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Humanising pedagogy: A politico-economic perspective

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ABSTRACT

In this article I shall reflect on the issue of humanising pedagogy, taking a view that dehumanisation, in general, comes from two kinds of oppression. I shall argue that, apart from oppression of the political type, tertiary education is also a victim of another type of oppression which contributes to its dehumanisation, viz. the oppression exercised by the economic system that South Africa has chosen to adopt after 1994. In the context of these two factors, I shall discuss what humanising pedagogy is, as presented in selected literature. I shall then discuss the political oppression and Freire's educational solution. Further, I shall present the effect of neoliberal economy on higher education. Finally, I shall, in full circle, go back to the issue of humanising pedagogy and the possible solutions, coming from Freire, but also Fanon, Said, and Bhabha. I shall conclude with a personal reflection on the situation in South Africa and the role it could play in remedying the educational quandary. Ex Africa semper aliquid novi!

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Introduction

Ex Africa semper aliquid novi

The phrase, found in Pliny the Elder's Naturalis Historia¹ has, since his times, been used and abused in describing the continent of Africa as a source of wonder and abundance. It is surprising then that, even though much is being said about the crippling effect of the colonial rule on Africa, more often than not lip service is being paid not only to the continent's miraculous and lavish history and culture, but also the possibility of contributing 'something new' to the set ways of the Old World. It is even more surprising that reference to the novelty obtainable from the African ways rarely happens within the discourse of transformation in higher education in South Africa. If at all, attention is given to the lingering consequences of colonialism on the educational scene rather than the possibility of a unique, world-wide contribution. But is colonialism the real oppressive force still keeping South African education in its grips? Or are we now dealing with another kind of oppression which, while historically aligned to South Africa's colonial past, has nevertheless taken hold in a way independent of the historical conditions and related to world-wide economic developments. As we shall see below, of two identifiable types of oppression, it is economic oppression of a particular type rather than political one which has a hold on higher education, not only in South Africa, but across the world.

Thus, in this article I shall reflect on the issue of humanising pedagogy, taking a view that dehumanisation, in general, comes from two kinds of oppression. I shall argue that, apart from oppression aptly exemplified by Freire's description of the controlling type of politically-based educational system, education is also a victim of another type of oppression which contributes to its dehumanisation, viz. the oppression exercised by the economic system that the South Africa has chosen to adopt after 1994. While its citizens have become politically enfranchised, economic liberation has not followed suit. In the context of these two factors, I shall discuss what humanising pedagogy is, as presented in selected literature. I shall then discuss the political oppression and Freire's educational solution. Further, I shall present the effect of neoliberal economy on higher education. Finally, I shall, in full circle, go back to the issue of humanising pedagogy and the possible solutions, arguing for a combined educational theory based in the works of Freire, but also supplemented by such theorists as Fanon, Said, and Bhabha. I shall conclude with a personal reflection on the situation in South Africa and the role it could play in remedying the educational quandary.

Humanising pedagogy—act one—definitions

Considering that much of this article will be using the term 'humanising pedagogy', it is only prudent to define it. Keet, Zinn, and Porteus state that

[a] humanising pedagogy is a radical pedagogy, not a 'soft' one, and its humanising interest is linked to focusing on both structural and psycho-social dimensions of human suffering, and human liberation (Keet et al., 2009, p. 113).

In line with this definition and its emphasis on suffering and liberation, many authors have focussed on describing a humanising pedagogy in terms of theory of recognition, an old Hegelian concept presently reinvented by Axel Honneth (1995) and modified by Nancy Fraser (2010) to include redistribution, recognition, and representation. While Fraser applies these ideas to the case of the oppression of women, an extrapolation to pedagogy has been attempted (see, for example, Bozalek & Boughey, 2012; Faatar, 2016). However, this approach emphasises social justice in general terms rather than oppression of a systemic kind. It is the latter concept that I am linking with the ensuing dehumanisation of pedagogy, thus looking at 'humanising pedagogy' from a different, if related, perspective.

I shall therefore look at oppression of the political and economic kind as affecting pedagogy and, consequently, higher education.

Education as a political tool

Politicisation of education

Education is, for obvious reasons, a tool eagerly used by rulers not only to develop but also to control societies. In South Africa, its unhappy apartheid past and the Bantu Education (Bantu Education Act, 1953) is proof of such an application of education and its submission to the politics of the government of the time. Education of the Blacks, so far mainly taken care of by mission schools, was to be reassigned to the state since, as Christopher (1994, p. 150) puts it, [b]lacks were not to aspire to certain positions in society and so education for such positions was not deemed necessary.' At the same token, mission schools were considered dangerous in 'fostering ideas, such as equality, which could not be encouraged' (Christopher, 1994, p. 151). Beinart (1994, p. 153) confirms this in stating that such schools provided 'an academic training with too much emphasis on English and "dangerous liberal ideas". This, in the eyes of the government, could lead to the "foundation of an African elite" (Beinart, 1994, p. 153). With the obvious aim of submission in mind, the Act insisted on the use of the Bantu home languages as this was deemed to 'cement ethnic awareness in African children' (Beinart, 1994, p. 153), a desirable attitude of remaining within one's own racial group and not striving for achievement and freedom from the oppressive regime.

Meanwhile, in South America, Paulo Freire was noticing exactly the relationship between education and the political system's control over it as presented above. In 1968, his *Pedagogy* of the Oppressed was first published in Portuguese, with the English translation following in 1970.

Pedagogy of the oppressed—the problem

Del Carmen Salazar credits Paulo Freire with the person-centred view on pedagogy, stating that 'Freire's philosophy is guided by the notion that humans are motivated by a need to reason and engage in the process of becoming' (del Carmen Salazar, 2013, p. 125). She understands this process, humanisation, as 'the process of becoming more fully human as social, historical, thinking, communicating, transformative, creative persons who participate in and with the world' in a way in which people 'become conscious of their presence in the world as a way to individually and collectively re-envisage their social world' such that they obtain liberation through their 'desire for self-determination' (del Carmen Salazar, 2013, p. 126).

Freire is acutely aware that education is used as a political tool by oppressive governments, an example of this being the fact that, in his native Brazil, only the literate could vote up until the late 1960s (Love, 1970, p. 4). By perceiving the oppressor-oppressed dynamism, comparable to the South African colonist-coloniser opposition, Freire argues that education cannot and will not be apolitical, since it is the oppressed themselves who have to be instrumental in their liberation. Rather than just passively awaiting the goodwill of the oppressor, they have to obtain control over their education (Freire, 2005). In a move later emulated by South Africa's Steve Bantu Biko and his Black Consciousness Movement (see Biko, 1987), Freire forms the concept of *conscientização* or *conscientisation*, i.e. an understanding that the oppressed must become aware of not only their situation within a particular political system but also their humanity and through this become active participants in their own liberation.

On the grounds of these assumptions, Freire formulated his now famous opposition of a banking model of education and problem-posing model of education.

According to Freire, the banking model of education is based on the understanding of reinforced passivity of the learners, of their complete subjugation to the teacher, and through the teacher, to the chosen curriculum, and thus the oppressive system. The student is treated as a receptacle to be filled while knowledge is perceived as a gift to be bestowed upon the grateful learner, passively and unreflectively (Freire, 2005, p. 72ff). But then, even the teacher does not show full engagement. As in the common joke defining a lecture², the educator's role is to control and organise how the knowledge enters the students' consciousnesses, in a bank-clerical manner, thus producing a passive recipient. Students, also like the bank clerks, receive knowledge, 'file' it in their heads and notebooks and keep it there, never trying to reflect on it or apply it. Passivity of this kind leads to dehumanisation as 'apart from inquiry, apart from the praxis, individuals cannot be truly human' (Freire, 2005, p. 72). Since the students' humanity can only be truly reflected in their creative, transformative activity, such passivity is in the interest of the oppressor, because, as Freire (2005, p. 74) states, 'the more the oppressed can be led to adapt to that situation, the more easily they can be dominated'. Students, thus alienated from their humanity and robbed of their critical consciousness, become more adaptable, manageable, malleable, and easy to manipulate. Thus structured, education sees students at their best if they behave like totally credulous, unquestioning automata. Freire offers a counter-measure to what the banking model inculcates in learners in problem-posing understanding



of education, as leading to the full development of the student as a human being with a developed critical consciousness.

Pedagogy of the oppressed—the solution?

In contrast to the banking model of education as a solution to domination and oppression, Freire proposes the problem-posing model of education. In brief, the model stands in opposition to the description above. The model resolves the inherent binary opposition in the relationship between the teacher and the learner as seen in the banking model by stressing the equal footing and partnership between the teacher and the learners. Both parties are teachers and learners at the same time, equals in that each has a competency of their own. Since there are no superiors and inferiors, what is achieved is that both are engaged, active, creative, always questioning, and never taking anything for granted just because 'the authority said so'. The way in which this is achieved is by allowing for the creative side of a human being to be employed and by knowledge to become applied rather than purely consumed. In this way, the human being has no other way of acquiring education but by developing their³ critical consciousness. As this happens, reality and the world are viewed as flexible, always changing and rendering themselves to curious investigation and transformation. As a result of such an approach, this model creates a curious, creative, thinking, and self-confident person. This re-humanisation of the learner makes them immune to both external and internal (ideological) control, providing them with tools for liberation. (See Freire, 2005, pp. 73–83)

Freire's solution is not a panacea. Both Freire himself and his critics see it as a model to be adapted rather than accepted as prescriptive. We shall return to the critique and other options later in the course of this article. Still, from the above, it follows that the problem-posing approach may be deemed the solution to the threat of political oppression as manifested in education. Vive la liberté? Not yet. Another threat, possibly as great as the political, and far more insidious, is lurking around. This threat lies in the pervading economic relationships in the world.

Education as the tool of the neoliberal economy

The neoliberal economy

While political and economic systems are inter-related, their effects on the human being, or, more specifically, their oppressive effects, need to be described separately. Presently, bar the scarce remainders of the so-called 'communist' economic systems, the world has adopted the market-forces related capitalist economy as the main economic system. This has consequences regarding the position of human beings in this system, including how they are educated. Thus, in the section that follows, I shall devote attention to the phenomena of alienation, reification, and commodification and the impact they have not just on the workforce but, through the absorption of neoliberal thinking, on the perceived, and often already adopted, role of education in the capitalist system.

According to Braudel (1977, p. 64), '[c]apitalism only triumphs when it becomes identified with the state, when it is the state'. This 'identification' or, in Marxist terms, 'superstructure' (Marx & Engels, 1968) gives rise to the prevailing ideology. In our times, this ideology is neoliberalism, 'a sociopolitical rationality and historical phase of capitalism that strategically works to transform all aspects of state policy and social life to reflect and serve the demands of markets and elite corporate and financial interests' (Means, 2018, p. 19).

Means (2018) is aware, as we shall see later, of the negative impact of this servile role of both the state and the society on many aspects of human activity, including education. However, in the mid-1990s such a critical position would have been thought exaggerated and expressive of 'unfounded feelings of being the victim or perpetrator of "exploitation" and to feelings of "alienation" based on the belief that the economic world is immoral, purposeless, or chaotic' (Reisman, 1998, p. 17). In fact, the same author praises this economic system and the 'enormous economic progress which has taken place in the "Western" world over the last two centuries' (Reisman, 1998, p. 17). Reisman (1998, p. 17) further optimistically adds that 'in providing demonstrable solutions for all of the world's major economic problems, it points the way for intelligent action to make possible radical and progressive improvement in the material conditions of human beings everywhere.' The key words here seem 'material condition', since the expressive, creative, and inspired part of the human condition does not seem to be of concern as such. Creativity, if it exists, is subjugated to the aims of the system to produce more, faster, better, and to innovate by re-thinking existing products rather than making ground-breaking discoveries. Young talent, as Liu (2020, p. 9) shows in her incisive book Abolish Silicon Valley, is lured into the system by 'Silicon Valley's legitimating myths (...), the straight-faced claims of meritocracy, the propaganda about mission-driven companies solving the world's problems'. While she is aware of the need for technology, she abhors the intimate relation of technology and capitalism which, in Liu's words, 'requires letting the free market run roughshod over every aspect of our lives', where anyone opposed to this is considered 'against innovation entirely' (Liu, 2020, p. 9).

So, what is it, in fact, that some speak of so highly while others perceive as a threat to humanity? Various theorists have given the phenomenon various names and approached from a variety of angles. For Marx (1992), interested in the issue of the value of labour, the problem is the alienation of the workers from their work as well as 'commodity fetishism', for Horkheimer and Adorno (2002), it is the pervading commodification of culture, while for Lukács, reification. In fact, Vervoort (2020, p. 271) claims that Lukács' conceptual work on reification can, even now, provide for 'an accurate critique of contemporary neoliberal reality' while Brown (2015, p. 17) points out that the neoliberal ideology advocates an "economization" of political life and of other heretofore noneconomic spheres and activities'. Similarly, Westerman (2019, p. 291) returns to the concept of alienation which he sees as 'the structurally produced conflict between those parts designated as private, and those that are public (...), a contradiction produced within the totality of experience', something which, to my mind, leads to a new mode of consumption, viz. consumerism, an attitude characterised by the mindless consumption of 'newer and better' goods. As things have become, it is now the consumer who becomes reified as the recipient of the goods, while remaining alienated from what they themselves create as workers.

But what have all these theoretical considerations got to do with education, and postgraduate education in particular? As we shall see below, a lot.

Knowledge economy—the problem

What I have said so far shows that the neoliberal system, despite having progressed from the simplistic alienation of the 'Ford assembly line' type, is still exploitative, in a more deceptive way, reifying human beings and turning everything, from work to leisure to education into a commodity, to be bought and sold. As Žižek (2019, p. 16) puts it,

[t]hose who are not subjected to direct commodification but who play a crucial role in the reproduction of labour power are also affected by the growing dependence on future valorization that is supposed to be opened up by the circulation of fictitious capital (...). This is why the topic of education (in its productive-technocratic version: getting ready for the competitive job market) is so important today, and is also intertwined with debt: a student gets into debt to pay for his/her education, and this debt is expected to be repaid through self-commodification, i.e. when the indebted student gets a job.

In the quote above, Žižek succinctly defines not just what it means to become educated but also by points out the self-commodifying or reifying, as Lukács (1972) would want to call it, factor of the student becoming 'sold' to the system in more than one way. This view is neatly

summed up by McLaren who is of the opinion that '[t]he major purpose of education is to make the world safe for global capitalism' through 'corporate-driven curricula' (McLaren, 2000, p. 196).

Means goes even further by providing a likely cause for the change. He perceives the shift from the Keynesian 'state-managed capitalism to reliance on neoliberal logics' (Means, 2018, p. 21; also see Olssen and Peters (2005), p. 313 who ascribe the shift to the change in the understanding of value) as that which lies at the basis of the new approach to education. In this new neoliberal system where education is part of a market-forces regulated system with less and less state control, the driving force is to 'increase the productivity of human labor, and therefore technological innovation and economic growth' (Means, 2018, p. 21), viewing the workforce as nothing more than 'human capital, valued in terms of economic productivity and growth' (Means, 2018, p. 4). or, 'embodied economic capacities' (Means, 2018, p. 20).

Similar views on the altered role of education are expressed by Ball (2017) who emphasises the way in which educational policies are directed to increase competitiveness with close to no attention given to the humanising/socialising role of education as well as Hill who sees governments as 'committed to developing human capital' (Hill, 2007, p. 204). Hill proceeds to present the strategy of neoliberal economy for education. In his own words,

World capital has three plans for education. There is a Capitalist Plan for Education (what it requires education to do - produce labour power with the skills and ideologically compliant attitudes to develop a workforce from whom surplus value can be extracted). There is a Capitalist Plan in Education (how it plans to make 'big bucks'/money/profits out of education). There is also (...) the Capitalist Plan for education corporations globally (...) to profit from international privatising, franchising and marketing activities. (Hill, 2007, p. 204-205; original emphasis)

In this plan, the educator, either consciously or unwittingly, alongside the media and the family, forms part of the 'dominant ideological state apparatus' in the service of perpetuating the desired ideology (Hill, 2007, pp. 208–209).

Focussing on higher education, Wheelahan and Moodie present the processes described above in their study of vocational education. The authors stress that education has three roles, viz. in the labour market so as to 'prepare graduates for skilled work' (Wheelahan & Moodie, 2017, p. 10), in education as stepping stones for academic careers, and in society, as preparation for various roles in different communities (Wheelahan & Moodie, 2017, pp. 21-22). However, they perceive a substantial shift in focus from 'educational logic' to 'employment logic' (Wheelahan & Moodie, 2017, 12ff).

Also with regard to higher education, Case looks at the issue of student alienation. She contends that higher education needs to be regarded within a socio-cultural context, part of which are both alienation and engagement and defines alienation as 'a disconnection in the context of a desired or expected relationship' (Case, 2008, p. 323). While acknowledging the Marxist origin of the concept, she proceeds to discuss alienation as a psychological phenomenon viewed from a Winnicottian perspective, often applied as a defence mechanism in situations such as feeling of meaninglessness or powerlessness, in particular in a number of situations when the identity of the student is constructed within the academic discourse (Case, 2008, pp. 324-5-326). While this is an important input, it does not identify the underlying systemic cause of the alienating experiences of university students.

The arguments of Hill (2007), Wheelahan and Moodie (2017), and Case (2008) regarding the commodifying and alienating effects of the dominant economic system, while valid and solidly researched, pale when confronted with the brutally clear exposition of what neoliberalism has in stock for higher education in the next paper which I discuss. Should one perceive the opinions of the previous authors as their purely idiosyncratic views, their statements are not just fully corroborated by the excellent (though, in a sense, terrifying) paper by Olssen and Peters (2005) but, in fact, are revealed as resulting from a steady and continuous politico-economic process. The authors clearly define neoliberalism, present its main tenets, and then apply these to describe how knowledge capitalism affects higher education.

Olssen and Peters explain neoliberalism as 'a specific economic discourse or philosophy which has become dominant and effective in world economic relations as a consequence of super-power sponsorship'. They further view it as a 'politically imposed discourse' which 'constitutes the hegemonic discourse of western nation states', not to be confused with globalisation, which they perceive as a separate process (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 314). Thus, the authors view neoliberalism as a continuation of the classical economic liberalism in that it emphasises 'individuals as economically self-interested subjects', views free market economy as 'the best way to allocate resources and opportunities', especially when the market forces are unsuppressed and allowed to freely play rather than under governmental control, with little or no 'state-imposed protection or support' (Olssen & Peters, 2005, pp. 314–315). However, what they perceive as the new feature of the neoliberal economic system is the relentless drive to marketisation and commodification, including the marketisation and commodification of teaching and research (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 316).

So understood, neoliberalism has affected institutions of higher education such that

[t]the traditional professional culture of open intellectual enquiry and debate has been replaced with a institutional stress on performativity, as evidenced by the emergence of an emphasis on measured outputs: on strategic planning, performance indicators, quality assurance measures and academic audits. (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 313)

Education is thus an 'input-output system which can be reduced to an economic production function' (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 324) with management that applies techniques similar to those used in production such as orientation towards clear outputs, results, and 'achievement'. The understanding of higher education as a service for the public good and interest is replaced by higher education being perceived as a system of production of workforce, under a contractual agreement which it has to fulfil (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 324). The authors have no doubt what these changes will set in motion. They claim that '[t]his shift in regulative modality constitutes a structural shift which is likely to transform the academic's role' (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 324). They predict the collapse of traditionally understood professionalism and the rise of specification of job performance, the collapse of academic autonomy and the role of academic institutions as centres of free thought, the change in management style to executive positioning of the Vice-Chancellor and other officials, whose focus and allegiance is to the managerial centre rather than the faculty or department, and a shift in general governance to autocratic, centrally controlled systems (Olssen & Peters, 2005, pp. 325-329). The authors' line of argument leads to the conclusion that '[u]nder the neoliberal period there has been a shift from "bureaucratic-professional" forms of accountability to "consumer-managerial" accountability models' which, in turn, leads to 'the rise in the importance of knowledge as capital' (Olssen & Peters, 2005, pp. 328 and 330). This understanding of knowledge and thus higher education as the 'producer' of this 'product' affects students, academics, and their institutions alike, in that whatever they do has a higher goal of producing marketable value (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 332).

The authors provide detailed lists and tables which compare the functioning, role, management style, and governance of higher educational institutions which may have been prognoses in 2005 when the paper was published but which look disturbingly like what can be observed at most universities now, fifteen years later. In the interest of the flow of my paper and because of the bulk of the material, I cannot include these data in this text. An interested reader may find these in the original paper by Olssen and Peters (2005).

One of the concluding statements of the above paper is that

The distinctions between managers and workers, learning and working, are becoming blurred so that we all become owners of our own intellectual capital, all knowledge capitalists – at least in the western advanced economies. (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 338).



It is this statement that leads me to the next section of my paper, viz. the discussion of the effects of the neoliberal shift on higher education in South Africa.

Humanising pedagogy—act two—ex Africa

It is obvious from the literature discussed above that the shift to commodification and marketization⁴ of education has already taken place and that, unless some radical systemic changes occur, the process is unstoppable. What, then, is the situation in South Africa? Below are three South African voices presenting concerns related to the situation of higher education and supervision, in particular, but also attempts at solutions.

In the South African context, the question of pedagogy being humanised or re-humanised seems a no-brainer, considering its dehumanising apartheid past. Yet, there seem to be problems. Before giving voice to the three authors, we need to briefly look at South African post-apartheid economic systemic choices and what they may mean for higher education.

Freedom came in 1994 and with it...

The colonial South Africa (or rather, its geographic and socio-political predecessors), after a period of 'Dutch mercantilist system based in bonded labor and salvery' and a short period of 'British liberal notions of universal humanity', changed in the late 19th century, due to the development of mining, to industrial capitalism, resulting in further oppression and disenfranchisement of the African labourer (Peet, 2002, 66). While another shift towards the 'discourse of universal humanity' took place after World War II, it still was based on the dominance of the colonial white person, which led to a class division constructed along racial lines (Peet, 2002, 66).

It is no wonder, then, that during the struggle against apartheid, the general politico-economic mind-set of the leaders was that, apart from its main goal to abolish race-based disenfranchisement, this was also a class struggle, following known Marxist principles. The oft-quoted statement of the Freedom Charter, adopted by the main struggle actors in 1955, 'The People Shall Govern' bears witness to the general political and economic direction taken at the time of its signing (South African History Online 2016). To quote Peet (2002, p. 68) again, '[t]he Freedom Charter combined nationalist principles with Western democratic ideals and European socialist policies in a radical economic statement about development, social control over resources, and human liberation'.

Thus, after 'freedom came' in the form of the first free elections in 1994, it was not just the question of dealing with the inequalities created by the colonial regime but also class disparities. The general expectation was that South Africa would follow 'a democratic, redistributive, even socialistic' (Peet, 2002, p. 71) line of economic development. But, according to Peet (2002), the analysis of documents for the period from the adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955 to the elections of 1994, shows that even prior to 1994, movement away from these principles could be observed. While initially the struggle's leading force, the African National Congress (ANC), was making radical statements regarding nationalisation of industry and banks, and methods of redistribution of wealth, the drastic measures to be taken had, with time, lost their acuity. The ANC 'was (...) moving towards neoliberal policies well before the 1994 elections' (Peet, 2002, 71). Various factors influenced this change of attitude.

First of all, South Africa had been a mixed capitalist economy with a welfare component even prior 1994, even if the social support was only for the, mainly Afrikaans-speaking, whites. It also had numerous state-owned enterprises. But other, possibly more important, factors were also at play. The world, as we know, is not a collection of separate states and separate economies, capable of existing in isolation. These are inter-connected entities the sustaining of whose existence relies on economic connections amongst countries and continents. Considering

the politico-economic situation in the world in 1994, South Africa did not have much choice. It was obvious that the newly democratised country should choose a system such that it could form relevant socio-economic partnerships and receive encouragement and support in its endeavours. And in 1994, such support could only come from 'the West'. By that time, the Soviet Union had crumbled, and very few non-capitalist powers were in existence. The two remaining properly 'communist' powers were Cuba and China—both with their own problems and idiosyncrasies. Thus, in order to function in this kind of world, and function well, SA had to choose a politico-economic system which would not result in the Western world turning against it. It therefore continued with the status quo of a mixed capitalist economy, with a substantial welfare component, now extended to the previously disadvantaged. This, in time, has increasingly morphed into a neo-liberal economy, with its emphasis on unending consumption, at all cost. It is ironic that, apart for rather feeble protests from the 'left-minded' sections of the ANC and, more recently, from the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), the freedom from colonial oppression in political terms has not, despite initially declared, prevented falling into the grips of 'the West' in terms of the structure of the economy.5

With the above in mind, we have to, nevertheless, acknowledge that what is really important is not just the type of economy 'on the ground', or, in Marxist terms, the base. Equally, if not more important are the concepts of consumption for consumption's sake. The former 'have-nots', people from the previously disenfranchised and disempowered backgrounds, have become seduced, if you will, by the glitter and glamour of the consumerist society. Suddenly, while the need and demand for the state's intervention in redressing the inequalities of South Africa's economically exclusive past has remained in place, support for the neoliberal type of economy and, therefore, neoliberal politics, has risen.

This has resulted in a rather particular 'superstructure' and its ideology: on the one hand, a welfare-state-like ideology and on the other, a very consumerist neoliberal ideology, combined into one. The ideological factors do affect higher education. As pointed out earlier, higher education, all over the world, has become a mechanistic copy of a production machine, a factory which has to produce a sellable and saleable product, it has to reach certain goals, including generating income, and it thus has to follow similar administrative and 'production-related' processes.

So, what happens to higher education?

Twenty years after the dramatic changes that came with the 1994 first free elections, Badat and Sayed (2014, 129) had this to say about the developments in South African education during that period:

Post-apartheid South African education had to deal with two impulses. On the one hand, there was the new government's commitment to deal with racial discrimination as the most obvious and visible form of inequality in education. (...) On the other hand, this strategy had to be pursued in a manner that maintained the social order and educational system (...). In essence, there was a limited conception of social justice (...) where any strong form of social justice (...) could only be undertaken with the political consent of the privileged.

In order to see what this approach has resulted in, let us 'hear' the three South African voices on higher education.

Khene is the first voice to highlight the contrast between the personal practice of a lecturer and the institutional demands. She perceives supervision as teaching, where 'pedagogical principles apply and all that has been said about pedagogy (...) also applies' (Khene, 2014, p. 73). She has a generally positive outlook on her own supervisory practice in terms of a humanising pedagogy, in that she adopts a model 'where the supervisor guides the student into engaging in learning activities or tasks that support their learning process to become researchers' (Khene, 2014, p. 74). To put it simply, she subscribes to a facilitating role where the supervisor is sensitive to the students' needs and concerned not with what they do but why and whether it really should be done.

However, Khene is critical of the attitude emerging within the post-apartheid South African higher education. Even though she acknowledges the need to employ 'strategies that support equity in access to higher education, she links this to the generalised pressure to 'produce' more and more post-graduates and perceives clearly the dangers that ensue in the form of curricular changes to handle more students, the question of quality while supporting a cohort of students who may struggle with the requirements of tertiary education, and balancing all this with the postgraduate supervision. What she sees as a consequence of this pressure and, as a result, an overloaded lecturer and supervisor, is that 'we do not place as much effort in building and experiencing a good supervisory relationship' (Khene, 2014, p. 75). She perceives this as leading to 'estrangement and disorientation' (a close relation to Case's type of alienation discussed in the section above) in the new, high pressure environment which focusses on 'progress' understood as being able to present at departmental seminars, with much less focus on how the student relates to this activity, how they feel in their new role etc. (Khene, 2014, p. 76).

Khene suggests that '[p]racticing and developing a humanising pedagogy requires that we as academics learn to see and treat our students as human beings' (Khene, 2014, p. 77). This relates to my own experience of the Department's Post-Graduate students having to be introduced, in a gentle way, to not just presenting but giving and receiving critique, which we have addressed by staff presenting first and showing how critique is a way of concern for the betterment of the research rather than an attack on the person, thus removing the authoritarian, ex cathedra supervisory feel. Our students quickly picked this up and, perceiving us as more experienced colleagues, had no problems presenting their papers, accepting critique in good spirit as well as offering critique to either peers or staff.

Maistry, too, views the role of a supervisor as enacting a 'humanistic pedagogy [which] can potentially redirect the focus of supervision so that it centres on the development of the PhD student rather than on the ultimate product' (Maistry, 2015, p. 86). However, unlike Khene above, he is acutely aware that the dehumanisation which is being observed in institutions of higher learning in South Africa is not just the result of the post-apartheid pressure to 'produce' more postgraduates. While 'production' is indeed on the agenda, this impediment to a humanised pedagogy, so desperately needed in post-apartheid South Africa, is the consequence of the fact that 'higher education institutions increasingly shape their policies to conform with a neoliberal agenda centred on competitive participation in the knowledge economy' (Maistry, 2015, pp. 86-87) where both knowledge itself and the knowledgeable graduate are considered products to be bought and sold.

Faatar, while his focus is, like Khene's and Maistry's, on the racial injustice in South Africa, does notice the effect of the newly acquired politico-economic system on tertiary education in that 'human beings now transact their lives, amidst racialized neoliberal living' (Faatar, 2016, p. 11). He makes a bold claim that, in reality, knowledge economy and not social justice is at stake. He states,

Making available powerful knowledge to all children is trumpeted as a social justice commitment that an education system must make to ensure that education serves as an individual positional and a broader social good. Individual, because it secures the individual's access to the knowledge economy, and social because it contributes to providing an education and skills base to ensure the country's entry into the knowledge economy. (Faatar, 2016, p. 12).

As can be seen, the author is well aware of the allure of knowledge economy which, however, bases its curricula on 'the transfer of settled bodies of knowledge delivered in tightly scripted curricula' (Faatar, 2016, p. 13), a model dangerously reminiscent of Freire's banking model of education. The intentions of the provision of education to all may have been respectable but the implementation problematic.

Faatar proposes what he calls 'pedagogical justice' (2016, p. 18) and offers a model, similar to that of Bozalek and Boughey (2012) mentioned in the Introduction, based on Nancy Fraser's model of recognition (Faatar, 2016, 19ff), suggesting a pedagogy of recognition.

While some of the *ex Africa* voices above do observe the relationship between higher education and the adoption of a particular politico-economic system post-apartheid, the solutions, if offered, are, to my mind, based on the goodwill and general commitment of individual lecturers and supervisors rather than systemic.

Solution?

What to do, then? Freire has come up with a way to liberate an education oppressed by the demands of a class system. But will his approach be suitable for post-apartheid South Africa? Or will the methods of those who address education from the viewpoint of overcoming the residue of colonial oppression be more becoming? Or is there need for yet another approach?

In order to address the questions raised above, we need to address criticisms raised against Freire's model of education.

Freire—what is wrong?

Schugurensky (1998), whose general attitude is positive towards Freire, nevertheless lists several possible criticisms. First of all, he claims the approach is not new since it possesses 'elements of Socratic maieutics, philosophical existentialism, phenomenology, Hegelianism, Marxism, progressive education and liberation theology' (Schugurensky, 1998, p. 4). However, he perceives Freire's novelty in 'his ability to synthesise these ideas to come up with an original, cohesive system' (Schugurensky, 1998, p. 4). Further, the approach assumes that raising a critical consciousness will be enough to transform the oppressed and lead to liberation' (Schugurensky, 1998, p. 4). While this criticism has to be taken seriously, it also offers an opportunity of developing/adjusting Freire's method by combining it with other approaches. As we shall see later, a possible complimentary approach can be the concept of third space and hybridity, mainly credited to Homi Bhabha.

Another serious criticism refers to Freire's seeming lack of recognition of the fact that other oppressive systems exist concurrently, such as, for example, colonial oppression or discrimination based on race or gender, such that 'the variable of "class" seems to have pre-eminence over others' (Beckett, 2013, 55ff; Schugurensky, 1998, p. 6). These various oppressed groups may even voice conflicting and irreconcilable claims, depending on their specific experiences (Jackson, 2007, p. 210). bell hooks, while clearly enamoured with Freire's liberating concept of education, is critical of his 'sexist language' and a 'phallocentric paragigm of liberation' which, she contends, he shares with 'other progressive Third World political leaders, intellectual, critical thinkers such as Fanon, Memmi, etc' (Hooks, 1993, p. 148). She also considers that both gender and colonial oppression is important since, as she states 'the colonizing forces are so powerful in this white supremacist capitalist patriarchy it seems that black people are always having to renew a commitment to a decolonizing political process that should be fundamental to our lives and is not' (Hooks, 1993, p. 146).

Further, claims have been made that despite the claimed equality between the teacher and the learner, the relationship still does not offer full equity. In particular, Schugurensky (1998, p. 7) claims that Freire's 'project of consciousness-raising adopts a hierarchical and patronising approach to consciousness which ignores that learners have far superior information and understanding than their teachers on a variety of topics'. Nevertheless, the same author adds that Freire was fully aware of this and acknowledged a need for some authority to counter the



students' views inculcated by the dominant ideologies. Freire was clear that, since education is never neutral, it also cannot be non-directive. However, for him 'directiveness should not imply authoritarianism' (Schugurensky, 1998, p. 7).

Finally, a criticism arises that Freire does not offer a quide-book for the application of his method. This, however, can be easily countered by stating that the strength of Freire's method lies exactly in it being non-prescriptive and adaptable.

From the above it follows that Freire's method as originally presented in the *Pedagogy of the* Oppressed does render itself open to critique. However, we must, on the one hand, be aware that Freire himself, true to his concept of transformative education, was addressing the criticisms as they came in his further publications and adjusting his theoretical viewpoint. On the other hand, regardless of the flaws that they point out, even Freire's critics still acknowledge the unquestionable impact of his method on educational theory worldwide (see, for example, Hooks, 1993, p. 148).

If not freire, who else?

The above still does not answer the questions asked at the beginning of the sub-section. If not Freire, then? There surely are others who have developed educational theories more suitable to the South African educational context which, as has been explained above, is characterised both by its post-colonial and post-apartheid legacy as well as the adoption of a neo-liberal socio-economic approach. Several names come to mind. Of these, I shall briefly discuss the contributions of Frantz Fanon, Edward Said, and Homi Bhabha.

Frantz Fanon. The contribution of Frantz Fanon to the body of work on the oppressive character of colonialism and its educational character is often viewed as coming from 'two different Fanons', so to speak. There is, it seems, the analytic, even if involved and emotional, Fanon-the psychiatrist of the Black Skins, White Masks and the radical and violent Fanon-the revolutionary of the Wretched of the Earth. (see Alessandrini, 1997; Burman, 2016). I do not condone such views. The two seemingly different 'Fanons' are a representation of the same line of thinking, one rendered in more academic and theoretical terms and the other in a manifesto-like type of revolutionary language. If we accept this understanding, then both major works, like two sides of the same coin, cannot exist one without the other. While Black Skins, White Masks explains the psychological effects of coloniality on both the colonised and the colonisers, Wretched of the Earth sketches the dependencies amongst the colonised and the structure of this group, as resultant from the psychological consequences of living in the world of subordination and subjection. However, a question arises how Fanon's concepts translate into pedagogy.

Fanon expresses a clear view regarding the psychological set-up of the colonised. In Black Skins, White Masks, he says,

The feeling of inferiority of the colonized is the correlative to the European's feeling of superiority. Let us have the courage to say it outright: It is the racist who creates his inferior⁶. This conclusion brings us back to Sartre: 'The Jew is one whom other men consider a Jew: that is the simple truth from which we must start. ... It is the anti-Semite who makes⁷ the Jew' (Fanon, 1986, p. 69)

The statement is very strong. Of their own accord, no-one puts themselves in a subordinate, subservient, inferior position. It is a particular system in which the person lives that, through its laws, prohibitions, and adopted cultural norms, forms both the colonised and the coloniser into who they are. This is by no means a Nuremberg Defence. What Fanon says has traction and validity not only in the world of revolutionary struggle but also ... liberating pedagogy.

Even though Fanon is not a theorist of childhood pedagogy (see Burman, 2016, p. 4), nevertheless his writings do contain remarks which make his position regarding the role of education clear. It is thus worth to include his 'multi-level interpretation (...) as (...) shown by the actuality

of his work in light of a pedagogy of diversity, equity, and inclusion' (Impedovo & Ferreira-Meyers, 2021, p. 137).

First of all, it is clear that he is aware of the role of formal education as a tool of oppression. His remarks about his own education in Martinique show acute awareness of 'how curricula mirror colonization practices' (Burman, 2016, p. 13). Specially selected curricula, creating imagery of the inferiority of the colonised, are a tool in inculcating ideas of powerlessness, social underdevelopment, and lower intelligence (Xaba, 2017, 2ff), ideas which the colonised internalise. Fanon gives two reasons for the seeming acceptance of the skewed image of the black person. He says, 'If there is an inferiority complex, it is the outcome of a double process: primarily, economic; subsequently, the internalization—or, better, the epidermalization—of this inferiority' (Fanon, 1986, p. 4). In this sense, it is only fitting to quote from Burman (2016, p. 12), who states that 'Fanon offers an iconic account of the construction of the subjectivity of the colonized'.

However, similarly to Freire, Fanon is also fully aware of the liberating role of education, especially in the political sense, as highlighted time and again in the *Wretched of the Earth*, where he says, 'To hold a responsible position in an under-developed country is to know that in the end everything depends on the education of the masses, on the raising of the level of thought, and on what we are too quick to call "political teaching" (Fanon, 1963, p. 197). What he means by this is 'opening their minds, awakening them, and allowing the birth of their intelligence (...). To educate the masses politically is to make the totality of the nation a reality to each citizen. It is to make the history of the nation part of the personal experience of each of its citizens' (Fanon, 1963, p. 197).

Edward Said. As Shehla Burney writes, Said's concepts and ideas, now often referred to with one name of Postcolonial Theory, have yet to be incorporated into pedagogic theory and, to an extent, even practice. While his reflections have had an influence on how humanities are taught at universities, the appeal has not been equal in other fields of educational pursuit (Burney, 2012, pp. 15–16). What is it, then, that is of value to pedagogy in Said's writings?

There are several layers to the answer to this question. First and foremost, it is the perspective from which he is writing. While some have been critical of his self-adopted position of an intellectual exile and refugee, this perspective, nevertheless, has given a critical edge to his analyses. Said considers colonial influence from a theoretical perspective, but he does so from the point of view of a conscious individual for whom the colonial system is part of his personal experience (See Said, 1978 or Said, 2004). It is this experience of suppression of a certain identity by the 'colonial' masters (and for Said this means both the British imperial powers of old and the Israeli presence and attitude towards Palestinians—see Shohat, 1993, pp. 131–132 and Kennedy, 2000, p. 54).

From this stems another level of concern, that of, as Said himself puts it, the 'deployment of such pronouns as "we" and "us"" (Said, 2004, p. 80). Said here speaks of the literary canon adopted at Western universities but this can be generalised to educational canons and standards in other fields as well. Such an attitude means prioritising certain identities and their cultural achievements over others in acts of 'cultural domination' and marginalisation which, in turn, 'specifically for formerly colonized peoples, [poses] the dangers and temptations of employing this structure upon themselves or upon others' (Said, 1978, p. 25). From these two perspectives comes a deep understanding of the dangers of being in denial of who you are in the position of the Other but, worse still, the dangers of a psychological acceptance of an imposed inferiority—a view shared with Frantz Fanon (On Said and his relation to Fanon, see Kennedy, 2000, pp. 92–93 as well as Said, 1994, 382ff). Nationalisms (and note the plural!) are, according to Said, limitations to education in that whatever is not presented as canon is perceived as 'hostile or barbaric' (Said, 2001, 17; also see Said, 2004, pp. 3-4), belonging to the Fanonian 'savage' or Said's (2004, p. 18 'undesirable non-Europeans' (also see 2004, p. 8). In other words, and to paraphrase Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1988), he wants the subaltern not just to speak, but to speak with their own voice, about themselves, and about matters that pertain to them. While Said is different in his social origins and academic position, his notions of academic curricula and modes of delivery are surprisingly close to those of Paulo Freire. In the posthumously published Humanism and democratic criticism, Said bemoans the fact that 'education ideally was to be a matter less of investigation, criticism, and humanistic enlargement of consciousness than a series of unsmiling restrictions' (Said, 2004, p. 18) What he wishes to see in the reader/ learner is 'critical receptivity' and 'critical understanding' (Said, 2004, p. 67) and the missing reflective component 'as opposed to a merely technical' one (Said, 2004, p. 70). This introduces us to the final perspective in Said's thought, that of resistance (Said, 2004, 70ff). Like Freire, he speaks clearly against the danger lying in the uncritical adoption of the Western consumerist neoliberal culture. In a view reminiscent of the thought of Critical Theorists such as Marcuse or Adorno and Horkheimer, not to mention the highly disturbing view of 'the spectacle' of Guy Debord, Said states,

I believe, there is now taking place in our society an assault on thought itself, to say nothing of democracy, equality, and the environment, by the dehumanizing forces of globalization, neoliberal values, economic greed (euphemistically called the free market), as well as imperialist ambition (...). We are bombarded by prepackaged and reified representations of the world that usurp consciousness and preempt democratic critique (...). (Said, 2004, p. 71)

In summary, what can be drawn from Said's thought for the purposes of a new pedagogy is the attention to non-limiting, non-marginalising curricula and the teaching practice which values and inculcates reflection, research, critical approaches and some 'sceptical detachment' (Said, 2004, p. 71).

Homi Bhabha, in his discussion of structures of authority and power, 'building solidly on Said, subtlely refining Fanon, retuning Jameson, and borrowing from the agitated disquiet of Spivak' (Hollinshead, 1998, p. 152) arrives at the notion of Third Space and hybridity theory. In the Location of Culture, his 'provocative extension of recent thinking about cultural identity and representation' (Hollinshead, 1998, p. 121), he goes beyond the static binaries of Said (the Self vs the Other) in order, as he puts it, that 'we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of our selves' (Bhabha, 1994, p. 39), and thus to further develop ideas of social differences, and in this way providing a new and practical contribution to liberatory education, amongst other practical applications of his theory. The novelty of this theory lies exactly in the dynamic, fluid approach, resulting from the notion of hybridity (Beck, 2016, p. 51).

As defined in the interview with Jonathan Rutherford, 'the notion of hybridity comes from the two prior descriptions I've given of the genealogy of difference and the idea of translation, because if, as I was saying, the act of cultural translation (both as representation and as reproduction) denies the essentialism of a prior given original or originary culture, then we see that all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity' (Rutherford, 1990, p. 211).

In the same interview, Third Space is defined as that which 'displaces the histories that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives, which are inadequately understood through received wisdom' (Rutherford, 1990, p. 211). Bhabha claims that, while he has given the concept of Third Space a more academic description, it has, in practice, existed in the activities and writings of many before him. As exemplification, he refers to the works of Frantz Fanon, stating that 'Fanon's vision of revolutionary cultural and political change as a "fluctuating movement" of occult instability could not be articulated as cultural practice8 without an acknowledgement of this indeterminate space of the subject(s) of enunciation' (Bhabha, 1994, p. 37). Various educational and social practitioners have taken it further the concepts further.

Guttiérrez et al. (1999) have applied the notions presented by Bhabha to translation, where 'cultural and linguistic practices, histories, and epistemologies collide.' In such environments, it is indispensable to have the Third Space, in which 'people negotiate what is known, for example local cultural knowledge and linguistic registers' in order to 'make sense of one's identity in relation to prevailing notions of self and cultural practices' (Guttiérrez et al., 1999, p. 288).

While initially applied to translator studies, the concept of hybridity has also, in the form of Third Space programmes, found its way to education. It is educational and other social practitioners who have taken it further. Beck (2016, p. 52), for example, sees 'the potential for third-space programs to collapse hierarchies between university faculty and school personnel and to reject traditional notions of power, privilege, and knowing in these spaces'. She states this in the light of results of a Freireian community educational programme (as reported in Miller & Hafner, 2008) where the disparity in authority and power was still reported by the participants, despite the aim of the programme being to establish a non-authoritarian power relationship.

To sum up, Bhabha's contribution to a novel educational theory lies in his 'novel and critical account of and about cultural hybridity—a recognition which suggests that, in the articulation of each and every culture, it is *not* the *negation*⁹ of the Other that counts, but the negotiation and the renegotiation of spaces and temporality between Others' (Hollinshead, 1998, p. 129). In this way, the application of Bhabha's concept of hybridity and the ensuing need for the Third Space allows for a less universalist approach to education, with the pedagogical practice becoming more negotiative in character.

Conclusion—aliquid novi? More questions than answers...

In the concluding section, let us, again, look at the situation in the world of education in South Africa. Let us also see what solutions, if any, can be found to the rapid dehumanisation of pedagogy.

Unfortunately, tertiary education in South Africa (and in the world, for that matter) has chosen (if a choice it has been, indeed) to mimic the newly adopted neoliberal system, an administrative-economic machine engaged in the production of academic products, for the consumption of the system itself. In this sense, the social inclusion is nothing but purely instrumental, commodifying the postgraduate. In this sense, high skills are now also part of the production and become equally commodified as, initially, the Ford Model T or, now, the cell phone. Thus, even the high skills are not liberating the worker from the consumerist world. They are, in fact, part and parcel of that world and reinforcing this type of economic system.

Questions thus arise. Since the number of high skill employees is desirable by the system should South Africa follow this route? Should we follow the 'developed' countries and their model of dehumanised commodified lifestyle? The answer is not as simple as it would seem. On the one hand, the educated person may allow their skills to be hijacked by the system. On the other, however, being better educated may allow such a person an increased chance of self-reflecting and thus seeing the consumerist society for what it is and, consequently, breaking free from its shackles... This has always been an issue—the question whether it is the elites, the educated, or the masses who eventually break free. The scholars whose work I have presented above vary in their opinions.

This opens up the discussion about the *raison d'être* of academia in general. Xaba (2017) is of the opinion that it is the students who are the liberating force of higher education. Said (2004) perceives the academic institution and the acatemics as such a force. Be that as it may, we need post-graduate academics as a critical thinking force which does contribute to the needs and well-being of the nation in more ways than just the patents for re-invented goods. And yes, academia should be a hub and hotspot of creativity, free thought, and challenge to established ways of thinking of doing things not just understood as change in industry.

So, will it be easy to re-humanise pedagogy? I don't think so. My own reflection, regarding the South African situation in particular, is that, first of all, the present political system, which

was supposed to bring liberation, is still oppressive. The creative power of students and thus their achieving critical consciousness is, consciously, I claim, reduced to nothing, because it is not needed by the oppressor. A student of mine, a teacher in one of the local semi-rural schools, once told me a story, horrified by its implications. A principal of a school where the student was teaching, a prominent political party official, enquired about why the school does not support engaged, 'problem-posing' education, replied, in earnest, that 'we must keep the Black people black' (in the dark). This bitter anecdote points to the political system's goal of dominating and exploiting the non-reflective majority, with the aim of retaining political power. Education, thus understood, serves the purpose of creating a passive person adapted to being dominated and indoctrinated into the world of oppression.

Moreover, this attitude also serves the neoliberal economy which, at present, pervades the world, part of which South Africa has become. I would venture to say that it may be easier to achieve change with regard to the political oppression than the domination exercised by the commodifying economic system. For this to transform, a universal change in the world economy is needed. Can this change be started locally, in South Africa? In Africa? I don't know.

In the sections above, I have presented the need to re-humanise pedagogy in the interest of freeing the forthcoming generations not only from class oppression, but also from the dangers of an insidious neo-liberal consumerist ideology. Noticing the weaknesses of the Freireian system, I have also presented the theoretical and practical pedagogical concepts of Frantz Fanon, Edward Said, and Homi Bhabha.

Considering the cross-polination amongst the discussed authors in either literal conceptual indebtedness of one to the other or relatedness in what they make the focus of their study and how they proceed, it seems justified to state that an approach combining the practical indications following from all the theories needs to be followed. Thus, one would hope for a 'problem-posing education' of Freire, as well as a pedagogy aware of the effect of education on the minds of learners and its possible oppressive, but also liberatory role, as can be gleaned from Fanon, with a further addition of the concern for identity, the Self, and the Other espoused by Said, and, finally, an application of the idea of the Third Space as theorised by Bhabha, all in order to work against what Biko (1987, p. 68) called 'the most potent weapon of the oppressor'—the control and formation of the malleable minds of the oppressed, including those still held ransom to both colonial and capitalist ideologies (see Xaba, 2017).

In the light of the above, it is not amiss to say that South Africa, in her acceptance of the capitalist mixed economic has, unwittingly, also opened the door to the neo-liberal ideas of consumption as king and thus the need to subordinate everything to the needs of economy in this understanding. But maybe it is not yet too late. Maybe, before the spirit of Steve Bantu Biko and his concept of Black Consciousness dies, the South African education will, drawing on the theories of Fanon, Freire, Said, and Bhabha, and basing itself in the understanding there are no 'better' or 'worse' cultures and ways of life, arrive at a liberated educational policy which, when applied, will result in the new generation of people who will be independent of the self, free of the mind, curious, and uninhibited in their thinking. Who knows? Ex Africa semper aliquid novi?

Notes

- See Murphy (2004) for more information on the book and the figure of Gaius Plinius Secundus, known 1. in English as Pliny the Elder.
- 2. "What is a lecture: it is passing the knowledge from the notes of the lecturer into the notes of the students, without passing through the mind of either"
- Throughout the text, I use 'they/them/their(s)' rather than "he/she;his/her(s);him/her" when referring to a 3. singular noun denoting a person.
- 4. See Naulin and Jourdain (2020: v ff), who do not seem to perceive marketization as a negative phenomenon, as opposed to commodification.

- 5. For a highly detailed and thorough analysis, see Peet (2002) in its entirety as well as Bond (2018).
- 6. Emphasis in the original.
- 7. Emphasis in the original.
- 8. Emphasis in the original.
- 9. Emphasis in the original.

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