideas and consequently actions in life, therefore the youth graduates of Ngangelizwe’s actions have been influenced by their education.
- The youth graduates of Ngangelizwe received a banking education because they portray silence and inactivity in their community.
- The youth graduates of Ngangelizwe are not critical thinkers, they are not active community members and they are not contributing to the betterment of their community.

- In essence, youth participation is lacking in Ngangelizwe and this is due to the type of education they have received which is mainly banking and not problem posing.
- Their formal education is the reason for this inactivity and lack of youth voice (banking concept) more than community education because it does not train them to challenge and act against social injustices existing in Ngangelizwe.
- At the same time, their community education is also to blame for their banking traits because in as much as they know their realities and issues in the township, they are not challenging them at all.

1.7. Research design and methodology

Overall, the research design sheds light on how the study is done; it is a plan for connecting the conceptual research problems to the empirical research. Mouton (1996:175) asserts that a research design assists in planning, structuring and executing the research “to maximize the validity of the findings”. Yin (2003:19) notes that a research design serves as “an action plan for getting from here to there, where ‘here’ may be defined as the initial set of questions to be answered and ‘there’ is some set of (conclusions) answers”. The list of key research questions has already been covered in the problem statement; assumptions have been set out as well.

As Mouton (1996), Yin (2003) and Myers (2009) suggest, research should be based on philosophical assumptions about what qualifies as valid research and which research method or methods is or are appropriate to explain the study better. In essence, the research design explains the type of data that is required for the research. The methods that will be applied to collect the data and, importantly, how this assists in answering the research question. As de Vaus (2001:9) notes, “social research needs a design or a structure before data collection or analysis can commence”. Furthermore, the function of a research design is “to ensure that the evidence obtained enables us to answer the initial question as unambiguously as possible” (de Vaus, 2001:9).

By demonstrating the existence of social problems, competent description can challenge accepted assumptions about the way things are and can provoke action” (de Vaus, 2001:1). In the case of Ngangelizwe, the known and accepted narrative is that it is an impoverished community with very poor socio-economic development. Very little, however, is ever inquired about what the people of the community are doing or even saying about the community’s status and social problems at large. By demonstrating

these social problems and the offered narrative descriptions by participants, this thesis therefore explores the way things are done in Ngangelizwe, it provides an actual account of reality insofar as the youth graduates are concerned and influenced by education in certain spheres of their lives.

1.7.1. Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis of this research is youth graduates from Ngangelizwe Township in Mthatha, Eastern Cape, as implied by the research topic and goals. The focus is on their knowledge acquisition process and experiences so as to understand the significance of their education and the Freirean approach is applied.

More specifically, the following characteristics apply to the participants: youth graduates who studied in tertiary institutions, men and women, from 22 to 28 years old. They were all born and raised in Ngangelizwe Township as implied by the research topic and goals.

a) Sampling: frame and size

Cochran (1997: 72) asserts that the sampling theory provides a framework within which to think intelligently about the problem. The Ngangelizwe youth graduates are a small group, a minority, compared to the overall number of youth members that dwell in the community, particularly those who were born and bred there. The researcher tried to select the population group in the most accurate way, in order for the sampling to be as representative as possible considering the fact that a majority of the youth in Ngangelizwe does not have higher education qualifications, let alone Grade 12.

Considering that not many young people have academic qualification in Ngangelizwe, I was not particular about which schools and tertiary institutions that the target group must have attended in order to be considered as participants. I started from the scope of finding youth graduates who are bonafides of Ngangelizwe; that is those who were born and raised in the township. It was not easy to do this but with referrals and a clear description of the target group it was possible to get into contact with willing participants. As a result of the scarcity and not easily accessible information about

youth graduates who have tertiary qualifications, the process of finding participants was slow.

As a result of the fact that not many from the youth group have higher education qualifications, 12 participants were interviewed. Of these participants, 7 were males and 5 females.

1.7.2. Methodology and data collection

Myers (1997:120) argues that the research method is a strategy of enquiry, it moves from the underlying assumptions to research design, and data collection. The research method that this thesis applied is qualitative. Denzin and Lincoln (1994:2) mention that “qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter; it attempts to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them. Philip (1998:267) believes that qualitative studies enable the complexities of issues to be studied and explored and represented. A lot is known and said about education and its effects but very little is known about Ngangelizwe and the impact of education in the lives of the youth, also how this impacts on the community’s development.

a) Techniques

As Creswell (2003) mentions, different enquiry strategies, data collection methods and analysis are employed in qualitative research. These include fieldwork which may be observation or participation observation; interviews, documents and texts according to Myers (1997:121). Sprinthall et al (1991:101) note that data is derived from interviews, documents, or observation of behaviours.

In-depth interviews were conducted to gather information about the research participants. The in-depth interviews were conducted with 12 youth graduates living in Ngangelizwe. The purposeful, criterion-based sample was utilized and the participants were randomly selected.

The in-depth interviews that were conducted took a minimum of 90 minutes to a maximum of 120 minutes with the participants. Boyce and Naele (2006:2) argue that in-depth interviews allow for an exploration of the respondents’ thoughts which can offer a

more concrete picture of the way they act in the certain ways they do. Because the main interest of these interviews was the respondents' thoughts about their experiences, this interviewing method (in-depth) was of good aid for the research. All this data was recorded and transcribed. In doing this, the data was systematically structured according to the themes which are explored in the analysis chapters.

Follow-up interviews and casual conversations were also conducted with some of the participants in order to gather their reflected views about issues discussed in the thesis. This was necessary considering that interviews were conducted in 2014 and there were important events happening since the initial interviews were conducted.

This study seeks to advance the understanding of the impact of education in the lives of youth graduates of Ngangelizwe with relations to their personal experiences and outcomes. As Denzin and Lincoln (1994:2) suggest that a qualitative study should be, this thesis attempts to make sense of and answer the research question in terms of the views and meanings offered by the participants. This study captures critical issues which are relevant to the debate of education and its purpose, it has especially contextualized it to the case of Ngangelizwe youth graduates and thus offered a fresh and unique perspective which might enable us to look at the deeply entrenched effects of education also in relation to the impact of social and economic conditions.

Before this process, I observed the community and its members over the years, especially and specifically in 2013, 2014 and 2015 so as to get an informed idea about the conditions in townships which were consequently assumed by myself and later described by scholars (in theory) and the participants (based on their experience and perspective thus ascribing their independent views and meanings to the phenomenon). I visited schools, the clinic, stadium, library and taxi rank to get a feel of life in Ngangelizwe. These are public facilities that many people in the community use. I thus wanted to see the conditions under which the people of Ngangelizwe operate on a daily basis so as to get a clear sense of what the thesis is inquiring. During the time in which the interviews were conducted, I lived in the township, I visited the homes of the research participants and conducted the interviews there.

Secondary data was also used namely: the population census of youth provided by Statistics South Africa (2012); level of youth education, by racial population group, also provided by Statistics South Africa (2012); specific economic information which is provided by the research participants. The social and economic statistics of SA are also

included, namely: poverty, inequality and unemployment rates. The statistics of King Sabata Dalindyebo municipality which inform us about Ngangelizwe were also instrumental because they provide information about illiteracy, poverty and unemployment. At the case level the thesis makes use of the data to understand the dynamics of the research participants and offer a well reflected analysis in response to the thesis topic and explored themes.

To gather information about the concepts and discussions related to the topic, available research and scholarly literature has been used, from books to journal and newspaper articles.

1.8. Research challenges and ethics

One of the main challenges faced during this research was finding research participants and this is due to the fact that Ngangelizwe has a high illiteracy rate especially among the youth population. When I did eventually find participants, getting them to sit for interviews was another challenge. Some were very supportive and instrumental in referring me to other graduates, which essentially contributed to the possibility of finding more participants.

I abided by the research etiquettes of Rhodes University throughout. To be precise, participants were all well informed about the purpose of the study and only those willing were interviewed. Privacy, respect and confidentiality of the participants are principles I have applied in this research.

1.9. An overview of the chapters

Chapter 1 introduces the thesis by firstly proposing the topic. It discusses the issue of education and its challenge in SA. It moves on to justify the research choice and topic. Following the problem statement, the goals and objectives of the research are set out; after this the assumptions are set out. This chapter also explains the research design and methodology; lastly, it acknowledges the research challenges and ethics.

Chapter 2 provides a conceptual analysis of the research; it introduces and defines the key concepts and themes. These concepts are: *education, banking education, problem-*

posing education, critical thinking, critical consciousness, youth, township, public participation.

Chapter 3 offers a critical reappraisal of Paulo Freire's scholarship. This is approached by firstly discussing Freire's point of departure. Freire's stance on education and teaching is then discussed at length, this includes a concise discussion of his important concepts, banking and problem-posing education. Chapter 4 discusses the philosophical influences of Freire's work. The chapter also looks at contributing scholars of Freire's work.

Chapter 5 is a critical discussion of education, townships, the youth and public participation in South Africa. After looking at the South African reality and context, the chapter continues to consider the legacy of apartheid in the country, particularly with regards to education. The chapter also looks at the current status of education in SA and then moves on to discuss townships and youth participation in SA.

In chapters 6, 7 and 8 the analysis is undertaken. Chapter 6 discusses the relevance of theory at an analytical level considering the case of Ngangelizwe youth graduates. This part looks at education at school, namely: primary, secondary and tertiary institutions that the participants have attended.

Chapter 7 looks at education and social activity of the participants in the community. This chapter considers the socio-economic reality of the participants, it discusses service delivery and public participation of the participants in Ngangelizwe, the relationship that the participants have with the community. Lastly the chapter looks at the involvement of the participants in their community.

Chapter 8, in an attempt to consolidate chapter 6 and 7 and further connect them, discusses academic education and its relevance to everyday life. This chapter discusses the issue of whether academic education does in fact impart critical consciousness about social issues, the applicability of academic knowledge to practical life and essentially the role of education in the participants' lives.

Lastly, chapter 9, which is the final conclusion, reflects on the 8 chapters discussed in the research and concludes that the youth graduates of Ngangelizwe have received both banking and problem-posing education and, as a result, they portray both of these elements in their everyday life through attitudes, thoughts and actions.

CHAPTER 2

Conceptual analysis

Key Concepts: *Education, banking education, problem-posing education, critical thinking, critical consciousness, youth, township, public participation, civil society.*

2.1. Education

Many scholars admit that there is no universal definition of education because, as articulated by Balogun (2008:119) “the term education has been given various definitions by different scholars and philosophers”; it is also because “the concept has been exposed to different and often contradictory interpretations”. One school argues that the word is derived from the Latin word “educere” which means to ‘lead out’ or to ‘bring out’ as articulated by Ducasse (1958:1) and reported by Balogun (2008:119). Another school of thought claims that education derives from ‘educare’, meaning “to ‘form’ or ‘train’ as argued by Schofield (1982:32) and cited by Balogun (2008:119).

Having acknowledged that the word ‘education’ is not an easy one to define, Aggarwal (2002:3) offers that the reason why the word has different meanings and interpretations is due to four factors: Firstly, it is due to the “complex nature of personality” which holds that “education is the development of the personality of an individual” which has different aspects such as “social, physical, intellectual, moral, spiritual, aesthetics, etc.”.

Secondly, it is due to the “complexity of human environment” and education thus becomes “a process which enables an individual to adjust himself to the environment” (Aggarwal, 2002:3). Third, it is due to “different philosophies of life” and lastly “different educational theories and practices” (Aggarwal, 2002:4).

Consequently, some of the definitions of education that Aggarwal (2002:4) borrows from other scholars are: “creation of a sound mind in a sound body; development of the whole man; formation of character; preparing the individual for the reciprocal union with society; enabling the individual to be a producer as well as a good citizen”. This all shows that the above mentioned four factors do indeed shape perspective and people’s understanding of what education is and the role it should play.

Education is not essentially a formal or cognitive business but fundamentally a human situation according to De Lissovoy (2008:7). De Lissovoy defines education as a unique

sphere of social activity that is concerned with basic social meanings, the construction of citizens, and the knowledge production (2008: 94).

Fafunwa, mainly writing about education from an African perspective, defines it to be “the aggregate of all the processes by which a child or young adult develop abilities, attitudes and other forms of behaviour which are of positive value to the society in which he lives” (1982:17).

Giroux (1985) argues that education is a terrain where power and politics are given a fundamental expression, since it is where meaning, desire, language, and values engage and respond to the deeper beliefs about the very nature of what it means to be human, to dream, and to name and struggle for a particular future and way of life.

Aronowitz (1998:8) asserts that “education takes place when there are two learners who occupy somewhat different spaces in an on-going dialogue”. He argues that both participants bring knowledge to the relationship, and “one of the objects of the pedagogic process is to explore what each knows and what they can teach each other” (Aronowitz, 1998: 8). He also adds that the second objective is to foster reflection on the self as actor in the world in consequence of knowing (Aronowitz, 1998:8).

While the above definitions and explanations may serve usefully, the working definition that this thesis adopts is the one proposed by Freire which he terms critical pedagogy or liberating education. For Freire (1970:54), education “is an instrument of dehumanizing”, thus, he argues that the sole purpose of education is to raise awareness in order for people to become subjects rather than objects of the world. In essence, this education is democratic in nature; it is dialogical and allows room for engagement through questioning and criticism.

Freire understood critical pedagogy to be a kind of a teaching process that is reflective with the capacity to recognize and relate to people's social conditioning (Freire, 1997: 23). Critical pedagogy, for Freire, is education which critically reflects on the relationship between theory and practice (1997: 30). Freire argued that knowledge is fundamental to a critical and progressive educative practice. This knowledge, he argued, “is that to teach is not to transfer knowledge but to create the possibilities for the production or construction of knowledge... but to teach is more than a transitive-relative verb” (1997:30). This is because it is a process of learning that makes teaching possible therefore to learn logically precedes to teach (1997: 31).

Freire (1997:31) argued that provided with the proper tools for critically looking at the world in dialogical encounters with others, “the individual can gradually perceive personal and social reality as well as the contradictions in it, become conscious of his or her own perception of that reality, and deal critically with it”

For Freire “people educate each other through the mediation of the world” (1970:14). When this happens, he argued that “the world is no longer an abstraction or magic but a means by which people discover themselves and their potential as they give names to things around them” (1970: 14-15).

2.2. Banking education and Problem-posing education

2.2.1. Banking education

Now is the relevant time to differentiate between schooling and education, as earlier indicated in the opening paragraph of this section that there are two main schools of thought regarding the definition and understanding of the concept ‘education’, one deriving from ‘educere’ and the other one deriving from ‘educare’.

Following the distinctions and arguments made, this thesis adopts that schooling, unlike education, denotes instruction and training, something that is given in an institution, that is ‘educare’. The main purpose of schooling is not necessarily to facilitate critical engagement but to transmit information and already existing ideology so that those being taught can reproduce and maintain the existing cultural way of life that favours a certain group, normally the ruling class. Freire calls this banking education. Other scholars refer to it as “pouring in” (Dewey, 1916); “deficit-filling” (Bruner, 1986); and “pharmaceutical dosage” methods of instruction (Boomer, 1992).

In the banking concept of education, knowledge is viewed as “a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing” (1970:72). In banking education, Freire (1970:72), argued that the teacher presents himself to his students as their necessary opposite and by considering their ignorance absolute he justifies his own existence. In return, the students accept their ignorance as justifying the teacher’s existence “but unlike the slave, they never discover that they educate the teacher” (1970:72). For Freire, banking education maintains the teacher-student contradiction. This contradiction is maintained by attitudes and practices

which Freire (1970:73) argued mirrors an oppressive society as a whole. These are (Freire, 1970:73):

- a) the teacher teaches and the students are taught;
- b) the teacher knows everything and the student knows nothing;
- c) the teacher thinks and the students are taught about;
- d) the teacher talks and the students listen;
- e) the teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined;
- f) the teacher chooses and enforces his choice and the students comply;
- g) the teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher;
- h) the teacher chooses the program content and the students (who are not consulted) adapt to it;
- i) the teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his or her own professional authority, which she and he sets in opposition to the freedom of the students;
- j) the teacher is the Subject of the learning process while the students are mere objects (Freire, 1970:73).

In essence, what banking education seeks to do is making students adapt and assimilate to the existing system so that they can reproduce it. Freire explained this as “the more completely students accept the passive role imposed on them, the more they tend to simply adapt to the world as it is and to the fragmented view of reality deposited in them” (1970:73). In this regard, Freire argued that “the more students work at storing the deposits entrusted to them, the less they develop the critical consciousness which would result from their intervention in the world as transformers of that world” (1970:73).

Jansen’s (2013) logic and argument is that people who are schooled follow rules of the school; they attend classes, do homework, write tests and in the end receive a certificate. In this kind of learning process, when a person falls out of line, is late or misses an assignment deadline, he or she is punished for bad behaviour. Based on this argument, a person who is schooled is institutionalized and it does not automatically follow that such a person is a critical thinker. In actual sense, such a person is systematically trained how to behave but not to question and utilize independent thinking. This promotes mechanical routines that lock students in classrooms and compress information into their heads in limited periods where exams are rehearsed, class notes memorised and test questions scoped as it will be further elaborated in chapter 3.

2.2.2. Problem-posing education

In opposition to banking education, Freire proposed the term problem ‘posing education’. “The more critically one exercises one’s capacity for learning, the greater is one’s capacity for constructing and developing epistemological curiosity” (1998:32). Without epistemological curiosity “it is not possible to obtain a complete grasp of the object of knowledge”. Freire argued that the understanding of epistemological curiosity on the one hand leads to the refusal of the banking system of education, and on the other hand, “to an understanding that, even when submitted to this system that is a deformation of the creativity of both learners and teachers, the learners are not necessarily fated to stagnate”. This is not because of the teaching they have received but “because of the very process of learning itself, learners can circumvent and outmanoeuvre the authoritarianism and the epistemological error of the banking system” (1998:32).

In problem posing education, Freire proposed ways of implementing the dialogical process of teaching. It seeks to resolve the student-teacher contradiction. In problem posing education, teachers approach students as equals, this makes it easy for them to relax, open up, feel safe as an atmosphere of hope, love, humility and trust is created (Freire, 1970). Freire argued that through dialogue, “the teacher-of-the-students and the students-of-the-teacher cease to exist and a new term emerges: teacher-student with students-teachers” (1970:80). Both student and teacher, through dialogue, become responsible for the process of teaching and authority is no longer valid. To achieve this it is necessary to have teachers with consciousness and students who are willing to enter in this dialogical process. In essence, the atmosphere needs to be conducive for such to take place.

In problem posing education, people teach each other. For Freire (1970:80) “problem posing education does not dichotomize the activity of the teacher student: she is not ‘cognitive’ at one point and ‘narrative’ at another; she is always cognitive”. Freire (1970:80) argued that the problem posing educator constantly reforms his reflections in the reflection of the students because the students, unlike in banking education, are not viewed as docile, they are viewed as critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher. This is because the role of the role of a problem posing educator is “to create,

together with the students, the conditions under which knowledge is surpassed by true knowledge.

Another point about problem posing education is that it involves a constant unveiling of reality. “Students, as they are increasingly posed with problems relating to themselves in the world and with the world, will feel increasingly challenged and obliged to respond to that challenge” (Freire, 1970:81). Freire argued that this is because they apprehend the challenge as interrelated to other problems within the total context. Their response to the challenge then evokes new challenges which are followed by new understandings. In problem posing education, men and women begin to single out elements from their background awareness and reflect upon them. “People develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation” (Freire, 1970:83).

2.2.3. Distinction between banking and problem-posing education

Unlike banking education which resists dialogue, problem posing education regards dialogue as essential to the act of cognition which unveils reality. “Banking education treats students as objects of assistance, problem posing education makes them critical thinkers”; banking education inhibits creativity, “problem posing education bases itself on creativity and stimulates true reflection and action upon reality” (Freire: 1970:83). In addition, problem posing education takes the people’s history as their starting point, “it affirms men and women as beings in the process of becoming, as uncompleted beings in and with a likewise unfinished reality” (Freire, 1970:83).

Freire argued that the unfinished character of human beings and the transformational character of reality necessitates that education is an ongoing activity (1970:83). “Education is thus remade in the praxis. In order to be, it must become” (1970:83). For Freire, problem posing education, as a humanist and liberating praxis, posits as fundamental that the people subjected to domination must fight for their emancipation. This way, teachers and students are able to “become subjects of the educational process by overcoming authoritarianism and an alienating intellectualism, it enables people to overcome their false perception of reality” (1970:83). In essence then, problem posing education is liberatory and revolutionary in nature, it does not serve the oppressor.

2.3. Critical thinking

As an often expressed term which is associated with solid or sound thinking and viewed as crucial, it is important to define critical thinking. The term critical thinking has its roots in the mid-late 20th century (Scriven and Paul, 1987). Critical denotes making or involving adverse or censorious comments or judgments according to the Concise Oxford English Dictionary (2008). Being critical means to express criticism of something. Thinking is to judge or consider something; the Concise Oxford English Dictionary (2008) asserts that it is an exercise of the mind positively with one's idea.

For Ennis (1987: 9-26), "critical thinking is a type of reasonable, reflective thinking that is aimed at deciding what to believe or what to do". This shows that to think critically one has to first be approached with an issue, make judgments or comments about the issue, as the term critical suggests. This requires a process of carefully thinking about the issue and the ideas that the thinker has about it before making judgment or comments.

For Scriven and Paul (2003) critical thinking is the "intellectually disciplined process of actively and skillfully conceptualizing, applying, analyzing, synthesizing, and/or observation, experience, reflection, reasoning, or communication as a guide to belief and action".

This thesis adopts Elder and Paul's definition. Elder and Paul (2007:1-9) view critical thinking to be a "mode of thinking –about any subject, content, or problem –in which the thinker improves the quality of his or her thinking by skillfully taking charge of the structures inherent in thinking and imposing intellectual standards upon them. Elder and Paul (2007:7) assert that it is essential to ask vital questions, gather relevant information, test conclusions and solutions, think with an open mind, recognize and assess assumptions, implications and consequences and last effective communication is also crucial in order for critical thinking to take place.

2.4. Critical consciousness and social consciousness

Critical consciousness, according to Freire (1970:44) is integrated with reality; it represents things and facts as they exist empirically. The goal of critical consciousness, for Freire, is for students, and everyone, in general, to act as subjects in the creation of

their society. In the dialectical process of learning, students and teachers should both, learn, question, reflect and participate in the making and remaking of meanings that construct their world. Critical consciousness therefore leads to critical understanding which in turn leads to critical action.

To be conscious means to be aware. The Concise Oxford Dictionary (2008) defines consciousness to be the state of being conscious, as the totality of a person's thoughts, feelings and sensations. From this one can see that to be conscious means to be awake or aware of one's immediate surroundings and to be also concerned in this process of being aware.

Marx (1977: 06) viewed the political as a social construction understood as a dialectic, a progressive of self-consciousness arises; this is a historical process. Meszaros (2010: 21) believes that the relationship between social structure and forms of consciousness is important; "this is because the actually given social structure constitutes the overall framework and horizon in which the particular thinkers, in all fields of social and philosophical study, are situated in relation to which they have to define their concept of the world.

Cooley (1907: 675-694) felt that in the mind we may distinguish conscious and unconscious relations with the unconscious being those of which we are not aware and that these unconscious things, in one way or the other, "escape our notice, our language, our mechanical arts, our government and other institutions we derive chiefly from people to whom we are but indirectly and unconsciously related".

Cooley (1907) believed that the growth of social consciousness has a narrow and fallible grasp of human life. For him, social consciousness or awareness of society, is inseparable from self-consciousness because "we can hardly think of ourselves excepting with reference to a social group of some sort, nor of the group except with reference to ourselves" (Cooley, 1907: 675-679). Cooley felt that these two things tie together and that what we are really aware of is "a more or less complex personal and social mode, of which now the particular, now the general aspect- is emphasized"(1907: 675-694).

Cooley further goes on to note that the most of our reflective consciousness- our wide-awake state of mind- is social consciousness, because "a wide-awake state of mind- is social consciousness, because a sense of our relation to other persons, or of other persons to one another, can hardly fail to be part of it" (1907: 675- 697). This shows that self and society are twin-born, we know one immediately as we know the other, as Cooley (1907) suggests.

Martin Luther King believed that it is important to ask questions about the whole society because questioning the society enables us to see its problems (in Le Blanc, 2006: 47). Consciousness of being part of a particular hegemonic force, for Gramsci, cited by Forgacs (2000: 323), is the first stage towards a further progressive self-consciousness in which theory and practice will finally be done.

2.5. Public participation

Public participation, which others also refer to as citizen participation, is not a new phenomenon. There are many definitions for it. For Webler and Renn (1995) public participation is synonymous to participatory democracy because it is a valued ideal and practice in society. In a participatory democracy, which is “the process of collective decision making that combines elements from both direct and representative democracy: citizens have the power to decide on policy proposals and politicians assume the role of policy implementation” (Aragones and Sanchez-Pages, 2008:2).

For Arnstein (1969:216), citizen participation is a categorical term for citizen power; it is “the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic process, to be deliberately included in the future”. He further adds that “it is the strategy by which the have-nots join in determining how much information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programs are operated” (Arnstein, 1969:216).

Public participation is a broad concept as it is not merely about service delivery but mainly active involvement of civil society in matters that concern them (Hutchings, 2003; Langton, 1981; Clapper, 1996; Nyalunga, 2006). It follows that public participation is a political act that goes beyond merely voting for public representatives, it includes the active agency by the citizens or civil society to be part of the decision making process themselves. Cloete and Meyer (2006:114) understand public participation to be that which is characterized by involvement of members in activities pertaining to the betterment of their communities. Cloete and Meyer (2006:114) define public participation as an effort for community members to influence the outcomes of activities and to receive benefits from the results.

This thesis adopts Olivier’s (2015) definition of public participation. Olivier (2015:9) asserts that “with intellectual origins in neo-Marxist writers such as Freire and Castells”

public participation is located “within a wider struggle that links the condition of underdevelopment with access to political power”.

2.6. Civil society

When speaking of public participation it is also important to discuss the concept of civil society, especially in this case because the youth graduates of Ngangelizwe also form part of civil society. There are many scholars who have contributed and continue to contribute to civil society theory. Moreover, there are many factors to be considered in the notion of civil society which eventually leads to understanding it as either being anti-statist or as essential to good governance.

Nevertheless, Ray (2012:242) argues that the origins of the prominence and use of civil society can be traced back to Hobbes’ theory of the sovereign state which premised that society exists upon two branches, the political and civil (society), and that these two are tied by a social contract. This same social contract is what made the distinction between the political system (with its sovereign power) and civil society (consisting of citizens) to exist and become valid because both are mutually bound and dependent, thus mutually sustaining (Hobbes, 1651).

Locke adds value to Hobbes’ theory by essentially arguing that civil society should be understood as a space of association of which the social contract that Hobbes spoke of is regulated by the law. For instance, he argued that when men enter into society they give up their executive power into the hands of the society “to be so far disposed of by the legislative as the good of the society shall require” (Locke, 1980:161). Additionally, the power of the society or legislative constituted by men “can never be supposed to extend farther than the common good, but is obliged to secure everyone’s property” (Locke, 1980:161). Ultimately, Locke believed that those with legislative or supreme powers are “bound to govern by established standing laws, promulgated and known to the people, and not by extemporary decrees, by indifferent and upright judges, who are to decide controversies by those laws” (1980:161).

Habermas (1985) is another scholar who has contributed in the on-going debates regarding the notion of civil society. He considers the public sphere to be located in the civil society because it is the space in which citizens discuss issues of interest and concern; in this manner citizens are able to criticize the state and its activities. As such,

his contribution is that civil society can be seen as “a network of communicating information and points of view to form public opinions in open permeable and shifting horizons” (Habermas, 2011:52). This can be linked to the notion of public participation if the essence of being a civic member revolves around communicating one’s views with other members of the society and consequently engaging in action inspired by formed public views or opinions.

Gramsci (1971:12) also contributes to civil society scholarship where he viewed it as the “ensemble of organisms commonly called ‘private’”. For Gramsci (1971) the two major levels (civil society and state) influence the hegemony in society and domination that is exerted through the state and juridical government. Civil society allows the formation of social groups to confront the state through the concept of hegemony.

Essentially, the concept of civil society reveals the relevance and importance of public participation and the form in which it occurs hence why the above definitions of public participation can be understood in relation to civil society and to the case of the research participants with regards to the research context.

2.7. Youth

The term youth is politically loaded and thus culturally bounded according to Everatt (1997: 70); it was traditionally used to refer to a particular, transitional life stage involving preparation from assuming adult life role. In the 1980s, Jennings states that defining youth was a political battlefield where the media and apartheid government talked about the ‘lost generation’ seeing the political role of many young people as evidence of their social disengagement (1997: 1). Globally, Rocher and Tucker (1997: 17) argue that young people are frequently represented as either actively deviant or passively at risk and sometimes both simultaneously.

The age definition asserting ‘youth’ means persons between the age of 14 and 35 (National Youth Policy, 2016).

2.8. Township

Ladd (2001:401) asserts that the word township legally refers to both residential and industrial sites. These areas, from the 19th century until the end of apartheid, were strictly reserved for non-whites; they were built on the outskirts of the towns or cities. In South Africa many townships are typically characterised by underdevelopment and lack of infrastructure.

The Group Areas act of 1950, Act No41 “forced physical separation between races by creating different residential areas for different races” and this led to forced removals of people living in ‘wrong’ areas (South African History, 1950). Ladd (2001:401) adds that even within black townships ethnic groups were often segregated into separate areas for Zulus, Xhosas, Sothos and others, and these laws existed until the early 1990s. Ngangelizwe is a typical example of a township created as a consequence of forced removal, which is characterised by a lack of development and infrastructure.

2.9. Community

Anderson (1991:49-50) saw communities to be imagined and political spaces, because they are not based on an everyday face-to-face interaction between their members. According to Anderson, communities are imagined because “the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their community”. He also relates the imagined communities to a sense of belonging and identity. The element of identity can be related to the people in the township who probably will never know all the members of the social group even though they are all bounded by common issues such as poverty, lack of education, crime, unemployment and a lack of service delivery.

In this imagined community, the inhabitants identify with each other by virtue of identifying themselves with an imagined community, as implied by Hobsbawm (1996:1066). Hobsbawm (1996:1066) argues that the inhabitants “are bonded by what they have in common, such as language, culture or ethnicity”.

Parse (2002:23) sees a community, from a human becoming perspective, to be “a unitary phenomenon, indivisible, unpredictable and ever changing”. He thus argues that the meanings we attach to things and occurrences change with different community experiences. All these definitions show that a community is an important source of

identification for the people, they see themselves to exist with others based on the idea and common practices even though they do not interact nor see each other on a day to day basis and at times.

2.10. Conclusion

This chapter has carefully introduced the important concepts that will emerge throughout the thesis. It has also offered some clear definitions and eventually a working definition for each concept in relation to this thesis' context.

CHAPTER 3

A critical reappraisal of Paulo Freire's scholarship

3.1. Introduction

This chapter critically discusses Paulo Freire's scholarship as his theory is an important framework that this research relies upon. As such, a discussion of Freire's point of departure is offered. Secondly, this chapter discusses Freire's stance on education, related to this, the chapter moves on to the issue and discussion of dialogical teaching and lastly concisely discussing banking and problem-posing education.

3.2. Freire's point of departure

Paulo Freire wrote within a political frame of consciousness, power and oppression. Freire's thoughts are reflected in his books *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), *The Politics of Education: Culture, Power and Liberation* (1985), *Pedagogy of Hope: Reliving Pedagogy of The Oppressed* (1997), and *Pedagogy of Freedom: Ethics, Democracy, and Civic Courage* (1998). Most of Freire's work is concentrated in contemporary education, particularly his book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) which is associated with teaching using a dialogical approach for critical teaching and education. Freire thought of himself as an epistemological thinker posing a critical way of thinking and a critical way of knowing and teaching to the teachers in order for them to work differently with the students (1970).

Giroux (1985:xii) asserts that by utilizing the language of critique, Freire (1970) fashioned a theory of education that "takes seriously the relationship between radical critical theory and the imperatives of radical commitment and struggle". By drawing upon his experience in Latin America, Africa and North America, Freire generated a discourse that deepens our understanding of the dynamics and complexity of domination according to Giroux (in Freire, 1985:xii).

For instance, Freire understood that domination cannot be reduced exclusively to a form of class domination. He thus rejected the idea that there is a universal form of oppression. Instead, he acknowledged and located within different social fields forms of

suffering that speak to particular collective struggle and resistance. In this research context, what speaks to it is the case of a lack of development in terms of infrastructure, education and economic wealth in Ngangelizwe. The widespread poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, crime and drug abuse are the struggles that the community faces as a result of a lack and deficient infrastructural and educational institutions and system. This thesis is mainly focused on the first part of Freire's frame of work (critical thinking and social consciousness). However, it does not eliminate the other parts (power and oppression) as they are also important and tend to manifest in all dynamics of life, especially in issues concerning a topic of this nature, hence we speak of struggles or issues faced by the Ngangelizwe community.

Giroux (cited in Freire, 1985:xii) argues that by recognizing that certain forms of oppression are not reducible to class oppression, Freire stepped outside standard classic Marxist analysis by arguing that society contains a multiplicity of social relations which come with contradictions and can serve as a basis from which social groups can struggle to organize themselves. "This becomes clear in those social relations in which ideological and material conditions of gender, racial, and age discrimination are at work" (Giroux cited in Freire, 1985: xii).

Aronowitz (1998:12) argues that Freire's work, particularly *Pedagogy of Freedom*, "advocates a 'rigorous ethical grounding' in the teacher's determination to combat 'racial, sexual and class discrimination'" and "explains the concept that education is open-ended 'scientific formation' because people are conditioned but not determined by their circumstances". Aronowitz argues that *Pedagogy of Freedom* can be viewed as "the basis of what Nietzsche calls 'new principles of evaluation' where the term 'evaluation' indicates not a fixed set of criteria from which to make superficial measurements of social policies but a series of concepts by which to forge a new educational process" (1998: 13).

Freire wrote his work from the point of view of what Frantz Fanon called the "wretched of the earth", the oppressed or marginalized group of society. Fanon's (1963) *Wretched of the Earth* emphasizes the need to provide native populations with an education that is simultaneously anti-colonial as opposed to being traditional.

Freire was "overtly concerned with the positivistic overemphasis on the so-called scientific methods of analysis and absolute objectivity that informs institutions of higher education" (Macedo, 1998:xi). Macedo (1998:xi) argues that the attempts of educators

to adopt 'hard science' modes of analysis as part of their research in social science have given rise to a form of 'scientism' rather than science in which there is a clear delamination between the object and subject, nature and society.

In addition, Freire was concerned that institutions were predominantly supportive of specialists who hide their ideology behind a facile call for 'scientific rigor' and 'absolute objectivity' (Macedo, 1998:xi). Macedo (1998) argues that these 'scientific' educators have often contributed to further fragmentation of knowledge because of their reductionist view of the act of knowledge. Macedo (1998:xi) further states that many educators, particularly those who embrace a positivistic mode of enquiry, would outright deny the role of ideology in their work and they ideologically attempt to prevent the development of any counter discourse within their institutions. Freire (1998) then argued that they might try to hide in what they regard as the neutrality of scientific pursuits, indifferent to how their findings are used, even uninterested in considering for whom or what interests they are working.

Giroux argues that "many of the radical left ... write off schools as simply a reflex of the labour market. As reproductive sites that smoothly provide knowledge, skills, and social relations necessary for the functioning of the capitalist economy and dominant society, public education no longer provides the tools for critical thinking and transformative action. Like the workplace and the realm of mass culture, schools have become a device for economic and cultural reproduction" (Giroux cited in Freire, 1985:xi). "For conservatives, the language of crisis and critique becomes clear in their assertion that schools have failed to take seriously their alleged commitment to demands of capitalist rationality and imperatives of the market economy" (Giroux cited in Freire, 1985:xi).

Freire, according to Giroux (1985), appropriated the unclaimed heritage of emancipatory ideas in those versions of secular and religious philosophy located within the corpus of bourgeois thought. Giroux (1985) adds that Freire critically integrated into his work a heritage of radical thought without assimilating many of the problems that have plagued it historically. Freire combined the language of critique and the language of possibility.

Freire (1970) distinguished three levels of consciousness, the intransitive, semi transitive and critical consciousness (discussed in chapter 2). The intransitive level is when individuals are complacent and submissive. Aliakbari and Faraji (2011:81) state

that it is when “individuals accept their lives as they are and the change that might happen in their lives seems to be the result of magic or miracles. They do not make any attempt to change their life conditions and injustices done to them”.

Semi transitive consciousness is when a person is aware of his or her problems and can learn to change one thing at a moment. People with this kind of consciousness, according to Aliakbari and Faraji (2011:81), cannot make any connection with the outside world and they consider their problems as something moral or incidental. Actions that are taken with this kind of consciousness are often short-sighted. The third level, which is critical consciousness, is the highest level of consciousness. It is “the result of collective struggle and praxis not individual or intellectual effort” (Aliakbari and Faraji, 2011:81). This form of consciousness, as suggested in chapter two, permits critical action and critical change.

At the centre of Freire’s world view was the belief that humans have an ontological vocation to become more fully human. Human consciousness, for Freire (1970:23) is defined by its distinctiveness from animal consciousness which Aristotle and others have pointed as fundamentally ahistorical and a-temporal. This means that animals are incapable of self-conscious thoughts, of the passage of time or of deciding on a course of action as a result of reflection, whereas “humans are aware, both of themselves as conscious beings, and of their existence in space and time” (Blackburn, 2000:4). Blackburn argues that human awareness allows for a second distinctive trait: “the capacity for creative thinking and, hence, potentially at least, the capacity to transform rather than merely adapt to reality” (2000:4).

In Freire’s work, conscientization, the process of becoming aware, provides a space in which one’s perception of reality may change; “it is the first in the quest of the oppressed man’s quest for greater humanization”, according to Blackburn (2000:7). Blackburn (2000:7) adds that conscientization is more than a purely intellectual process, it is a dynamic, or dialectical process, of which an equally important component is action. “In conscientization, action leads to further reflection, and so on, in a dialectical path of increasing liberation” (Blackburn, 2000:7). Conscientization is thus based on action and reflection.

Freire argued that in the teaching practice, certain ideologies are transferred to the students and they practise or act these out in their lives. Importantly, Ewick (2006: xii) mentions that “construed as a process, ideology shapes social life, not because it

prevents thinking by programming or deceiving people into a state of resignation or complacency, but because ideology actively invites thinking”. In order to remain viable, Ewick (2006:xii) asserts that “ideology has to be lived, worked out, and worked on. It has to be expressed and applied and challenged. People have to use it to make sense of their lives and the world around them”.

Ultimately, Freire did not envisage an ideologically sound and just society in the future in which people can equally experience freedom. Blackburn (2000:5) states that human liberation, which Freire called humanization, “is a goal that for Freire can never be fully achieved because it requires an on-going encounter with reality, which is itself permanently changing”. Life and history, for Freire (1970:54), are thus dynamic processes of which man is both fully a part and yet unable to ever fully control. Freire’s emphasis then was not exactly on a new liberated society to be built on the encounter itself, that is, “the process by which oppressed humans strive towards greater humanization” (Blackburn, 2000:6). It is to the nature of this encounter (which Freire saw as dialogue) between individual and society, and most important between individual and individual, in an act of mutual conscientization, according to Blackburn (2000:6), that Freire focused on.

3.3. On education

Central to Freire’s scholarship is the notion of critical pedagogy which explores issues of emancipatory education, critical thinking and critical consciousness in a number of ways (Freire, 1998; Freire, 1970; Freire, 1985; and Kincheleo, 2007). Here two points are important. The first one is that Freire (1970) believed that teaching is a political act that is never neutral. What is pertinent here is the role of power dynamics and how these manifest themselves in the teaching and learning process. Secondly, Freire also recognized the “social embeddedness” of education. This is evident in his work which is influenced by his socio-economic background and life experiences, whereby his point of departure draws a close relationship between poverty, inequalities and academic performance.

Freire aptly expressed his philosophy as “no pedagogy which is truly liberating can remain distant from the oppressed by treating them as unfortunates and by presenting for their emulation models from among the oppressors; the oppressed must be their own example in the struggle for their redemption” (1970:54). This means that theory itself

must not be distant from the examples and lives of the scholars; it must be something that they can relate to. For this to happen they must not merely accept “emulation models” but in fact be authentic and articulate their own lives and struggles for themselves. He added that liberation is a mutual process, not a gift or self-achievement.

Macedo asserts that class is an important factor in the understanding of our forms of oppression (1970:14). Freire did not provide us with an exact definition of oppression. He began his argument from the point of humanization as always being humankind’s central problem. He argued that “concern for humanization leads at once to the recognition of dehumanization” (1970:43). He added, “while humanization and dehumanization are real alternatives, only the first is the people’s vocation. This vocation is constantly negated, yet it is affirmed by that very negation” (Freire, 1970:43). Freire (1970:44) argued that the vocation of humanity is prevented by exploitation, oppression and the violence of oppressors and it is affirmed by the yearning of the oppressed for freedom and justice.

Tilly (2000:782-785) defines exploitation as an “inequality-generating mechanism... it occurs when persons who control a resource enlist the effort of others in production of value by means of that resource, but exclude the others from the full value added by their effort”.

Oppression, according to Barker (2003), is the social act of placing severe restrictions on an individual, group or institutions. Barker (2003) adds that it is typically when a government or political organization in power places these restrictions formerly on oppressed groups so that they can be exploited and less able to compete with other social groups. Johnson (2006) argues that social oppression is a concept that describes a relationship between groups or categories of people in which a dominant group benefits from the systematic abuse, exploitation, and injustice directed toward a subordinate group. We can understand the concept of oppression which Freire referred to in line with the above offered explanations.

Freire believed that education is both an ideal and referent for change in the service of a new kind of society. As an ideal, “education speaks to a form of cultural politics that transcends the theoretical boundaries of any one specific political doctrine, while also linking social theory and practice to the deepest aspects of emancipation” (Giroux cited in Freire,1985:xiii). Giroux (cited in Freire, 1985:xiii) asserts that Freire’s cultural politics represents a theoretical discourse whose underlying interests are fashioned

around a struggle against all forms of subjective and objective domination as well as a struggle for forms of knowledge, skills and social relations that provide the conditions for social and, hence, self-emancipation (1985:xiii).

As a referent for change, Freire believed that “education represents both a place within and a particular type of engagement with the dominant society” (Giroux, 1985:xiii). Education, for Freire, includes and moves beyond the notion of schooling (Kincheloe, 2007, Shor, 1987, Giroux, 1988 and hooks, 2010). This means that with the knowledge one receives from school, he or she should use it in practical ways, beyond the classroom. Education should not be retained because otherwise it is useless. Also, Freire’s explanations suggest that the environment in which one is socialized has an influence on their education.

This kind of education suggests ‘educere’, preparing one for something bigger, something that needs to be done at a social and critical level and not merely institutional and rigid classroom spaces, which is ‘educare’. “School represents only one important site where education takes place, where men and women both produce and are the production of the specific social and pedagogical relations” according to Giroux (1985: xiii). Progressively combining this knowledge –from school –with knowledge received at home, in the community, among social encounters with friends and strangers, is the type of education Freire envisions.

In Freire’s view then, education represents both a struggle for meaning and a struggle over power relations. Aronowitz and Giroux (1985:12) argue that if education represents both a struggle for meaning and a struggle over power relations then it is a central terrain where “power politics operate out of a dialectical relation between individuals and groups who live out their lives within cultural forms and ideologies that are the basis for contradictions and struggles”.

As earlier stated in chapter 2, education is not essentially a formal or cognitive business but fundamentally a human situation (De Lissovoy, 2008: 07). If education is informed by contemporary processes and conditions, as argued by Freire (1970) and De Lissovoy (2008), it necessitates that it is a social activity that is concerned with basic social meanings, the construction of citizens and knowledge production.

Freire (1970) believed that “education makes sense because women and men learn that through learning they can make and remake themselves, because women and men are able to take responsibility for themselves as beings capable of knowing — knowing

that they know and knowing that they don't". For Freire, education represents the need for a passionate commitment to make the political more pedagogical. It represents the need "to make critical reflection and action a fundamental part of a social project that not only engages forms of oppression but also develops a deep and abiding faith in the struggle to humanize life itself" (Giroux, 1985:xiii).

Giroux (1985) notes that Freire's discourse strands between two radical traditions. On the one hand, it is what has been categorized as the 'new Sociology of Education'. On the other hand, his philosophy of hope and struggle is rooted in a language of possibility that draws extensively from the tradition of liberation theology. As a referent for change, scholars such as Shor (1987) Giroux (1988) hooks (1994) and Kincheleo (2007), argue that education represents a form of action that emerges from a joining of the languages of critique and possibility.

3.4. Dialogical teaching

Central to Freire's concept of critical pedagogy is the view that the process of educating necessitates learning and teaching from two sides- the teacher and the learner. Teaching that is critical, in essence, should apply a dialogical method and process. The dialogical method is when both the teacher and learners actively participate in the process of learning, there are no hierarchies; views and ideas are exchanged and everyone is free to articulate him or herself; participation is encouraged. If this is the case, then it means the theory that is taught should be able to link to reality; it should be relevant and practical. This is because "to teach cannot be reduced to a superficial or externalized contact with the object or its content but extends to the production of the conditions in which critical learning is possible" (Freire, 1998:33). When this happens, students are able to understand and clearly articulate their views about the world and issues around them because there is a link, theory is not isolated from reality, instead it seeks to explain it.

When engaging in critical pedagogy, in order for the teacher to be able to connect with the students and make them understand the relevance of theory to reality, Freire (1998) argued that it is very important that the teacher first seeks to know and understand the students' different backgrounds. When the teacher understands this he or she is able to better position him or herself in a manner that will make the students open up and participate in class. This is very important because it does not only allow for the

students to participate in class but also for their studies to become practically relevant to their lives in all spheres of engagement.

The idea behind Freire's rationale (1970) is that if you understand what you are learning, if what you are learning is based on real life experiences then it becomes clear and easier for you to make sense of what your role, as a student of that discipline and member of a certain community, should do. This is because you know the realities of your community, you know the challenges that you face and education has made it clear for you to learn how to tackle them, it now lies upon you to do so. This is what constitutes as critical pedagogy and its results can be seen beyond participation in the classroom. Its results are actual transformation on the ground.

In fact, Freire (1970) brings forth the idea that education becomes more meaningful and can be said to be critical if it transcends the borders of the classroom and manages to influence students to become active agents of social change, people who participate in public matters. This is clearly something that involves many parties and cannot be solemnly left in the hands of learning institution, teachers and other structures alone. Teachers, however, need to facilitate the intellectual process of making students realize and understand the value of linking theory with their practically lived experiences and other social issues at large.

Broadly, in the present methods of teaching, based on the turnout of many students when they leave school, especially if we are to consider the case of Ngangelizwe youth, there is a sense that education is distanced from the people and their realities. If education is distanced from the people and their reality then it lacks critical engagement, it fails to connect the political, socio-cultural reality which informs it. Education that fails to link research with larger critical and social issues often prevents educators not only from engaging in a general critique of the social mission of their own educational enterprise but also from acknowledging their roles as gatekeepers in reproducing the values of dominant social order (Macedo cited in Freire, 1998:xxxii).One can add that this has a lot to do with the structure under which education institutions perform.

For instance, SA employs neoliberal principles. Neoliberalism is understood to be the term used for a market-driven approach to economic and social policy (Panitch and Leys, 2008: 337). It is based on neoclassical theories of economics that stress the efficiency for private enterprises.

Sargis and Gabbard (2005) assert that neoliberal globalization is a systematic phenomenon expressing the dynamics of the market economy for liberalized 'free' markets, privatization, and diminishing state power over economic decisions, liberalized 'free' markets, privatization, and diminishing state power over economic decisions. This shows that neoliberal economic policies, as they open free markets and allow for privatization to occur, result in a concentration of economic and political power. As this happens, it becomes evident that states lose their power as the global market gains control over them; in such a situation then, the social being of the people is affected since the state prioritizes the global economy over local social needs. The state, in essence, is more controlled by the global market which comes with competitiveness and the state has to compromise its citizens to develop economically since neoliberalism promotes privatization.

Learning institutions consequently perform under such conditions and pressure. It can be argued that they are forced to advance neoliberal principles even in academic practise. In such a case, it would make sense how education can fail to link research with larger critical and social issues thus preventing educators from engaging in a critical critique of issues and acknowledging their roles as gatekeepers for reproducing the values of dominant social order, as Macedo (1998) argues.

Freire realized that some schools are operating as if the real mission and overriding purpose of schooling is to prepare students, at different levels, in the corporate order. In this type of education you find that students' success and abilities are measured by tests, they are pressured to cram and memorize their work instead of critically engaging with it. This, for Freire (1998), is not a true reflection of emancipatory or critical education. He argued that such an education is not liberatory in nature; it is actually oppressive because it helps to reproduce the capitalist system which serves a minority and feeds on structural and social inequality. He called this banking education.

Realistically reflecting, it is difficult to ever attain a completely liberatory education (at school and in the community as per definition) in South Africa no matter how some teachers or lecturers can try to invoke principles of critical pedagogy. This is because neoliberalism will always serve as an impending challenge and destruction. Educators are therefore also confined and can express, if and when they do, critical pedagogic principles within the confines of neoliberal structures and systems.

In essence, what critical pedagogy really meant for Freire is teaching that advances the idea that “education is a human act of intervening in the world” (1970:15). By intervention he meant “the aspiration for radical changes in society in such areas as economics, human relations, property, the right to employment, to land, to education, and to health, to the reactionary position whose aim is to immobilize history and maintain an unjust socio-economic and cultural order” (Freire, 1970:15). It is very difficult for this to happen under unequal and capitalist driven societies.

In the dialogical method of teaching that Freire proposed, he argued that there should be no hierarchies between the teacher and the learners. The teachers should not view themselves as transmitters of knowledge but as in fact facilitators of the learning process. This is because, for Freire, both the teacher and learner are producers of knowledge. Friere (1998:33) argued that “those who are engaged in critical learning know that their teachers are continuously in the process of acquiring new knowledge and that this new knowledge cannot simply be transferred to them, the learners. When knowledge is exchanged and transferred to students, teachers have the duty of ensuring that students clearly understand what they are learning, the knowledge that is being imparted, and that they are able to critically interpret it in socially relevant ways.

At the same time, in the context of true learning, the learners will be engaged in a continuous transformation through which they become authentic subjects of the construction and reconstruction of what is being taught, side by side with the teacher who is equally subject to the same process”. In addition, “people educate each other through the mediation of the world” (1970:14). When this happens, Freire (1970: 14-15) argued that “the world is no longer an abstraction or magic but a means by which people discover themselves and their potential as they give names to things around them”.

Freire thus argued that it is essential, from the very beginning of the teaching process, that the following principle be clear: namely, that although the teachers or the students are not the same, the person in charge of education is being formed or re-formed as he or she teaches, and the person who is being taught forms him or herself in this process” (Freire, 1998: 30-31).

Lastly, Freire argued that there is no teaching without learning. “Whoever teaches learns in the act of teaching, and whoever learns teaches in the act of learning; socially and historically, women and men discovered that it is the process of learning that made (and

makes) teaching possible” (Freire, 1998:31). This is why to learn then logically precedes teaching. In addition, Freire (1998:31) argued that “there is no valid teaching from which there does not emerge something learned and through which the learner does not become capable of recreating and remaking what has been thought; teaching that does not emerge from the experience of learning cannot be learned anymore”.

Important to note and understand as such, throughout the entire thesis, as implied in the definition of critical pedagogy, is that this kind of education and teaching transcends the classroom. In the specific case of Ngangelizwe youth graduates it is a process which takes place in different spaces of learning, namely at school, university, at home and in the community in various ways through various encounters. This necessitates that teachers are not only found in the classroom, they are found in the already mentioned places as well, meaning it could be parents, community elders, mentors, and so forth.

As Samkange and Samkange (2013: 456) assert, education begins from birth thus certain responsibilities cannot be left to the teacher in a school setup. As such, the family also has a major role that it plays in the education of children. What is important, and is also the core of Freire’s argument, is that ultimately the individual should be able to acquire knowledge and skills that are relevant to the society, for its betterment, through education.

3.5. Concise discussion about the banking and problem-posing concepts

Freire believed that the more people can grasp the dominant syntax, the more they can articulate their voices and speech in the struggle against injustice (1998: 9). This is because he believed that the space that people occupy in the social structure determines their knowledge and understanding of the world. In essence, he meant that when people understand the dominant language of thought– that is the legitimacy of the meaning of words, how people from different socio-economic conditions understand and interpret words– they are in a better position to question and critique issues articulately using that dominant language without feeling intimidated and inferior.

Freire believed that it is impossible to think of language without thinking of ideology and power. He argued that knowledge is fundamental to a critical and progressive educative practice. Freire (1970:25-27) also argued that while students are required to learn the dominant pattern, it is necessary for teachers to be tolerant, to explain and

make clear to the students that their way of speaking is also beautiful. Aronowitz (1998: 4) states that Freire identified the banking or transmission theory of school knowledge as the culprit standing in the way of critical consciousness.

The shortfall of banking education is that the person is not and does not become a critically conscious being. Freire (1970:75) stated that the person is rather the “possessor of consciousness: an empty mind passively open to the reception of deposits of reality from the world outside”. In essence, the student becomes a spectator but not a reactor in the issues taking place around him or her. The student’s role and agency is undermined in banking education. It follows, then, that the role of the educator “is to regulate the way the world ‘enters into’ the students” (Freire, 1970:76). Freire argued that banking education efficiently serves domination and inequality whereby it strives for a majority to adapt to the purposes which the dominant minority prescribe. Banking education serves to obviate thinking because it threatens the status quo.

In essence, with the banking concept of education, Freire problematized the teaching and learning process whereby teachers are solely the transmitters of knowledge and students are the recipients (1970:32). In such a case, Freire (1970:32) argued that the student has no choice but to comply because the teacher chooses the content of the learning programmes without the student's consultation and the student, in return, has to adapt to it.

Essentially, the banking model of education promotes the culture of silence and submissiveness as it makes students to allow and accept things without challenging them. In this sense they do not develop critical consciousness, hence the reluctance of forming and defining their struggle (Freire, 1970:23). This is different to critical pedagogy which essentially advances the notion of deep learning and moves away from surface learning. Learning and teaching is a bilateral process (Freire, 1970; Shor, 1987; Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985; and hooks, 2010).

3.6. Conclusion

This chapter has argued that Freire’s work is from a political frame of consciousness, power and oppression. It also discussed how in his work he combined the language of critique and possibility as he believed that theory and practise must always be linked. Essentially, this chapter has shown that for Freire, the initial purpose of education

should be to understand and deal with society better, hence the need for a link between theory and practise. What students learn must be knowledge that will equip them to positively contribute in opening up their consciousness, empowering and liberating them. On this point, this chapter has carefully discussed Freire's notion of education which explores issues of emancipatory education, deeming it critical pedagogy. The chapter has consequently also argued that education, as Freire believes, must not be distanced from the people if it is for their liberation and empowerment. Dialogical teaching has also been discussed as it follows in Freire's understanding of critical pedagogy. Lastly, a concise discussion on banking and problem-posing education was offered as a way of portraying how if education is not liberating it is oppressing and how this occurs.

CHAPTER 4

The philosophical influences of Freire's scholarship and contributing scholars

4.1. Introduction

To know and understand Freire better it is important to know the school of thought in which his scholarship is grounded and also scholars who have influenced his own thoughts and work. It is also important to know about scholars who have developed his work further, so as to properly see the relevance and applicability of his theory. This chapter firstly discusses critical theory which is where critical pedagogy is rooted. A discussion of contributing scholars to Freire's work is then offered, such as hooks, Shor, Giroux, Kincheleo, Aronowitz, Bourdie and others. This chapter also critically discusses Marx's influence on Freire's work; here six main points of Marx's philosophy, which are relevant and have inspired Freire's arguments, are summarized. Other important elements of Marx's theory are further discussed, namely the structure, ideology and consciousness, which are the most important ones in Freire's scholarship. Lastly, Gramsci's influence is discussed at length.

4.2. Critical theory

Freire's theory is rooted in critical pedagogy. Studies show that critical pedagogy, which is "an educational framework that approaches learning with overt recognition of the systemic societal hegemonies" (The Ethics of International Engagement and Service Learning Project, 2014), is rooted in the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory (Habermas, 1993, 1979 and 1984). Critical theory, according to Kincheleo (2007: 46), retains its ability to disrupt and challenge the status quo and in the process it elicits highly charged emotions of all types- fierce loyalty from its proponents, vehement hostility from its detractors.

The term critical theory was first coined by Horkheimer in 1937; he used it to describe a politically committed response to the problems of modernity, according to Jessop (2012:2). This problem of modernity, according to Jessop (2012:2) was described some

years later by Adorno and Horkheimer as the task of nothing less than the discovery of why mankind, instead of entering into a truly human condition, is sinking into a new kind of behaviorism. Jessop states that the way Adorno and Horkheimer took on this task was grounded in the German intellectual tradition of Kant, Hegel and Marx.

In essence, “critical pedagogy is politically committed in the sense that it aims to achieve emancipation and transformation of individuals and society through human action” (Jessop, 2012:3). Jessop (2012) further argues that theory and practice form a single process and philosophy; he adds that it provides analysis and critique of society leading to social change. This way, the purpose of this philosophical approach is to make a significant difference in human life. Horkheimer believed that critical theory seeks to liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them. He also believed that it is a theory dominated at every turn by a concern for reasonable condition of life (cited in Jessop, 2012:3).

According to Baert (2006:106) critical theory refers to an intellectual tradition that attributes epistemological priority to the notion of critique”. He adds that critical theorists wish to link social research to a progressive political agenda and “they think it is imperative to reflect on the ideology underlying social research” (Baert, 2006:106). Baert (2006:107) argues that it is worth paying close attention to the Frankfurt school because its early work has helped us to move away from the narrow notion of social science as a descriptive and explanatory device. This is because, as Baert (2006:106) reflects, the early Frankfurt school wanted to move away from what they regarded as monistic materialism because it reduced various phenomena to one factor: the material base.

From the point of critical theorists such as Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno and Herbert Marcuse, the world was in urgent need of reinterpretation. It is from this perspective that they defied Marxist orthodoxy while deepening their belief that injustice and subjugation shape the lived world (Gibson, 1994 and 2007; Held, 1980; Jay, 1973). They focused their attention on the changing nature of capitalism and they analyzed the mutating forms of domination that accompanied this change (Agger, 1992; Gall, Gall et al, 1999; Giroux, 1982, 1997, Kellner, 1989; Kincheleo, 2001; Kincheleo and Pinar, 1991; McLaren, 1997). Marcuse, for example, understood social theory to be concerned with human happiness, “the conviction that it can be attained only through a transformation of the material conditions of existence” (Kellner, 1989 and Phippen et al, 1988).

There are many contributing scholars in the study of critical theory, such as Stanley Aronowitz, Henry Giroux, bell hooks and Ira Shor. Notably, W.E.B Du Bois, according to Kincheleo (2007: 60), is one of the earliest figures promoting many of the same ideas that animate both critical theory and critical pedagogy. “Du Bois argued that all-black schools of this time should aim to develop the latent power of students” and “such students will become... the people of power, of thought- who know whither civilization is tending and what it means” (Du Bois, cited in Kincheleo, 2007: 60).

Aronowitz and Giroux have contributed to critical theory individually and collectively. Aronowitz, a political activist and cultural critic who has mostly focused on class and culture, has written numerous works which portray criticism about the system and the role of education. Notably, in *The Knowledge Factory* (2000), he argues for the dismantling of a corporate system of learning in universities. Rather, he argues and proposes that priority should be towards creating higher learning which places well-rounded education at the centre of its mission.

Giroux who is acknowledged as one of the founding theorists of critical pedagogy in the United States has also immensely influenced critical theory. For instance, his book *Ideology, Culture, and the Process of Schooling* (1981) lays a theoretical groundwork for developing a radical pedagogy which brings forth a connection between critical theory and the need for social action in the interest of individual freedom and social reconstruction.

Collectively, Aronowitz and Giroux have collaborated in work which criticizes and argue for a fundamental reconstruction of the project of education, notably articulated in *Education Under Siege* (1985). Their book *Postmodern Education* (1991) argues that a curriculum can produce the best results if it inspires learning that builds on the tacit knowledge derived from the cultural resources that students possess. For them, theory must relate and speak to reality if learning is to create critical and active agents of change. They also acknowledge the role of teachers as public intellectuals in the age of postmodernism.

hooks, a feminist and social activist, has also contributed immensely to critical theory. With her background and expertise she brings an interesting and valuable dynamic to this field. Most of her work has criticised the racial, gender and capitalist influences in the (re)production, perpetuation and maintenance of injustice, oppression and class

domination. For instance, central to critical pedagogy, in her book *Teaching to Transgress* (1994), she advocates for teaching that fundamentally rethinks democratic participation, she thus argues that education must be seen as the practice of freedom; it must challenge any form of injustice, oppression and domination. Essentially, the process of teaching must make students become critical thinkers.

In her book *Teaching Community: A Pedagogy of Hope* (2003), we see hooks focusing on critical thinking and consciousness whereby she puts emphasis on practise and learning beyond the classroom. In a mission to advocate that teaching has no bounds, she argues that it can happen anywhere and at any time that people gather to discuss and share ideas that affect their daily lives. The book particularly focuses on extending the discourse of race, gender, class and nationality beyond the classroom into everyday life situations. She also suggests that the combination of knowledge, love, care, commitment, responsibility, respect and trust create the best learning climate.

Shor's contribution to critical theory has always been through his fundamental focus on empowering education. For instance, his first publication, *Critical Teaching and Everyday life* (1980), offers a political analysis of schooling and develops a teaching theory. In his work we encounter a move towards being practical, linking theory to practice and dialogically exploring and approaching everyday life matters for transformation and betterment where it is due. In *A Pedagogy for Liberation* (1987), Shor together with Freire passionately converses about the role of education in the cultural and political arena. They engage on how education resembles the larger societal problem in relation to oppression, domination, inequality and injustice. In this work, the reader develops an understanding and appreciation of how the dialogical method of teaching, linking theory to reality and encouraging teachers and students to actively and equally contribute (dialogically) as participants to the learning process can transform not only the classroom but society at large.

McLaren, a professor in critical studies and co-director of the Paulo Freire Democratic Project, is considered to be one of the architects of critical pedagogy. While being regarded as a controversial figure, he has immensely contributed to critical theory as his work largely explores and analyses the possibilities for resistance and transformation of social life.

Notably, through his work he has explored the ways in which power can be mobilized for human liberation and the development of a post-colonial pedagogy of anti-

colonialism, anti-racism and anti-imperialism. In order for one to be able to reach this point, in his books (1986, 1989, 1995, 2007), he engages and provides an understanding as to how power relations influence spaces of occupation and interaction, such as the classroom, community and beyond. Because of this, through his work we encounter an endless reflection on the cultural construction of teachers and students' identities, the curricula, policies and ultimately the connection that this all has to the bigger issue of politics and class struggles.

For instance, his book, *Revolutionary Multiculturalism* (1997), stimulates and encourages one to engage the society by posing questions, problematizing issues and acknowledging the role our agency may play in perpetuating, maintaining or transforming them. The book largely explores and exhumes the complex dimensions of oppression. He does this by using the approach of addressing ethnicity, race, class, gender and sexual preference in an attempt to reflect their kinship even though they might affect different groups, sometimes in different environments and at different times (McLaren, 1997:13).

McLaren's work portrays an attitude of being critically conscious and sensitive about life and its issues, mainly relating to oppression which he believes to largely revolve around an unjust, imperialist, supremacist, patriarchal, racist and capitalist nature of the system. For him, if in a democracy these are not addressed and (more importantly) challenged, then they will thrive, meaning that oppression will go unchallenged, perpetuated and maintained.

From the work of the above critical theorists, one sees that Freire entered an already existing and important debate about the role of education in the classroom and society at large. It is in essence a debate about the role of education in our lives. It is important to have a variety of views, whether they complement or contrast each other, in order to critically understand and engage the dynamics of the theory further.

What Freire did was to contribute further to critical theory by applying his unique perspective, reflections and experience based on his own context and background. Importantly, he is recognized as one of the fathers of critical pedagogy. His work remains memorable and influential precisely because of the significance of his words to marginalized, underdeveloped societies and capitalist structures under which education is practiced.

The position of the early Frankfurt school, that knowledge should not be reduced to an empiricist type of knowledge, played a central role in the work of the second generation of the critical theorists, notably Habermas, as stated by Baert (2006:109). This position is a prominent theme in Freire's work; it is one of the ideas he promotes constantly.

4.3. Contributing scholars to Freire's scholarship

Internationally and nationally, Freire's scholarship has been applied in various contexts; the core has always been to explain how political and social awareness and action is needed to transform a situation. Scholars such as hooks (1994), Shor (1987), Giroux (1998) McLaren (1997) and Kincheleo (2007) have used Freire's scholarship to explain and critique the nature of the education system while others have used it to critique the ruling system at large or certain governmental aspects within the system. What these studies show is that Freire can be used everywhere, as a source of challenging injustice and promoting empowerment, consciousness and critical thinking, if we posit that education is an everyday situation.

In his study, Thomas (2009) argues that Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* can be applied to contemporary African studies and societies. His study examines the case of post-apartheid South Africa and posits that a Freirean understanding of liberation/freedom as a dialogical exercise can aid as a productive avenue of critical enquiry regarding the post-colonial condition in sub-Saharan Africa. He analyses the case of the transition from Reconstruction Development Program (RDP) to Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR). "The implementation of GEAR illustrates the exact opposite of a dialogical and participatory method of decision making" (Thomas, 2009: 260). Thomas argues that the banking method is evident here because the government has failed to be transparent and accountable to the masses it serves.

Another example is McKinney (2005), who uses the Freirean approach to explain the ethical dilemmas of 'democratic' teaching. His study explores the way teachers and learners engage with a form of critical pedagogy moment-by moment in the classroom. The study practically reflects on the practice of problem posing education and how it is hard to totally eradicate the banking system of education.

Scholars such as hooks (1994 and 2010), Aronowitz and Giroux (1985), Shor (1987), McLaren (1997) and Kincheloo (2007), having immensely contributed in critical theory

as reflected in the previous section (4.2.), have also contributed to Freire's work on critical pedagogy. To refer to critical pedagogy, they use alternative terms such as: empowering education (Shor, 1987); critical teaching and egalitarian pedagogy (Kincheleo, 2007); liberatory teaching and engaged pedagogy (hooks, 2010); progressive education (Dewey, 1916; Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985); and social pedagogy.

Inspired by Freire and building on his theory, Kincheleo (2007:4) sums up his understanding of critical pedagogy to be that which wants to connect education to a spiritual feeling, to embolden teachers and students to act in ways that make a difference, and to push humans to new levels of social and cognitive achievements previously deemed impossible.

Shor (1996: 129) adds that critical pedagogy is the "habitus of thought, reading, writing, and speaking which go beneath meaning, first impressions, dominant myths, official pronouncements, traditional clichés, received wisdom, and mere opinions, to understand the deep meaning, root causes, social context, ideology, and personal, organization, experience, text subject matter, policy, mass media or discourse".

Bourdieu's work which relates to tertiary education and the influence of culture and taste in France is also relevant and is regarded as a contemporary contribution. To be clear, Bourdieu (1987) believed that the education systems of industrialized societies function in such a way as to legitimize class inequalities. On this part he argued that educational values are predominantly influenced by cultural capital.

Sullivan (2002:144) asserts that Bourdieu's work must be seen in the context of both the debate on class inequalities in educational attainment and of broader questions of class reproduction in advanced capitalist societies. He adds that success in the education system, for Bourdieu, is facilitated by the possession of cultural capital and of higher class habitus (Sullivan, 2002:144). Class inequalities in the attainment of education, therefore, are due to the fact that lower class pupils do not possess the traits that higher class pupils do therefore failure of the majority is inevitable (Bourdieu, 1987) cited by Sullivan (2002:144).

With regards to the success and failure in the education system Bourdieu (1987) viewed it to be due to individual gifts, or lack thereof, as Sullivan (2002) asserts. For Bourdieu, "educational credentials help to reproduce and legitimate social inequalities, as higher-class individuals are seen to deserve their place in the social structure" (2002:144).

Bourdieu argued that “scientific observation shows that cultural needs are the product of upbringing and education” (1987:1). He argued that one cannot fully understand cultural practices unless its ordinary usage (which is restricted and normative) is brought back into the anthropological sense and “the elaborated taste for the most refined objects is reconnected with the elementary taste for the flavours of food” (1984:1).

Bourdieu asserts that surveys establish that all cultural practices and preferences in literature, painting or music are closely linked to the educational level which is measured by qualifications or length of one’s schooling and also social origin (1984:1). Bourdieu thus argued that educational credentials promote the reproduction and legitimacy of social inequalities because it comes with the perception that higher-class individuals deserve their place in the social structure.

Bourdieu also offered that the relative weight of home background and formal education (the effectiveness and duration of which are closely dependent on social origin) varies according to the extent to which the different cultural practices are recognised and taught by the education system. He adds that the influence of social origin is the strongest in extra-curricular and avant-garde culture (1984:1).

He then argued that the manner in which culture is acquired lives on in the manner which it is used. For example, the importance that is attached to manners “can be understood once it is seen that it is these imponderables of practice which distinguish the different... modes of culture acquisition, early or late, domestic or scholastic, and the classes of individuals which they characterize” (Bourdieu, 1984:2). As a result of this, even in the classroom the dominant definition of what is the legitimate way of appropriating culture and works of arts ends up favouring those who have had early access to legitimate culture, according to Bourdieu (1984:2). The source of this access, as he puts it, is the cultural household, outside of scholastic discipline.

Bourdieu argued that it is within the educational system that scholarly knowledge and interpretation is devalued as scholastic in favour of direct experience and simple delight (1984:2). It is for these reasons that Bourdieu ultimately disagreed with the notion that schooling can be a vehicle of social transformation.

What is also important about Bourdieu’s work and its contribution to Freire’s scholarship is that it offers an account of the role that education plays in reproducing domination and how this is hidden in the cultural capital thus privileging the dominant

class, what Freire (1970) categorizes as banking education. Bourdieu (1984) argued that cultural capital consists of familiarity with the dominant culture in a society, and especially the ability to understand and use ‘educated’ language.

The possession of cultural capital, for Bourdieu, differs with social class yet the education system assumes the possession of cultural capital. This is what makes it difficult for the students from the lower class to succeed in the education system. This is the important value that Bourdieu’s work adds, in conjunction to Freire’s scholarship.

As Freire (1970) argued that education always serves and rules according to the agenda of the dominant class, Bourdieu explained that such an education largely benefits the same group. This is why it becomes hard for those of the lower class to succeed because first they have to assimilate, work hard to prove themselves and succeed in that education system and cultural capital.

Bourdieu argued that “by doing away with giving explicitly to everyone what it implicitly demands of everyone, the education system demands of everyone alike that they have what it does not give” (1987:494). He argued that this mainly consists of linguistic and cultural competence and “that relationship of familiarity with culture which can only be produced by family upbringing when it transmits the dominant culture” (Bourdieu, 1987: 494).

Shor (1987:56), similar to Freire, adds that “no knowledge or teaching can be neutral because all emerge from some ideological position in society and all influence the development of students in one direction or the other”.

Aronowitz and Giroux (1985:25) state that “the relationship between knowledge and power took on a new dimension as the development of social science became closely linked to supporting the ideological and social practices of a business society”. In essence, what we now see present in society, ideology being linked to social norms thus making certain beliefs acceptable and others not, is partly due to the contributions of formal education, social science in particular. What is interesting and important in this relationship is its impact on people’s lives. This is because the nature of business practice is reinforced and reproduced through the ideology which is inherently transmitted during the education process.

Aronowitz and Giroux (1985:49) note that students of all social classes exhibit a tendency towards literalness, that is, they seem “unable to penetrate beyond the surfaces

of things to reach down to those aspects of the object that may not be visible to senses”. They argue that this happens because students tend to be unable to accept that imagination or reason may be employed to yield knowledge.

On top of this, “the problem of abstraction becomes a major barrier because students seem enslaved to the concrete” (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985:49). It is because of this reason that students experience trouble in making connections between objects or set out concepts that are not related to each other in an obvious manner or according to the habitus acquisition. As much as this might be the case, it takes us back to what Freire (1970) argues, that in order for the students to be able to understand the text taught, the teaching process should firstly beginning from a point of understanding what type of students the educator is dealing with.

In essence, this is where it becomes clear that if the educator does not know, let alone understand, the students’ lives and personal experiences, he or she will not be able to properly articulate the text to them in a manner that they can relate to. This is when the students will fail to make connections between objects or sets of concepts that are not related to each other in an obvious manner.

The problem then becomes the fact that reality itself is dissolved into object-hood whose particular existence defines its boundaries. Aronowitz and Giroux (1985:49) argue that the critical project of learning, according to which things are not what they seem to be and abstract concepts such as ‘society’, ‘capitalism’, ‘history’ and other categories not available to the senses are endowed with the status of the real seems obscure.

In the discourse of critical pedagogy, Aronowitz and Giroux (1985) argue that it is not as easy as the ideal makes it seem to be because the problem first arises from the fact that ideas associated with critical thinking are beyond the students’ preparation. For instance, in their years of teaching, they state that they have never come across students who did not complain with either bitterness or bewilderment that the reading was too hard. They argue that in the first place, students are overwhelmed by the faculty of the observed world and have enormous difficulty making the jump to concepts which may controvert appearances (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985:49).

Aronowitz and Giroux refer not only to concepts that have obvious ideological content such as “socialism and capitalism, imperialism and national independence, but also to ones like metaphor and metonymy, or even the logical principle of syllogism, that

demand some leap beyond experience” (1985:49). For them, what is at stake is the liberal tradition of critical thought and much less the radical effort to encourage social action. They argue that since critical thinking is the fundamental precondition for an autonomous and self-motivated public or citizenry, its decline would threaten the future of democratic social, cultural, and political forms (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985:50).

For Aronowitz and Giroux, democratic concern does not require a commitment to social change. Instead, what is required is “a deep caring about the structure of power in society and its wide distribution to all societies” (1985:50). It is for this reason that they believe the efforts of educators, particularly university educators, can be viewed with some scepticism and this makes the educators’ task a difficult and horrific one.

Similar to Freire’s argument, Aronowitz and Giroux (1985:51-52) assert that neither school nor mass culture totally determines the learning process. They state that consciousness is colonized by the culture industry, but has its own moments of resistance. For example, “in the absence of a popular democratic movement, such as those that were fostered by the trade unions, populists, and socialists, and offered alternative to the dominant culture, the weight of mass audience culture upon the structure of consciousness becomes ever more powerful” (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985:51-52). They argue that schools, especially colleges and universities, are now battlegrounds that may help determine the shape of the future. For them, the proliferation of composition programs at all levels of higher education “may signal a new effort to extend the mechanization process even further into the humanities” (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985:52).

4.4. Marxism

Although Marx did not write widely about education, he developed theoretical perspectives on modern societies. These have been used to highlight the social functions of education and their concepts. His concepts and methods have served to both theorize and criticize education in the reproduction of capitalist societies, and to support projects of alternative education, as offered by Kellner (1989). While Marx teaches us that education is important for mental emancipation, he also acknowledged that one’s socialization also plays a role in determining one’s destiny. As such, he argued that “men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please, they do not

make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past.” (Marx 1977).

Even though Marxism provides robust and influential perspectives on education, it still has certain omissions and limitations that contemporary theories of society and education need to overcome. For instance, Kellner (1989) suggests that Marx tended to put too much emphasis on class struggle and direct action and not enough on communication and democracy, principles also needed to make the action born out of class struggle successful. While this might make his theory of education inadequate, it is still very much well respected, acknowledged and applied across the globe.

While Marx was viewed as the most influential thinker in the 19th century, the greatest social scientist highly respected and influential in the disciplines of economics, sociology and history, his work has not gone without criticism and contestation. Some scholars have contested Marx, the person, and others Marxism, the theory. Without overlooking these defects but also not paying too much emphasis on them as they do not serve any specific purpose in this research, we continue to study and use Marxism for its ideas in the philosophy of history, the doctrine of economics and the explanation of societies through the process of social change. We get this through Marx’s two basic ideas, class struggle and materialism. For this Marxism remains relevant and has significantly played a role in Freire’s philosophy and many other scholars and theories, globally.

4.4. 1. Marx’s influence on Freire’s work

Freire wrote within a political frame of consciousness, power and oppression. He was also influenced by classic Marxism. Dale and Hyslop-Margison (2011:105) assert that “Freire was deeply influenced by Marxist philosophy both in terms of its technical elements as well as moral outrage with capitalist relations of production”. They further note that Freire was “affected by Marx’s analysis of History, society, and the exploitative relationship between capitalist economics and labour” (Dale and Hyslop-Margison, 2011:105). Gibson (1994:98) adds that Freire drew upon “Marxist ideas to forge a concept of popular literacy education for his personal and social liberation”.

Briefly, Marx’s perspective and relevance to Freire’s work can be summarised into six points. Firstly, within the context of Marxist sociologists, education in its present state

“is seen as a continuation of the oppressive nature of capitalism” (Samkange and Samkange, 2013:457); for this reason it promotes inequality. This leads to the second and third points. Marxist sociologists believe that education plays a major role in maintaining the class structure thus it is responsible for maintaining the status quo (Samkange and Samkange, 2013:457). Fourth, “Marxist sociologists argue that the skills acquired through education many not be relevant to the individual and society” (Samkange and Samkange, 2013:457).

Fifth, this kind of education, which Freire terms banking education, makes the subject class submit to the ruling class ideology making the majority of the subject class fit into the lowest levels of division of labour as articulated by Samkange and Samkange (2013:457). When we look at colonial education in Africa, Brook-Utne (2000:19) mentions that “we find an unwillingness to give Africans (called natives) higher education to make them independent and critical. Furthermore, Brook-Utne (2000:19) asserts that “education is used as an ideological tool to create feelings of inferiority in Africans to create dependence ... and to spread the thinking, ideas and concepts of the ‘master’s race”.

Sixth, Marxists believe that “the only way to improve education is by getting rid of capitalism” (Samkange and Samkange, 2013:457) because such is responsible for the existing social inequalities. Fundamentally, Freire was inspired by Marx’s theory because it acknowledges that education has a socialization function which tends to be unjust due to its unequally beneficial nature existing within an unequal society.

At this point, it is important to discuss Marx’s core ideas in order to understand how they have shaped Freire’s understanding of human nature, history and education.

The Marxist philosophy is appropriate in Freire’s theory because it explains social classes, class conflict and the social meaning of the economic ownership of means of production. It seeks to explain exploitative social relations whereby there is a differentiation between the owners of the means of production (the bourgeois ruling class) and the working class (proletariat). Here class consciousness, false consciousness and alienation are important concepts that come into play in order to understand ideology.

Another reason why the Marxist philosophy is relevant in Freire’s theory is because it seeks to explain the role of social structures and institutions as ideological and

repressive apparatuses of the State. In other words, Marxism is a theory that analysis the society and it focuses on class relations and societal conflict.

The materialist interpretation of historical development and the dialectical method provide useful insight in further understanding these concepts, the Marxist analysis on capitalism and how social class struggle is embedded in it. This is important in Freire's work, as already reflected in chapter 3 where Freire (1970) argues that the social structure plays a significant role in what one is taught and how they receive that knowledge and information. Given the fact that South Africa is an unequal society, characterised by poverty, high unemployment, illiteracy and health issues, people do not receive equal education. This education impacts their lives and actions in various ways as it serves particular agendas.

Freire (1970) argued that usually the elite class and some who have been previously trained under banking education will reproduce, protect and defend inequality instead of questioning and eradicating it. While others are critical of the state, others defend it and others are passive. Their response to social issues is a reflection of the kind of education and relationship they have with the system, as reflected above and argued by Samkange and Samkange (2013). Having a proper grasp of Marxism enables one to fully understand Freire's point of departure.

Trainer (2010:3) argues that Marx can be thought of as having offered two sets of ideas; the first being that he gave us a theory of society, for example, "an explanation of how society works, of how and why history has unfolded, and especially an account of the nature of capitalism". These, according to Trainer (2010:3) "are of great value for the task of describing what is going on in the world and for understanding the problems and directions of our society today".

The second idea that Marx (1927, 1998) offered is that capitalism is based on economic and social differentiation which is explained by the huge gap between those who are owners of the means of production and those who only have the labour force to sell in the market. Thus, in order to address this serious socio-economic differentiation among the population, Marx developed a theoretical approach that brought more insight about understanding the social structure. He also built a political strategy to transform this unfair system for a fair one as he was concerned with getting rid of it. Freire (1970) uses these ideas to explain and critique the role of education and its influence in people's lives, also what the people do with their knowledge.

a) The structure

Marx (1927) argued that in the last instance, the infra-structure determines the superstructure. This means that the economic base, the mode of production and the socio-economic relations of power will determine, in last instance, the ideology, the education and, the symbolic representation of society and their social relations. In addition, and bringing back the term of historical materialism, we find that Freire (1970) agrees with Marx with regards to the point that continuous social struggle is one of the main elements of understanding history and historical social relationships. This means that social and political struggles are some of the main driving forces of economic and ideological distribution of power.

A society is capitalist, according to Terrel (1992: 55) if the production of material goods is dominated by the use of wage labour, that is, the use of labour power which is sold to make a living. It is when those with no control of significant means of production and have their labour being bought by other people who have significant control over means of production and mostly gain their income from profits on the sale of the results of combining bought labour power with those productive means. In chapter 3 it has already been discussed that after apartheid SA embraced neoliberal, global policies and power structures.

Marxism, in simple terms, is an economic and socio-political theoretical paradigm based on a materialist interpretation of historical development. Gramsci (1971) also points that Marxism is a dialectical view of social change and an analysis of class-relations within society and their application in the analysis and critique of development of capitalism. South Africa is ranked in the world's top ten countries with income inequality, measured by the Gini coefficient (Central Intelligence Agency, 2015); this will be discussed at length in chapter 4.

For Marx, (1998) the economic situation which is the form of the productive system is the most important determinant of all other aspects of the society such as the systems of law, morality and education. According to Trainer (2010:3), Marx argued that dominant ideas are the result of material or economic conditions. Keat and Urry (1987: 112) assert that the account of the central relationship discussed in Marx's political economy, namely between capital and labour, involves both abstraction and idealization.

b) Ideology and consciousness

Ideology and consciousness, which Freire discusses a lot and attributes to the results of banking and problem posing education, are concepts also inspired by Marxism. The Marxist conception of ideology holds that the very distinction between facts and values cannot be maintained, according to Keat and Urry (1987:177). It is not, for Marx (1859), that values contaminate our acquisition of factual knowledge of the world. Essentially then, for Marx, “the manner in which knowledge is produced in a society, and its content, are directly related to the social relations of material production” (Keat and Urry, 1987:177).

Marx believed that the class which controls material forces of production also has the control of mental production (Goran, 1941; Thomas, 1943 and Merrifield, 2011). This is why he held that the acceptance of ideological beliefs serves the interests of specific social classes. It should be noted that “it is not that the ruling class intentionally and conspirationally aims to dominate ideologically; rather that the structure of social relationships systematically generates ideological distortions which serve the class-interests of the dominant class” (Keat and Urry, 1987:177).

Marx (1977) argued that in the use of the notions of society, history, the invisible hand, and roles, there is a failure to recognize how it is that it is people themselves that constitute societies and make history. According to Keat and Urry (1987: 178), Marx believed that any adequate social analysis must begin from the basic premises of the actions and material conditions of life of given, real individuals.

Marx (1998) characterises ideology as a form of cognitive distortion, a false or illusory representation of the real. Ewick (2006:xi) states that for Marx ideology is equated with the realm of the ideal and ideologies operate to explain history according to philosophy and religious systems which disguise the material interests embedded in the operation of society. Ewick (2006: xi) adds that “ideology prevents men and women from perceiving the real conditions of existence, or in their own ‘real’ interests as they might find expression in those conditions”. Trainer (2010:4) states that dominated and exploited classes typically do not understand their situation or their interests, they do not realize unjust situations and “this is usually due to the acceptance of ideas which cast the status quo as being legitimate”.

More importantly, what stands out in Marxist influence on Freire’s work is an eminent principle in Freire’s scholarship. This is the basis that Marxism “exposes the ideological

nature of the dominant systems of belief and supports the political interests of the dominated class” (Keat and Urry, 1987:177). Blackburn (2000:5) notes that the study of the constraints on (some) human’s freedom to pursue happiness “led Freire to side with Marx’s definition of humans as primarily historical beings rooted in a material reality, i.e. that humans exist within a certain historical context, with its economic, social, political and cultural norms, structures and institutions” (Freire, 1970:30). Prevailing historical conditions in capitalist societies make it difficult, therefore, for exploited individuals and groups (the oppressed as Freire commonly refers to them) to pursue their ontological vocation.

Essentially, Marxism becomes extremely important to enhance and serve as an aid for understanding Freire’s work because we learn that it explains why people of the working class are oppressed, what role their oppression serves for the system and how, when the working class develop a class consciousness, can transform the system. This enhances Freire’s theory and the context of this research, eventually enabling us to understand the youth graduates of Ngangelizwe, explain, conclude and set right the assumptions made in the thesis.

4.4.2. Gramsci’s influence on Freire’s work

Gramsci, who was a Marxist Leninist, did not write much about economic development, he wrote a great deal about politics and civil society. This is because he believed that politics is the core. Hobsbawn (2011:321) notes that Gramsci believed politics “is the central human activity, the means by which the single consciousness is brought into contact with the social and natural world in all its forms”. This shows that for Gramsci, the term politics is much wider than it is commonly used.

Hobsbawn (2011:322) adds that Gramsci saw politics to be wider than even the science and art of politics which he defined as “a body of practical rules for research and of detailed observations useful for awakening an interest in effective reality and for stimulating more rigorous political insights”. Gramsci believed politics to be partly implicit in the concept of praxis itself: “that understanding the world and changing it are one” (cited in Hobsbawn, 2011:322).

Praxis is a concept which Freire adopted in his theory. He defined it as “reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it” (Freire, 1970:33). Freire believed that

through praxis the oppressed can acquire a critical awareness of their condition and struggle for liberation, together with others, as a group. Freire applies the concept of praxis in the teaching process.

Gramsci believed that praxis is what can be called political action. This is because he believed that it is the history that men make themselves, “though given –and developing – historical conditions, is what they do, and not simply the ideological forms in which men become conscious of the contradictions of society” (Hobsbawn, 2011:322). Hobsbawn (2011:322) adds that praxis, for Gramsci, was also partly recognition of the fact that political action itself is an autonomous activity, even though it is “born on the ‘permanent’ and ‘organic’ terrain of economic life”.

Gramsci understood the determination of the state as political society which is “the dictatorship of coercive apparatus to bring the mass of the people into conformity with the type of production and economy dominant at any given moment”, as Hobsbawn (2011:323) notes. Gramsci, according to Hobsbawn (2011:323) did not see the determination of the state to be understood by an equilibrium between political society and civil society.

The civil society, for Gramsci (1971:12), is precisely the special field of action of the intellectual. This means that the intellectual is expected to make a difference in the society whereby he or she uses his or her skills and knowledge to positively contribute to its transformation. Gramsci saw the role of the intellectual as crucial; he also recognized that it is only through the movement and organization of the working class that the working class develops its consciousness.

He offered two types of intellectuals with the first one being what he regarded as organic intellectuals. He argued that “each social group that comes into existence creates within itself one or more strata of intellectuals that gives it meaning, that helps to bind it together and helps it function” (Gramsci, 1971: 300). These intellectuals, as he added (Gramsci,1971:300) can take the form of managers, civil servants, the clergy, professors and teachers, technicians and scientists, lawyers, doctors and so forth.

Gramsci (2000) believed that organic intellectuals are produced by the education system to perform a function for the dominant social group and it is through them that the ruling class maintains its hegemony. In his scholarship, Freire (1970) suggests that teaching is a political act that is never neutral. He argues that “education represents both a place within and a particular type of engagement with the dominant society” (Freire,

1985:xiii). The second type of intellectual proposed by Gramsci (1971) is traditional intellectuals. Traditional intellectuals are “those who regard themselves as autonomous and independent of the dominant social group and are regarded as such by the population at large” (Gramsci) cited by Hobsbawn (2011:325-326). When it comes to intellectuals, Gramsci felt that “all people are intellectuals but not all exercise the social function of intellectuals”, hence the differentiation between organic and traditional intellectuals, cited by (Hobsbawn, 2011:325).

What is important to remember in this research and context is that intellectuals, the educated youth graduates of Ngangelizwe might not necessarily and automatically be the ones to improve their community, they might not all choose to exercise the social function of traditional intellectuals. This is because at first instance they are regarded as organic intellectuals and the influence of their academic education needs to be interrogated in order to understand the roles that they assume in their community. They can only be regarded as traditional intellectuals after a careful interrogation of the roles that they are assuming in the community, which will be analysed in chapter 6 and 7.

The only way that these intellectuals –youth graduates of Ngangelizwe – can develop their consciousness in the social context is through a movement and organization as a working class group, as Gramsci (2000) suggested. Gramsci believed that the working class can lead their own movement if they could become intellectually autonomous.

Freire (1970) believed that the oppressed can only liberate themselves and their people once they are conscientized, as Gramsci suggested. When one takes a careful look at Gramsci’s theory, it becomes clear that Freire’s analysis of banking and problem posing education which influences the actions of people can certainly be said to be influenced by Gramsci’s analysis of organic and traditional intellectuals as citizens within a society.

It follows that those with academic qualifications need to become traditional intellectuals if they want to unite and contribute to the transformation of their community. The knowledge and skills, from formal education, cannot be disregarded because it can add positive value to existing struggles in people’s communities. Considering that inequality and many socio-economic issues exist in SA (as earlier mentioned), if and when used appropriately by traditional intellectual, academic education can be an instrumental tool for transforming the country. The overarching lesson and value here is how effective academics can be if their skills and knowledge

complement their consciousness, that is when they are actively and critically able to link theory to reality as suggested by critical theory and pedagogy. Here Cabral's (1973) lessons come to mind as he argued that in the struggle for transformation and liberation those with academic qualifications must use them to contribute and effectively influence, as equals and not as superiors. Such intellectuals must be one with the people and their communities, learn in as much as they share and teach others their skills and knowledge to contribute to the success of their struggle.

What is important, for Gramsci, is that intellectuals need to work with the people and be regarded as part of the community. The issue, however, as will be discussed at length in chapter 5, is that Bantu education ensured an unequal education system which disadvantaged the Black population and still has a remaining legacy specifically in disadvantaged, impoverished areas of SA. Thus, education and its ability or intention to inspire and unite intellectuals to work together is a crucial point of critique considering that some are subjected to unfavourable learning conditions throughout their whole lives.

Burke (1999) asserts that schooling played an important part in Gramsci's theory because he believed it was one part of the system of ideological hegemony in which individuals were socialized into maintaining the status quo. Forgas (2000:54) notes that Gramsci begins not from a point of view of the teacher but from that of a learner, he emphasises that "the learning process is a movement towards self-knowledge, self-mastery and thus liberation".

Education, then, is not a matter of handing out 'encyclopaedic knowledge', it is a matter of "developing and disciplining the awareness which learners already possess" (Forgas, 2000:54). Gramsci (1971:40) criticized the schooling system, particularly in Italy, to be more focused on specialization; it was vocational instead of offering a more comprehensive form of education. He felt that the social character of traditional schools was determined by the fact that social groups throughout society "intended to perpetuate a specific traditional function, ruling or subordinate" (Gramsci, 1971:40).

Gramsci believed that the best solution to progressive education was to "create a single type of formative school which would take the child up to the threshold of his choice of job, forming him during this time as a person capable of thinking, studying and ruling-or controlling those who rule" (1971:40). This is an idea eminent in Freire's concept of problem posing education, an education which is liberatory in nature, one that allows

students to critically view the world, engage with issues and responsibly use their skills, knowledge and expertise to contribute to the betterment, not degradation, of society.

Gramsci (1971) maintained that the formative and comprehensive school that he argued for could only achieve success with the active participation of pupils if the school relates to everyday life, what Freire calls problem-posing education. If it does not take this form then it is not progressive, it is banking, as Freire proposed. Freire (1970) also insisted that theory should be contextual, it should relate to the students' lived experiences and realities, not abstract examples of things that they have never seen nor experienced thus cannot imagine.

Another Gramsci influence that is evident in Freire's work is the belief that a learner has to be active, not a passive and mechanical recipient wherein Gramsci argued that the pupil must always be active and creative, "just as the relation of the worker to his tools is active and creative" (1971:42).

4.5. Conclusion

This chapter has argued that Freire's scholarship, specifically his concept of critical pedagogy is rooted in the Frankfurt school of thought. Contributing scholars of Freire's work were discussed so as to prove the everlasting relevance and applicability of Freire's scholarship. This chapter has also discussed Marx's influence on Freire's scholarship mainly focusing on six points which inspired Freire and a consequently relevant in his work. On top of this, the structure, ideology and consciousness were discussed. Lastly, Gramsci's influence on Freire's work is another discussion that this chapter offered.

CHAPTER 5

A critical discussion of education, townships, the youth and active participation in South Africa

5.1. Introduction

This chapter critically discusses the issue of education, townships, the youth and active participation in South Africa. It starts off by firstly considering the South African reality so as to understand and align with the context under which this study operates when it later deals with the case of Ngangelizwe youth graduates. Secondly, this chapter discusses the apartheid legacy as has affected and still affects education in SA today. It then moves on to discuss the status of education in SA today. A discussion about South African townships and specifically Ngangelizwe Township is offered. The chapter then moves on to discuss the youth. Lastly, the phenomenon of public participation in SA is discussed.

5.2. The South African reality and context

South Africa has been a democratic state, guided by its constitution, since 1994 which marked the end of the apartheid era. With a population of 51.8 million (Statistics South Africa, 2012), South Africa has the second largest economy in Africa (after Nigeria); it is the 34th largest country in the world, according to the World Bank (2015) and International Monetary Fund (2015). Black Africans are the majority, making up 79.9% of the population, Coloured and White people each make up 8.9% of the total; the Indian and Asian population makes up 2.5% according to the Statistics SA (2012). The World Bank (2015) ranks South Africa as an upper-middle income economy and a newly industrialized country; its Gross National Income per capita is \$7.410 and the annual Gross Domestic Product growth is 2.2%.

At the same time, South Africa is ranked in the world's top ten countries with income inequality which is measured by the Gini coefficient (Central Intelligence Agency, 2015). The country is characterized by high illiteracy (which will be broken down later on), poverty (20.2%), unemployment (24.3%) and health issues, chiefly HIV and AIDS

which serves as a threat (Stats SA, 2014). In 2014, UNAIDS estimated that 6,800,000 – 7,500,000 people were living with HIV and 140, 000 to 190, 000 AIDS related deaths.

Although poverty rates have declined since 2006, the current rates are still worrisome. In 2014, Stats SA revealed that people living below the food poverty line have dropped to 20.2% (approximately 10.2 million) of the population from 45.5% (approximately 23 million) in 2006. The food poverty line, per capita, is R321 per month; the upper-bound poverty line is R620 per capita per month, according to Stats SA (2014). As much as this is significant, it is little relief for those living in poverty or even above the formal definition of poverty because there is only so much that R321 or R620 per month can afford a person, especially one living with a family and other extended family members, as is the case of many South Africans.

Although poverty, in measurement and theory, has decreased largely due to government initiatives and interventions such as social grants and other poverty alleviation programmes, it is still an issue in real life where people have to live and survive with the little that they have on a daily basis. One can argue that this is the reason why, even though the depth of poverty has declined between 2006 and 2011, inequality is still a big issue in the country; the gap between those who have and those who do not have is still remarkably big.

As Stats SA (2014:1) reports, the Gini coefficient is “0.65 based on expenditure and 0.69 based on income data”, therefore, between 0 (indicating total equality) and 1 (indicating total inequality), South Africa is a highly unequal society. Statistics SA (2014:1) further reports that the share of national consumption between the richest and the poorest remain stagnant where “the richest 20% of the population account for over 61% of consumption” while “the bottom 20% see their share shrinking from 4.4% in 2006 to 4.3%”.

The remaining 34.7% is made up of the lower-middle class, middle-class and upper-middle class groups. With regards to poverty measures by population group, Blacks make up 54%, Coloureds 27.6%, Indian/Asian 3% and Whites 0.8% (Lehlola, 2014:28). This clearly shows why South Africa, even though poverty has statistically decreased, is still an unequal country much so along racial lines. It is difficult to not classify inequalities in SA along racial lines because, up to date, the imbalances of the past still socially and economically manifest themselves along these racial lines.

5.3. Apartheid legacy on education

Viljoen argues that “without denying the assumption of an own responsibility, one can state that the condition of education in South Africa is in line with, and owing to the standard of the education and teaching that people received, or did not receive in the past” (1998:5). This forces us to refer back to history, which is the apartheid era that has affected and is still affecting the reality of South Africans in all spheres including education, today, even long after its formal abolishment in 1994.

South Africa suffered nearly five decades of apartheid rule during which the Black people were oppressed in many aspects of their lives while the White minority led power marginalized this oppressed group in the society. One of the many ways of doing this was through the Bantu Education Act of 1953. This act, according to Boyce (2003) established a system of education for the natives that can be credited with the lack of an educational mind-set among Black South Africans. Boyce (2003:4) adds that “under the direction of white rule, the goal of native education was to impart a white supremacist ideology”.

Going back to history, during apartheid Bantu education was created to achieve the segregationist objective of the apartheid government. As such, Black people, socially and economically, could not benefit from the system more than white people hence there were certain skills and jobs put aside along racial lines and salaries based on race, not skills, ability and effort. Up to date it has been difficult to completely shake off this element of the submissive and inferior curriculum offered by education that was especially created for the Bantu population, even though it is now 21 years since apartheid was abolished. Besides this, attempts have evidently been very slow in the last two decades.

Ramoketsi (2008:18) asserts that “apartheid affected all areas of life for South Africans, and as a result, determined which South Africans were given privileges and which ones were oppressed”. He adds that “the effects of apartheid were visible in all areas of life, but specifically in the areas of education, employment opportunities and places in which people lived” (Ramoketsi, 2008:18).

Essentially, the laws and policies of the National Party were constructed to produce a state and society in which Black people were relegated to insignificance in the political, social and economic life of South Africa, as Ramoketsi (2008:18) shows. Ramoketsi

(2008:18) adds that the South African government, during apartheid, had determined that its sacred mission was the preservation of white domination in perpetuity.

The term apartheid must be clearly understood in order to recognize why separate education facilities were for people of different racial and at times ethnic groups, namely Blacks, Whites, Indians and Coloureds. Apartheid, in its literal sense, means apartness, separateness or distinctness, as Ramoketsi (2008:22) states. Ramoketsi (2008:22) states that apartheid is “a constituted and elaborate policy of racial segregation and discrimination driven by a government whose foundation was a crude philosophy that not merely differentiated, but also classified in hierarchical fashion, human beings by skin colour”.

According to Ramoketsi (2008:22), due to apartheid policy, the population of South Africa was thus divided into four races: the White race which was regarded as superior, the Coloured and Indian races which were regarded as semi-superior and the Black race which was regarded as inferior. As a result of this apartheid policy, people were expected to comply in all their facets of life, hence the existence of acts such as Bantu Education, Group Areas Act and many more which served to separate and ensure inequality, mainly social and economic, between the different races in SA. According to Mda (2010) the Black population was the real object and victim of apartheid.

The aims of apartheid, according to Madelung (2008:13), were “to ensure the contribution of White supremacy, while at the same time controlling the pace and direction of African nationalism; and to guarantee the expansion and competitiveness of South African business, Afrikaners in particular, by means of lowly paid, docile, and highly mobile reserve of Black workers”. Mda (2010) argues that “under apartheid Blacks were not only discriminated against but the government machinery totally dehumanized them, denying them both their humanity and national dignity”.

In essence, Black people were deprived of the human rights that were guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on the 10th of December 1948. This recount of history is all relevant because this research focuses on youth graduates, as earlier mentioned, of Ngangelizwe township, which was a residential area demarcated for ‘blacks only’ (majorly Xhosa speaking) during apartheid, something which has not changed since 1994.

Ramoketsi (2008:24) asserts that the NP policy of apartheid stood for everything that the African National Congress had been fighting against. The ANC, which was established in 1912, stood for the protection of interests of Black people in matters affecting them and to attain their freedom from all discriminatory laws, according to Ramoketsi (2008:24). This is what eventually led to the victory of the ANC in the first democratic election which was held in 1994 after many years of suffering, sacrifice and death of Black masses who were fighting for their liberation as a whole.

During apartheid, township schools were reserved for Black people and the Bantu Education Act was applied. Today, Bantu Education no longer exists but the infrastructure in township schools is a reminder and legacy of apartheid rule. The standard of education in public schools, which are mainly based in townships and rural areas, is not the same as that in private schools which are mainly based in urban areas and were historically designed for White people.

As a result, as education reports show, the performance and output of these students is not the same. We find that the matric pass rate in township and rural areas is very poor, a majority does not make it whereas their counterparts from more privileged schools pass well and they stand a better chance to further their studies and explore other avenues personally and professionally. This explains the smaller number of people from previously disadvantaged backgrounds making it to tertiary institutions and eventually attaining qualifications which might give them a chance to develop themselves, economically.

For instance, in the 2015 matric results, the Eastern Cape came out as the worst performing province with 56.8% pass while the Western Cape led with a pass rate of 84.7% (Mail and Guardian, 2015). The Eastern Cape is characterized by poverty and underdevelopment, many of the students come from rural areas and townships; the EC still faces issues of mud-structured classrooms, lack of facilities and learning materials for students. All of these issues contribute to the end result which is poor performance and eventually a low pass rate for students. The Western Cape, on the other side, is largely more developed and prosperous thus making learning conditions and outcomes significantly better than less developed provinces such as EC. In this example we see evidence of unequal performance and output in South African education.

With the introduction and welcome of a new ruling regime, democracy was introduced after the 1994 national election. Prior the first democratic election in 1994, many talks

and negotiations took place between then ruling National Party, African National Congress and other political organizations such as the United Democratic Front, South African Communist Party, Congress of South African Trade Unions and others (Adam and Moodley, 1993). The role of the citizens was crucially important in the process and many embraced it as they wanted to influence the future outcome of the country through their votes.

The apartheid eradication victory led to constitutional amendments of which educational rights are included. As stated in Chapter 2, section 29 (1) “everyone has the right (a) to a basic education, including adult basic education; and (b) to further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible” (RSA Constitution, 1996:14).

5.4. The status of education in South Africa today

Education and knowledge is important for the realization and practice of absolute democracy. As scholars such as Eric Hobsbawn (2011), Antonio Gramsci (2000) and Paulo Freire (1970) propose, (critical) education is certainly not limited to what one learns in an academic sense and space, it goes beyond this.

Academic education does nonetheless provide a platform for people to gain knowledge and information about issues, and this is one way of developing critical thinking and consciousness which is needed for the betterment of society. For instance, Burns et al (2001:35) assert that “what happens in school is crucial for political participation in adulthood”. They further note that “formal education cultivates the communications and organizational skills that facilitate political activity and provides opportunities for civic training through participation in school government and other clubs and activities” (Burns et al, 2001:35).

To some extent, and important, is the notion that people with formal education are more likely to be more endowed with participatory factors. Burns et al (2001:35) argue that it is because this group of people is more likely to have jobs that pay and “provide opportunities for the exercise of civic skills; they are more likely to be involved in voluntary associations” and “they are more likely to be politically interested and informed”.

In the past years, the South African education system has been strongly criticized for its inability to improve the standard and outcomes of institutional education, particularly primary and secondary. These criticisms are based on the shortage of learning materials, infrastructural issues and a lack of properly trained and qualified teachers in schools. This, in turn, has been criticized to be the reason why many do not qualify to further their studies in institutions of higher learning while others find it difficult to use their higher education qualifications anywhere.

In principle, the South African constitution supports and promotes the realization of education. As already noted, the constitution states that everyone has the right to basic education... which the state, through reasonable means must make progressively available and accessible (RSA Constitution, 1996:14). On a quantitative level it can be said that the government has succeeded. If we take the Grade 12 national pass rate of 2014 as an example, 73% of the students passed, this is a 13.3% increase from the 60.6% results of 2009, and a 19.6% increase from the 53.4% results of 1995 (Department of Basic Education 2015).

On a qualitative level, however, this is very questionable because the government has had to decrease education standards and requirements to make sure that many students are reported as a success. For example, the official pass rate is 40%. In order for one to be granted a National Senior Certificate, in the final year of high school (Grade 12), a student is required to attain at least 40% in four subjects and a maximum of two subjects below 40% (Independent Examination Board, 2015). One can make their own conclusions about this, mine is that this standard is contributing to the maintenance of a culture of poor performance, a lack of excellence and confidence among South Africa's youth, particularly the black population which is largely affected by this. Moreover, the 73% achievement is not a full representation of all South Africans because a significant amount of them drop out of school, meaning there is a significant amount that does not even make it to high school, let alone complete Grade 12. Consequently this means a significant amount does not make it to tertiary learning institutions, thus being unable to possess the required knowledge, skills and abilities to participate in the capitalist labour market or even challenge it for that matter.

To provide a clear picture of these assertions, a statistical account also needs to be provided. Firstly, the levels of education attained by South Africans aged 20 years and older are as follows: No schooling, 8.6%; some primary schooling, 12.39%; completed primary schooling, 4.6%; some secondary schooling (this is from Grade 8 to Grade 11),

33.9%; Grade 12, 28.9%; higher education (this can be university, college or technikon), 11.8% (Stats SA, 2012:33). Already, here one can see that the South African population is generally not highly educated.

To provide a racial account of these figures is also significant in the South African context because it speaks to the issues earlier mentioned. The highest level, therefore, of education attained by 20 years and older, by population group is as follows: For Black Africans, those who have attained higher education qualifications, that is university, college or technikon, make up 8.3% of the overall South African population (Stats SA 2012:34). Those who have Grade 12 make up 26.9%, those with some secondary schooling make up 35.5%, those who completed primary school make up 4.9%, those who have some primary schooling (that is between Grade 1 and Grade 6) make up 13.9% and those without any schooling at all make up 10.5% (Stats SA, 2012:34).

For the Coloured population, those who have attained higher education qualifications make up 7.4% of the overall South African population (Stats SA, 2012:34). Those who have Grade 12 make up 25.2%, those with some secondary schooling make up 42%, those who completed primary schooling make up 7.4%, those who have some primary schooling make up 13.8% and those without any schooling make up 4.4% (Stats SA, 2012:34).

For the Indian/Asian population, those who have attained higher education qualifications make up 21.6% of the overall South African population (Stats SA, 2012:34). Those who have Grade 12 make up 40%, those with some secondary schooling make up 26.1%, those who completed primary schooling make up 2.8%, those who have some primary schooling make up 6.6% and those without any schooling make up 2.9%.

For the White population, those who have attained higher education qualifications make up 36.5% of the overall population (Stats SA, 2012:34). Those who have Grade 12 or Standard 10 make 39.5%, those with some secondary schooling make up 21.4%, those who completed secondary schooling make up 0.7%, those who have some primary schooling make up 1.3% and those without any schooling make up 0.6% (Stats SA, 2012:34).

So what does this all mean? In reality it means a number of things. Firstly, that many South Africans are still deprived of their democratic right to education. Educationally,

many South Africans have not developed and this has conversely contributed to the socio-economic problems that many face, unemployment, poverty and poor health among others. Perhaps this can account for the lack of civic engagement of the general population with the exception of groups such as social movements. Secondly, this deprivation of the right to education means that many do not have access to information and knowledge, with limited information citizens cannot properly engage with the state, nor can they hold it accountable and collectively make decisions.

According to Jansen and Taylor (2003) the HIV and AIDS pandemic is a serious issue that also negatively affects the progress and quality of education. They argue that AIDS impacts education reform goals in a number of ways, namely that more and more students drop out of school due to personal illness or that of close family members. Another point they raise is that HIV/AIDS “erodes quality gains premised on the availability of trained and experienced teachers” (Jansen and Taylor, 2003:5). The HIV/AIDS pandemic, ultimately, erodes potential economic gains from higher education delivering an increasingly skilled pool of graduates (Jansen and Taylor, 2003:5). What one can add is the effect of affordability which affects one’s ability to paying for resources and services needed to sustain a living.

The issue with HIV/AIDS is also grossly linked to economic affordability, as Thabo Mbeki once adamantly argued. While Mbeki was criticized by many activists to be an AIDS denialist, parts of what he said are worth noting. He argued that people do not die simply because they are merely HIV positive. Poverty contributes to how long they respond to the virus and consequently survive. For Mbeki, people with AIDS die quicker because they were not able to maintain good health after they had been diagnosed with the pandemic. For instance, some people living in absolute poverty sleep on empty stomachs some days; they take their treatment (if they have it at all) on empty stomachs thus making it difficult for the medication to effectively digest and assist with improving their medical conditions. On top of this, others live in unhealthy, risky housing structures (shacks, mud houses) which increase their chances of being infected by other illnesses such as tuberculosis, diarrhoea and cholera. Their inability to buy the necessary food for nutrition puts them at a risk which prohibits them from fully responding to medication, if it is available at all, and eventually managing their illnesses. In essence, some people die because they could not afford to pay for health and treatment that would help to prolong their lives.

Jansen and Taylor (2003:2) state that the government's creation of a single national department of education out of 19 racially, ethnically, and regionally divided education was a move towards eradicating past imbalances. This was a crucial move because, as articulated by Brook-Utne (2000:19), colonial education in Africa was unwilling to provide the marginalized group with higher education because it wanted to ensure that they remain dependent and uncritical; education was used as an ideological tool of creating inferiority and maintaining the unjust system.

In summation, the ANC led democratic government of 1994 wanted to create a non-discriminatory school environment into which "access was gained on the basis of criteria other than race or religion" (Jansen and Taylor, 2003:2). There was also a creation of 50 Further Education and Training Colleges (FETs) out of 150, colleges were incorporated into universities and there were also some merges of technikons and universities (Jansen and Taylor, 2003:2). The government also worked towards improving certain basic services such as the supply of electricity, water, toilets, computers and telephones in schools, as Jansen and Taylor (2003:2) assert.

Today the reality, however, is that many South Africans schools still lack proper infrastructure and resources for conducive learning. To be specific, of the 24 793 public ordinary schools, "3 544 do not have electricity, while further 804 schools have an unreliable electricity source" (Equal Education Organization, 2015). "2402 schools have no water supply; 913 do not have any ablution facilities while 11 450 schools are still using pit latrine toilets; 22 938 schools do not have stocked libraries while 19 541 do not even have a space for a library". Furthermore, "21 021 schools do not have any laboratory facilities; 19 037 schools do not have a computer centre, whilst a further 3 267 have a room designed as a computer centre but are not stocked with computers" (Equal Education Organization, 2015).

In Eastern Cape "there are currently over 400 schools that are classified as 'mud schools', many of them consisting of mud and shacks" (Equal Education Organization, 2015). Eastern Cape, consequently, is the worst performing province in South African education. Another poorly performing province, Limpopo, is notorious for experiencing textbooks delivery issues. Many of their learners, especially in rural areas, have in the past not able to receive their textbooks in good time and this drastically affected their performance (Mail and Guardian, 2013).

The reality therefore is that education is still unequal and it is a privilege enjoyed by a few. There is a large gap between privileged, resourced schools and underprivileged, under resourced schools. As Equal Education Organization (2015:1) reports, decades of apartheid policy meant that previously White schools received more funding than schools in Black, Coloured and Indian communities. Many of the inequalities created during Apartheid still remain today.

This all cautions one about the outcomes, intellectually and physically, of people who are products of such an education, particularly those from previously disadvantaged backgrounds such as the youth of Ngangelizwe. These are issues that cannot be ignored or taken lightly because they have an impact and role that the people play on overall output as argued by Freire and other scholars mentioned in chapter 3 and 4.

5.5. Townships

In South Africa many townships are typically characterised by underdevelopment and lack of infrastructure. Ladd (2001:401) asserts that the word township legally refers to both residential and industrial sites. These areas, from the 19th century until the end of apartheid, were strictly reserved for non-whites; they were built on the outskirts of the towns or cities, at the periphery. The Group Areas act of 1950, Act No41 “forced physical separation between races by creating different residential areas for different races” and this led to forced removals of people living in ‘wrong’ areas (South African History, 1950).

Ladd (2001:401) adds that even within black townships ethnic groups were often segregated into separate areas for Zulus, Xhosas, Sothos and others, and these laws existed until the early 1990s. Ngangelizwe is a typical example of a township created as a consequence of forced removal, which is characterised by a lack of development and infrastructure. Due to the fact that, in the past, townships were also a consequence of ethnic separation, the majority of inhabitants who dwell in Ngangelizwe community are Xhosa speaking.

A narrative description popularly offered about townships is that of dirt, dryness, lifelessness, marginalization, overpopulation and disadvantages. Mufson, for example, describes one township, as he knew it during apartheid this way: “most of Soweto’s

roads were dirt, which created thick clouds of dust that became worse in winter when many people burned coal to stay warm” (The Washington Post, January 2014).

David Smith writes that “nearly two decades after racial apartheid bit the dust, its legacy persists in spatial segregation between affluent suburbs and neglected townships, with millions of Black people still commuting from the latter at the great expense of time and money” (The Guardian, September, 2013). As much as South Africa has changed, significantly, after 1994, critiques and scholars such as Friedman, Pilger, et al, believe that it has not changed as much as it should have. One is inclined to agree with these scholars because despite the move and upward mobility for some previously marginalized and disadvantaged people many still suffer and live under similar conditions as those they were subjected to during apartheid, namely township dwellers.

As earlier shown, inequality in South Africa is a big problem. The International Monetary Fund states that South Africa has one of the highest rates of inequality; “half of the country’s total income goes to the top 10 percent of earners, the bottom 20 percent take in only 2.7 percent” (IMF 2014). These figures have more negative implications on the black underprivileged people from underdeveloped areas, namely township and rural dwellers. The IMF (2014:1) adds that “notwithstanding the rising black middle class, wealth, land, education, and health outcomes unequally distributed along racial lines” and this inequality has increased since 1994.

There is still a long road to freedom because the edifice of apartheid is still present and we need to accept that it cannot be eradicated within a short period of time. In the meantime, the less privileged from marginalized areas like townships will remain the ones suffering and being affected the most.

One issue that emerges is that of scarce resources which translate to a lack of access to quality services for people in the townships and other underprivileged areas. For those young graduates of Ngangelizwe who have had the ‘privilege’, as it can now be asserted, of accessing spaces of formal education, it is important to explore how they have turned out and how, in return, their turnout is influencing the role that they are playing in their community.

5.5.1. Ngangelizwe Township

As Stats SA (2012) reveals, black youths are the most disadvantaged group with regards to access to educational opportunities. There are no available statistics and reports about the literacy rates in Ngangelizwe but accounts about the King Sabata Dalindyebo Municipality provide leading information about Ngangelizwe. Also, based on the earlier mentioned statistics about poverty and inequality in SA, places such as Ngangelizwe are the kind of areas that are mostly subjected to poverty, inequality and all the socio-economic problems that come with the package.

Geographically Ngangelizwe forms part of the KSD local Municipality which is one of the seven local municipalities within the Oliver Reginald Tambo district municipality in the Eastern Cape. The 2008 annual report of KSD Local Municipality reports that only 6% of the population has a qualification above matric (KSD Municipality, 2009:6). Even though we are not provided with the exact percentage that the youth of Ngangelizwe makes up, this gives indication that if Ngangelizwe is said to have many young people who drop out of school and families who cannot afford to send their children to school, very few people have qualifications above matric. This consequently means that very few people have higher education qualifications such as diplomas, degrees and postgraduate degrees and diplomas.

Ngangelizwe, established in the 1930s, is one of the most underdeveloped areas in Mthatha, according to Busakwe (2007:2). Busakwe (2007:2) asserts that “there is widespread poverty and little economic development in Ngangelizwe”. Besides the fact that development is a problem in this community, education is also something that not many get the opportunity to access. Wood and Jewkes (2005:95), for example, state that unemployment and ramifications are widespread in Ngangelizwe; “many families are without the means to further their children’s education”. They add that young people frequently drop out of school and hang around the streets of Ngangelizwe and central town (Wood and Jewkes, 2005:95).

5.6. Youth

The African Population is estimated to be more than 1 billion people of whom 60% are youth (African Union Commission -AUC, 2013). In addition, the majority of African youth continue to face unemployment, underemployment, lack of skills, relevant

education, access to health-related information and services including those related to diagnosis, treatment, and care of those living with HIV and above all prevention of new HIV infections among them (AUC, 2013).

In South Africa, of the 40.6 million people living in the country in October 1996, just over 16.1 million or 40% were youth (Stats SA). This shows that South Africa's population is in fact relatively youthful. One can argue that this suggests more attention and programmes need to be directed towards this population group as they will be the ones responsible for maintaining and implementing more policies to ensure that South Africa develops in future. If this group is not properly trained and equipped, there will be a problem in the country and the implications will be felt more in the future than presently.

There is a sense that the youth of the 1970s left a legacy behind, one that has not been completely embraced by today's youth as many criticize them for being apathetic and apolitical. During apartheid, black youth came to symbolize the restlessness which preceded a major change (Moller, 1991: 51). When the first democratic election was held in 1994, it was the youth that worked day and night to deliver the election, and voted in their millions for freedom" but "over the years this commitment has dissipated according to the South African National NGO Coalition (2004).

One can however imagine that this narrative has changed owing to the 2015 #rhodemustfall and #feesmustfall student uprisings responding to the broader issue of access to higher education and institutional transformation in the country. The inception of democracy came with the idea of freedom; freedom which seemingly made many South Africans become less active and vocal as they were during apartheid, as Friedman (2012) points out. The youth, which makes up 40% of the South African population, is included in this group

Seekings (2006: 10-20) argues that there were two stereotypical views in South Africans' vocabulary about the June 16 youth: they were apolitical which reduces them to being hostile, violent and destructive beings; and they were comrades, young lions who were agents of liberation. Today's youth is confronted with negative criticism as they are not organized and united, in comparison to the youth of the past. Without dwelling too much on this connection, it is important to reflect on this and gauge how far today youth is active in their rightful way and the environment under which they operate.

There seems to be confusion as to what exactly is the role of the youth today. Perhaps this confusion can be attributed, among other variables, to the type of education that they receive (mostly students from disadvantaged backgrounds who attend poor resourced schools and are left with feelings of hopelessness, lacking self-esteem and trust). The important question here is what do they learn in the classroom? What does this education train them to become, how does it train them to think and act? Due to the failure to produce good overall pass rates nationally, mostly in public schools located in township areas such as Ngangelizwe, students some students are certainly still receiving an inferior education which does not equip them to become better people critically. This is why it is important to find out, from the perceptions of young graduates in Ngangelizwe, what the role of education is and how exactly their education is shaping and defining their roles as citizens.

There is also a competition amongst political parties to entice the youth to become supporters especially with their affiliation. This distinction between a highly politicized youth of the past and the current generation of youth reinforces a limited conception of South African youth (Seekings, 2006: 1-20). Of importance here is the struggle that the youth of today faces.

Illiteracy among the youth is a problem in South Africa, as statistics reveal. Yes crime, poverty and unemployment are also serious challenges that need to be curbed but one is inclined to believe that the educational environment plays a huge role in one's outcomes in life socially and economically. In other words, education can assist the process of youth development along social and economic lines. With a proper education (empowering, liberating, problem posing education), scholars such as Freire (1970), hooks (2004), Kincheleo (2007), Giroux (1982), et al suggest that one is trained to be able to know how to practically tackle existing issues, in this case, issues such as poverty, unemployment and crime.

Today's youth, especially from underprivileged and underdeveloped communities, is thus faced (more explicitly) with the challenge of illiteracy which in some ways, as this research will reveal, affects the roles that they play in their communities and as citizens at large. These roles involve actively contributing towards social transformation whereby poverty, crime and unemployment are challenged and eventually eradicated.

In essence, the youth of today might not particularly name their struggle as some kind of a distinct monster such as apartheid but it is characterized by today's problems which

are embedded in illiteracy, poverty, crime and unemployment. This means that the youth of today, just like that of June 16, is still faced with the problem of economic and social inequality and it is important to find out how this generation of youngsters from Ngangelizwe is fighting this in their community.

5.7. The phenomenon of public participation in South Africa

Public participation is an important principle for good governance. Nyalunga (2006:1) argues that “participation is intrinsic to the core meaning of democracy”. For Tsheola et al (2012:16), public participation is the fundamental basis for democratic development because the “delivery of public services is contingent upon the full exercise of citizenship”. Nyalunga (2006:1) thus states that the question of public participation is central in any democratic order and is thus something that needs not be taken for granted because it is synonymous to good governance.

Essentially, public participation serves as a vehicle to promote and instil that culture of good governance, as Nyalunga (2006) puts it. As earlier mentioned, Freire (1970) believes that the citizens need to articulate their own struggles, they need to carry themselves out of their situations. This presupposes public participation by the civil society. Ackerman (2004:448), as articulated by Nyalunga (2006:1), believes that public participation is the most effective way of improving accountability and governance.

As highlighted by Arnstein (1969), in order for the political act of public participation to be effective, citizens need to be informed. One question to ask here is: how informed are South African citizens at large? For the relevance of this research the question can be specified as: how informed is the youth of Ngangelizwe?

The illiteracy rates offered by Statistics SA serve as a leading indication to partially answering the question in a national context. With regards to information that is received about formal education, one can assert that a majority of South Africans are not informed, including the youth population. The analysis chapters, 6 and 7, will discuss lengthily the kind of information those educated youth graduates of Ngangelizwe have received and what purpose it serves or has served in their lives and community.

With regards to information about social and economic matters at a national level, one would have to refer to sentiments about the relationship that the state has with the

citizens. This would look at questions such as: does the state account to the citizens? Do the citizens engage with the state? How accessible is information about state related matters to the citizens? What is the nature of the relationship between the state and citizens? These are important questions to consider and think about but they will not be discussed at length here because such is fit for another research.

Entelis (2014:1) argues that democratic autonomy requires “an accountable state and a democratic reordering of civil society”. A democracy must, according to Entelis (2014:1), foresee “substantial direct participation in local community institutions as well as self-management of cooperatively owned enterprises”. Moreover, it must call for a bill of rights that goes beyond the right to vote as a means of asserting equality of opportunity and participation. This means that the citizens must also have a say and stake on the political agenda of the state, this means having social and economic rights realized not only by ideal but by practise as well.

Essentially, at the core of public participation is fulfilling the principles of accountability and representation; for this reason education is crucial. In other words, educated citizens are necessary for the realization of a true and accountable democracy as argued by Entelis (2014:1).

Some argue that public participation, especially at the local level where communities are the focus, is limited. While public participation is promoted by the constitution, in reality it is a limited terrain that only a certain few can freely enjoy. For instance, Hoplong (2011) believes that “disadvantaged communities are often marginalised from decision-making processes due to various factors such as, time constraints, limited access to the media, and lack of education”. When such happens, citizens being marginalized, it becomes difficult for a meaningful interaction between community members and those that are put into office as their representative to exist and flourish.

When interaction between citizens and their official representatives does not exist or is limited, depending on the existing factors that serve to limit this process in the first instance, then there will be no accountability by the government (officials/representatives) to the citizens. This means that this aspect of democracy, public participation, is ignored or constrained and therefore affecting the overall practice of good governance which would otherwise contribute in the betterment of communities such as Ngangelizwe.

Paradza et al (2010) together with other scholars (Cameron, 2003; Piper and Deacon, 2008) believe that the lack of participation in SA can be attributed to issues such as a lack of interaction and communication particularly between local government and community members, lack of transparency, lack of financial, technical and infrastructural capacity, lack of knowledge and skills in both local government practitioners and community members, corruption, clientelism, mismanagement and partisanship. Already this cautions us that in approaching and holistically seeking to understand the issue youth participation with relations to the influence of education in the lives of the youth graduate of Ngangelizwe we need to be mindful of the underlying issues as well.

Ultimately there are many issues that arise with the concept of public participation, particularly youth participation in this regard. What this discussion has shown is that while public participation is an ideal encouraged in Freire's scholarship (as reflected in chapter 3 and 4) and principle of democracy, it might be difficult to effectively implement and maintain on the ground because of structural and technical reasons and issues that might exist. This will be further explored contextually using the case of Ngangelizwe youth graduates in chapter 6 and 7.

5.8. Conclusion

This chapter has critically discussed the issue of education considering other matters and issues which serve to constrain it from flourishing. This was done by firstly discussing and acknowledging the reality and context of SA, this includes poverty, inequality, illiteracy and unemployment which affect everyone in various ways. The legacy of apartheid which has affected and is still affecting education in SA was also discussed. The status of education was then discussed. A discussion of townships, specifically Ngangelizwe was also offered. This chapter then moved on to discussing the youth factor and lastly engaged on the phenomenon of public participation in SA.

CHAPTER 6

Relevance of the theory at an analytical level: The Ngangelizwe youth graduates case. Part I

Education at school: primary, secondary and tertiary institutions

6.1. Introduction

This chapter analyses the relevance of the theory discussed in previous chapters, this is contextually applied to the case of Ngangelizwe youth graduates. It responds to the proposed research questions, hypotheses, assumptions and objectives so as to eventually, in the analysis, conclude whether the youth graduates of Ngangelizwe have received a banking or problem posing education. The entire analysis is based on the participants' responses and reflections with regards to their knowledge acquisition process and experiences in academic spaces of learning and their community. Part I only deals with the participants' education in academic spaces and part II deals with their education and social engagement in the community.

As Friere (1970) indicated, formal education is not the only role player that contributes to one's total experience and outlook of life; the community, for example, shapes one's consciousness too. Importantly, it is the type and purpose of ideology imparted to people that determines what kind of beliefs, principles and actions they uphold. Freire argued that one is a pure product of genetic, cultural or class determination; he argued that one's assumption of responsibility does not mean that people are not genetically, culturally and socially conditioned, it simply means that "we know ourselves to be conditioned but not determined" (1998: 4-7)

Parse (2002:23) sees a community, from a human becoming perspective, to be "a unitary phenomenon, indivisible, unpredictable and ever changing". He thus argues that meaning changes with different community experiences. A person's economic status is essentially embedded in these experiences because it determines which spaces he or she can enter. Ultimately those spaces determine what the individual learns and it strongly influences what the individual becomes. On this note, a more in-depth socio-economic account of the youth graduates will be offered in chapter 7.

Anderson (1991:49-50) saw communities to be imagined and political spaces, this is because he argued that communities are not based on an everyday face-to-face interaction between their members. According to Anderson, communities are imagined because “the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their community”.

The participants’ experiences and views reflect these important issues, particularly how one’s background which consists of their upbringing, socialization in different ways and spaces, has a great influence not only on their attitude but also outcomes which shape and define their activity which in this research is regarded as agency. What this shows is that one’s consciousness about his or her reality impacts his or her attitude towards life, resulting to their sense of agency.

What chapter 6 and 7 ultimately capture is that indeed teachers are found everywhere, not only in the classroom. The chapters will also show that teachers (unlimited to classroom educators, ideology and school curriculum) can either play a negative or positive, progressive or regressive role in their students’ lives. For Freire (1970), a positive, progressive role of education would be that characterizing problem-posing qualities such as being an active agent working towards betterment and transformation of social issues that exist within the community. On the contrary, a negative or regressive role of education in the students’ lives would be the apposite of traits characterizing problem-posing education; that is banking education, silence and docility of and among individuals.

The two chapters also reflect that classroom education and teachers themselves particularly play a significant role in a person’s life as much or sometimes even more than one’s immediate surroundings. That is because teachers either serve to imprint, legitimize or reject the values and principles that students learn from their primary socialization which is received in the home and community front. This is all dependent and reflective upon the participants’ perceptions about the value of each role player (school and the community) in their lives. These following two chapters therefore report the youth graduates’ experiences; they show the importance of the different role players and how the participants perceive their importance and influence, particularly in their own lives.

6.2. Ngangelizwe youth graduates' academic reflections: their knowledge acquisition process and experiences

As indicated by Freire (1985, 1970, and 1998) formal education and the immediate environment which one comes from (family, the community, friends, social groups) impacts his or her outlook and actions in life.

Most of the research participants attended public schools which are located in Ngangelizwe Township. To be exact, 7 out of the 12 participants have only attended public schools in the township. Three participants attended both public schools in the township and public schools in the city. One participant attended a private school in the city and a public school in the city. One participant attended public schools in the township and a private school in the city.

The seven participants who have only attended public schools in the township are Akhumzi, Mbulelo, Nkululeko, Sibongile, Siphellele, Xolile and Zonke. The three participants who attended public schools located in the township and public schools located in the city are Lindi, Sisipho and Sibusiso. The participant who attended a private school located in the city and a public school located in the city is Yanga. Lastly, the participant who attended public schools located in the township and a private school located in the city is Aphelele.

As indicated in chapter 5 and argued by Boyce (2003), during apartheid township schools were reserved and demarcated for black people whereby Bantu Education Act was applied. These schools were categorically less resourced and prosperous. The research participants who attended public schools in Ngangelizwe expressed that the schools were lacking in learning material, the buildings were old and some dilapidated. Facilities such as classrooms were always over capacitated, teachers were lacking and there were minimum to no resources and facilities available for extra curricula activities.

This indicates that today schools in Ngangelizwe, essentially a black area, still suffer from a lack of infrastructure and resources. As a result the performance of the students is also overtly affected. For instance Xolile, who studied pharmacy at Rhodes, expressed that back in high school he had to learn harder than children from other schools to make sure that he passes and when he went to university he felt intimidated by students from well-off backgrounds, especially because he was placed in the

extended studies programme which is essentially made up of students who did not perform as good as students in the mainstream level of the same programme.

Based on this matter, some would argue that the significance of the past still has an impact in the life and outcomes of the African child born and educated in the township. This is because this child still receives inferior education, a conception that was supposed to transform after apartheid ended in 1994. The independence and critical thinking capacity of such a child becomes limited and to an extent challengeable because of his or her circumstances. The fact that one would develop feelings of inferiority, such as Axolile, when he deservingly enters spaces and engages with people from other backgrounds, suggests that his primary and secondary education, which were from the township, were in fact inferior and this is harmful for his holistic development as a human being.

Moreover, all the participants felt that there is a difference between public and private schools.

Some of the offered perceptions of those who only attended public schools in the township:

Akhumzi: “they are more expensive and better than public schools”

Mbulelo: also felt that private schools are better than public schools, he elaborated that “most kids who go to private school go to university and get jobs. Public schools are for those who can’t afford to pay expensive fees, like myself, they are not as good but they try. I am a product of public schooling and I made it to university so it’s not like we can’t study further and get jobs, it’s just harder”

Zonke: “they say that private schools are better and more efficient than public schools. In my personal experience of public schooling, the biggest problem was the unavailability of most resources, I only learnt how to use a computer in university, if I had been exposed to these things from an early age I wouldn’t have found it difficult to cope and adjust in university”

These reflections confirm that public education in the township which was in the past systematically demarcated for Black people is indeed up-to-date still inferior and not offering optimum development and opportunities to Black students. Here one is reminded of Brook-Utne’s argument about colonial education in Africa (2000:19), that there was an unwillingness to give Africans education that capacitates them to be

critical and independent. It is true that Africans, and these participants in particular, are no longer living under colonialism, or apartheid to be exact, yet learning conditions of students are still unequal. Public schools are not the same as private schools, also, public schools in the townships are different to public schools in the city. Therefore, if there are constraints that still exist in township schools, mainly infrastructural and resources, which serve to hinder the full learning experience of a student attending school in the township, it is difficult to assert that the legacy of apartheid has been completely shaken off. Here one sees the effect of apartheid which Ramoketsi (2008) and Viljoen (1998) speak of. Apartheid still has an impact in SA and the example of Ngangelizwe youth graduates reveals this, it highlights the limited choice of schooling they have which is now due to the social and economic statuses.

Perception of participant who have attended both public schooling in the township and private schooling in the city:

Aphelele: said that private schools, which she chose to refer to as ‘independent schools’ groom a person. She added “you grow from them, educationally and otherwise because there you meet different kinds of people, you meet them Indians, the Whites, Coloured, they are just multi-racial schools. When you get there you have to interact with other people in English, in township schools on the other hand you only interact with Blacks so you always speak your Xhosa if you are from Ngangelizwe”.

Essentially, Aphelele felt that there is a big difference between children who attend private schools and those who attend public schools due to the accessibility of resources and opportunities that allow them to enjoy education and be exposed to other dynamics of thinking, learning and doing things. As a result, she argued that the reason why children who attend public schools in the township, especially, do not do well is because of a scarcity of resources and the lack of a creative way of imparting knowledge to them, not because they are dumb and incapable.

One can argue that there is a systematic segregation going on in schools if the case holds that public schools in the township are worse off than public and/ or private schools in the city. This kind of systematic segregation can be argued to contribute to what Freire (1970) regarded as oppression and dehumanization because when people who cannot afford to pay to go to better resourced schools are subjected to poor facilities and inferior education then their humanity is compromised.

Freire (1970:44) would definitely consider this to be an injustice because the people's humanity is prohibited. There is no freedom and justice in unequal opportunities of education, especially when this inequality is based on economic affordability and bordering race. What this also means is that people, as the participants reflect, will have different opportunities based on the privileges and the opportunities that are available to them. Those who attend better resourced schools are more likely to further their education and succeed in society than those who attend poor schools. This perhaps can explain why Ngangelizwe has very few tertiary graduates.

Over and above the fact that many parents in Ngangelizwe cannot afford to send their children to school as Wood and Jewkes (2005:95) have argued, those who drop out do so out of frustration. Those who persist and continue receiving an education, namely the research participants, evidently do so under unfavourable conditions. Moreover, their freedom to choose and access tertiary institutions of their choice is limited because of their less favourable academic backgrounds and performance at school which was influenced by the poor learning conditions they were subjected to. Their choice is also limited by their economic situation.

Here one can see that this is all interlinked, one's performance is influenced by his or her economic situation in the sense that due to poor economic conditions, one is subjected to receiving poor education which will eventually contribute to poor, difficult or unsuccessful academic development for many of those illiterate and drop-outs of Ngangelizwe for instance. This same person will have difficulties accessing other spaces and platforms for his or her personal and community development because he or she lacks capacity. This lacking capacity, if one thinks about it carefully, is not because a person is incapable, or dumb as Aphelele pointed out, but it is because their circumstances were unfavourable from the very beginning. As Marx argued, your circumstances dictate your actions.

As a result of unequal opportunities based on economic affordability, even as Ramoketsi (2008) makes one realize, the performance and output of these students is not the same, hence we find that matric pass rates in township and rural areas are very poor. A majority does not make it whereas their counterparts from more privileged schools located in the city perform well and stand a better chance in life socially and economically. This speaks to the point raised in chapter 4.3 whereby Marxist sociologists argue that education in its present state "is seen as a continuation of the oppressive

nature of capitalism”, thus it promotes inequality and maintains the status quo (Samkange and Samkange, 2013:457).

There is certainly a need for a strong and progressive dialogical education system in the lives of people from Ngangelizwe starting from early childhood development, primary and secondary, to tertiary if we want to eradicate the existing nature of inferior and disempowering education for people coming from such a disadvantaged background. This begins with ensuring that students, regardless of their race and economic status, are all guaranteed good learning facilities that will provide them a fair chance to not only participate but positively grow from their learning experiences.

As stated in the Education Handbook (Fontannaz, 2012:7), education is “crucial for addressing poverty and inequality”. Education is important, it might not be the solution to all of South Africa’s challenges and certainly not Ngangelizwe’s problems but “society’s ability to solve problems, develop completely, eliminate poverty and reduce inequality is severely hampered without it” (Fontannaz, 2012:7). Schools can then be said to be a building block for education and socialization in a person’s life. This is why schools need to strive to provide proper resources, especially those in previously disadvantaged areas such as Nangelizwe.

In as much as the participants awaken us to the fact that public education in the township is inferior and lowers one’s chances of excelling outside the classroom, due to a number of the already mentioned constraints, this does not mean that all public schools have inferior education because not all public schools are faced with the same constraints. Lindi, Sisipho and Sibusiso are a case in point; they have had the experience of attending public schools located in the township and a public school located in the city. Thus, this only shows and highlights the argument made earlier, that township schools, previously demarcated for the Bantu population still largely suffer and serve as reminiscent of the past even though there are some recorded examples of well performing schools and students in the township generally. The fact of the matter, however, is that many of those who attend poor resourced public schools still suffer and this hinders their opportunity to grow from the learning process. It is no big surprise therefore that the EC was recorded as the worst performing province in SA with a 56.8% pass rate (Mail and Guardian, 2016). This province is the one that faces more infrastructural and resource issues in many areas, Ngangelizwe included. In this province inequality through social and economic differences is also felt by students receiving education.

Lindi, for instance, reflected that for her the biggest difference that she saw in coming from a public school in the township to one in the city was manifesting itself in social class. She said “most kids who go to iKwezi (township school) are from really underprivileged backgrounds, one of my friends for example, her mom sold fruits in the street to earn a living. Because the school is almost free, the enrolment intake is very high and it is hard to manage the students, that’s the feel I got in a public school... My experience in a public school that is regarded as a former Model C was very different from what I got in iKwezi. Firstly classes were smaller, we were given more attention and they actually took extra curricula activities seriously. We did not only excel in academics”. As argued by Bourdieu (1984), education has a role in reproducing domination and for him this is all hidden in the cultural capital which privileges the dominant class, Lindi’s response confirms this sentiment.

Sisipho said that the two public schools she went to were both black dominated but their quality and output was very different. This is as if to suggest that quality and output of production in schools is not determined by race as stereotypes would suggest. Failure is not a racially embedded thing is what Sisipho wanted to bring across in her response. Sisipho said “public schools situated in the township firstly are easily accessible and cheap, one can say they are free because fees are like R50/100 which most parents never actually pay”. She further went on to say “Zingisa on the other hand [public school in the city], as much as it is a public school, it is attended by people whose parents are working professionals, the fees are much higher than township schools and as a result the intake is not ridiculously high, even though classes do sometimes tend to have many students, especially in Grade 8 and 9. The pass rate is generally good, teachers believe in discipline and students are expected to look presentable at all times. I think they do this because they want to maintain a certain reputation about the school to attract more parents to send their children to the school and prove the stereotype that black schools are dysfunctional wrong”.

If we take the 56.8% matric pass rate of the EC (Mail and Guardian, 2016), it is not difficult to trace that most of the passes come from the privileged schools in the province and most of the fails are from underprivileged schools such as those found in Ngangelizwe. Moreover, we need to remember that the students who eventually end up writing Grade 12 exams do not even make half of the South African youth population; they are a minority as seen in the Stats SA report (2012 and 2014). Evidently King Sabata Dalindyebo Municipality, in general, and Ngangelizwe, specifically, faces the

worst odds because of the issues and disadvantages mentioned by Busakwe (2007) in chapter 5.

Moving to Sibusiso's reflections, he said "town public schools are more organized and focused, their output is better than township schools, I think that's because you actually pay a significant amount of money to be in town public schools than the free tuition in the township schools".

The responses from these three participants, Lindi, Sisipho and Sibusiso, bring attention to the following points: Sometimes race is not always at the core of the problem even though in SA we generally cannot ignore the fact that it still matters and needs to be realistically dealt with mainly due to the fact that most of the socio-economic issues that we still face are due to the atrocities of apartheid. For instance, the participants' responses show that sometimes the issue is about the location in which the school is situated. We see that public schools in the township are the ones with poor infrastructure and resources which largely influence the students' learning experiences and eventually outcomes, as reflected in the participants' responses. Contrary to this, public schools located in the city, which are also the same schools in which students are required to pay a significant amount of schools fees, perform better as they are well resourced in comparison to township schools. Now, location, as reflected in chapter 5.5 under the township discussion, strategically served not only to divide people but to also ensure who benefits and doesn't benefit from the system. Up to date this is still proving to be the case as we see it happening in the lives of Ngangelizwe youth graduates through education.

In essence, we see that history also has a significant role that it plays; township schools are historically disadvantaged schools which were demarcated for the black population during apartheid. This perhaps is the reason why it is difficult to leave out this part when looking at township schools in Ngangelizwe because their conditions have not improved much since the end of apartheid; they are still disadvantaged and produce inferior learning outcomes due to the constraints that are present. Perhaps if the inferior learning conditions would change, education in all public and private schools, regardless of location and history, would have similar outcomes. Schools and their success would no longer be categorized and associated with their poverty or wealth which largely manifests along racial lines; they would be categorized by the same standard.

Lastly and most importantly, we see that the economic factor plays a large role. Only children who can afford to pay for education in Ngangelizwe attend schools that are not located in the township. We also see, in Lindi and other participants' responses, that feelings of inferiority are also brought upon or developed by the idea of knowing that people's affordability is not the same. Only children from certain economic classes have access to better resourced schools and a child whose mother sells fruits in the streets to make ends meet cannot afford to go to a school in the city. In essence, there is no organic, altruistic and unified relationship between children, and people at large, from different economic backgrounds even within the Black community, especially if they live in different neighbourhoods as indicated in the participants' responses.

These reflections are in alignment with Freire's (1998) argument because such is indeed not a true reflection of emancipatory or critical education. Instead, it seems to be contributing towards reproducing the system of capitalism, argued by Marxists and neo Marxists, serving to maintain the status quo (Samkange and Samkange, 2013), serving the minority ruling class and feeding on structural and social inequality.

So far these responses of the participants' education experiences do not advance the idea of liberating education which is argued by Freire (1970:15). That is education should serve as an act of intervening in the world which serves the aspiration of promoting radical changes in society particularly in areas such as economics, human relations, essentially "to the reactionary position whose aim is to immobilize history and maintain an unjust socio-economic cultural order" (Freire, 1970:15).

As Freire (1970) argued, people's values shape society but these values are shaped and influenced by what one learns and the environment in which one learns. Freire (1970) also argued that one's economic sector has a strong influence on the type and quality of education that he or she receives. Likewise then, the values that people learn from school form part in shaping their views and how they act in society. Quality education, that is critical pedagogy or empowering education, in this sense, is a necessity if we want society to move forward and it begins with eradicating unfavourable conditions such as the ones reflected by the participants. These conditions serve to oppress, dehumanize and not liberate them from their situation of disempowerment.

6.2.1. Transitioning to tertiary education: reflecting further on the experiences

Of the 12 participants, seven went to Walter Sisulu University (WSU). These participants are Akhumzi, Mbulelo, Nkululeko, Sibusiso, Sisipho, Sipehelele and Yanga. Two participants, Lindi and Sibongile, went to the University of Cape Town (UCT). One participant, Xolile, went to Rhodes University (RU). One participant, Zonke, went to Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU) and one, Apehelele, corresponded with the University of South Africa (UNISA). Yanga, one of the participants that went to WSU also went to the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT).

Of the participants who went to WSU, some expressed that they chose the institution based on financial reasons, they could not afford to go to other universities of their desired choice. Others expressed that WSU was the only university that accepted them as their results were not good enough for other universities. Some of the participants expressed that WSU was the convenient option in opposition to staying at home and not going to university at all.

Again, in these responses we see the power of capital in one's life and this directly speaks to Bourdieu's argument (1987), that the education system of industrialized societies functions to legitimize inequalities because educational values are predominantly influenced by cultural capital.

Some summaries of the participants' reasons for their tertiary education choices:

Apehelele, who studied at UNISA expressed that her final Grade 12 results were bad, based on people's advice she applied at UNISA and she consumed her studies there. UNISA was the only institution that would admit her with her results according to her.

Before Xolile went to university, he expressed that he was not certain about his academic future because of his family's financial situation. This all changed when he met a teacher from Dalindyebo who was recruiting students from disadvantaged backgrounds. This teacher introduced him to the idea and option of studying at Rhodes as it was in alignment with his academic strengths and interests as an individual.

Lindi, whose education was funded through the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS), expressed that her opportunity of attending a public school in the city, also a former Model C school, exposed and enlightened her about career choices. Thus she was already informed and aware of what she wanted to study when she applied to

university, hence she chose UCT. From all the participants only Sibongile received a bursary to further her studies after high school.

The dominating reason provided by the participants is that of financial affordability which served as a limitation in their decisions of choosing which tertiary institutions to attend. Indeed then class inequalities in the attainment of education are due to the fact that lower class pupils do not possess the traits that higher class pupils do. Therefore failure of the majority is inevitable (Bourdieu, 1987) cited by Sullivan (2002:144), hence the high illiteracy rates and consequently success rates in Ngangelizwe at large. It seems as if the participants who had previously attended better resourced high schools, such as Lindi and Sibongile were exposed at an earlier stage about career choices and development beyond high school.

Xolile was fortunate because he was discovered by a teacher who is interested in guiding and assisting students from disadvantaged backgrounds to realize their potential and dreams. He had good results and could choose to go to any tertiary institution but because he had been constrained by his financial crisis at home and did not have any knowledge about other universities, he thought that high school would be the end of his academic journey until the teacher recruited him. Were it not for this, chances are he would have never gone to university.

The rest of the participants, and one can imagine many other student from Ngangelizwe, are left in the dark and have less chances of realizing their full potential and dreams because of their lack of information, funding and support, whether they have good academic results or not.

These responses yet again reflect the reality that economic affordability determines the way the participants think in terms of development, career and future opportunities. Marxist Sociologists, as Samkange and Samkange (2013) reveal, would certainly argue that these are the deeply rooted effects of the existing system of capitalism which perpetuates inequality and oppression of the proletariat class. Here one is inclined to agree with Bourdieu (1984), so long as this is the case, education cannot be a vehicle of social transformation.

Access to information is also an element that rises from this matter as we see that limited access to information limits one's access to opportunities and choices. There is a sense of hopelessness that comes with being from a lower income background and this affects one in different ways, as the participants have shown. It can be argued that a lack

of financial means and information has affected some of the participants' sense of confidence and belief. That is the only reasons why others would see themselves incapable of achieving anything when they are in fact good enough to become what they desire to be had circumstances been different.

Yanga is an interesting case because the first time he went to university his choice was not necessarily informed by career objectives, he was mostly interested in the experience of being in Cape Town which he heard is a great city. His initial reflection portrays an initial lack of critical thinking at that stage in his life because he did not indicate "reasonable, reflective thinking" (Ennis, 1987:9-26) when he made his career choice the first time. However, this is something we see changing later on in his life.

6.3. More on the practical side of the teaching process: the way learning was conducted

In chapter 2 a clear distinction between banking and problem posing education was made and chapter 3 further elaborated on the matter. In section 6.2 we see that the issue of access to education promotes oppression, exclusion and inequality which promotes banking education. This is however one aspect and step to the overall issue of education. It is also important to delve deeper into the matter by exploring the actual experiences of classroom learning so as to find out whether the seemingly unfavourable learning environment for many of the Ngangelizwe youth graduates correlates with their learning experiences inside these spaces they attended.

As noted, by Freire (1998:12), "education is open-ended 'scientific formation' because people are conditioned but not determined by their circumstances". Education represents both a place within and a particular type of engagement with the dominant society" (Giroux cited in Freire, 1985:xiii). Essentially, it has been established that the education of Ngangelizwe youth graduates has taken place in a society which is capitalist, perpetuates inequality, maintains the status quo and is thus not liberating. Now this section considers the specific type of engagement within learning institutions of such a society.

In primary school, all of the participants expressed that they used to be seated in groups, had one teacher for all subjects in the lower grade and different teachers for different subjects in upper primary and high school. The participants who mostly attended public

schools in the township stated that the reason they were seated in groups was because the classes had too many students. Another reason that the participants offered is that being seated in groups was a way of making sure that they participate with each other since teachers could not be able to give each student individual attention. The participants also expressed that working in groups with other people has contributed to the formation of their working ethic.

The participants reflected and recalled that group work allowed for group based participation; it helped them to interact with each other and grasp concepts better. The one strength that they speak of is that from the group participations, in working together, they were able to come up with their different ideas, discuss them and come up with group or individual presentation that have more depth. They had more depth because they represented a collaboration of a wealth of views and feedback from more than one person. This is a characteristic of problem posing education.

Freire argued that “the more critically one exercises one’s capacity for learning, the greater is one’s capacity for constructing and developing epistemological curiosity” (1998:32). Without epistemological curiosity “it is not possible to obtain a complete grasp of the object of knowledge”. Group discussions are good in that they allow people to explore ideas; this helps those who did not consider other dynamics or approaches to the issue that is being discussed to start considering and respecting them too. Group discussions also promote objective thinking because you realize that no one opinion and idea is superior. Another point concerning group discussions and group effort is that in as much as people might not necessarily agree with other views, the exercise teaches participants the value of tolerance and compromise.

Although the participants did not mention much about the way the teachers particularly conducted themselves, the mere fact that they could freely discuss ideas in groups and present in front of other class members suggests that dialogue was encouraged. Freire argued that through dialogue, “the teacher-of-the-students and the students-of-the-teacher cease to exist and a new term emerges: teacher-student with students-teachers” (1970:80). Both student and teacher, through dialogue, become responsible for the dialogical process of teaching and authority is no longer valid. In problem posing education, people teach and learn from each other.

Xolile did mention that “from grade 3 to grade 6 it is where you would get the chance to ask questions about things you don’t understand or when you don’t understand things a

teacher would take an extra mile to clarify them to you”. This example shows that he, and most likely most of his classmates, were not afraid of the teacher. They were young, they understood that the teacher was their senior but this did not prevent them from asking questions and requesting clarification if they did not understand something. Xolile also raised the point that when this happened the teacher would take an extra mile to clarify issues that they did not understand. This reflects willingness of the teacher; it also suggests that such teachers made the students’ learning experience more pleasant.

We see further traits of a problem-posing education experience in Sibongile who mentioned that teachers would make them perform oral presentations as a way of testing their knowledge. This allowed for the students to engage with their learning material and in a way, inform the teachers how far the students have grasped the work. Most of the participants also said that they were required to perform oral presentations individually and as groups sometimes. Even though classes were saturated, as in the case of participants who attended public schools in the township, working in groups allowed them to engage not only over texts but also with each other about matters.

Such an engagement, it can be argued, provided the participants a space to exchange views and ideas, learn and appreciate their differences and eventually become more reflective people even outside the classroom. This is certainly a characteristic of problem posing education where dialectical communication manifests. Although we cannot delve much about teachers, since only youth graduates were interviewed, it is evident that through group work and presentations teachers at least afforded students the space to learn, reflect and participate in the making and remaking of meanings that construct their world, as Freire (1970:30-33) argued a dialectical process of learning should be.

At the same time, some of the responses reflect characteristics of banking education that were present in their experiences. For instance, Akhumzi reflected that “the teachers stood in front of the class to explain new work and expected us to function on our own afterwards, generally throughout my whole school career basically until I got to university where things seemed to be different”. This portrays a distance between the teachers and students, it also portrays that the teachers asserted some level of dominance and authority which complicates the learning process for the students, at least. This practice assumes some of the features of banking education that Freire proposed, whereby the teacher teachers and the students are taught, the teacher talks and the

students listen, the teacher is the Subject of the learning process while the students are mere objects (1970:73).

Most of the participants who went to public schools in the townships also stated that they experienced corporal punishment and the ones who went to public schools in the city and private schools did not share any encounters of corporal punishment. Corporal punishment is a strong feature of the apartheid legacy and banking education. Here, as Freire saw it, “the teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined” (1970:73). As Foucault asserts, punishment and discipline is more effective because it does not only physically punish the body but also the soul and mind. One may add, this process also imprisons the victim as it trains him or her to live in fear.

It follows that such a method as corporal punishment does not allow students to freely participate in the learning process; it does not allow students to enjoy learning either. Freire argued that banking education maintains the teacher-student contradiction. This contradiction is maintained by attitudes and practices which Freire (1970:73) argued mirrors an oppressive society as a whole. Corporal punishment makes the learning process rigid and institutional as opposed to serving other purposes. It instils fear instead of freedom of expression; it tortures the mind with subsequent consequences that remain with the student forever. This is problematic because it does not encourage students to develop “critical consciousness which would result from their intervention in the world as transformers of that world” (1970:73).

Another point that some of the participants raised, with regards to the instillation of fear was that they received verbal threats and abuse at school. For instance, Aphelele said “in public schools teachers are not afraid to publicly say so and so is dumb so she cannot sit with so and so because even so and so is dumb therefore she must sit with so and so because she is clever”. She added “the teacher does not understand that at that time she calls another student dumb she is humiliating her... you end finding that the student can’t be free in class, she is shy, she knows nothing, she feels like she is in jail when she is at school, she only feels free when she is outside the class”. As a result of such treatment, as Aphelele rightfully stated, students end up feeling like prisoners in class and they are not able to express themselves, this certainly limits their learning experiences.

This is a serious issue which inhibits one from enjoying learning and holistically developing. As Freire (1970:73) argued, when the teacher confuses his or her authority

this stands in opposition to the freedom of students. Such treatment is risky because it is responsible for the feelings of inferiority and sense of being invalid that some people develop. As explained by Freire “the more completely students accept the passive role imposed on them, the more they tend to simply adapt to the world as it is and to the fragmented view of reality deposited in them” (1970:73).

Now, when one is deposited with the notion that he or she is dumb and incapable, they will consequently adapt and start viewing themselves as such, they will think that this incorrect symbolic and ideological representation is their reality. This all affects their contribution to society. A person who is raised to believe that he or she is worthless can never think that he or she has a meaningful contribution to society. In other words, “the more students work at storing the deposits entrusted to them, the less they develop the critical consciousness which would result from their intervention in the world as transformers of that world” (Freire, 1970:73).

Students might not feel confident about participating and contributing in their communities if they grow up thinking that they are really useless. Such a mentality blocks them from any possibility of growing and ever unlocking the potential that they have because their teachers made them believe that they do not have anything to offer. Another weakness of such a practise is that it minimizes the students’ creative power. To not do much to change the students’ naiveté serves the interests of the oppressor and at times the ruling ideology, according to Freire (1970:74).

Aphelele’s response highlighted the hostility that at times she believes teachers create in the classroom thus making it difficult for students to be active, responsive and improve their quality of work. Her response also suggests that the learning process is not fun when conditions are as she described. Students dread going to school and this has a negative effect on their performance and self-esteem. This speaks to the hierarchies eminent in banking education that Freire opposes. In banking education, Freire (1970:72), argued that the teacher presents himself to his students as their necessary opposite and by considering their ignorance absolute he justifies his own existence.

In return, the students accept their ignorance as justifying the teacher’s existence “but unlike the slave, they never discover that they educate the teacher” (1970:72). As argued by Freire, banking education maintains the teacher-student contradiction. This contradiction is maintained by attitudes and practices which Freire (1970:73) argued mirrors an oppressive society as a whole. Some of the attitudes and practices present the

participants' responses, also characteristic of the banking theory are: "the teacher knows everything and the student knows nothing"; "the teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined"; "the teacher chooses and enforces his choice and the students comply"; "the teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his or her own professional authority, which she and he sets in opposition to the freedom of the students"; (Freire, 1970:73). Ultimately, when the students are oppressed and undermined their agency is also essentially being suppressed and undermined. It follows then that the role of the educator, in such instances, "is to regulate the way the world 'enters into' the students" (Freire, 1970:76).

Yanga retrospectively reflected on what he expects people should receive from their school experience in comparison to what he received. He said "in primary, you need a teacher who will be extremely patient because at that time in your life, as a child, you are not driven by anything; you just live because the sun rises and it sets daily. At that time as a teacher you know why this education is important for a child. In primary you just need dedicated teachers who love their work because you are preparing a child that needs to go to high school, it is when the student get to high school that he or she realizes he/she needs to work hard for the future. This is the kind of motivation I got from my primary education".

Yanga's sentiments about how formal education should be highlight some important elements of problem-posing education. For instance, he said "teachers are propelled by students to focus on a certain question or issue in a subject for them to make sure that they succeed academically. If students lack the confidence they will not perform well, they will fear to ask questions and the teacher will have no way of knowing how well they understand their work". Freire argued that through dialogue, "the teacher-of-the-students and the students-of-the-teacher cease to exist and a new term emerges: teacher-student with students-teachers" (1970:80). Both student and teacher, through dialogue, become responsible for the process of teaching and authority is no longer valid. Freire (1970:80) also argued that the problem posing educator constantly reforms his reflections in the reflection of the students because the students, unlike in banking education, are not viewed as docile, they are viewed as critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher. This is because the role of a problem posing educator is "to create, together with the students, the conditions under which knowledge is surpassed by true knowledge.

When the participants' experiences are clustered according to primary, high school and university we find that in primary they all lacked consciousness because they were very young to understand this process. Nonetheless, their primary education is crucial as it was the foundation phase at which many elements and principles which would later influence their perceptions, reflections and experiences in high school and tertiary. Their primary education did set the tone for their consciousness and responsiveness but it did not limit it.

In essence, primary school was the stage at which both principles of banking and problem-posing education, as we see in their reflections, were installed, the foundation was laid. In high school they then started to act with the influence from primary school experiences because their responses about high school are an extension of what transpired in their lives in primary school. Many of the participants signalled no major differences between their experiences in primary and high school, only that they were more aware and present in the process, as already stated. Additionally, the learning material that they were engaging was different together with the magnitude that it came with.

When it came to the university experience, interestingly all participants expressed that university was a transition, it was different from what they had been accustomed to in high school. Moreover, they expressed that this transition required them to do some readjusting and finding other ways of dealing with the path.

Most of the participants expressed that university was more intense and it was a big shift in terms of the way classes were conducted. They expressed that they struggled and felt distanced to their lecturers because classes were formal, the environment did not allow an atmosphere that would make them comfortable to ask questions and engage with lecturers during lectures, especially in first year. Mbulelo, for example, said "I hated the fact that a lecturer stands in front of us for forty minutes just talking and expecting us to grasp all of that, we couldn't even ask questions because it was a tense environment that didn't allow such". This is yet again a feature of banking education whereby the teacher comes across as knowing it all and students knowing nothing, hierarchies and boundaries are also created between students and teachers, which makes it difficult for a good student-teacher relationship to emerge (Freire, 1970).

Most of the students also expressed that tutorials helped them survive in university as they offered a more supportive space for interactive engagement and learning. They

expressed that they enjoyed this space particularly because it was less formal, translating to absent hierarchies and boundaries which limit the process of learning and teaching as Freire (1970) would argue.

For Lindi, the reason why university was a big shift was because coming from a history of a small school with a fair amount of students per class to a lecture room filled with so many students from different parts of Africa was an interesting thing and it was clear that she had a lot of adjusting to do. What this point brings out is the importance of not only the academic aspect of university and life in general but also the cultural and social aspect of it. Lindi appreciated this and it added to her overall university experience. She understood that she needed to open her mind up and shift some of her thinking to be able to integrate with other people who came from different backgrounds.

The point that Lindi raised also speaks to the importance of a holistic educational experience, one that does not isolate knowledge gained in the classroom from other knowledge gained through various forms of social interaction. Freire (1970 and 1997) encouraged a holistic approach to learning. He emphasised that if anything classroom education should extend beyond the classroom, it should be practical and applicable to everyday situations. Theory should teach students about real life situations, what students learn should be things that they can also apply and positively use to reflect and contribute in their own lives and societies.

In summation, most of the feedback received from the participants about their university experience, especially during their first year, suggested that it was more of a banking approach, even though there were a few problem posing approaches used here and there. With regards to the way classes were conducted, their primary and high school experiences seem to have subscribed to many mixed principles of the banking and the problem posing approach, there was no single approach that was adopted. As a result, students had mixed emotions about their experiences, sometimes they were fun and sometimes they were not.

Looking at the participants' university experiences, their responses suggest that they felt university was a space in which they were required to learn and show understanding through tests and examinations. The responses that most of the participants gave very much suggest that lecturers were conducted in a banking approach. Other participants even went as far as suggesting that there was little to no interaction because classes

were full and they did not know anything about what they were being taught as it was all new to them.

Another overall matter pertains to the student-teacher relationship. The student-teacher relationship is an important principle that Freire (1970) speaks about under banking and problem posing education. Overall, the participants' responses were diverse, ranging from positive to negative, based on the encounters they had with different teachers throughout their whole journey from primary to tertiary. In this matter their responses also reflect a mixture of characteristics of banking and problem posing education. It is difficult to conclude that altogether these participants received either of the types of education. Instead one can say the mixture means that their level and capacity to be critical thinkers who are also conscious beings has limitations.

6.4. Overall student-teacher relationship

The student-teacher relationship is an important principle that Freire (1970) speaks about under banking and problem posing education. The participants responses were diverse, ranging from positive to negative, based on the encounters they had with different teachers throughout their whole schooling careers. Below are some of the responses:

Akhumzi, speaking about a certain teacher he was fond of in primary school said “I can never forget her ... she was patient with pretty much all of us, I loved her, she made me want to remain a good boy”. In high school Akhumzi said that teachers generally did not like him and he avoided his them because he was a mischievous trouble maker. Regarding his relationship with lecturers in tertiary he said that there is no lecturer he can think of who he can say he formed relations with, “they were just my educators and that's it”.

No relations were formed between Akhumzi and his teachers, he attributes this to his mischievousness but Freire (1970) suggested that good teachers are encouraging and understanding; they are tolerant because they are mindful of the different backgrounds that each of their students come from. Freire (1970) also argued that teachers should take time to individually know their students; this is a point from which they can begin to relate to them, be sensitive to their realities and be able to tactfully impart knowledge in a way that is relevant and inclusive to everyone.

Lindi said she found that teachers at iKwezi (primary school) were hard to reach so it was hard to actually have a relationship with them, they never took time to know students individually. She attributed this to large student enrolment. She then said Umtata high, where she did her high school studies, was nice in the sense that teachers were also interested in their personal lives, they wanted to know what was going on, what they like and what they would like to become. As a result she still keeps in touch with some of her teachers. Regarding university, she said “generally my lecturers just did their job and expected us to do the same so in first year it was almost impossible to be on friendly basis with them. In third year it was easier because we had projects that required one to have some level of interaction with the lecturers, being the forward person that I am I never hesitated and that’s how I actually got to realize that my lecturers were not bad people, they were just doing their job, I do wish they were a bit more chilled though”.

The element of keeping in-touch with her teachers from high school and the ability to speak with them about personal matters as well portrays that there was a level of trust between her and her teachers. She was able to see her teachers beyond the role that they played in the classroom and was able to develop a long lasting relationship with them, a feature eminent in the problem posing theory.

Mbulelo: “it was your normal teacher student relationship, you know, teachers teach, students study, do school work and submit, that kind of relationship. If there was something you did not understand you could ask but ultimately teacher and lectures expected their work done”. This responses indicates that this is the only view that he has of the role of the teachers in his life, he does not see them extending beyond instructing, testing and marking his performance. This also relates to the earlier responses he gave about the way classes were conducted, the boundaries and borders that were marked, in most instances, between the teacher and the student. This kind of relationship, Freire (1970) argued, infringes on the possibility of having a dialogical relationship between the student and the teacher, a relationship that is not marked by superiority and inferiority, where both are equal and treat each other as such. This was not possible in Mbulelo’s case because his interaction with his teachers began and ended with the teaching and assessment practise. Nkululeko, similar to Mbulelo, said that his relationship with his teachers was characterized by fear and boundaries were maintained.

Siphelele said “it was good because the classes and lectures were also good”. When asked to elaborate on this in a follow up interview, Siphelele said that the relationship was good because he never had major problems with his teachers and he learnt what he needed to learn, in his view his teachers were good because they knew what they were doing.

Sibongile attributed her good relationship with her teachers to her personality. She said “I have always been a forward kid, I was one of those people who were called a teacher’s pet (laughs). I loved attention so I always ran to my teachers if there was work I didn’t understand, I was that kid who remained behind to get clarification if there was something I didn’t understand in class, I think this is why I did well. I guess I can say I had a good relationship with my teachers, I can’t speak for others”. Indeed this represented her individual relationship with her teachers because others such as Sibusiso said “you find that there are a hundred and something students in each class so when this happens there is no order, it is very hard to control the class and the teacher pushes you to understand certain things even if you don’t. We were also scared to say we don’t understand some work because teachers threatened to use corporal punishment so we would pretend to understand something even if we don’t just so that the teacher could move on to other topics”, a relationship marked by fear and insecurity.

Xolile, similar to Siphelele and Sibongile, said “my relationship with my teachers in primary and high school was good, I knew I could always go to them if I had problems but I never always needed to because there were always classmates and friends who were willing to solve problems with me. I would say it was a good relationship for me because I was not scared of my teachers. University was a different story altogether, I mean yes I was used to sharing a teacher with close to a hundred students in one class but it was even worse, it was now one lecturer for hundreds of first years. This was overwhelming for me and I found myself shy to engage with my lecturers so that’s why we formed the groups, and tuts helped as well”.

Again, in all these responses there is a mixture of characteristics of banking and problem posing education. It is difficult to overtly conclude that all together these participants received a certain type of education, either banking or problem posing, because they portray both characteristics in certain instances. Instead one can say the mixture of portraying banking and problem-posing traits means that their level and capacity to be critical thinkers who are also conscious beings has limitations.

6.5. Conclusion

This chapter has critically discussed the participants' education at school dating back from primary up until tertiary institutions that they attended. It focused on the participants' knowledge acquisition process and experiences in their academic spaces of learning and in their community as well. This chapter has argued that the participants received primary socialization from their homes and the community, yet schooling in the academic sense has had a great impact on their self-image and confidence. For some, this education gained from school has dehumanized them while others have been motivated and empowered to think big of themselves and their roles in the society. This chapter has shown that education plays an important role in one's life; it has also argued that this education begins at home, primarily, and is developed further at school. There were also some disconnections signalling at times a non-complementary socialization process between education received in the home and community and the education received at school.

Another important aspect discussed in this chapter was the difference between private and public schooling, it was argued that even though the participants are studying under a democratic system in SA, the remains of apartheid are still very much evident in the type of education that they receive and the conditions under which they learn, most of which are experienced in township public schools. For this reason it was argued that one's social class and material and symbolic power, as argued by Bourdieu, really does serve as a determining and limiting factor of the kind of education they can access, something which is still an issue and relevant injustice in the township of Ngangelizwe.

Lastly, based on the participants responses it was evident that there are mixed traits of the banking and problem-posing education technique in their knowledge acquisition process and experiences.

CHAPTER 7

Relevance of the theory at an analytical level: The Ngangelizwe youth graduates case. Part II

Education and social activity in the community

7.1. Introduction

Beyond the influence of academic education discussed in chapter 6, this chapter further reveals that different role players have contributed to the participants' experiences which ultimately influence their life views and human agency as both individuals and community members. As Friere (1970) indicated, formal education is not the only role player that contributes to one's total experience and outlook of life; the community, for example, shapes one's consciousness too. Importantly, it is the type and purpose of ideology imparted to people that determines what kind of beliefs, principles and actions they uphold. Freire also argued that one is a pure product of genetic, cultural or class determination; he argued that his assumption of responsibility does not mean that people are not genetically, culturally and socially conditioned, it simply means that they are conditioned beings.

Importantly, Freire (1985, 1970, and 1998), indicated that formal education and the immediate environment which one comes from (family, the community, friends, social groups) impacts on his or her outlook and actions in life. As already discussed in chapter 2, Parse (2002:23) sees a community, from a human becoming perspective, to be "a unitary phenomenon, indivisible, unpredictable and ever changing". Hence he argues that the meanings we attach to things and occurrences change with different community experiences. A person's economic status is essentially embedded in these experiences because it determines which spaces he or she can enter.

Ultimately those spaces determine what the individual learns and it strongly influences what the individual becomes. Also discussed in chapter 2 was Anderson's view of the community, that they are imagined political spaces (1991:49-50) because they are not based on an everyday face-to-face interaction between their members and as such members do not know each other even though they know of each other's existence. In this imagined community, the inhabitants identify with each other by virtue of

identifying themselves with an imagined community through common artefacts such as language, culture or ethnicity as noted by Hobsbawm (1996:1066). We see this in Ngangelizwe whereby the majority of the population is Xhosa speaking and adheres to Xhosa cultural social practices and beliefs.

In this chapter, the participants' experiences and views reflect on the important issue emanating from existing within a community. Particularly, this chapter reflects how one's background which consists of upbringing, socialization in different ways and spaces, has a great influence not only on his or her attitude but also outcomes which shape and define activity which in this research is regarded as social agency and as Bourdieu (1987) defines it, the habitus construction of the population groups through social practices.

What this shows is that socialization, such as parent relations, family, the neighbourhood, school, friends, and other interest groups, which is the acquisition of the habitus is expressed in one's consciousness and knowledge about his or her reality. This impacts one's attitude towards life, it results to their social action, activity and the desire to either participate or not in the process of social change.

What this chapter ultimately captures and elaborates on is that indeed teachers are found everywhere, not only in the classroom. Thus education is important, the role it plays can either build or break a person in the sense that it can either teach one to be active and useful towards contributing to finding solutions and improving the community or it can promote the attitude of not challenging injustice, inequality and lack of improvement in the community at all but instead contribute to reproducing such.

7.2. Socio-economic reality of participants

All the interviewed participants were born and bred in Mthatha, Ngangelizwe Township. The houses that they were raised in (many still live in) are all owned by a family member, usually the breadwinner who in most cases is the parent(s) or the grandparent, or the uncle in the case of Akhumzi who was not raised by his biological parents. There are some participants (only two) who are now living by themselves and are renting flats in town or even still in the township. An example is the case of Nkululeko who is currently unemployed and looking for a job. He moved out of home because he felt there was not enough space and that he needed his own independence.

There is also Lindi who is currently working in Cape Town but goes home often; she rents a flat because she lives far away from home.

As mentioned in chapter 5, articulated by Busakwe (2007), Ngangelizwe is characterized by widespread poverty and little economic development. Ngangelizwe is an example of the social class divisions and struggle in which capitalism is embedded, as Marx argued. This situation, as argued by Marx (1859), is the most important determinant of all other aspects of the society such as the law, morality and education. Looking at Ngangelizwe, the manner in which knowledge is produced in society is indeed directly related to the social relations, as asserted by Keat and Urry (1987).

The case of sources of income and what the participants do for a living thus speaks to the issue of dependency and what the family can afford. Most of the main sources of income in the participants' homes are the parents. Most of the participants are still job hunting and are finding this process to be a difficult and trying one.

Of the interviewed participants, three have parents or relatives who are either domestic workers or have worked as a domestic worker before. In Mbulelo's case for example, his mother who is the main source of income is a chef. His sister who contributes is a computer literacy teacher, before this job she worked as a domestic worker and cashier. Mbulelo also helps around; he is an IT intern in the health department of the KSD municipality; he has two other brothers.

Nkuluko's aunt who contributed to his upbringing and is one of the main sources of income is a domestic worker, his own mother works as a cleaner at Spar. Nkululeko has five siblings, his older brother who had taken over the family responsibilities passed away.

Xolile who now works as a qualified pharmacist was raised by his single mother who did domestic work in order to raise money to feed and educate her five children. Xolile's mother has since retired. Xolile and his older brother who runs a beauty salon have since taken over the responsibility of providing for their family.

Sibongile, similar to Xolie's case, has now since taken over as the main source of income and provider in her household, she is a teacher. Her grandmother is a retired nurse who receives a pension fund. Sibongile is also responsible for her three siblings.

Zonke is also the main source of income in her household; her mother is a caregiver in the local old age home. Zonke also provides for her brother and son; she works for the KSD Municipality in the planning, social and economic department.

Lindi's mother who is a single parent is the main source of income, she is a teacher. Lindi's brother who is a bank teller also contributes to the household expenses.

Sisipho was the only participant with both parents who contribute to the household expenses, they are both teachers and she has three other siblings.

Yanga was raised by three significant figures, his uncle who is a doctor, his mother is a domestic worker and his late grandmother was a nurse. His uncle is the main source of their family income.

Akhumzi's uncle owns a Spaza shop; his aunt helps around in the shop. Akhumzi was raised by his uncle together with his two cousins.

Aphelele, who lives with both her parents, has one parent who contributes to the household income, her father who is a policeman. Her mother is a housewife. In her home, Aphelele lives with her three sisters, one brother, a nephew and niece. Aphelele's family also receives child grant for the two little children.

In Sibusiso's household, his sister and mother are the main sources of income; his mother is a merchandiser, his sister is a school administrator. Other members of Sibusiso's home are his grandmother, brother and nephew. Sibusiso's grandmother receives a social grant for senior citizens.

Lastly, Sipehelele lives with his brothers and cousins, all the major adults in his life passed away, his parents, uncle, aunt and grandmother. They are now left with their grandmother's house and they each contribute towards the maintenance of the household.

Marx believed that any adequate social analysis must begin from the basic premises of the actions and material conditions of life of given, real individuals. The economic realities of the participants prove that they are not independent in the economic sense. Most of them are still financially dependent on their family members while a few provide for their families who are financially dependent on them. At this point we see a continuity of social relations instead of a transformation. Jessop (2012:4) notes that capitalist power is "involved in securing the continuity of social relations rather than

producing radical change”. Even though the participants are educated, this has not changed how the capitalist system affects their lives and the repetitive circular relations in which they are entrapped as part of the working class, living in Ngangelizwe township.

There is a lot of financial dependence which makes it difficult for people to improve personally and within the immediate or extended family. Eventually, this affects how they contribute to the needed betterment of the community at large. Here one is reminded of Bourdieu’s words, that “by doing away with giving explicitly to everyone what it implicitly demands of everyone, the education system demands of everyone alike that they have what it does not give” (1977:494). This is because we are seeing a reproduction of the same pattern perpetuated by cultural capital and its inequality in Ngangelizwe.

When it came to the question of affordability and what the participants and their families are able to consume with their household incomes, most of them replied that they can afford to buy and pay for basic house necessities such as groceries, electricity, transport in the form of taxi fare, and clothing. In other households there were also expenses such as school fees for children. Other participants and their families could afford to consume more than basic necessities.

Xolile, for example, owns a car so his expenditures also go towards buying diesel and maintaining the car. Lindi’s mother also owns a car; their household expenditures also go towards the car instalments, insurance and petrol. Lindi’s family has a house phone which also accounts for their monthly expenses. Zonke owns a car; she pays for monthly instalments, petrol and sometimes maintenance, she also pays her brother and son’s school fees. Akumzi’s family also owns a car; additional to their expenses is petrol. Sisipho’s parents own a car; they also pay school fees for her three siblings. Some of Sibongile’s expenses include her three siblings’ school fees.

Here we are reminded of Marx’s analysis of how societies work, which according to Trainer (2010:3) is of great value “for the task of describing what is going on in the world and for understanding the problems and directions of our society today”. In his concept of historical materialism, Marx believed that the history of humanity is the history of a continuous struggle between different social groups; this is an idea which Freire took from Marx.

For Freire, in particular, the continuous social struggle is one of the main elements of understanding history and social relationships. Again, the participants' affordability speaks to their economic and social reality. It shows that many are not independent and are thus limited in their desires and actions to be active due to a lack of capacity to consume commodities not only needed to ensure participation but for some to sustain their lives. Moreover, the environment itself is not one which is friendly to improvement and public participation considering that it is largely impoverished with many not possessing the motivation nor avenues and tools necessary to unite and improve Ngangelizwe.

This information about the participants' socio-economic background is important because Marx argued that the economic situation is the most important determinant of all other aspects of the society such as the systems of law, morality and education. Moreover, Trainer (2010:3) asserts that Marx argued that dominant ideas are the result of material or economic conditions. Knowledge about the participants' socio-economic realities improves our understanding of them, it adds to the theoretical knowledge that we already have about Ngangelizwe community, such as the poverty, lack of development, high crime and illiteracy.

When asked when last they went on a holiday, most of the participants responded that they never do, some hardly ever do and do not regard their trips to visit relatives in the rural areas as a holiday. This gives an indication that most of the participants have a different idea of what constitutes as a holiday and visiting relatives is not necessarily what come to their minds. Sibongile, for example, expressed: "with all the expenses and responsibilities here at home we can't afford to go for holidays and anyway my whole family is here so we do not need to go anywhere, we have each other. Sometimes during school holidays my uncle takes my siblings, he stays in East London, they enjoy going there because they play with their cousins, and they went last December". Sibusiso, in response to the question said "I can't remember, I am always here". Xolile who was shocked by the question asserted that he can't remember. He added "my whole family is here so we never go anywhere, apart from the once in a while visits to the rural areas but I wouldn't call those a holiday. Do black people do holidays?" Nkululeko's response, similar to Aphelele's, was simply that they do not do holidays.

There were participants who responded that they do go on holidays. Lindi, for example, went on a holiday in June; she went to Durban with her friends. Lindi added that "it's good to take some time off every now and then, life is too short. Cape Town is

beautiful, I feel like I'm always on holiday there but we just wanted to visit Durban so we planned the weekend way in advance and we saved up for it. It was great I have no regrets". Zonke last went on a holiday during the Easter weekend. Her response was "I took my family to Port St Johns for a weekend during the Easter holiday, my mother deserved it, she has done so much for us and she still works hard even though she doesn't need to". Yanga who regularly travels was confused by the question and wasn't sure whether to regard his expeditions as holidays or not. His expression was "I always travel between Mthatha and Pretoria. I am not sure if that qualifies as a holiday but I was last there for almost a month ago, I was visiting family because that is where my uncle lives".

Above the notion that most of the participants cannot afford to go on holiday due to the amount of family responsibilities they have, it seems that they attribute the concept of a holiday to economic possibilities and nothing else, such as leisure and relaxation. They do not particularly regard the act of visiting families, for example, as a holiday because it has somewhat become tradition and routine and it is places they already know. It is interesting to see that they do not consider the leisure time that they get in-between their everyday activities, such as weekends and public holidays. Here one is forced to agree with Keat and Urry (1987) that the structure of social relations does systematically generate ideological distortions which do not serve the interests of the dominated class.

Xolile who is a qualified pharmacist, for example, starts pondering the concept of a holiday and questions whether black people do actually engage in the act. It was particularly interesting to find that other participants do not find significance in going on holidays because their families live with them thus seeing no reason to travel to other places. This creates the impression that they do not go on holidays because the idea of going on a holiday is to visit loved ones. This thinking is particularly linked to some of the participants' responses which stated that they visit family members in the rural areas and they normally stay for longer periods, like two weeks, when this occurs. Mbulelo, for example, said "my family and I always go to the rural areas in December; we normally stay for about a week".

In Sbongile's case, her uncle who lives in East London sometimes takes her siblings during long holidays. The last time he took them was last December and she adds that they enjoy going there because they get to play with their cousins. This goes to show how some of the participants attributed traveling and particularly going on holiday with being an activity that has to do with visiting and being with family.

7.3. Service delivery and public participation in Ngangelizwe

Macedo asserts that social class is an important factor in the understanding of our forms of oppression (cited in Freire, 1970:14). An important aspect of this theme, apart from the economic indication which consists of the participants and their families' professions and income, had to do with the infrastructure of Ngangelizwe. Here the main question was whether the community members (including the participants) experience any problems with the service delivery and how exactly they deal with such issues.

The mechanisms, processes and procedures for public participation in the local level are stipulated in the Local Government Municipal Systems Act. For instance, it is clearly stated that public participation in municipal affairs must take place through councillors (democratically voted for by members of the community) and ward committees (elected by the community) who represent respective wards so as to enhance participatory democracy. It follows then that "public meetings and hearings by the municipal council and other political structures and political office bearers of the municipality", consultative sessions with community organizations and "report-back to the local community" are crucial processes and procedures that need to be followed (Local Government Municipal Systems Act, 2011:29). No less is expected in the community of Ngangelizwe yet based on the participants' responses this does not occur and as a result there is poor service delivery. All of the participants expressed that their biggest problem in Ngangelizwe pertains to water and electricity.

The responses took a similar line of expression as Mbulelo's who responded by saying "electricity and water, always, it is now normal to run out of electricity at least once or twice a week. Water is also a normal issue; the longest we have gone without it was two weeks I think". Sisipho expressed that water and electricity cuts are common problems in Ngangelizwe. She added that "apart from that, we are so far behind in many things, we still have gravel roads, streets don't have street names, the netball and tennis courts in the rotary stadium are cracked and without nets so we are unable to play or practise there". Xolile's response to the question was also similar but took a different rationale. He said "yes, service delivery is a huge problem in Ngangelizwe I don't even know what we need to do to change this. We always run out of water and electricity, always! It is worse in the Ngangelizwe clinic where I practise, because nurses and doctors can't do certain things without electricity and water, this is a serious issue".

Essentially, all the participants expressed that they have issues with the same services, water and electricity. These responses confirm the argument made in chapter 5, that townships are typically characterized by underdevelopment and lack of infrastructure. What is happening in Ngangelizwe is neither strange nor is it a new phenomenon. For instance, the 80/20 report on local government (Alexander and Kane-Berman, 2014) reveals that service delivery remains an issue in SA, especially in district municipalities. The O.R Tambo district municipality of which Ngangelizwe falls under has a low rank of 2.56 out of 10 (Alexander and Kane-Berman, 2014:140). Many newspaper articles and scholarly work suggest that corruption in government across all sectors is one of the reasons for poor service delivery. In turn this affects the administrative, financial, economic, social and political structures as articulated by Mogale (2003:270).

As argued by Smith (2013) the legacy of apartheid is evident in South African townships and we see this in Ngangelizwe through poor service delivery, something which was supposed to improve over the years.

As a health practitioner Xolile's concern was more to do with the repercussions that unavailability of water and electricity can cause their work and productivity. What all these responses indicate is that service delivery in Ngangelizwe is in fact, as stated and discussed in literature, poor. Water is a basic resource and service yet community members are succumbed to going more than a week without it. Electricity is a resource that many are accustomed to, they have grown to rely on it yet in Ngangelizwe the service is poorly provided and very unreliable. It has now become a norm for community members to expect power cuts at least once or twice a week, something that has not been accounted for. They know it happens because it is part of their reality; it has formed part of their lifestyle.

Sibusiso argued that poor service delivery affects him because "when the electricity stops working in the community my house is not an exception. With the water, when it goes away, sometimes we are lucky in my street but sometimes we also get affected. In most cases when there is no water, it is usually certain parts of the township, maybe upper streets or the lower ones. So when we are affected we have to go begging for water from households that have it in other streets. It becomes bad when literally the whole township has no water, then we just sit and wait for a water tank to deliver some".

Freire began his argument from the point of humanization as always being humankind's central problem. He argued that "concern for humanization leads at once to the recognition of dehumanization" (1970:43). Freire (1970:44) argued that the vocation of humanity is prevented by exploitation, oppression and the violence of oppressors and it is affirmed by the yearning of the oppressed for freedom and justice. From the participants' responses we see that their right to basic needs and dignity, through services, is being violated. They do not have the freedom to enjoy good basic and essential services such as water and electricity. This not only affects their dignity but it also their health, as in the case of nearby health facilities that are affected when such happens. These responses suggest that the community of Ngangelizwe, being poor and underdeveloped, is subjected to substandard and poor service delivery. The people, by virtue of such poor services, are treated as less important human beings; their health and safety is not prioritized and because they do not have enough money and power, they cannot do much to change this reality.

All twelve of the participants expressed awareness about the issue of poor service delivery in Ngangelizwe, particularly concerning water and electricity outage. When asked if they or any members of the community have reacted against these service delivery problems, six of them expressed that they took part in a public protest march that was organized by community members; the other six did not take part in the protest. Some of these participants were one of the organizers of the march. This march went to town and eventually to the municipal offices. "We went without water for two weeks, we were fed up of this and organized a march to town, we ended up in the municipal offices where we demanded the water back" was Akhumzi's response.

Aphelele was one of the organizers. She said "we stood in front of the municipal offices and demanded better services. We had gone two weeks without water; this was the longest time we have ever gone without water so everyone was just angry also because no one ever cared to explain so we had to do something about it". Nkululeko also took part in the protest, he stated that the municipality never made any provision or explained anything to the community members during this water outage. He adds "I felt insulted and undermined by this lack of communication and accountability so we were all angry when we took part in the protest".

This protest resulted to the municipality bringing the water back on the same day. Nkululeko expressed that the municipality apologized and "they promised to improve the service, the electricity came back the same day" Nkululeko and most of the

participants added that another result that came from the strike was media publicity, “the strike was all over the papers, the story appeared in the Daily Dispatch and some radio stations. It’s good because we wanted to expose them, they only act when they are exposed mos?” is what Nkululeko said. Aphelele stated that after the protest water and electricity ran for a while without any cuts but this did not last very long, things went back to normal. Her words are “we are so used to having power cuts, we know at least twice a week it will happen and maybe on a Sunday it will go away for the whole day”.

This is important because here we are seeing half of the youth graduates of Ngangelizwe mobilizing and demanding for their agency and human dignity to be recognized. As Freire (1970:44) argued that the vocation of humanity is constantly negated and that humanity is prevented by exploitation, oppression and violence, the collective action of 6 of the participants, together with other community members of Ngangelizwe, reflects their yearning and affirmation for freedom and justice. One can certainly argue that the youth graduates of Ngangelizwe qualify as oppressed people because of the fact that they are from an area that oozes features of injustice and systematic abuse whereby they do not have the liberty to even enjoy the most basic services.

The participants’ response against the poor service delivery speaks about their agency and growing consciousness of their own capacity as members of the society. It shows that they are not docile, as much as Ngangelizwe is generally described as poor and underdeveloped. There is some level of inadequacy that the community members will not tolerate, namely going longer periods without running water or electricity. This shows that within the framework of Ngangelizwe, the community members take action against extreme issues that affect their lives even though they generally do not radically speak and act against the long standing instability and underdevelopment that exists within their community. Giroux (1984), hooks (1994), Shor (1980), Aronowitz (2000) would certainly argue that the action that they decided to take against poor service delivery is exactly the type of action needed on a daily basis. For these scholars, the values of engaged citizenship should be precisely promoted in the classroom instead of being separated from actual everyday reality so that people can understand that challenging poor service delivery and inadequate governance of any form is the natural step to take as it ensures good governance, democracy and development in the community.

The other half that was aware and equally affected by the two weeks water outage but did not take part in the protest indicates another reality about the youth graduates of Ngangelizwe Ward 2. It indicates that there is a significant level of inactivity in Ngangelizwe; people are directly affected by poor service delivery but will not protest against it. It also speaks directly to what they stand for as individuals which has to do with their attitudes. Again, this is an indication that formal education from the classroom itself has not empowered students to challenge injustice as Shor (1980), hooks (1994), et al would argue. If they can stand such level of poor service delivery it indicates, as Freire (1970) would argue, that they are assimilative conformists who are not challenging oppression. All the participants were aware and affected by the water outage. However, others chose not to take part in the protest because they were caught up at work or busy with other things.

For Gramsci (cited in Forgacs, 2000: 44) class struggle is not a puerile dream, it is an act that is freely determined upon an inner necessity of social order. Gramsci also believed that a proletariat class without a consciousness is puppets because “a movement is never just a physical act, it is intellectual as well. All the participants portrayed a level of awareness about poor service delivery in Ngangelizwe even though only half of them decided to actively react against it because it directly affects their livelihoods. This shows that indeed it is always intellectual before becoming physical except for puppets on a string” (cited in Forgacs, 2000: 44).

Gramsci also believed that “if a working class could become intellectually autonomous they could lead their own movements without having to delegate decision-making to career intellectuals, then they can be capable of acting as a ruling class” (cited in Forgacs, 2000: 47). The case of these youth graduates is an interesting one in that they all come from Ngangelizwe which is characterized as poor, amongst other things. They all have this commonality to relate to, regardless of their different household conditions, the resources of the community and the overall image of it is something that they can all relate to as community members.

The participants all regarded themselves as children and grandchildren of the working class and thus belonging to the working class population. Here we see that the participants have a sense of awareness, they are conscious about who they are, where they come from even though they might not yet be fully aware of the power and responsibility that might come with this awareness.

They are representing a community that they know, one that they grew up in, and they are working with the masses, as they themselves form part of these masses of Ngangelizwe, to respond to their social issues. As argued by Gramsci (1982:300), “all men are intellectuals but not all men in society have the function of intellectuals”, this particular group of participants portray the function of traditional intellectuals as they have chosen to not only be conscious but also gradually respond to the issues of their community in ways that they can. They identify themselves with their community and not the hegemonic domination of the ruling class. Moreover, Gramsci (1971:300) argued that “the social chain does not rest on a few; nothing of what happens in it is a matter of luck, nor the product of fate, but the intelligent work of the citizens”. In other words, civil society and civic engagement are very important and we saw the truthfulness of this in some of the participants’ attitudes and actions.

In actual fact the youth graduates who participated in the public protest made it evidently clear that they represent the masses of Ngangelizwe, not the ideology and hegemony of the ruling class. As a result, they contributed with their consciousness to ensure that the protest was a success and responded to the crisis of water and electricity in Ngangelizwe. This is important because it highlights on Freire, Gramsci and Amilcar Cabral’s notion that everyone has a role to play in society.

With regards to the youth graduates, one here is reminded of Cabral’s assertions (1973), that in order for academics or those with academic qualifications and expertise to positively contribute to the betterment of their communities, they first need to commit class suicide and then be one with the people. In essence, they need to understand that they are not superior to the masses because they themselves are the masses coming from that particular community being affected and experiencing the same issues as everyone else. Thus what is better is for them to use their expertise not to lead but to contribute to their struggle and eventual betterment of the whole community, as equals. This is an act of selflessness and consciousness and it brings upon unity to the community, we see it in the actions of the youth graduates who participated in the protest.

Seeing as Gramsci (1971 and 2000) classified those with academic qualifications as organic intellectuals and are usually produced by the education system to guard and maintain its hegemony and ideology, it follows that such intellectuals belonging to communities such as Ngangelizwe need to gain consciousness and the understanding that they need to use their knowledge and expertise to serve their communities and not the ruling hegemony and its ideology. With the participants we see that they indeed try

to distance themselves from perpetuating and maintaining hegemonic ideology through their actions and attitudes. Instead they are more autonomous and independent of the dominant social group.

As argued by Ewick (2006:xi), “ideology prevents men and women from perceiving the real conditions of existence”, the participants are not entrapped in this phenomenon hence they were able to organize and partake in the public protest to rebut poor service delivery in their community of Ngangelizwe. Evidently, in as much as they are oppressed, dominated and still exploited as the overall community (as seen in the social and economic conditions of Ngangelizwe), they certainly understand their situation. Moreover, they know where their interests lie and they are not accepting the unjust situations and thus ideas which legitimize, protect and maintain the status quo. As Freire (1985) argued, conscientization, as it is the process of becoming aware, provides a space in which one’s perception of reality may change, “it is the first in the quest of the oppressed man’s quest for greater humanization” (Blackburn, 2000:7), we see this in the youth graduates’ interest and engagement during the public protest.

7.4. The relationship that participants have with their community

The community is an important component of the society because it consists of individuals who form what constitutes as society. As Anderson argued, communities are imagined and political because “the members ... will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives an image of the communion” (1991:49). Understanding the relationship that the youth graduates of Ngangelizwe Ward 2 have with their community is important because Parse (2002:24) argues that meanings change with different community experiences. People essentially devise their own meanings about their communities based on their experiences. It is thus important to understand the type of relationship the youth graduates of Ngangelizwe have with their community.

Meszaros (2010:17) argues that the relationship between social structure and forms of consciousness is important because “the actually given social structure constitutes the overall framework and horizon in which the particular thinkers ... are situated in relation to which they have to define their conception of the world”. One thing we must remember about Freire is that he criticized popular education to forge personal and social liberation as Gibson (1994) asserts. Finding out what the youth graduates think

about Ngangelizwe, in terms of their views and their actual relationship with the community is therefore important because it enlightens us about their conception of the world. This is significant because it guides us towards determining whether they can be said to be critical or assimilative of their conditions and what the actual influence of that actually is.

In this section, engagement with the participants about their actual views regarding Ngangelizwe was initiated. That is: what kind of social problems they would say exist, how they are involved in the development of the community, what they think the importance of such involvement is and the figure(s) that are most inspiring in their community.

With regards to the social activities occurring in Ngangelizwe, all of the participants expressed, in different ways, that Ngangelizwe is a poor, underdeveloped and unsafe community. Below are some of participants' responses:

"I would describe Ngangelizwe as an underdeveloped and disadvantaged community", said Akumzi.

Lindi said "Ngangelizwe is a poor community, everyone knows that. You might have a few good houses but the majority are bad, there are still many mud houses here, we were lucky because at least all the yards have water toilets operating. The people are busy with their own lives, some are trying to get jobs so that they can provide for their families, others are involved in criminal activities, we don't have as many gangsters as we used to back in the day when I was young though".

Nkululeko said "Ngangelizwe is an interesting place, it has an interesting history but the present situation is very unpleasant. This used to be a vibrant community, there was unity, trust and respect among community members, we used to walk, run and play around the streets until midnight but that is no more. Kids get raped by strangers every day, it is no longer safe to trust a stranger, there is widespread crime, even some of my old friends are criminals and others are drug addicts".

When asked what kind of social problems they think exist in the township, in summation the participants spoke about the poor service delivery, high unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, crime, drug and alcohol abuse. This is how Aphelele saw the whole problem: "If I were to name the problems I would say one, drug usage, it ruins things in every way possible because that kid will be a drug abuser. After being a drug abuser he

will be a school dropout. Take a girl child for example, she will drop out of school because of drugs, she will get pregnant, after she gets pregnant she doesn't have money to feed the child so she ends up resorting to crime, she starts stealing items in the shops to help raise her child. All the social ills we experience are born from that drug usage". Mbulelo's response was similar, he said "many guys use drugs here and drop out of school; they end up robbing us and committing other crimes. The roads are also bad, can you believe that we still have gravel roads even 20 years after democracy?"

Zonke's response to the question was that she has a first-hand experience of poverty so she would say it is one of their biggest problems in the township. She added that crime also affects her and she thinks it is related to drugs and school drop outs. Yanga also felt that crime, drug and alcohol abuse are one of the main problems faced by Ngangelizwe. In addition he said "the poor resourced schools are not helping much towards improving this condition". Xolile said "we have spoken about the bad electricity and water system; crime is also an issue, we do not feel safe in our own homes, especially at night. There are also many people who use drugs and alcohol. Many people are out of school and unemployed so they spend most of their days just chilling by the streets and doing nothing, or smoking and drinking, it's bad".

The situation in Ngangelizwe is indeed evidently that of lack of infrastructural development, poor living conditions and limited academic education opportunities as the participants attest. All this is as Busakwe (2007: 2) asserts, that "there is widespread poverty and little economic development in Ngangelizwe". Wood and Jewkes (2005:95) state that unemployment and ramifications are widespread in Ngangelizwe; "many families are without the means to further their children's education". They add that young people frequently drop out of school and hang around the streets of Ngangelizwe and central town (Wood and Jewkes, 2005:95).

Most of the participants indicated that their social problems, particularly those revolving around crime and drug abuse stem from the fact that young people drop out of school. The mere fact that it was extremely difficult to find youth graduates in Ngangelizwe serves as confirmation that literacy rates are not high. This yet again speaks to oppression, where Feire (1970) argued that it is those who are poor that are subjected to oppression which comes with injustice, exploitation and violence. One can see the effects of poverty and frustration in the lives of the general population of Ngangelizwe, these effects are felt by everyone living in Ngangelizwe it seems.

7.5. Community involvement of the participants in Ngangelizwe

From the works of Friere (1970), Shor (1980), hooks (1994), Giroux (2000), Kincheleo (1997) et al, we have learnt that a student who understands the importance of being active in the community has received empowering or liberating education. A student who has a good relationship with his community, extends a sense of responsibility and accountability through his or her actions understands and values the link between his or her knowledge, skills and actual everyday activity throughout everyday living. Such a person, as these scholars would see it, is the envisioned agent for the needed transformation where inequality and injustice exists within unequal and oppressed communities.

When the participants were asked if they are involved in the development of their community and requested to explain their involvement if they are, many responded that they would say they are involved but they wouldn't regard their involvement as largely effective because it is still at a small scale. They also indicated that they are still focusing on their personal development and growth. Here we see some tension between being oppressed and seeking liberation from this oppression, oppression in not only the economical but also social sense.

The responses below reflect that it is difficult for the youth graduates to overtly and radically strive for the betterment of their community because they are faced with a lot of other personal dynamics which others opt to focus on first before they can be of full service to their community. Others simply view improving their lives and those of their families a better and more attainable priority than contributing to the betterment of their community.

To be exact, 5 of the participants gave a definite yes. These 5 participants said they are involved in the development of the community; 3 of the participants responded that they are not involved and 4 suggested that they are not sure and thus would not really consider themselves as actively contributing to the development of the community. This point speaks to the issue of consciousness which Freire (1985:93) viewed as "the process in which humans, not as recipients but as knowing subjects, achieve a deepening awareness both of the sociocultural reality that shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality".

In the group of those who responded that they are involved in the development of their community, Akhumzi's response was: "I am one of the boxing coaches available here.

We have two groups, young boys and working men. I am responsible for the younger group of boys, those who are still in primary and high school. I train them boxing skills. On top of that we offer a mentorship programme, we encourage them to channel their anger into positive things. Physical abuse is an issue that is hardly ever spoken about here in the township, you find girls and women who are being abused by their men and never report them because they are too scared or they fear that no-one will support them when these men are behind bars. What we do with these young boys is to train and make it clear to them that physical violence is not the solution, we teach them that women are to be loved, protected, cared for and respected, not abused. We encourage them to channel and leave their anger in the boxing ring, not on other things, especially not on other people”.

Aphelele said “I am an active ANC member and I work very closely with the councillor”. Sibusiso said “Yes, I attend community meetings when they are called; I have communication with the councillor and a group of other young people from Ngangelizwe. We are always used as volunteers for projects whenever the councillor needs us”. Sisipho said “I love sports, I have a small group of girls that I run with, it is not safe to jog alone here in the mornings so we decided to do it together. On weekends we practice and play netball competitively just to monitor our progress. So I would say I am contributing in community development”. Yanga said “Yes. I do this by teaching and coaching young people in and outside Ngangelizwe. My speciality is maths and I help students who are still in high school by conducting extra classes to help improve their marks”.

The participants who are involved in the development of their community can without doubt be said to possess some levels of critical consciousness. As Blackburn argues, “humans are aware, both of themselves as conscious beings, and of their existence in space and time” (2000:4). Blackburn adds that human awareness allows for a second distinctive trait: “the capacity for creative thinking and, hence, potentially at least, the capacity to transform rather than merely adapt to reality” (2000:4). This is exactly what this group of participants who are involved in the development of their community are. They are attempting and contributing to the transformation of Ngangelizwe as opposed to adapting to the depressing and sad reality that paints the township in a negative way.

In the group of those who said that they are not involved in the development of their community, these were their actual responses:

“No, I stayed in res when I was in university, I recently came back and I am still job hunting. Most of the people I knew are not here anymore so I don’t know who to acquaint myself with” (Lindi). Mbulelo said “no, I work every day and on weekends I am relaxing so I don’t have time to be involved in any group”. Nkululeo said “not in a group form, my sister, I am still busy hustling for a stable job and source of income; I am still working on my future. After that I have my own family to take care of, the responsibility of being a breadwinner is now on my shoulders kaloku”. Xolile said “I wouldn’t say so, no, not really, for now I am still focusing on the development of my family. We struggled for a very long time; it is my turn to improve our lives now that I can. I think the reason why I am not yet involved in my community is because I have not yet found a group of people that I can work with, if I can maybe I could contribute one way or the other”.

Four of the participants who responded with uncertainty had this to say:

Sibongile: “I have this little initiative that I am running whereby I take some reading material and stationary from my school and give it to kids I know need it here in the community. I don’t want unavailability of stationary to be the reason why some kids don’t make it to school so I make sure that those I know are taken care of in that regard. I mostly focus on girls in high school, especially those in matric”. Siphелеle’s response was “I have started two businesses. The first one is selling chickens here in the community, it’s going well. I can’t exactly call this contributing to the development of the community but I can say it’s good because it improves relations and they are contributing to my development which in some way benefits the community, we are practising using and retaining our economy in the community here, this is empowerment. The second business is an NGO, I am working with some of my friends in this one, the NGO has been registered with Social Development, and it is called Wings of Life. Our aim is to help old people who are in hospital; we are also looking at people with HIV and AIDS, TB, etc. In the long run we plan to have our own medical aid”.

Zonke said that is not so involved in the community even though she would like to be. She also said “I am actually planning to be more involved. My portfolio at work focuses on planning, social and economic development. In the past years I have been doing admin and other work, particularly events related to the broader KSD region. Right now my focus is development in Ngangelizwe, my personal interest and focus is tourism. It would be beneficial to have a place like a famous tshisa nyama (braai area) and car

wash in the township, like Khayelitsha's Mzoli's in Cape Town, it's a huge tourist attraction and that is also possible here because we have good stories to tell apart from all the negatives".

What is interesting about Zonke is that even though she would not regard herself as being involved in the development of Ngangelizwe, what she is currently working on suggests that she is in fact in the process and is perhaps actually contributing in that way. This is because when she was asked what she thinks is the purpose of social groups she said "I'm not sure whether to box mine as a group or an initiative because the idea is something I came up with and I will be receiving support and funding from my work place provided I give them a really solid plan, I need to convince them about the sustainability of the project and of course they also have to benefit from it, the whole of Umtata actually".

This idea that she is talking about is bringing tourism projects in Ngangelizwe. This shows that as much as she does not regard herself as actively contributing to the development of her community, she is actively in the process of developing a project that will improve Ngangelizwe's economy in the long run. She adds "I guess the main positive of this group is that I will bring tourism to Ngangelizwe, this will bring development to the community, and I am sure it will prompt other government departments to do something about the current situation here, like the bad road, community buildings and other common facilities".

What makes Zonke's case interesting is that as much as her project has not yet started bringing significant development in Ngangelizwe, it is not merely something she is thinking of doing, she is working on it, it is just that it has not yet materialized and blossomed up to a point where it actually does bring in development and benefit to the community. This is very important because Freire (1970) believed that the purpose of education is to fulfil human potential and subsequently better the human condition. In the case of Zonke we are seeing an example of an individual who is attempting to better the social and economic condition of her community through tourism. Her initiative is not a mandate or task handed to her by her department, she saw an opportunity and decided to use the advantage of her portfolio and workplace resources to positively contribute to Ngangelizwe's development.

Sibongile's initiative is also interesting, she was not sure if it qualifies as contributing to the betterment of her community. In actual reality it does because she is offering a

helping hand to individuals who would otherwise be unable to perform well in school were in not for her assistance. Perhaps her uncertainty stemmed from the fact that what she is doing is not practised within an organized group, it is an individual initiative. Her reply to what she thinks is the importance of social groups was interesting, she replied in context of her engagement and personal initiative. She said “I think what I am doing is important because it offers guidance and support ... these girls know that they are not alone, they are inspired to pass and become something in life, so that they can improve their lives and that of their families. I think the main positive aspect about this is the essence of building and encouraging each other as young ladies, knowing that you can be assisted and having experienced that, also developing the need to help others where you can. These are future doctors, lawyers and accountants, one day they will also give back”.

Freire argued that conscientization, the process of becoming aware, provides a space in which one’s perception of reality may change; “it is the first in the quest of the oppressed man’s quest for greater humanization”, according to Blackburn (2000:7). Blackburn (2000:7) adds that conscientization is more than a purely intellectual process, it is a dynamic, or dialectical process, of which an equally important component is action. “In conscientization, action leads to further reflection, and so on, in a dialectical path of increasing liberation” (Blackburn, 2000:7). Conscientization is thus based on action and reflection. Unfortunately not all of the participants portray this trait, the implication of this is that Ngangelizwe, where the youth graduates are concerned, cannot fully develop and some of the participants will remain oppressed as they are not engaging in the path of increasing their liberation.

In summation, from all the conducted interviews, of the 12 participants, the amount of those who are involved in the development of their community is 5; 4 are not involved and 3 are not entirely sure of what to regard their activities as. What this indicates is that their education has not succeeded in making them understand that progressive, liberating or empowering education links theory with action as the Freirean scholars argue. Moreover, they have not fully grasped the knowledge and understanding that empowering education promotes and encourages community involvement as a way of life, not an isolated or occasional event. What was also interesting were the responses that participants gave about what they think is the importance of having social groups and if they think them particularly serving the community makes a difference.

Those who responded that they are not involved in the development of their community did not respond to what they think is the importance of such. Those who responded that they would not call what they are doing contributing to the development of their community and are thus unsure were of particular interest because as much as they are not overtly involved, they acknowledge and understand that serving the community and contributing to its development is important and has good benefits for the greater majority. Zonke is a case in point; Sibongile is also another example who felt that what she is doing is important and offers needed support, guidance and encouragement to young girls of Ngangelizwe

Siphelele's view was that "it is important because we are helping each other. In the Wings of Life we are offering a service that will prolong the lives of our elders, brothers and sisters who are suffering from serious illnesses. This is more like a support group and I think it is necessary, especially here in our community because we do not have access to so many essential resources. This can make things better for everyone"

Ultimately, the fact that a majority of the participants are involved in the development of their community gives hope; it also indicates that the youth graduates of Ngangelizwe do portray some level of consciousness. The figure of those who are not so involved in community participation indicates that much still needs to be done but it also conscientizes us about the economic and social burdens that act as a deterrent for people wanting to gain more freedom, essentially a better life. It is not that these youth graduates do not wish the best for their community or that they do not want to improve it.

From the responses we see that lack of community involvement and participation is a matter of engagement and unity being difficult based on the fact that individually people have different challenges, realities and responsibilities that they feel demand their attention. For example, family responsibilities, and this at times makes it hard for them to commit to a communal activity which will help to transform Ngangleizwe. They are also not inspired to do this because the community does not have an already existing culture of unity and social responsibility, it is thus not a moral obligation to do so, even though you do find a few who attempt to engage in socially transformative action.

7.6. Conclusion

This chapter focused on education and social activity of the participants in the community. It argued that the Ngangelizwe youth graduates are not only shaped and influenced by their academic education, in the first instance their primary socialization which is received in the household shapes them, their experiences and awareness of Ngangelizwe has shaped their consciousness, hence the participants are all aware and concerned about the social and economic issues occurring in Ngangelizwe.

The chapter has also discussed the participants' socio-economic background which has had an influence in their academic choices and limited their desires and actions to transform their community of Ngangelizwe when it comes to responding to the existing socio-economic issues. It was argued that their financial dependence makes it difficult for them to improve not only personally but also within their immediate and extended families and more so their community of Ngangelizwe.

With regards to service delivery and public participation, it was argued that Ngangelizwe faces the issue of poor service delivery which has much to do with electricity and water. In response to this we saw that the youth graduates are not silent, half of them have taken action against the injustice of poor service delivery in their community even though it has not resulted to much sustainable change as they still continue to face the same issues on a daily basis. In as much as some of the participants were not specifically involved in the public protests, the chapter argued that all participants have good intentions and some are initiating and developing projects to respond to the issues of their community. The most interesting part about this chapter was that all the participants receive their awareness about Ngangelizwe based on their everyday experiences and observation, thus their articulations and responses express what they live more than the theory they have learnt from school.

CHAPTER 8

Academic education and its relation to everyday life

8.1. Introduction

For this research it was important to understand the actual principles and lessons that the youth graduates have gained from their education. Chapter 6 and 7 have already shown that education is received in all walks of life; it is not only received in the classroom or lecture room where one receives formal and mainly theoretical knowledge. Be that as it may, the chapters have also shown that academic education plays an important role in the society as it serves to imprint certain ideas and views. These ideas and views contribute in either moving the society forward by improving it (through engaged action) or it serves to pull the society backwards by remaining silent and not engaging in progressive action to improve livelihoods. Importantly then, this chapter takes the discussion further, in attempt to eventually combine education received in academic spaces and education received in the community, so as to assert how it impacts on everyday life or social activity in other words. Essentially, this chapter responds to the question: how is academic education relating to everyday life of the participants who are otherwise community members of Ngangelizwe?

8.2. Does academic education impart critical consciousness about social issues?

One of the important questions were asked to the participants is how they perceive all the academic education that they have received in terms of its usefulness in imparting knowledge and awareness about social problems which can be applicable in their community. In the literary chapters it has already been established that education is important and the approach that this research takes is that critical education is empowering, it is holistic as it strives to prepare a person for life, it creates a critical mind as it moves towards problem-posing building. As De Lissovoy argues, education is not essentially a formal or cognitive business but fundamentally a human situation (2008: 7). According to Giroux, education, as Freire expressed, speaks to a form of cultural politics that transcends the theoretical boundaries of any one specific political doctrine, while also linking social theory and practice to the deepest aspects of

emancipation” (Freire, 1985:xiii). Education represents both a place within and a particular type of engagement with the dominant society” (Giroux cited in Freire, 1985:xiii).

All of the participants responded that their education has improved their knowledge, mostly about their respective study disciplines but they cannot overtly say it has imparted any knowledge and awareness about social issues, particularly in their community. From their responses there was a sense that increased or improved knowledge about their studies does not automatically result to improved knowledge and awareness about social problems, these are two separate things. As a result, most of the participants attributed an awareness and knowledge of social problems to personal interest and being exposed to such conditions, they expressed that this enables one to personally form an opinion and reaction.

The participants’ responses implied that social awareness is not something that you learn in school, at least not in your studies. Lindi, for example, said “my degree has specifically improved my knowledge about the marketing world. In this I learnt how advertising can appeal do different people from different social classes”. She also added “regarding the social problems present in Ngangelizwe, I think that is something every member of the community is exposed to so they can’t claim to not be affected. It is not the responsibility of education to teach you to be conscious of your society and its realities”.

Nkululeko’s response was “in school they just teach you course work... it is you the student who fixes the puzzle and put that knowledge into a social perspective and figure out how you can use it to relate to what is happening in your community”.

Sibongile said “at the end of the day, you are the recipient of the education ... how you use that education matters and it says something about you and your education”. She also said that studying English and psychology helped to inform her teaching but the studies did not shape her teaching because she already had her own thinking before she studied the courses. What she gained from her studies is that they trained her on how to articulate her thoughts in a structured way. As a result of this she expressed that her education has greatly improved her knowledge, especially about the teaching profession and also made it clear how she can assist and make a difference in her community through her vocation and passion, which is teaching. This is a clear indication that her studies, link to everyday life, the theory she learned in university is relevant and

applicable to everyday life (Freire 1970) and that is a good indication of critical pedagogy.

Overall, this section is particularly difficult to analyse but two things can be taken out of the participants' responses. The first one being that an academic qualification which is only career orientated, meaning one that only focuses on mastering the profession, can be rigid in that it has a specific focus and does not allow for further engagement beyond that focus. The only job it achieves, as the participants have shown, is to improve one's knowledge about the specific field of study. Specialization, in an academic field, is good insofar as it allows one to properly know how to deal and handle issues related to his or her scope of specialization but it does not mean analysis should be limited to that specialty. This however, if critical engagement is not encouraged during this process, will certainly not impart critical thinking and consciousness and for that it can be said to portray a characteristic of banking education.

On the other hand, which is the second part of the argument, the fact that the participants can see the information gained from their studies beyond the respective disciplines indicates qualities of critical thinking and consciousness. Also, the fact that they see the need to link their academic knowledge and personally take it upon themselves to use it to not only develop a more informed perspective about social problems but to also come up with their own unique ways of dealing with these social problems is a developing quality of critical thinking and consciousness. One here is reminded of Freire's argument that human consciousness is distinct from animal consciousness in that "animals are incapable of self-conscious thoughts, of the passage of time or of deciding on a course of action as a result of reflection", whereas "humans are aware, both of themselves as conscious beings, and of their existence in space and time" (Blackburn, 2000:4 and Freire, 1970:23). Blackburn argues that human awareness allows for a second distinctive trait: "the capacity for creative thinking and, hence, potentially at least, the capacity to transform rather than merely adapt to reality" (2000:4). This we find in some of the research participants.

It is difficult, however, as the participants have expressed, to give major credit to the academic space, which is the classroom and their teachers because they overtly attributed their social awareness and actions to their own personal agency, not something that was stressed in their academic disciplines. Their positive and at times dynamic responses and attitude towards their education could also be attributed to a preparation they got from other spaces such as their family, friends and other social

interactions. As Samkange and Samkange (2013) suggest, primary socialization is important and people should not ignore that, this supposes that people enter academic spaces with already a basis of who they are, this basis is further either developed or improved, restructured or completely changed at school. This is all dependent of the type of system that the institutions and their practitioners serve to advance. Thus, we should not dismiss the responses of other participants who argue that school did not inform their awareness about social problems, instead, we should consider that perhaps school did not prepare them about how to deal with the social problems either. Then this would suggest that for some participants, if not all, critical thinking was mostly activated during their upbringing, in spaces of closer, constant and less formal interaction where real life and response to everyday issues such as struggles of service delivery in Ngangelizwe is taking place.

Notwithstanding the above, it is also worthwhile to note that the participants did mention that teachers have an important role to play in their process of learning and gaining knowledge. They expressed, as earlier reflected in chapter 6, that this role and influence of teachers can either be positive or negative, and it has an impact on how the students view not only their studies, academic capabilities and performance but also their sense of self-worth and belief. What can be said then is that as much as these participants developed their own perceptions about their academic studies, their teachers had something to do with how they perceive this knowledge and relate it to everyday life. Ultimately the participants expressed that their thoughts about the usefulness of this knowledge is due to their personal views and agency. There were also some who felt that with the theory they gained from their studies they were able to develop more informed and analytical ways of viewing social problems and thus giving them a better ability to tackle these social problems.

There were also participants who expressed that education has taught them to respect other people, improved communication skills and it has inspired them to become better people. Sphelele is one of the people who expressed this but he also said “socially I was never told how I should fix the issues by my teachers or lecturers”. This goes to show how the participants did not overtly receive any education about how to practically tackle social problems that exist around them.

Another example of a person who felt that education improved him at a personal scale is Mbulelo who said “education ...has played an important role because I realized that if I am not educated I will suffer, I will end up like many other brothers here in my

community, unemployed, frustrated, angry and maybe addicted to something like drugs”. What we are seeing here is that education inspired him; it helped to keep him away from streets and having a different fate.

Freire (1970) believed that education is both an ideal and referent for change in the service of a new kind of society. As an ideal, “education speaks to a form of cultural politics that transcends the theoretical boundaries of any one specific political doctrine, while also linking social theory and practice to the deepest aspects of emancipation” (Giroux cited in Freire,1985:xiii). In Mbulelo’s case we are seeing an example of a person who found inspiration and growth from education. As a result he decided to live a better life, one that is different from the negative stereotype that characterizes most youth of Ngangelizwe, as we have seen in descriptions from Busakwe et al of the majority of the youth of Ngangelizwe. Freire (1998:12) felt that “education is open-ended 'scientific formation' because people are conditioned but not determined by their circumstances” and this is exactly what we encounter in Mbulelo’s case.

Aphelele expressed that even though she thinks more could have been done studying youth development, in her case, improved her knowledge about HIV and AIDS. She said “I really realized that actually there is a lot that I did not know. This knowledge changed my views about the disease and the youth in general; I understand better why we portray the kinds of attitudes that we do, the economic reasons for our mentalities and activities basically”. This is good, because of her studies she became less ignorant about HIV and AIDS and its psychological impact especially when one knows little about it, yet another characteristic of problem posing education.

The notion that it is difficult to not be aware of the social problems that exist in Ngangelizwe, because it is a reality they are exposed to on a daily basis and as a result affects everyone who lives in the community was an important point that the participants strongly expressed and kept coming up during the interviews. Xolile, for example, said “I don’t think my education improved me with regards to knowledge about social issues out there... I can say that education has changed the way I behave, the way I think, the way I live and provide for my family though”. Sisipho said “I can’t say I learnt much about social problems but I also think if you are from Ngngelizwe it doesn’t take going to university to be aware of the social problems present here. I mean, we are exposed to these issues on a daily basis; one would be lying if he said he is not affected”.

Yanga said that with the knowledge acquired he was able to understand some social problems better but he was already aware of social problems that they face in Ngangelizwe; he also said he was bothered by these social problems. Yanga then added “but I honestly cannot say my studies overtly encouraged me to react against the problems existent in Ngangelizwe. It was a personal choice and moral obligation. With my education which improved my knowledge in my studied disciplines I just saw that I can actually apply math and economics, for example, in everyday life through various means”.

In all the responses we see that the participants have gained knowledge about their studies, most believe that their studies are career orientated and as a result this did not allow for them to be literally taught and trained how to deal with social problems, this is a skill that one acquires individually and their conditions in Ngangelizwe have made it possible for them to be aware of social problems. It is thus evidently clear, based on the responses, that the participants saw their educational experiences to have fulfilled an academic function, which was only focused on imparting skills orientated knowledge, related to their respective disciplines.

In any case, going to school and receiving academic qualifications has made the participants realize the need to create and develop their own assistance projects in their community, they are more aware that they cannot rely on the government to bring them development and transformation at the time they want it and in the way that they desire it. Many people are not mobilized for social change in Ngangelizwe, however, the participants teach us that those with academic qualification are at least able to see beyond only habiting Ngangelizwe, they see the need for activity and articulation by themselves to respond to their issues even though financially this is difficult and stressful for everyone.

8.3. Applicability of academic knowledge to practical life

Since most of the participants did not feel that it is the direct responsibility of classroom education to make one aware of social problem but awareness is in fact an innate thing that occurs to anyone experiencing and being exposed to issues such as those present in Ngangelizwe on a daily basis, it was thus necessary to find out whether they are applying their academic knowledge in practical life situations or there is no link there either. This was informed by Freire’s argument that a critical pedagogy should move

beyond the classroom and for this to happen the theory that is being taught should be linked to reality, not abstract things that students cannot relate to. Moreover, as argued by De Lissovoy (2008:7 and 94), education is fundamentally a human situation and not merely a formal or cognitive business; thus the space in which one gets educated should relate to everyday life consisting of social meanings, the construction of citizens and knowledge production.

In chapter 7 we already saw that some participants, 6 to be exact, are active in response to the service delivery matter, they are engaging and attempting to improve the living conditions of the community at large. In such actions we saw some hint of an understanding of the link between theory and action but it was not so much clear as to how much this was inspired by academic knowledge and thus a direct applicability of principles gained at school to respond to social issues. To get more detailed information the participants were thus asked to talk about subjects they enjoyed and how they think the knowledge they received is applicable to everyday life.

The responses received were based on the participants' respective studies and qualifications. This offered a broad and rich view about what the participants think about their education and particularly subjects or courses that they found to be educational. These different views also show how different people respond and gain different ideas. At the same time these different ideas contribute to a much bigger and ultimately common picture and goal which is that of positively contributing to the betterment of not only the Ngangelizwe community but humanity at large. This of course only happens when one has developed not only a critical thinking capacity but also an urge to act and contribute to the betterment of society and humanity.

Akhumzi, who studied Economics and International Relations, for example, explained that his knowledge about economics made him realize that the gap between the rich and poor will never end and that as a person he needs to focus on getting out of the 'gutter' because that is all he has the power to do. To think this way, according to Wellerstein (1995) is one of the triumphs imposed by the capitalist system.

Aphelele, who studied Youth Development, expressed that she now has a better understanding of the youth and things that affect them which makes her involvement and work with them in the community better. This relates to Fafunwa's assertions, that progressive education is from which a child or young adult is able to "develop abilities,

attitudes and other forms of behaviour which are of positive value to the society in which he lives” (1982:17).

Lindi, who studied Marketing and Advertising, said that she still values Physical Education which she studied in high school because she learned the importance of exercise and a good diet in one’s life, which is knowledge that she can also extend to other people.

Nkululeko, who studied B.Com Accounting, said he particularly enjoyed and gained much from studies because he can converse with people about issues that he learned in everyday life situations. He said “in economics, for instance, when talking about opportunity cost where people rationalize what to get and what not to get based on need and so forth. So I can link and relate the things I see happening in my community to things I have studied, like people occupying another person’s land without a signed agreement, how the court deals with such cases, etc”. In this case we can also see the relation and link made between theory and practise. Nkululeko understands things that happen around him better and he is able to link them to a deeper meaning and analyse them further based on his academic knowledge and practical experience and/ or at times observation.

Sibongile, who studied a Bachelor of Arts, said she particularly enjoyed isiXhosa which is also her mother tongue. She said “I loved the fact that I could engage in my mother tongue, it’s easier to bring my points across when I speak in my own langue but more importantly speaking in my mother tongue trained me to be proud of who I am as a black person”. In 2009 SANPAD conducted research at various South African universities with the school of indigenous languages to explore the possibilities of creating a new plan to introduce scholarly material in indigenous languages and even teach some degrees in indigenous languages at tertiary level. Such initiatives promote and expand the use of indigenous languages, they are especially relevant in the South African context as we know that the majority of its population belong to the African population, they understand their indigenous native languages and articulate themselves better more than they do in English. This is certainly progressive.

Sibusiso, who studied a Bachelor of Social Science and is now completing Honours in Rural Development said he enjoyed Psychology because it taught him to always judge situations based on underlying factors, not based on actions because that does not explain the situation fully. He added “I can apply this theory that I have even when ‘I’m

with my friends or anyone else wherever I am. I look for reason behind people's actions in all situations".

Xolile, who studied Pharmacy, said that from Pharmacology is applicable to everyday life situation because "it teaches you about what happens to you when you take a certain drug, what it does in your body in order for it to have a certain outcome. It tells you about ...the time the body distributes the drug, the time your metabolism has to be broken down and when it has to be eliminated in the body".

Yanga, who studied Information Technology Networks and a BSC in Mathematics, said he particularly enjoyed statistics because in "statistics, we look at trends, no one knows the future but common trends from throughout the years help us know what we can do with some level of comfortability". He added "before statistics came along you were challenged to solve X, you didn't know what this X will help you with, then statistics came along. Probability gives you an indication". Yanga expressed that all this information you learn makes you understand life phenomenon better.

Zonke, who studied Tourism said that her studies are applicable in her community because she is practically using her knowledge to implement her current project which runs in Mthatha and aims to benefit Ngangelizwe.

What we are seeing here is positive feedback from participants about their different disciplines and this indicates some features of critical pedagogy. In addition, we can see that education expands the knowledge that people have about other initiatives happening around the world as models to follow. This history is showing us the path and tools for possible social change through the acquisition of theory and 'praxis'.

Even though the participants do not express the relevance and applicability of their studies and academic knowledge at a large transformative scale, they show that what they learned can be extended beyond the classroom and it can be used to understand everyday life, they also show that the principles can be applied or incorporated in the community through their everyday life. Through their involvement and desires which they expressed earlier in chapter 6, it becomes evidently clear that a link between theory and practise can be detected, a collective praxis which can be developed in the near future in terms of Freire's theory.

Siphelele was the only participant who did not feel like he was able to apply his academic knowledge in a practical manner because he works as an assistant in a sports

shop; he expressed that his current job does not require much brain work. This is an interesting response because the participant is limiting his skills and academic knowledge to employment related work; he does not see or at least talk about it being useful in others spheres such as the community and elsewhere. Freire (1970) realized that some schools were operating as if the real mission and overriding purpose of schooling is to prepare students, at different levels, in the corporate order; Sipelele seems to be reflection of this.

Aronowitz and Giroux (1985:49) note that students of all social classes exhibit a tendency towards literalness, “that is, seem unable to penetrate beyond the surfaces of things to reach down to those aspects of the object that may not be visible to senses”. They argue that this happens because students tend to be unable to accept that imagination or reason may be employed to yield knowledge. On top of this, “the problem of abstraction becomes a major barrier because students seem enslaved to the concrete” (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985:49). It is because of this reason that students experience trouble in making connections between objects or set out concepts that are not related to each other in an obvious manner

8.4. The role of education, lessons learned from academic experiences

There are mainly five points that came out from the participants’ responses with regards to what they think the role of education is. The first point is that education enables one to be employable. Mbulelo and Xolile were the participants who expressed this view. Mbulelo’s response was said “education is there to make one employable; I think that’s the main reason why we study. When you are educated it gets easier for you”. Xolile’s response was that the role of education is “so that you can be able to sustain your livelihood and those who depend on you to be able to survive as well. Education makes you see the reason to live”. These views can be attributed to banking education whereby Freire (1970) argued that the teachings prompt students to reproduce already existing systems and structure instead of challenging and transforming them.

These participants see the prime purpose of education to be economical, to contribute to upward social mobility. One can however not blame them for believing that this is the most important role of education considering their economic and social conditions experienced in their homes and community at large. Most of their lives they were exposed to poor and inferior social conditions, Ngangelizwe does not look like other

areas where people have money and can afford to pay for services. Perhaps they made a comparison from such differences and concluded that an academic qualification is a means to an end: it will get you a job and provide you with a better social life.

The second point that came out is that the role of education is to teach and improve one's knowledge. For example, Aphelele said "education is supposed to take you from a level of knowing nothing to a level of knowing everything... education's role is to teach us, to become clear minded". Akhumzi said "I think the role of education is to give a person what he didn't have before he received an education; it is to help you become a better person, a person who knows more.

If education is to teach and improve one's knowledge then the teacher has to enable conditions that allow true knowledge to exceed general knowledge, as Freire (1970:80) argued. This improved knowledge, if it is liberatory, should encourage the participants to reflect more critically about social issues and we have seen, from some responses in earlier chapters, that a majority of the participants are critical and they have an urge to contribute to the betterment of their community in different ways.

The third point that came from the participants' responses is that education should inspire. Sibongile, for example, said "the role of education is to help people make sense of life, the realities and dynamics that we are exposed to in life. I think education must inspire". Freire (1997) and many other critical scholars, such as hooks (2003) McLaren (1997); Aronowitz and Giroux (1985) argued that students should be made comfortable, they should feel safe and an atmosphere of hope, love, humility and trust must create, this way they will feel inspired.

The fourth point coming out from the participant's responses was that education should teach tolerance, respect and life skills such as how to behave, think, articulate oneself, education should teach a person confidence and respect. For Freire "people educate each other through the mediation of the world" (1970:14). When this happens, he argued, "the world is no longer an abstraction or magic but a means by which people discover themselves and their potential as they give names to things around them" (1970: 14-15).

The fifth point coming out from the participants' expressions is that education should encourage and capacitate holistic thinking. This very important for critical pedagogy which is practised through problem posing education as it involves a constant unveiling of reality which moves beyond spaces of confinement. "Students, as they are

increasingly posed with problems relating to themselves in the world and with the world, will feel increasingly challenged and obliged to respond” to challenges (Freire, 1970:81). Freire argued that this is because they apprehend the challenge as interrelated to other problems within the total context. Holistic thinking is enabled by a holistic education, which in this research is seen to be critical pedagogy, problem posing education. When this happens, it can be said that the people’s response to challenges then evokes new challenges which are followed by new understandings.

In problem posing education, men and women begin to single out elements from their background, awareness and reflect upon them. “People develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation” (Freire, 1970:83). Freire (1997:31) argued that provided with the proper tools for critically looking at the world in dialogical encounters with others, “the individual can gradually perceive personal and social reality as well as the contradictions in it, become conscious of his or her own perception of that reality, and deal critically with it”. All this is possible when students are holistically educated because their preparation for life is not one dimensional and limited to one aspect; it is not geared towards assimilation and reproduction of unjust societal ills. Instead, it is geared towards appreciating diversity in existence, culture, views and beliefs that different people come with.

The responses of the participants helped insofar as developing an understanding of what forms their basis for being recipients of education. This is helpful because it also assists in explaining further not only how the education has affected them but also what they are doing with this education, as reported in the previous chapters, mainly 6 and 7. The participants also expressed that they have learned a lot from their educational experiences and these lessons were somewhat related to their responses of what they think the role of education is. For example, they expressed that education taught them the importance of self-belief, self-trust, independence, financial mobility, uplifting and enrichment of people and their desires, unity, group participation and effort, work ethics, embracing diversity, patience, sensitivity, acceptance, love and humility.

When engaging in critical pedagogy, in order for the teacher to be able to connect with the students and make them understand the relevance of theory to reality, Freire (1998) argued that it is very important that the teacher first seeks to know and understand the students’ different backgrounds. When the teacher understands this, he or she is able to

better position him or herself in a manner that will make the students open up and dialogically participate in class. This is very important because it does not only allow for the students to participate in class but also for their studies to become practically relevant to their lives. The idea is that if you understand what you are learning, if what you are learning is based on real life experiences then it becomes clear and easier for you to make sense of what your role, as a student of that discipline, a member of a community and citizen at large, should do. This is because you know the realities of your community, you know the challenges that you face, your education has capacitated you to tackle these issues, and it now lies upon you to do so.

Similar to Freire, Kincheleo (2007:4) sums up his understanding of critical pedagogy to be that which wants to connect education to a spiritual feeling, to embolden teachers and students to act in ways that make a difference, and to push humans to new levels of social and cognitive achievements previously deemed impossible. The participants are expressing views and values that can encourage and enable them to act in ways that make a difference and most of them are already attempting to do so through their various engagements, as shown in chapter 6.

8.5. Conclusion

The participants have shown that their academic education does have a link and relation to practical life but this link is not always obvious and encouraged in the lives of some, hence the inability to automatically link and relate theory with practise and praxis. Given and used in the right platform, academic education can allow its recipients to grow, think, express and act in ways that are encouraging and influential for the greater majority and good. This chapter has shown that there are some limitations which make the link between theory and practise difficult and these limitations are influenced by people's attitudes and the type of environment that they receive their education from, both in the formal and social sense. Overall, education plays a big role in one's life and it is important that it instils good and positive feelings in order to enable people to use it positively, in ways that are empowering and beyond the class or lecture room. From the participants responses we see a struggle and eventually difficulty of academic education unconditionally complementing social consciousness and activity, in other words, the link between theory and their everyday lives and reality is not always an easy flow.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

This thesis has argued that the Ngangelizwe youth graduates, coming from unfavourable conditions of underdevelopment in their community characterised by poverty and illiteracy, high crime rates and unemployment, extreme socio-economic and political exclusion, are not overtly recipients of a banking education. They show some traits of problem-posing education yet they also have elements of banking education. These graduates have defied their odds; they have pursued tertiary education and attained academic qualifications, something that is rare form the majority of the Ngangelizwe population.

At the same time, their public participation is not fully engaging or active. For instance, in chapter 7 it was discovered that only half of the research participants are active in matters such as service delivery protests. In other cases of participation or intention to participate, however, more participants were seen to be active and intending to be active towards the development of their community. This means that there is an even spread of public participation versus non-participation amongst these youth graduates, others are active and others are inactive. Thus, the thesis confronted the popular myth that youth in impoverished communities are all inactive, playing a very passive role and do not challenge the social problems that exist in their community.

The biggest issue that was detected was that the participants are limited by their financial affordability and personal development. They cannot afford to pay for certain service, for this reason, they are unable to influence their desired programmes which would otherwise benefit Ngangelizwe and its development. Also, because many of the participants are still looking to settle and find comfortable means of sustaining their livelihoods, it is difficult for them to commit their time to community projects, for instance, or other activities which would otherwise develop Ngangelizwe. As such, these confines and constraints limit their participation in their community and it contributes to making them seem inactive and ineffective in the development of their community. In as much as this was discovered to be the case, it was also discovered that their limited physical activity for some, and non-activity at all for others, does not keep them away from criticising and being aware of the problems existing in Ngangelizwe.

All of the participants showed concern and expressed criticism about Ngangelizwe but it seemed as if they are unable to continually mobilize and eventually have and a huge impact in terms of getting rid of existing issues, namely and mainly poor service delivery, because they feel that the bigger issues are beyond their power. This however did not stop, as reflected in chapter 7, others from responding and engaging with service delivery problems in ways that they can even if the solutions will be short term, we saw this in the public protest about service delivery organized by one of the participants which sparked response from the municipality and prompt recovery of electricity and water for a short period of time before they started experiencing the same problem again.

In terms of the participants' education in formal academic spaces such as their primary, secondary and tertiary schooling, their responses implied that they received both banking and problem-posing education. There were instances, mostly in primary and secondary school, where it was evident that banking education was rife whereas for others banking education was present throughout their schooling period. An example of this is participants who felt intimidated and insecure during their learning processes because teachers utilized corporal punishment. Another example is that of students who were insulted and called names such as being slow or stupid by their teachers; it was established in chapter 6 that such dynamics affected the participants' performance and confidence. Essentially we saw banking traits of education in cases where some participants expressed that fear characterised some of their relationships with their teachers making them unable to freely and happily enjoy their learning process at school.

Other traits of banking education were cases where some respondents did not see a link between their academic qualifications and reality; this was however not a lot of them. Many of the participants felt that they see or at least realize the relevance of their education and how it has opened them up to issues of everyday life.

With regards to problem-posing education, we also saw early characteristics in the development of the participants' lives in instances where group work was encouraged and promoted in their schools from primary to tertiary. Another platform which encouraged some of the participants was in tertiary for those who expressed that tutorial discussions and discussions during some of their lectures opened them up, they developed some critical thinking capacity. We also saw problem-posing traits in some participants expressing that they had and still have good fearless relationships with their

teachers, they receive guidance and encouragement from these people. We also saw it in participants who expressed a direct link and are now utilizing or later planning to utilize their academic qualifications to benefit others in the community.

It was argued that, based on the responses, most of the participants seem to believe that they received their critical education from their primary socialization which is found in their households, friends, family, the community, and other influences within the community. This is because they expressed that they are exposed to the issues present in Ngangelizwe on a daily basis, their awareness is not based on hearsay but in fact based on personal experience in different but relevant ways. This, for them, was their biggest way of gaining consciousness about Ngangelizwe because the poverty, crime, illiteracy, unemployment are issues that they cannot be deaf or blind to, considering that they know someone, they live with someone or they are that someone who is directly affected by these issues.

For some, this consciousness resulted to action and for others it did not result to any action. Importantly, all participants reflected consciousness but, as earlier noted, were limited in their action because of a lack of resources and power to physically change the issues present in Ngangelizwe. These reflections made it difficult to adamantly conclude that the youth of Ngangelizwe is not conscious and that they are banking education products. Instead, it was more reflected to acknowledge that they are not overtly critical conscious beings because they did not receive an entirely problem-posing education, they education has both influences (banking and problem-posing) and as a result their reflections and actions are affected by this.

Acknowledging and having considered the material and social limitations that the participants expressed, it was without doubt evident and more logical to conclude that indeed their education is not entirely banking, as initially assumed. However, at the same time their education is not overtly problem-posing as simply because they portray some traits of the banking method; they have not rid themselves of the banking aspect of their education which essentially serves to limit and negatively impact on their critical thinking and social consciousness in the long run. What this implies is that in as much as they are conscious, they are not fully conscious and in as much as they are critical, they are not fully critical but instead still in the process of acquiring critical minds because they still have banking traits in their thoughts, attitudes and actions. They will only be said to be truly critically conscious beings once the banking trait ceases to exist.

What the Ngangelizwe case shows is that it is very difficult for one to be a fully critically conscious being if one exists and expresses his or her being in a society which does not promote critical consciousness and thinking. The capitalist system's main interest is to create docile social agents to fulfil the tasks expected in order to reproduce this system which perpetuates oppression, exploitation and inequality amongst people.

The principles of critical pedagogy that Freire proposes are essential, they are guiding and ideal, however, it is difficult to attain them in a society where inequality of opportunities and outcomes exist. In a society where certain people are subjected to poor living conditions, poor facilities for learning and engaging, such as the community of Ngangelizwe and many of its members, it is difficult for Freire's principles of critical pedagogy (even though it is not impossible) to ever become a norm in our society. This case of Ngangelizwe youth graduates has shown this matter and proven it to be possible, that education, with its many facets has a role that it plays, its impact, which can either be negative or positive is influenced by the agenda or purpose that it serves, as argued by Freire (1970) Marx (1927), Giroux (1982), hooks (2010) Samkange and Samkange (2013) and others.

To be able to reach this final conclusion the thesis started off by clearly setting out the research topic and explaining it. In explaining and elaborating on the importance of the topic it was made clear, in the beginning, that the research focuses and directs its analysis towards education with specific reliance on the Freirean approach. Thus, throughout, the research analysed the knowledge acquisition process and experiences of Ngangelizwe youth graduates in the greater attempt to understand the significance of their education.

To highlight the relevance and importance of this topic, the introduction chapter discussed the education challenge in SA. It argued that considering South Africa's social and economic development being threatened by many challenges, mainly relating to poverty and inequality, education is a crucial subject which needs endless and tireless discussion in academic discourse and within the civil society at large. This argument was based on the notion and fact that education plays an important role in society. Also seeing the recent protests and discussions revolving around the issue of education in South Africa, this topic, within its chosen focus of Ngangelizwe youth graduates, seemed much needed and crucial as it contributes to the academic body of the education discourse. These protests and discussions in the country are: the fees must fall campaign

headed by university students, the final results of Grade 12 learners in the country with the Eastern Cape performing poorly in the past years and coming out last in 2015.

In the discussion it became clear that education in SA does have an important role that it plays in society as it affects the lives of people within the country mainly in their communities. Following this logic then, moving forward the thesis looked at and discussed how the youth graduates of Ngangelizwe, with their first-hand experience of education through their knowledge acquisition process and experiences (unlimited to the class and lecture room) view the significance of education in their lives as they continuously exist within their Ngangelizwe community.

To guide the research process, a problem statement was proposed; to be able to understand and tackle the research topic better secondary questions were proposed. Questions such as: what is education, how does it occur or how does the process of acquiring knowledge take place and what does it entail? What is the role of education in one's life? What does the Freirean approach say about education and the knowledge acquisition process?

On top of this, informed by the topic, the research goals and objectives were also clearly set out. Assumptions which were proved and disproved in chapters 6, 7 and 8 were also set out. The research design and methodology was also set out in Chapter 1. Briefly, the thesis was based on the qualitative method; it applied many elements of the ethnographic approach to eventually interpret the significance that the participants' education has in their lives based on their explanations. It wanted to explore and eventually analyse the reality of the participants, with regards to the proposed topic, based on the context and experiences of the participants.

As the research was interested in understanding the reasons behind the participants' social action and existence in their community, their responses and attitudes were necessary to eventually reflect whether they have received a banking or problem-posing education. Seeing as it was assumed that there is a lack of youth activity and voice in Ngangelizwe and that this lack of youth voice contributes to the lack of improvement in the community thus the educated youth graduates are recipients of banking education, it was necessary to find out the truth so as to settle the assumptions made in chapter one.

In chapter two the prominent concepts which were later utilized in the next chapters of the thesis were discussed at length. Chapter three then offered a critical reappraisal of Freire scholarship which featured the scholar's point of departure, his full stance on

education. Chapter four then discussed the philosophical influences and contributing scholars of Freire's work. This part proved that Freire's work is not only relevant but it also inspirational and realistic because it draws on issues that existed long before his time and are still existing long after his death.

Chapter five critically discussed the matter of education, townships, the youth and participation in SA. This chapter highlighted the complexity of the issue, it showed that education in academic spaces is a long issue in SA which unfortunately still largely negatively affects the black majority of which many are situated in townships and rural areas, as in the case of Ngangelizwe youth graduates. This particular chapter reflects that in as much as the country is said to be a democratic one, there is still a very long way to go to ensure that all South Africans access opportunities, growth and live with dignity without marginalization. For now it is difficult, as seen in the case of Ngangelizwe and its youth graduates, for everyone to live a dignified life with access to at least basic services because their communities are poor, the same people living in poor communities are the same people who do not have enough economic means to influence and effect improvement in their communities. Hence why Ngangelizwe, even though it has a small pool of conscientized and educated members, is still to-date unable to improve and exist without its social-ills haphazardly.

Chapter 6, 7 and 8 offered a contextualized analysis which led to the conclusions and remarks that were eventually made, essentially that the youth graduates received both banking and problem-posing education as a result their actions are a reflection of such. They are not fully active as a result their community is not a transformed one. At the same time, the betterment of their community does not solely rely on their participation; it depends on resources and funds, which is something that many of them lack.

Seeing that the local government is closer to the people, it would be interesting to explore empirical ways concerning how it is facilitating the betterment of communities, specifically Ngangelizwe, and to what extent the members of Ngangelizwe are being involved in the process. Overall, the research findings are useful and they provide guiding answers, they help one to understand Freire's scholarship and the issue of critical pedagogy better. At the same time, to move beyond merely understanding the knowledge acquisition process and experience, further studies such as looking into the legal framework of participation would be very much useful as it would help us better understand the existing constraints of overall participation and development in the township of Ngangelizwe.

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Appendices

Interview questions

Name

Age

Gender

1. Socio-economic background and infrastructure

- At home, who do you live with? Is the house rented or owned? How many rooms does it have?
- Who is the main source of income? Is there anyone else who contributes to the source of income in the household?
- What does the main source of income do to earn money?
- Do you receive a social grant?
- What are you able to consume with the income received?
- When was the last time you went for a holiday? Where did you go and for how long?
- How do you and your family spend your leisure time?
- Do the members of your community experience problems with service delivery? E.g. water, electricity, toilets, etc.?
- Have or do you experience (d) similar problems with the service delivery in your household?
- Have you or the members of the community reacted against it through any form of action? (Protests, petitions sent to municipality, ward meetings, etc). what were the results of these actions?

2. Relationship with the community

- With relations to the social activities occurring in Ngangelizwe, how would you describe the community?
- What kind of social problems would you say exist in the township?
- Are you involved in the development of the community? How?
- If so, what do you think is the purpose of such groups? What are the main positive aspects of it? What has been achieved?
- If you are involved in a group, how organized is it and what do you, as members, do to fulfil your mandate?
- Do you feel that serving your community has made a difference? Explain.
- What do you think is the purpose of serving and making a difference in one's community? And for you, what is your main purpose?
- In your community, who would you say is/are the most inspiring figure(s)? Why? What has/have this/these figures taught you?

3. Education experiences

- In primary and high school, did you attend public or private schools? Was it located in the township or another area? Please explain the perceived difference between public and private schools close to your neighbourhood?
- Name of the tertiary institution that you went to
- What did you study in tertiary? Why?
- Share your experiences at school and university, focus on:

The way classes were conducted

The student-teacher relationship

The class and lecture room set-up. What kind of atmosphere was it?

How would you describe the tertiary institution/s you have been to?

How did all these affect your performance as a student?

- How do you perceive the education that you have received from school in terms of its role towards improving your knowledge and awareness about social problems in your community?
- What was your favourite subject or course at school/university? Why? How are you applying the knowledge received from these institutions in practical life?
- What do you think is the role of education? Why?
- What is the most important thing/lesson that you have learned from primary or high school and/or university? Please clarify

4. The community and its struggles

Crime, drug abuse, poverty and illiteracy are one of Ngangelizwe's biggest problems.

- How would you say these social problems are affecting you as an individual psychological and materially?
- Is there anything that you are doing to contribute towards combatting these issues in your community?
- If yes, what and why? If no, why not?
- What do you think is your role as a young [educated] person in your community?
- Are you playing this role? How?
- How accessible is the public library to you as members of the community?
- How furnished is the public library?

- Do you think that the public library, as a space and institution meant to foster learning, has contributed towards improving your knowledge about social problems and other relevant issues as young people? Explain your answer?
- In addition, how do you think that the community benefits from using the library? Explain your perceptions about this point.

5. Influences in one's life

- Who has mostly influenced your acquisition of knowledge? (family, formal education, the community, religious institutions, political/social institutions, cultural believes, etc.)
- Explain your relation with each one of these institutions, taking into account the level of importance to attribute to each.
- Do you think your qualification is applicable to your everyday life situations? Explain your answer. How? Why?
- Are you aware of any community project in Ngangelizwe? Please, explain the projects you know exist there.
- Have you had or/and have the opportunity to put into practice this knowledge in the community or in any community project? Please, explain deeply.