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- Jacob Mahlangu

List of abbreviations:

IMF - International Monetary Fund

WTO - World Trade Organisation

WB - World Bank

IFIs - International Financial Institutions

CDE - Convention against Discrimination in Education

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UDHR - Universal Declaration of Human Rights

ICESCR - Implementation of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

UNESCO - United Nation’s Economic and Social Council

DOE - Department of Education

RDP - Reconstruction and Development Programme

WC - Washington Consensus

ANC - African National Congress

HESA - Higher Education Statistics Agency

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Abstract

The neoliberal paradigm has been a dominant economic ideology practised in the International Economic System through multilateral institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organisation. It has also been the dominant discourse in the study of International Political Economy. The paradigm promotes the values of individualism, supporting the fundamentals of the 'free market', deregulation, the privatisation of state-owned enterprises, the

protection of ownership of property, commodification of products, economic competitiveness and last but not least, non-state intervention in individuals' private affairs.

The paradigm was introduced in the form of structural adjustment programmes (which were later renamed as the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers) in African countries through the 'Washington Consensus'. These countries were to reform their policies and enact the recommendations offered by the Consensus as a conditionality prior to receiving financial aid, funds and loans from the Washington Consensus' trio of organisations. However, since the implementation of these reforms, African countries have faced dire economic conditions, having their resources exploited and the uneducated, unskilled and those who lack capital and training being marginalised and unable to operate within the paradigm.

The paper seeks to argue that due to the economic interdependence and connectedness of the global economy, it may be impossible for African countries to delink from the neoliberal paradigm completely. This is due to them having an open economy, and a liberalised economy; furthermore, it's also due to the fact that they are signatories to multilateral institutions. However, the paper argues that there is a possibility of minimising, reducing and mitigating the influence of the neoliberal paradigm on a sectoral level. The paper seeks to demonstrate this by utilising the case studies of two African countries, namely: South Africa and Rwanda. The paper analyses the education sector of these two African countries; especially and specifically their efforts and attempts in making education accessible and available to those whom if education was to operate in a neoliberal paradigm would have been excluded and marginalised from it. The neoliberal paradigm commodifies education and treats it as a private good and a product to be consumed by those who can afford to pay for it as a service through fees and other charges.

The consequences, penalties and negative effects of the adoption of the neoliberal paradigm in the education sector (particularly in Higher Education) of African countries is examined. The efforts of the governments of Rwanda and South Africa in challenging this type of educational provisioning has been remarkable, hence making this sector suitable for the purposes of the study. These countries have had to revisit their economic, political and social structure through policies, government initiatives and movements since their new 1994 era, with the end of genocide in Rwanda in 1994 and the advent of democracy through free and fair elections in South Africa the same year.

The paper utilises the qualitative research design, and also the decolonial theory as a theoretical framework. The paper is an **Extended Literature Review** type of research**,** sourcing data and information from the internet, newspapers, online Journal articles, library and other relevant places. Therefore, this is a **desktop study**, highly dependent on available publications.

Upon a serious inquiry and an extensive search, the paper reveals alternative African paradigms that are non-economic in nature but could be transformed to fit an economic narrative such as Pan-Africanism, Afrocentricity, Ubuntu and African Renaissance; furthermore, the paper reveals how the extended hand of the market can have non-market forces on its grip. Through the sectoral level analysis of the effect of the neoliberal paradigm, the paper tends to find out that even when major attempts are made to completely rid a sector off the neoliberal grip, its after-effects, remnants and remains continue to operate and may further exacerbate, perpetuate and worsen again. Therefore, the fight against the neoliberal paradigm does not require just an alternative paradigm to replace it, but to ensure on a daily basis that it is kept at bay.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The neoliberal paradigm was introduced to the international economic system in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Harvey 2007: 24). Since then, neoliberalism has been a dominant discourse in the academy; furthermore, neoliberalism has become a framework for policy-making in the Western world to African countries (Harvey 2007:

24). The neoliberal paradigm has been imperialistic in its approach, as it sought itself to be applied beyond its place of creation to having an impact on the rest of the world (Harvey 2007: 24). The neoliberal policy reforms for African countries were intended at keeping power and dominance of the West alive in continental Africa post the colonial era. The neoliberal paradigm was introduced to African countries in the form of Structural Adjustment Programs by the World Bank (Caffentzis 2002: 90). Furthermore, the World Bank exacerbated its continuity through publishing the Berg Report in 1981 called *'Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa- An Agenda for Action'* (Loxley 1983).

The neoliberal paradigm in the African continent has had negative implications, such as: replacing African values of the humanistic approach, eradicating the conception of African countries being viewed as welfare states, and also, by extending its 'free market' tenet to non-market forces (Kawulich 2002: 87-89).

The neoliberal paradigm advocates for economic fundamentals that support liberty and individualism as opposed to community and collectivism (Merino 2010). The praxis of neoliberalism motions for limited or non-state intervention in a state's economic affairs (Schram & Pavlovskaya 2017: 13). Furthermore, neoliberal policy reforms require that states should privatise their state-owned enterprises through selling them to private individuals (Harvey 2007: 24). Neoliberalism recommends that there should be less regulation (deregulation) of the free market in order for it to run efficiently and effectively (Merino 2010).

The **rationale for the study** is based on the limited literature of a complete analysis of the neoliberal paradigm through the lens and perspective of a decolonial nature. The knowledge gap recognised by the researcher and which motivates the conducting of the research, is the absence of a progressive and continuous attempt to solve socio-economic issues by reducing the influence of the neoliberal paradigm. Many scholars studying alternative paradigms only base their intentions at critiquing mainstream paradigms. Their critique lacks a proper praxis for their own paradigms to successfully replace an already dominant paradigm (such as neoliberalism). The study utilises this opportunity to operationalise a practical method to investigate, analyse, examine, and produce a way that the neoliberal paradigm could be replaced by an alternative functional, workable and sensible paradigm.

The aim of the study is to investigate Africa's potential and possibility of delinking from the neoliberal paradigm.

The paper's core argument is that: it may be impossible for African countries to completely and entirely delink from the whole international economic system. This is due to the continent's nature of connectedness to the global economy; furthermore, the countries within the continent are signatories to the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) (Hopfmann 2018). Therefore, they are compelled to apply the neoliberal paradigm in their domestic terrain (Hopfmann 2018). The paper motions that: there is however, a possibility to reduce the neoliberal influence on a sectoral level.

The paper utilises the **qualitative research design** to study and explore the phenomenon under investigation. Furthermore, it uses the **case study methodology**, to examine the education system of two African countries, namely: South Africa and Rwanda.

In the case of Africa, neoliberalism was introduced by the 'Washington Consensus' and its organisations, namely: The International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World

Bank (WB) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) (Stein & Nissanke 1999: 399). It came in the form of the Berg report in 1981 and also as Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) (Stein & Nissanke 1999: 399). These Western Financial Institutions (IFIs) presented the paradigm as a conditionality prior to African countries' gaining membership and turning them into signatories.

According to Bryer (2016) Due to the need for financial aid, funds and loans by African countries (as they were facing poor and unfavourable economic conditions) they were left with no choice but to accept the requirements that accompanied their membership into these institutions. The paradigm came in the form of policy reforms of market-oriented and free market based ideology of neoliberalism (Fourcade-Gourinchas & Babb 2002: 533-535). The practice of neoliberalism in Africa prevented its countries' flexibility in making policy decisions suitable for domestic conditions of their societies (Bretton Woods Project 2014: 1-12).

The neoliberal paradigm originates from the West and puts the market at the centre of socio-economic organisations (Williamson 2004: 1). Through its imposition, it disregards taking into consideration the nature of economic problems faced by African countries (Williamson 2004: 1). Furthermore, neoliberalism becomes a barrier in implementing policy ideas that resonate, reflect, and are a direct response to the specific/unique economic issues faced by African countries (Lipton 2013).

Both Western and Third World Scholars have deemed the neoliberal paradigm to be inappropriate as an economic and political tool for Africa (Laybourn-Langton & Jacobs 2018). Such is evidenced by the rise of its critiquing in the academy, the introduction of alternative paradigms in academic publications, and through public and intergovernmental institutions (Laybourn-Langton & Jacobs 2018). The paradigm is deemed to be exclusionary (to the poor) in its implementation, execution and policy application, as it results in rising economic inequalities (Brock 2012). Furthermore, neoliberalism only benefits the already rich few elites while exploiting and impoverishing the poor (Brock 2012).

In the case of the African continent, the majority of the African peoples are poor and live in dire conditions (Birch 2010). The application of the neoliberal paradigm as a political and economic policy in Africa creates a barrier in African peoples' access to: resources, basic needs, and services that could serve to empower them economically so they could also take part in the free markets (Birch 2010). The neoliberal paradigm's overemphasis on individual responsibility does not take into account the conditions that are beyond an individual's control and which are no fault of their own (Fridell 2006: 8-28). Neoliberalism also has an exploitative global nature that benefits the West through liberalising African markets in order to access and utilise their natural resources and cheap labour (Hassan 2015: 159). The neoliberal ideological strategy is intended at keeping Western hegemony, power, dominance and influence alive in the 21st century (Hassan 2015: 159).

1.1 Education under the neoliberal paradigm

The education service has been traditionally deemed and treated as a public good (Liven 1987: 628). In the neoliberal era, education has turned into a private good, through commodifying it and making it obtainable through being purchased, therefore putting a price on it (Brackmann 2015: 116). This has made education unavailable to the majority of the African poor peoples who do not have any source of income (Almeida & Levin 2017). The neoliberal education further excluded those without any skills, training and experience to be attractive to the market for employment opportunities, and to those who are born in circumstances not of their choosing (Almeida & Levin 2017).

By examining the extended hand of the market, the neoliberal paradigm has been criticised by its scholars to be embedding itself on non-market forces (Thorsen & Lie 2010: 2). For example, the financial exclusionary access to goods and services that are mandatory to be accessed by the public at large; making them available only to those who are economically active (Thorsen & Lie 2010: 2).

In this sectoral narrowed down approach of viewing the implications of the neoliberal paradigm; the paper stresses on the existence of the urgent need for a bottom-up approach at reducing the influence of the neoliberal paradigm on a sectoral level.

1.2 The research design

This research study employs a Qualitative design to study the phenomenon under investigation. According to Biddix (2017) the qualitative design is based on the perspective of social constructivism; furthermore, the interpretation of the research is based on the data collected and the researcher's own perspective. Under the qualitative design, data collection methods include: interviews, biographical study, document analysis, observation, grounded theory, ethnography, and case study

(Biddix 2017). Such a research design is suitable as the phenomenon is complex, its understanding is subjective instead of objective (Cresswell 2014: 32). The qualitative research design concerns itself with the normative instead of positive (meaning that it looks at 'What should be' instead of 'What is') and also seeks to validate experiences, opinions and expressions instead of statistical facts, measurements and numbers (Cresswell 2014: 32).

1.3 The Case Study Methodology

The paper examines the influence of the neoliberal paradigm in the education sector, and explores how it can be reduced at a sectoral level. It looks at two case studies of African countries, namely: South Africa and Rwanda. The paper explores the attempts by these countries in reducing the influence of the neoliberal paradigm in their education sector. The reason behind the choice of these two particular case studies is first due to the fact that they suffered an almost similar past. With Rwanda it was the genocide that took place which ended in the year 1994, and with South Africa it was the apartheid era which also saw its complete end in the year 1994 accompanied by a democratic government under free and fair elections. Furthermore, the choice of these two case studies is based on how the South African country transitioned its development policy from Redistribution and Development Programme (RDP) to Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) with the latter policy having neoliberal ideas embedded within it. There has also been numerous involvement by donor countries in the Rwandan country post-1994, to ensure the economic revival and well-being of the country. This then justifies the selection of these two case studies, as these two countries both adopted the imperialistic paradigm of neoliberalism post their struggle and the period of their newly instituted and democratic governments. The last factor to delve upon is that both the South

African and Rwandan's constitution share the same sentiments when it comes to the provision of education and its access.

1.4 Introduction of the Paper's Theoretical Framework

The paper utilises the theoretical framework of 'Decoloniality' as its lens to explore and examine the problem under investigation. Decoloniality is suitable as it developed in the Third World (Pahad 2013: 3). Decoloniality advocates for the representation of the marginalised voices of the South in the academy (Snyman 2015). Decoloniality is mostly used by third world scholars to promote their unique perspectives, ideas, and alternative thinking from Western epistemology and its claim to universality (Snyman 2015). Decoloniality critiques the existence of neo-colonial tendencies by the West when dealing with African countries in the modern era (Seroto 2018).

The proponents of the Decolonial theory include Grosfoguel, Walter Mignolo, Ngugi Wa Thiongo, Anibal Quijano, Ali Mazrui, Kwame Nkrumah, Frantz Fanon, Sabelo-Ndlovu Gatsheni and many others (Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015: 23-25).

1.5 Summary and Outline of the Paper's Content

The paper first provides a description and outline of the **theoretical framework** chosen as its lens, called 'Decoloniality' in Chapter 2. Secondly, it outlines the **research design and methodology** chosen to undergo the study in Chapter 3. Thirdly, it delves into the "**Critical Literature Review**" that explains what the neoliberal paradigm is and its implication to the world, how the neoliberal paradigm functions in the educational system, and also how South Africa and Rwanda (the chosen case studies) have dealt with the issue of reducing the neoliberal paradigm in their education sector, in Chapter 4. Fourthly, it offers an analyses of the **collected data** in Chapter 5. Lastly, it offers **solutions and recommendations** generated from the collected data about how to go about solving the research problem in Chapter 6.

Chapter 2: The theoretical framework

The aim of this chapter is to first define what a theoretical framework is. Secondly, it delves on the chosen theoretical framework for the paper through explaining it, describing it, examining arguments posited by the theory and also outlining its shortcomings and limitations. The chapter concludes by stating why the chosen theoretical framework for this paper is justified as an appropriate lens and perspective to investigate and explore the phenomenon under study.

2.1 Defining a Theoretical Framework

According to Kawulich and Chilisa (2015) a theoretical framework seeks to answer questions such as: what are the theories utilised to guide the choice of the topic of your research, the type of research questions you ask, the reviewed literature, the methods used to collect data, analysis and interpretation? According to Miller and Brewer (2017) theoretical frameworks provide a particular lens or perspective utilised for the purposes of examining a topic. They further state that there exists a multitude of theoretical frameworks which include but not limited to: economic theories, organizational theories, social theories and psychological theories (Miller and Brewer 2017).

According to Leighton et al. (2016) a theoretical framework is used for guiding the basis of a concept/s for the study, describing the relation of variables, introducing 'a rationale' for predictions by informing its development of an intervention, explaining the measurements of concepts of interest, and contextualizing the results. A theoretical framework refers to a collection of concepts which are interrelated; they are used to guide the research, equipping it with the purpose of explaining the results of the research and also predicting them. This study is going to employ decoloniality theory as a framework of analysis (LeCompte and Preissle 1993).

2.2 Arguments Posited by The Decolonial Theory

Decoloniality is a metamorphosis of its theoretical predecessors such as Marxism, the Dependency theory, Post-modernism, Structuralism and Feminism. Decoloniality is suitable as a lens and perspective with which to examine the study. The study deals with how developing countries (in particular, African countries) are obligated to apply a Western, American-Eurocentric paradigm in their policy-making, which in the modern age is neoliberalism, globalisation/liberalisation and good governance. Due to the donor-recipient relationship, the periphery is dependent on the core, which provides financial aid accompanied by policies of reform. Decoloniality recognizes this dependence and seeks to challenge this 'colonial matrix of power' between the relationship of the global North/South. Decoloniality addresses the path-dependence, neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism formed after African countries gained independence, and demonstrates how exploitation still exists in the relationship involving the developing countries and the developed. Such exploitation includes the plundering of resources, the expansion of transnational corporations to take advantage of cheap resources and labour provided by the Global South, the social learning occurring in domestic countries whereas multilateral global institutions determine paradigms and ideas for policy makers by considering themselves as 'epistemic communities'. Decoloniality advocates for a pluriversal world, hoping to produce more paradigms and epistemologies- not to replace the dominant neoliberal paradigm which has already influenced almost the whole world, but for the International political and economic system to possess multiple paradigms co-existing in the same continuum. This would allow countries to have freedom in choosing which paradigm they wish to adopt in order to govern their internal affairs, instead of being force-fed a paradigm that does not suit their domestic socio-economic issues due to being obligated through conditionality.

Mlambo (2006: 161-179) a proponent of the decolonial theory, unpacks the theory's interpretation, perspective and lens of the current era. He states that: capitalism, the Western sciences, Social Science and other practices and knowledges in the modern era, have been identified as the main causes of the domination of African countries by the West and their marginalization in the world (Mlambo, ibid). These causes affect African countries in factors such as: their capacity to fully participate in the global knowledge community and also in their own economic development (Mlambo, ibid).

On the basis of research, the decolonial theory's critique of the West is that: methodologies by social scientists emanating from the West have been considered inappropriate for African countries (Mlambo 2006: 161-179). These disciplines are Western-centric and Western-oriented (Mlambo 2006: 161-179). The theory of Decoloniality advocates for a radical epistemic delinking for the neo-imperialized and neo-colonized countries of the Global South Stojnic 2017: 105-111). The proposal to delink is inspired by the possibility of the liberation of the Global South from the "colonial matrix of power" (Stojnic 2017: 105-111).

Decoloniality also advocates for a change in the relations of the existing global power (Stojnic 2017: 105-111). Decoloniality critiques these relations by stating that: they are still based on colonialism and perpetuated in the current era (Stojnic 2017: 105-111). Decoloniality asserts that the continuity of such relations is visible through the means of the construction of the other (racialisation), exploitation and expropriation (Stojnic 2017: 105-111).

In the academic discourse context, Decoloniality reflects the critique of Western hegemony in the world, which pushes other forms of knowledges created outside the West ‘back to the margins’ (Stojnic 2017: 105-111). The decolonial theory asserts that the West is prejudiced and discriminatory towards knowledges created elsewhere, and that it brands this knowledge as ‘non-scientific’ (Stojnic 2017: 105-111).

In differentiating the decolonial theory from the Western sciences, Stojnic (2017: 105-111) refers to Grada Kilomba’s dichotomies which distinguish the decolonial theory from Western imperial knowledge as follows: The Western world advocates for universality, neutrality, objectivity, impartiality, rationality, validating facts and scientific knowledge. Decoloniality contrasts and oppositely proposes its own set of classifications such as: specificity, personality, subjectivity, partiality, validating opinions and experiences. Cheah (2006) offers a counter-argument to Kilomba’s diagnosis on ‘Western imperial knowledge’, by stating that it is not a proven assumption that Western logic/rationality emanates from its epistemic power; neither does it come from a totalizing and universalizing source. However, the occurrence and existence of neo-colonialism has been negatively felt by African countries, and these countries are desperately attempting to extensively investigate it (Rodney 1973: 4).

The attempts aimed at examining the decolonial theory are inspired by the goals of African countries to successfully formulate and produce their own tactics and strategies (Rodney 1973: 4). Such tactics and strategies are geared towards gaining emancipation and improving development (Rodney 1973: 4). The decolonial theory identifies with such goals as Mignolo (2007: 6) argues that a decolonial epistemic shift functions to bring more epistemologies to the surface. The epistemic shift is an opposition to the acceptance of Western epistemes that are geopolitically adopted and expanded to the rest of the world (Mignolo 2007: 6). Decoloniality also aims to bring other principles of understanding and knowledge which will consequently introduce other systems for the economy, politics and ethics (Mignolo 2007: 6).

Decoloniality aims to denounce the proclaimed universality that is a product of a particular ethnicity (body politics) stemming from a specific part of the world (Mignolo 2007). For instance, the universality of 'European' ideas (geo-politics) where the ideology of capitalism grew widely with colonialism as a consequence (Mignolo 2007). Decoloniality aims to introduce other-universality or pluri-versality in order to create the co- existence of universalities as a universal project (Mignolo 2007: 6).

Mignolo (2007: 455) mentions the geo-political aspect of pluri-versality as being the presupposition of border epistemology and border thinking. Pluri-versality does not reject nor avoid the foundation of modernity and knowledge as being Western; but rather serves to highlight its shortcomings, limitations and danger (Mignolo 2007: 455). One of such shortcomings according to the decolonial perspective is the tendency of the Western world to make the world function on unicentrism (Davies 1999: 96-97). This means that the rest of the world is obligated to perceive the world in a Western-centric lens (Davies 1999: 96-97).

Davies (1999: 96-97) argues that American-Eurocentric paradigms provide an assumption to the rest of the world that the location of the centre of the universe is in the West. According to Davies (1999: 96-97) such an assumption developed together with the domination of the world by Western nations which were not more than a handful. Davies (1999: 96-97) further argues that the logic of a single centre is the basis of control and dominance, as it functions with other communities in regards to competition, subordination and hierarchy.

2.3 An Analysis of the Elements of Decoloniality and its Origins

According to Mignolo (2011: 273-283) the point of origination of the decolonial theory was the Third World. Decolonial thought has its historical basis in the Bandung Conference of 1955 where African and Asian countries gathered amounting to 29 countries (Mignolo 2011: 273-283). The central goal of the conference was to find a common vision and common ground for a future that had neither communism nor capitalism (Mignolo 2011: 273-283).

According to Snyman (2015: 266-291) the decolonial turn questions the remnants of colonisation in current subjectivities and 'forms of life'. He cites Maldonado-Torres (2007: 343) to argue that the removal of the colonial invading power does nothing to the power structures that the colonizers have put in place. This is due to the colonizer still possessing an influence on the invaded subjects (Snyman 2015: 266-291).

Radcliffe (2017: 329-332) cites Mignolo and Slater (2000; 2004) to argue that: although the colonial rule reached a formal end, it resulted in postcolonial nation-state formation. Furthermore, the world became explained, modelled and apprehended according to the roots of post-enlightenment and American-Euro claims (Radcliff 2017: 329-332; Mignolo 2000; Slater 2000). This has made it possible for them to pronounce universal truths and to also theorise the world (Radcliff 2017: 329-332; Mignolo 2000; Slater 2000). Such a diagnosis leads to the assumption that the decolonial theory as an approach to the study of political economy, challenges the continuity of Western ideological dominance in the non-western world. It acknowledges the hallmarks of domination and marginalisation between the interaction of ex-colonized countries with the West based on the previous centuries of the colonial era, as having a presence in the 21st century and also possessing serious implications for the future development of African countries.

According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (487-489) influential African scholars and activists that have contributed to the decolonial thought are: Ali A. Mazrui, Ngugi wa thiong'o, Frantz Fanon, Kwame Nkruma, Edward Blyden and Chinweizu. Other prominent scholars from other parts of the third world include: Anibal Quijano, Walter D. Mignolo, Nelson Maldonado-Torres, Samir Amin, Ramon Grosfoguel, William EB Dubois and Aime Cesaire (Ndlovu-Gatsheni: 487-489).

In terms of the elements of the decolonial theory, Grosfoguel (2007) argues that: Decoloniality is not a fundamentalist, essentialist or a critique that is anti-European. Grosfoguel (2007: 1-38) argues that decoloniality is a perspective which is both critical of Third World and Eurocentric fundamentalisms, nationalism and colonialism (Grosfoguel 2007: 1-38).

The decolonial perspective is sceptical of fundamentals because what all fundamentals share: is a tradition of possessing one sole epistemology which is then utilised to achieve universality and truth (Grosfoguel 2007: 1-38). This means that there should not be one dominant epistemic location influencing the rest of the world

(Grosfoguel 2007: 1-38). Furthermore, the rest of the world need not draw knowledge from a single epistemic location while considering that location to be producing objective, universal knowledge and truth (Grosfoguel 2007: 1-38).

To Grosfoguel (2007: 1-38) decoloniality brings about a polycentric and pluriversal world. Such a world would entail the emanation of knowledges from different locations (Both in the Global North and Global South) to co-exist in the same world (Grosfoguel 2007: 1-38). Furthermore, countries would be able to choose freely which epistemic tradition they apply to govern, instead of the epistemic locations of the Global South being silenced or ignored (Grosfoguel 2007: 1-38). There would be an end to the occurrence of the Western world force feeding their knowledge to the Global South through imperialistic tendencies (Grosfoguel 2007: 1-38).

"The hegemonic Eurocentric paradigms that have informed western philosophy and sciences in the modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal world-system for the last 500 years assume a universalistic, neutral, objective point of view. Nobody escapes the class, sexual, gender, spiritual, linguistic, geographical, and racial hierarchies of the modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal world-system" Grosfoguel (2007: 1-38).

The decolonial theory opens a perspective that delinks from being categorized in the chronologies of new paradigms and new epistemes as it presents itself as an option (Mignolo 2011: 273-283).

2.4 Intellectual Underpinnings of the Decolonial Theory by Third World Scholars

According to Thiong'O (1986) imperialism caused by the Western world continues in the modern era; it controls politics, the economy and cultures of African countries. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015: 485-496) argues that the basis of decoloniality is characterized by the re-telling of knowledge and history from the location and 'epistemic' sites of the victims of modernity's 'darker side'. The decolonial theory advocates for de-hegemonisation of knowledge, the democratisation of knowledge, de-Europeanisation of knowledge and lastly, de-Westernisation of knowledge (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015: 485-496).

According to Mazama (2011: 387-390) Western hegemony and dominance is not only caused by Western power but also by African countries themselves. He elaborates that the main problem of African countries, is their unconscious and usual adoption of the Western perspective, world-view and conceptual frameworks (Mazama 2011: 387-390). As a result, Western theories and ideas have invaded African countries, and these countries continue to normalise and naturalise them (Mazama 2011: 387-390). African countries then tend to find themselves having lost sight towards creating their own independent ideas, and are dislocated from their unique selves (Mazama 2011: 387-390). Therefore, the difficulty of African countries orienting their citizens' lives in a constructive and positive manner increases (Mazama 2011: 387-390).

The decolonial theory suggests that African countries should aim towards their liberation in the international political and economic system (Schiele 1997: 22-29). The methodology that decoloniality advocates is based on the intention of African countries in generating knowledge that will empower and free them (Schiele 1997: 22-29).

Quijano's (2000: 533-580) conception of decoloniality, is that: the fundamental axes which constitute the model of power, are the mental constructions based on the colonial domination experience, (these pervade the core elements of global power). Such a model creates social classifications in the world's population (Quijano 2000-533-580). This includes the specificities of Euro-centrism and rationality and the global hegemonic model of power that is perceived as presupposing an element of 'coloniality' (Quijano 2000: 533-580).

According to Suleiman (2016: 320-330) the reason behind the continuing interest in the decolonial theory is that: African countries are dissatisfied with the conflicting ideological prescriptions that lead to the path of socialism and capitalism. Therefore, African countries are seeking solutions for development apart from Western suggestions and intervention (Suleiman 2016: 320-330). Scholars, policy-makers, analysts, leaders, and intellectuals located in the third world have articulated and pointed out the unequal relationship with the West and their exploitation by it (Suleiman 2016: 320-330).

Grosfoguel (2007: 1-38) argues that the decolonial turn seeks to decolonize knowledge. The requirement of achieving this goal is to hold the insights/cosmologies/perspectives of critical thinkers located in the Global South in high regard (Grosfoguel 2007: 1-38). Grosfoguel (2007: 1-38) states that a decolonial perspective reflects the need for economic justice and global equality. Furthermore, the decolonial theory is based on the idea that: socialism and democracy are not the only two models which can be used to guide African countries' thinking and doing (Grosfoguel 2007: 1-38).

Radcliffe (2017: 329-332) quotes Cusicanqui et al. (2016) stating that: "the modern episteme is always and intrinsically saturated with coloniality, although it is insecure in its depth and reach". She then argues that the decolonial turn is a broad call to analyse and understand the particularities of the universal, and also, the co-existence and deepening of all particulars.

2.5 Interpreting Decoloniality in Relation to the Phenomenon Under Investigation

Mlambo (2006: 161-179) argues that Decoloniality recognises the European assumptions about non-Western societies, as they perceive them to be inferior. The decolonial theory recognises how the West prides itself in the superiority of its culture (Mlambo 2006: 161-179). Such pride becomes detrimental to the rest of the world; the West is influenced by it to arrogate to itself the authority to impose its institutions and norms upon the non-Western world and its peoples (Mlambo 2006: 161: 179). In its theoretical challenge to the neoliberal paradigm implementation on the African continent, the decolonial theory advocates for what Adedeji (1991: 49) calls a new African transformation which is ethically based on a 'human-centred development paradigm'. Such a paradigm is related to the 'welfare state' which has been eroded by the neoliberal paradigm, as it is based on: a country putting its people at the centre of the process of development (Adedeji 1991: 49).

This suggested paradigm is also grounded on a transformational change that shuns the 'top-down' approach of decision making, and supports the 'bottom-up' approach (Adedeji 1991: 49). Hypothetically speaking, this means that within the borders of each African country, “every stratum of the society” should be involved in the evolution of such a paradigm (Adedeji 1991: 49). In the international arena, the paradigm would be interpreted in such a way that: the hierarchy that enables the West to impose its culture on the African continent would be turned up-side down by the proposed paradigm of a decolonial nature (Adedeji 1991: 49). The African continent should be the major contributor of ideas, strategies and solutions intended at development; if not for the world then at least for itself.

Rodney (1973: 4) articulates that a vast amount of the ‘so called’ underdeveloped countries are considered to be in economic stagnation. Rodney’s (1973: 4) empirical findings suggest that the problem of overpopulation in such countries is coupled and worsened by their slow economic growth. Such a situation he argues, is caused by the nature and expansion of the capitalist system, as it transfers its barefaced and abusive forms of exploitation by the West (Rodney 1973: 4).

Rodney (1973: 4) offers an antidote to his diagnosis with a solution that is oriented towards a decolonial turn. Rodney (1973: 4) cites Che Guevara (1964) to argue that the only way to solve such a problem is through completely eliminating the ‘exploitation of dependent countries’ which is caused and perpetuated by capitalist developed countries. This should be done despite all the implications and consequences that such a solution might imply (Rodney 1973: 4; Guevara 1964).

The decolonial theory has a tendency of revisiting the past in order to make sense of the present (Andreasson 2005: 971-974). Decolonial scholars believe that the current global era and its international political and economic system is just history repeating itself. Andreasson (2005: 971-974) provides his conception of the decolonial theory by referring to the classical era of colonialism in Africa which followed after the ‘Berlin conference’ (1884-1885). Andreasson (2005: 971-974) argues that this particular event is significant, as it provides a clear linkage between the West’s notion of African inferiority (culturally and biologically). The period also portrays how the West took it upon itself to be a guardian for the African continent (Andreasson 2005: 971-974). This included the imposition of Western-centric solutions to African unique problems. Furthermore, Andreasson (2005: 971-974) attests that the problematic relationship between the developed and the developers is present throughout the landscape of North-South relations, in particular, Africa and the West.

Hall (1996: 187-191) argues that capitalism has emerged as a global market and that this is due to much of the world being dependent (economically) on the West although all of these countries have been formally decolonised and are now ‘independent’.

Hall (1996: 203-205) poses a decolonial question, asking that: could a discourse created by the West intended at theorising about the rest operate outside the domains of power? The assumption is that if African countries were not forcefully fed the Western narrative, it is not likely that they would have considered a Western paradigm as appropriate, neither choose and apply it in their countries. Hall (1996: 203-205) argues that: The Western perspective which is expressed as “the West and the rest” is not innocent, as it ‘does not represent an encounter between equals’.

It is necessary to identify an argument of a decolonial nature in order to contribute to its expansion, as it has a shortcoming of being too broad while lacking pragmatic depth in its analysis. To support this claim, Krueger (1995: 892) argues that the complexity of the politics of economics and the economics of politics is still not sufficiently researched in African countries. Furthermore, bureau and public choice theory have been reluctant in grappling with the economics of African countries (Krueger 1995: 892).

According to Mlambo (2006: 170-172) under the wisdom of neo-liberalism, Africa is 'pushed back' to where it is obsessively trying to escape from. What this means is that, the neo-liberal paradigm is pushing the African continent back to the marginal role and status that it has always held in the global economy (Mlambo 2006: 170-172).

The neo-liberal paradigm justifies the persistence of the assumptions of modernity, for example: it justifies the perpetual domination of African countries by capital from the West (Mlambo 2006: 170-172). Furthermore, neoliberalism facilitated the penetration of the markets of African countries by Western transnational enterprises which are seen as agents that diffuse the values of modernity (Mlambo 2006: 170-172). Stojnic's (2017: 107-111) decolonial interpretation of the modern era is that: We currently find ourselves in a world where the ideology of capitalism is 'equalled with reality'; furthermore, the decolonial approach introduces a possibility of creating different possible presents. In order to achieve this, the decolonial theory suggests a struggle and call for detaching and delinking reality from capitalism (Stojnic 2017: 107-111). However, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015: 485-496) argues that the decolonial epistemological movement has always been shunned and overshadowed by the hegemony of social theories and intellectual thought which emanates from the American-centric and Euro-North modernity.

Chapter 3: Research Design

The aim of this chapter is to first define what a research design is. Secondly, the chapter reveals the chosen type of research design and research methodology for the paper. Thirdly, it justifies their specific selection, their utility and usefulness, and also their suitability in exploring, examining, explaining, and approaching the phenomenon under investigation. The chapter aims to clarify how the chosen type of research design and research methodology are to bring about the required documentation and results of and from the study and research enquiry.

3.1 Introduction

The research design is the structure, plan, investigation and strategy tailored in a manner that is intended at obtaining an ensured search of questions and variance (Islamia 2016). According to Blaikie (2010: 13) a research design is regarded as a technical document which is created by one or more researchers. The research design is utilised as a guide or plan for executing a research project. Furthermore, a research design is a combined statement and justification for the decisions made about the technicality involved in structuring or planning a research project (Blaikie 2010: 13).

According to Thomas and Hodges (2010) there exists two levels of a research design; the first is about research methods, whether your research undertakes a quantitative, qualitative or mixed method approach. The second level is about the types, such as: grounded theory, ethnography, case study, survey, content analysis, phenomenology, longitudinal, narrative research, and etc (Thomas and Hodges 2010).

According to Akhtar (2016) a research design can be regarded as the structure of the research and also as the 'glue' that binds all the elements in a research project. In simple terms the research design is a plan of the proposed research work (Akhtar 2016). A research design is a framework which outlines the collection and analysis of data in a manner that is relevant to the purpose of the research (Jahoda, Deutch and Cook 2008; Akhtar 2016) the research design outlines the logic and the purpose of inquiry; furthermore, a research design could either be descriptive, exploratory, or experimental (Van Wyk 2018).

3.2 The Chosen Type of Research Design

This research endeavour utilises the case study design, and it is also exploratory. A case study research goes through a perusal of past studies, allows an understanding and exploration of complex issues (Zainal 2007). When an in-depth and holistic investigation is required, a case study design is considered a robust research method. A case study method enables the author to examine data carefully within a specific context; and last but not least, a case study method selects a small geographical area as its intended subject of the study (Zainal 2007).

The areas chosen for investigating, understanding, and analysing the research phenomenon are two African countries, namely: South Africa and Rwanda. These countries' education sectors are investigated for the purposes of exploring their resistance of the neoliberal paradigm in their education sector. This is witnessed in how their governments have intervened in this particular sector to transform it through welfare means such as: fee free educational provisioning for their poor citizens. Furthermore, the research endeavour is based on a ‘Desk-top study’. The term ‘Desk-top study’ refers to a study that is carried out through pure research of past and present literature, and other sources (Videos, audio, and etc.) instead of a physical investigation; therefore, it can be done sitting at a desk (Designing Buildings 2018).

This research project utilises the Qualitative research design as it deals with a normative lens to look at the phenomenon under investigation. The qualitative research design is suitable and justified for the study. This is due to the qualitative research design having to deal with a philosophical underpinning that focuses on ‘what should be’ rather than ‘what is’ (Creswell 2003). Creswell (2003) cites Phillips and Burbules (2000) to argue that such a normative approach challenges the traditional claim that there exists objective truth and knowledge. This is for the recognition that we cannot be ‘positive’ about our knowledge claims when we study the actions and behaviours of humans.

According to Kothari (2004: 5) a qualitative research design concerns itself with the subjective assessment of opinions, behaviours and attitudes. In such a circumstance, research is regarded as the function of the researcher’s insights and impressions (Kothari 2004: 5). The techniques applied in generating information for a qualitative study include: in-depth interviews, focus groups and projective techniques (Kothari 2004: 5). According to Power (2002: 87-89) the methods utilised under the qualitative research design are: process evaluation, formative evaluations, ethnography, focus groups, in-depth interviews and semi-structured interviews.

According to Nursing Research (2018) a qualitative research design is considered as: a naturalistic process of inquiry, which seeks an in-depth understanding of a social phenomenon 'within its natural setting'. Power (2002: 87-89) mentions that the qualitative research aims to utilise contextual data to describe behaviour and social phenomena. Power (2002: 87-89) further states that the qualitative research seeks to explain the world by appreciating subjective experiences of social actors. The Qualitative research unearths data that is not easily accessed through quantitative means (Power 2002: 87-89).

The qualitative research design focuses on the 'why' instead of the 'what' of a phenomenon; furthermore, it also relies on interpretation and direct experiences of human beings as agents of meaning-making in their daily lives (Nursing Research 2018). Instead of procedures that have to do with statistics and logic, a qualitative research design uses a variety of systems of inquiry in order to study human phenomena. (Nursing Research 2018). For example, the systems of inquiry that a qualitative research design uses are: case studies, biographies, discourse analysis, ethnography, grounded theory, historical analysis and phenomenology (Nursing Research 2018).

In its distinguished form from quantitative research, a qualitative research design is concerned with the understanding of complex concepts instead of numbers and measurements. According to Blaikie (2010) in an interpretivist paradigm, social reality is regarded as the result of its own inhabitants. "The world is interpreted by the meaning that participants produce and reproduce as a necessary part of everyday activities together" Blaikie (2010). Therefore, this research design is embedded in interpretivism and subjectivity instead of positivism and objectivity as concepts, events and occurrences cannot be measured nor be treated as controllable variables. Furthermore, the paper qualitatively explores the phenomenon under the case study methodology, focusing on the minimisation of the neoliberal paradigm in the education sector of two African countries, namely: Rwanda and South Africa.

3.3 Statement of the Research Problem

According to Blaikie (2010: 16) a research problem is defined as an intellectual puzzle that the researcher wants to investigate. Leedy and Ormrod (2015) mention that a research problem is the axis around which the entire research effort evolves. According to Graziano and Raulin (2007) the process of research begins with a researcher 'identifying an area of interest'; the initial ideas and problem statement will mostly define his/her research question, methodology and design type. Whatever study one undertakes, should be worth it.

Leedy and Ormrod (2016) provide instructions of how a statement of a research problem should look like as follows: a researcher's problem must address a question of significant importance so that the answer can make an actual difference in some way. The problem should perhaps lead to new approaches of thinking and it should suggest possible applications (Leedy and Ormrod 2016). Furthermore, the research problem should advance the 'frontiers' of knowledge, or pave a guide to further research (Leedy and Ormrod 2016). According to Wagner et al. (2012) the sources used to formulate a research problem include: previous research, practical problems, theories, and personal interests.

In application to the research, the practice of the neoliberal paradigm in African countries has been detrimental as it has benefitted (and still benefits) a few while the majority of the African population continue to live in poverty and stagnation. The extended reach of the neoliberal paradigm to non-market forces and sectors has excluded the African population from utilising institutions that could empower them economically. Due to the impossibility of African countries to completely delink from the international economic system in order to rid themselves off the neoliberal paradigm; the paper problematizes the enquiry of the possibility of minimising the neoliberal influence on a sectoral level in the African continent.

This research seeks to explore to what extent can African countries delink from the neoliberal paradigm through minimising the neoliberal influence on a sectoral level?

3.4 Research Question

According to Blaikie (2010: 17) research questions can be reduced into three main types, such as: 'Why', 'how' and 'what' questions. It is also essential to distinguish and differentiate between these three types of research questions (Blaikie 2010: 17). For example: questions that contain 'why' seek explanations, while the ones that start with 'how' concern themselves with interventions and lastly, the 'what' questions concern themselves with descriptions (Blaikie 2010: 17).

According to Blaikie (2010: 17) the research questions constitute the most important element of any research design. Boeije and Hodkinson (2009) state that the research question is often broad and encompassing. The research question is usually divided into multiple sub-questions that further structure the research. The answer to a research question is the generated knowledge, while the goal of the research indicates what the obtained knowledge will be used for (Boeiji and Hodkinson 2009: 4). According to Cuba (1997: 1) a research question centres and guides your research; it should be focused and clear.

Main question: How can African countries delink from the neo-liberal paradigm embedded in their economic policies, to a counter-paradigm?

Sub questions: - How Can African countries delink from the neoliberal paradigm through minimising its influence on a sectoral level; for example, in education?

- What are the possible alternative African paradigms likely to replace the neoliberal paradigm, as the paradigm dominates the policy landscape of African countries?
- Why has the neoliberal paradigm remained dominant in economic policies of African countries for decades; furthermore, how can it be circumscribed through utilising counter paradigms which are non-economic in their nature?

3.5 Research Aim

According to Thomas and Hodges (2010) the term research aim usually refers to the main goal or overarching purpose of a research project. Furthermore, a research aim is a sentence that states the purpose and aim of a research project (Thomas and Hodges 2010). Usually a research project would have one broad aim (Thomas and Hodges 2010).

• The aim of this research is to investigate Africa's potential and possibility of delinking from the neoliberal paradigm by exploring the minimisation, reduction and mitigation of the paradigm's influence in the education sector of two African countries, namely: South Africa and Rwanda.

3.6 Research Objectives

Thomas and Hodges (2010) state that the research objectives are specific statements indicating the key issues to be focused on in a research project. A research project would usually contain several specific research objectives (Thomas and Hodges 2010). Furthermore, research objectives provide a detailed description of specific research topics that the project wishes to investigate, building on the main theme that is mentioned in the research aim (Thomas and Hodges 2010). Usually, at least two or three research objectives can be provided and it is considered a good practice to put these in a numbered list in order for them to be identified clearly later in the report.

- To explore the possibilities of minimizing the neoliberal influence at a sectoral level; for example, in education, by focusing on the case studies of South Africa and Rwanda.

- To investigate the wholesale adoption and implementation of neo-liberal ideas across the policy landscape, and to determine possible African alternative paradigms likely to replace these ideas.

- To investigate the reason behind neoliberalism's longer period of dominance in policies of African countries and determine ways in which neoliberal ideas could be circumscribed; via non-economic counter-paradigms

3.7 Data Collection Methods

This research strictly uses available literature on the topic as this is an extended literature review type of research. It utilises 'Document Analysis'. According to Bowen (2009) Document Analysis as a qualitative research method is defined as a systematic procedure for evaluating and reviewing documents- both electronic and printed (Internet-transmitted or computer-based) material.

The documents that can be utilised for a systematic evaluation as part of the research can take a 'variety of forms', such as: background papers, diaries and journals, books and brochures, newspapers, radio and television programs, organisational and institutional reports (2009). He cites Cobin and Strauss (2008) to argue that 'document analysis' requires that the data be interpreted and examined in order to gain understanding, elicit meaning and develop empirical knowledge.

Bowen (2009) cites Stake (1995) and Yin (1994) to argue that, when utilising 'document analysis' as a research method, it is specifically attributed to qualitative case studies in order to produce a rich description of a phenomenon, organisation, event, or program. Furthermore, he cites Merriam (1988) to argue that all types of documents can assist the researcher with developing understanding, uncovering meaning and discovering relevant insights to the research problem.

The rationale for document analysis is based on the value of the documents being examined in a case study research and this is where its usefulness is mostly witnessed. This research sources data from the internet, library and academic bookstores. This research utilises old and latest journal articles, e-books, textbooks, newspapers, official documents and other available and obtainable publications.

Chapter 4: Literature Review

The aim of this chapter is to provide a background, definitions of critical and essential concepts, and to also find the knowledge gap through examining past and present literature. It first offers a description of what a literature review is. Secondly it delves into clarifying the meaning of the concept of 'Neoliberalism' and how it functions across the policy landscape and also its domestic and global praxis. Lastly, the chapter narrows down the neoliberal approach to its focus on the education system and how it has influenced and transformed this system due to its embedded nature.

4.1 Defining a Literature Review

According to Fink (2014) a literature review surveys scholarly articles, books and any other sources or data to a particular occurrence, event or phenomenon, theory or area of research. By doing this, the review provides a critical evaluation and a summary of the past and present works in relation to the investigated research problem (Fink 2014). Collins et al. (2011) mentions that a literature review is an interpretation of the chosen relevant or suitable published/unpublished information on a particular researched topic.

The literature review derives information in different modes, such as: observations, documents, talks, photographs, drawings and videos; furthermore, these are optimised for the means of an analysis, summarisation, evaluation and synthesis of the information. According to Banerjee (2011) a literature review is suitable for exhibiting critical thinking skills; furthermore, it indicates a researcher's ability to re-interpret the existing material collected. This can be done through thematically organising published texts, with the inclusion of debates and conflicting opinions pertinent to the study under investigation (Banerjee 2011). A Literature Review consists of the main arguments and ideas found in a thoroughly and critically read article or book (UMKC Writing Studio 2018: 1). However, a literature review does not require mentioning the entire content of the material visited, but rather an effective evaluation and the extract of the most important ideas from the visited source (UMKC Writing Studio 2018: 1). According to Randolph (2009) the purposes of conducting a literature review is to demonstrate the researcher's knowledge about a certain field of study. Such may include: variables, theories, history, methods, phenomena and vocabulary (Randolph 2009).

4.2 Purposes of a Literature Review

A literature review is designed for the purposes of providing an overview of the analysed and read sources which have been explored by the researcher (Fink 2014). This is done in order for the researcher to demonstrate how his/her research fits within a broader field of study (Fink 2014). The function of a literature review is to re-examine what other authors have produced in similar areas of research as your own, although not identical to the researcher's own investigated topic (Leedy and Ormrod 2015: 70).

4.3 The Concept of Neoliberalism: its Global Reach, Fundamental Tenets and Critique

According to Rodrick (2017) the neoliberal term is hard to pin down, and in broad terms it is defined as: an economic, political and social idea that prefers the importance of the existence of markets over government. Neoliberalism is regarded and interpreted as a replacement of social and cultural norms with market incentives (Rodrick 2017). Furthermore, neoliberalism advocates for the diminishing of community or collective actions by entrepreneurial ventures and privatisation

(Rodrick 2017). Neoliberalism as a concept functions as a 'catch all phrase' for deregulation, fiscal austerity, privatisation and liberalisation (Rodrick 2017).

At its core, neoliberalism describes the current capitalist stage which has been in existence and action over the past 30 years (Konczal 2017). Neoliberalism has evolved in the agency of- and out of an economic crisis which occurred in the 1970s (Konczal 2017). Neoliberalism advocates for a global economic system which is sufficiently ordered for the Western model of economic organisation called capitalism to successfully function (Iber 2018). Therefore, in order to achieve a successful functioning of the neoliberal ideology, it has identified that its main obstacle is political interference in social life (Iber 2018).

Neoliberalism is ignorant of the negative effects it implies to society that manifest as a result of its implementation (Iber 2018). Such negative effects include: deep inequalities (among, between and within societies), and the lack of regard for social justice, (such as welfare, and the voices and the interests of the poverty stricken low class majority) (Iber 2018).

Hertz (2015) argues that neoliberalism is actually aware of its neglect of elaborating clearly how the concepts of identity, respect, community and justice are maintained. Hertz (2015) argues that neoliberalism is also aware of how these concepts are accommodated, taken into consideration and given their due in a neoliberal economic environment. However, neoliberalism does away with these concepts (Hertz 2015). The neoliberal justification for the neglect of these values is that it perceives society as possessing atomized, free-floating individuals operating under free choices (Hertz 2015). Such a society makes up the market mechanism; furthermore, human nature and behaviour are based on the rules of the theory of rational-choice (Hertz 2015). the rational choice model is incapable of measuring such concepts (Hertz 2015).

Ostry et al. (2016) cites Obstfeld (1998) to argue that the most fundamental element of the neoliberal agenda is based on curbing the size of the state. In order to achieve this goal, neoliberalism privatises some of the functions of the government (Ostry et al. 2016; Obstfeld 1998). To elaborate further, the neoliberal method of privatisation is achieved by: constraining government spending through installing limits on its capacity to accumulate debt (Ostry et al. 2016; Obstfeld 1998). Furthermore, the neoliberal method used to privatise include: increasing government’s fiscal deficits, while state owned-enterprises are further sold to private individuals (Ostry et al. 2016).

According to Saad-Filho and Johnston (2005) neoliberalism is perceived as a hegemonic project that concentrates wealth and power on elite groups all over the world. Furthermore, the neoliberal project benefits financial interests within each country and the United States’ capital globally (Saad-Filho and Johnston 2005). Therefore, globalization and neo-imperialism cannot be discussed or analysed without looking at neo-liberalism (Saad-filho and Johnston 2005). According to Peck (2016: 2) when speaking in institutional terms, the enforcement and propagation of neo-liberal principles is linked closely to the ‘Washington Consensus’ trio of organizations. These organisations are: The World Trade Organization, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (Peck 2016: 2).

Peck (2010) reiterates that neoliberalism is mostly synonymous with the philosophy of the market-orientation associated with the agencies of the ‘Washington Consensus’ (IMF and the World Bank). Such an orientation usually presents itself as a free-market that is a pejorative signifier of the American form of capitalism; which was and still is propagating globally (Peck 2010). The rules of engagement of the World Trade Organization and the International Monetary Fund impose the neoliberal agenda as a global set of rules (Peck 2010). Furthermore, all countries that are signatories to these institutions either agree to abide by these rules or face severe penalties (Harvey 2006). These rules include the liberalisation of finance and trade, ending inflation, letting markets set the price and commanding government to stay out of the way (Chomsky 1999).

According to Birch and Mykhnenko (2010: 2-3) the origins of neo-liberalism as an ideology, can be traced back to the 1930s, in a meeting involving liberal intellectuals in Paris. These intellectuals were discussing the threat posed by totalitarianism as signified by National Socialism in Germany (Birch and Mykhnenko 2010: 2-3). Another exemplar they used was an economy created out of collectivist planning such as: The Keynesian British state and the New deal in the USA (Birch and Mykhnenko 2010: 2-3).

The meeting (held in 1938 and organized by Louis Rougier) led to the coining of the term ‘Neoliberalism’. The meeting sparked an intellectual movement intended at updating the liberalism of the nineteenth century. The movement introduced the idea of the importance of the role that governments play as guardians of the ‘Free market’; for example, how the government secures the rule of law (Birch and Mykhnenko 2010: 3).

Birch and Mykhnenko (2010: 3) regard Friederick von Hayek (1899-1992) and Ludwig von Mises (1881-1973) as the founding fathers of neoliberalism. Birch and Mykhnenko (2010: 3) cite Peck (2007: 73) who refers to von Mises to have argued that ‘egoism is the basic law of society’. Birch and Mykhnenko (2010: 3) assert that this view is one of the two that are implicated in economics by the tenets of neoliberalism. The second view is Hayek’s, phrased as the ‘spontaneous order’ brought about as a result of free markets to solve the problem of economic calculation (Birch and Mykhnenko 2010: 3).

Birch and Mykhnenko (2010: 3) further argue that neoliberalism was regarded as an ideological project which sought to counter what neoliberal thinkers saw as a collectivist and state planning of the economy. Collectivist and state planning were objected against due to their tendency of associating themselves with totalitarianism (Peck 2016). They went about their planning through using economic theories that in turn directed to the impossibility of economic planning in the first place. Peck (2016) also notes Hayek as an iconic figure of the neo-liberal thought. Peck (2016) refers to Hayek’s 1944 book called the *Road to Serfdom* as being the founding texts to the free market movement. Peck (2016) also notes the Nobel Prize winning economist Milton Friedman as an iconic figure.

Peck (2010) argues that the neo-liberal project with its utopian vision by Hayek of minimally regulated markets was ironically reinforcing the determination of moving always onward in a pointless pursuit of a free-market ‘nirvana’, as a result of the very unavailability of such an imagined destination.

In its pursuit of the space of pure freedoms, there’s the removal of possible obstacles which Peck (2010) refers to as the labour unions, as well as other collective institutions, the riddance of other systems of economic planning and social redistribution. By doing this, the neoliberal project portrays neoliberals to possess an influence at the levers of power (Peck 2010). However, as a result of applying neoliberalism, they would only find that markets would fail and that deregulation would fall into overreach (Peck 2010). Furthermore, the privatisation of enterprises would make monopolies and bubbles would burst as witnessed in the financial crisis of 2008 (Peck 2010).

Neoliberals were then drawn to the blurry world of ‘governance’ that was market-orientated; which is the limbo they have been found to dwell ever since (Peck 2010). Peck (2010) concluded that the neo-liberalisation process was not the anti-thesis of regulation but instead a regulation in itself which was in denial and self-contradictory. To stay relevant to its continuity, neo-liberalism has been adaptive, mutating and has been using a contradictory mode of governance (Peck 2010).

Harvey (2006) takes a Marxist approach and stance in his critique of neoliberalism as he argues that there are two methods of examining neoliberalism. The first is that neoliberalism can either be examined in its utopian vision and project that provides a theoretical template instructing the reorganization of international capitalism (Harvey 2016). The second is that neoliberalism can be examined as a political project that is concerned with both: re-establishing conditions for accumulating capital and the restoration of class power.

Cahill (2011) describes how neoliberalism is dependent on markets that are embedded into society. Cahill (2011) argues that there is a difference between the theory and practice of neoliberalism. Neo-liberalism theoretically promotes free markets, privatisation and marketization but introduces itself in the form of ‘re-regulation’ (Cahill 2011). Therefore, the non-intervention by government is not taken into consideration when new rules and regulations are implemented for the new markets introduced by neoliberalism (Cahill 2011). Cahill (2011) argues that neoliberalism as a theory and as a practice are not the same.

Palley (2005) states that income distribution in a neoliberal lens means that workers get paid what they are worth. This is measured by the forces of supply and demand (Palley 2005). Palley (2005) argues that the neoliberal project emphasises that free markets will not allow valuable factors of production go to waste, including labour. Instead, prices will adjust to ensure the forthcoming of demand and that all factors are employed (Palley 2005).

Palley (2005) states that the neoliberal project is the foundation of the Chicago school of economics and is based on Monetarism. The school argues that economies are capable of self-adjusting automatically to full employment (Palley 2005). This is so that attempts to raise employment permanently by using monetary and fiscal policy merely results in generating inflation. These two tenets of neoliberalism have had an extraordinary influence, while contrasting with the thinking that dominated the period of 1945-1980 (Palley 2005). This earlier period was dominated by the employment theory of Keynesianism with its assertion that the level of economic activity is determined by the level of aggregate demand (Palley 2005).

Herod and Aguiar (2006: 3) recall the political influence that exacerbated the emergence of the neoliberal ideology. Neoliberalism has been politically supported by Margaret Thatcher and her famous expression that 'There is no such thing as society' (Herod and Aguiar 2006: 3). Ronald Reagan is another political figure who supported the neoliberal ideology as witnessed in his policies while in office, commonly referred to as the 'Reaganomics' (Peck 2010). Thatcher had once been reported to have slammed Hayek’s book called the ‘constitution of liberty’ on a table, interrupting a policy discussion while declaring ‘This is what we believe in’ (Peck 2010).

Peck (2016: 1) mentions other politicians who are vanguards of neo-liberalism such as: General Pinochet (the Chilean President), Bill Clinton (US President 1993-2001) and Tony Blair (UK prime minister, 1997-2007). Peck (2016: 1) argues that these politicians have played a major role in mainstreaming neo-liberal policies and positions. The policies and positions mainstreamed by these politicians were: free trade, labor-market/welfare reform and privatised governance. Herod and Aguiar (2006: 3) also express how such elements have been a focal point to the vision of the ‘Washington Consensus’ regarding globalisation.

Harvey (2006) argues that neo-liberalisation has swept across the world like a tidal wave through institutional reform and adjustments that are discursive. Although its effects and impacts are geographically uneven- there is no area in the world that can claim total immunity from the neoliberal influence (Harvey 2006). Saad-filho and Johnston (1999) argue that describing neoliberalism is complicated, but it is easy to recognise neoliberalism when it trespasses on territories beyond where it was manufactured. This is because neoliberalism causes casualties and controversies such as; trampling upon the poor, undermining entitlements and rights, and lastly defeating resistance (Saad-filho and Johnston 1999).

To achieve the neoliberal objective of a successful imposition into a territory, the neoliberal architectures and imposers use a combination of domestic ideological, economic, political, legal and media pressures (Saad-filho and Johnston 1999).

Furthermore, these pressures are backed by international blackmail and if necessary, military force (Saad-filho and Johnston 1999).

Klein (2007) argues that in countries such as those of the Latin America and African continent, the adoption of the neo-liberal agenda was force-fed to them by the International Monetary Fund. This financial institution gave these continents an ultimatum of ‘privatise or die’ as these continents were facing a debt crisis (Klein 2007). Therefore, governments accepted foreign loans as they were suffering from hyperinflation and indebtedness (Klein 2007). Further the expected ‘shock treatment’ was accepted in the hopes of saving these continents from deeper disaster (Klein 2010).

According to Thorsen and Lie (2010) during the past 20 years or so, the concept of neoliberalism has become widespread in political and academic debates. They argue that the neoliberal paradigm asserts that: the acts of intervention in the economy from agencies such as government are almost always undermining the ‘finely tuned’ logic of the marketplace (Thorsen and Lie 2010). As a consequence, government intervention reduces the efficiency of the economy, and is therefore, undesirable (Thorsen and Lie 2010). Harvey (2006) argues that neoliberalism perceives the role of the state as: creating and preserving the necessary conditions for an economy that maximises entrepreneurial freedoms. This is done within an institutional framework characterised by private property rights, free trade and individual liberty (Harvey 2006).

Cahill (2011) argues that the role of the state in the market is never absent in a neoliberal economy, but is instead safeguarding the interest of a certain class. This means that the state privileges capital over labour by limiting the power of trade unions (Cahill 2011). Furthermore, the state auctions off public goods to private interests and leverages externalities faced by the state through subsidies and preferential procurements (Cahill 2011). The state does this in order to cover the costs of markets in sectors such as healthcare, childcare, and other services usually associated with a welfare-state (Cahill 2011).

Cahill (2011) argues that neoliberalism as a theory and as a practice are not the same. Cahill (2011) goes so far as to suggest that by attacking Keynesianism for its support for state intervention to ensure full employment, neoliberalism supports state intervention only if it benefits the owners of capital. McChesney's (1999) is of the same view as he argues that: neoliberalism refers to the policies and processes whereby a by a handful of private interests control social life as much as possible. This is done in their pursuit of personal profit (McChesney 1999).

According to Herod and Aguiar (2006: 3) for the past two decades the political-economic reality has been dominated by the concept of neoliberalism. Herod and Aguiar (2006: 3) break-down the understanding of neo-liberalism in five central characteristics, the first being: a belief in a market-based economy that protects individuals' private property rights. The belief is built on the assumption that this ultimately allocates resources efficiently for economic development (Herod and Aguiar 2006: 3). The second characteristic is the privatisation of state-owned enterprises with the intention of encouraging market forces to stimulate economic efficiency without government intervention; therefore, deregulation (Herod and Aguiar 2006: 3). The third characteristic is the cutting of expenditures by the state; expenditures intended for providing social welfare (Herod and Aguiar 2006: 3). The fourth characteristic is an ideological attack against the notion of collectivism (Herod and Aguiar 2006: 3). Lastly, the fifth characteristic is the promoting and supporting of the ideology of economic individualism (Herod and Aguiar 2006: 3).

According to Palley (2005) contemporary neoliberalism emphasises market efficiency, competition and individual's freedom in determining the outcomes of the economy. Furthermore, neoliberalism negatively expresses how government intervention and regulation of markets cause distortions. According to Klein (2007) Milton Friedman's conception of neoliberalism included elements such as: tax cuts, cuts in public expenditure, privatisation of public services, and deregulating corporations. According to Martinez and Garcia (1997) neo-liberalism operates and takes shape by freeing private enterprises from any intervention by the state (regardless of the social damage that this may cause). Neoliberalism supports the reduction and cutting of public expenditure intended for social services (Martinez and Garcia 1997). Neoliberalism argues for the reduction of regulations by the government (as the neo-liberal paradigm is based on the belief that regulations affect profits negatively) (Martinez and Garcia 1997). Furthermore, neoliberalism proposes 'privatisation' which refers to the government transferring its ownership of enterprises to individuals or to the market (Martinez and Garcia 1997). Lastly, neo-liberalism aims to eliminate the concept of 'community' and 'public good'. Metcalf (2017) argues that on a global scale, the 'Neoliberal agenda' is deregulating economies all over the world. Neoliberalism is liberalising and forcing national markets to accept capital and trade (Metcalf 2017). Global powers who push for neoliberalism are commanding governments to shrink themselves through privatisation and austerity (Metcalf 2017).

4.4 The Neo-Liberal Education System

Walt (2017: 7-11) claims that the neoliberal paradigm has had a profound impact on both the public life and the private life. Walt (2017: 7-11) cites Rustin (2016: 148) to argue that the neoliberal lens perceives education as a tool for grading and sorting learners. The neoliberal paradigm interprets the purpose of education as being intended at providing the necessary workforce needed for the sustainment of the capitalist economy (Walt 2017: 8-11). The neoliberal education system has a particular interest and focus on the new training of the 'administrative elite' (Walt 2017: 8-11). Neoliberal proponents assume that: while education has been presupposed to work in a state which is market regulated, the regulation of education by the state has not always been successful (Walt 2017: 7-11; Rustin 2016: 154)

According to Connell (2013: 99-112) for the last couple of decades, the education systems of most of the countries around the world have been implicated, impacted and affected by the neoliberal ideology and its governmentality. Neoliberalism defines education as an industry, and it treats parents and students as consumers. Parents and students are perceived as the sources of income for schools and universities to keep their systems running (Connell 2013: 99-112). This then means that the education system of the current era does not provide education for free; furthermore, access to such an education system is limited and is only available to those who are economically capable to purchase it (Connell 2013: 99-112). Such a model turns administrations into entrepreneurs who are on a mission of 'hunting for take-over targets' (Connell 2013: 99-112). Since the deepening of the neoliberal paradigm into the global economy in the 1980s, it has created competition between universities (Connell 99-122). Universities compete with each other for student fees and budget funds (Connell 2013: 99-112). Such a phenomenon has been the cause of the growth of ‘managerialism in universities’; furthermore, managerialism and its growth have undermined academic democracy (Connell 2013: 99-122).

Ball (2017) cites Hatcher (2000) to argue that the neoliberal education privileges the existence, expansion, deepening, perpetuation, contestability and competition in the education system. These elements reflect exogenous and endogenous privatisation by linking funding with recruitment therefore basing education on consumer choice (Ball 2017).

The education system is turned into a quasi-market competition which consists of three main aspects (Ball 2017). The first aspect is to take over the responsibility and control of the education sector from the government and transferring it to private entities (Ball 2017). The justification is that state involvement in the education system has proven to be a market failure due to its nature of providing education through the means of welfare instead of selling it to individuals (Ball 2017). The second aspect is efficiency, as less state involvement in the education system makes it convenient for education to be more focused on performance and outcomes (Ball 2017). The third and last aspect that Ball (2017) mentions is that: the neoliberal paradigm in the education system ushers in a choice as it considers it to be a competitive force.

Klees (2014) argues that the neoliberal paradigm in terms of its implications on the education system, has turned higher learning institutions into an environment for the rich. According to Fish (2009) the neoliberal education system excludes and removes the state from funding its ‘so-called’ public universities. This has increased the agency of universities to increase tuition and passing this burden to its students who are transformed into consumers (Fish 2009). The removal of funding has also turned the mission of universities and research from the pursuit of truth to the pursuit of profit (Fish 2009).

According to Levidow (2002) beyond the effect of turning universities into businesses that focus more on generating income, they have now been turned into a terrain for agendas of marketization. The current neoliberal project undoes collective gains achieved in the past, privatises public goods, weakens regulations, and in terms of universities, it has intensified market competition in global knowledge (Levidow 2002).

Levidow (2002) outlines the neoliberal strategies for higher education as follows: educational quality, accountability, and efficiency have been refined in terms of and in accordance with, accountancy. Furthermore, courses intended at calibrating intellectual expansion have been transformed into 'instructional commodities' (Levidow 2002) the relationship between the teacher and the student is now based on consumption and production, and that all actors involved in education are now treated through a lens of business relationships (Levidow 2002). What is central to the neoliberal paradigm in the education system are the concepts of the 'knowledge economy' and 'information society' (Levidow 2002). These concepts propose that the quality, the management, and the speed of information are crucial for economic competitiveness (Levidow 2002).

According to Russom (2015) the current situation faced by education activists presents them with extremely complicated challenges. However, it is also creating agency and opportunity for a new movement intended at resurrecting public education (Russom 2015). Russom (2015) further argues that businesses have had a positive reaction towards the neoliberal reform and transformation of education.

Their models help and enable them to spot talent, recruit a working class suitable for the business environment as personnel, professional and frontline managers (Russom 2015).

In discrediting public education or the state involvement in education, media elements imply that there is something seriously wrong with public education (Goldstein et al. 2011). As a result of this, there is an increasing emergence of neoliberal policies and practices that attack ‘all things public’, further reflecting the ‘totalising’ nature of neoliberalism (Goldstein et al. 2011). This neoliberal characteristic explicitly and intrinsically rationalises and normalises its solutions and interests as appropriate and relevant to guide public education and its reform (Goldstein et al. 2011). Goldstein et al. (2011) cite Giroux and Saltman (2009) and Duggan (2004), to elaborate that this normalising of the neoliberal paradigm is assumed and considered to be common sense. Furthermore, it is viewed as racially, ethnically, politically, and culturally neutral (Goldstein et al. 2011).

According to Coclough (1996: 589) There are various cases, points and arguments supporting the provision of education through the public sector as opposed to the private neoliberal pathway. They include: the issue of ‘externalities’ which suggest that the benefits of education are not only enjoyed by its recipients but also by the society at large (Coclough 1996: 589). Secondly, the economic argument pertaining to ‘Merit goods’ which suggest that the services of education are often treated as goods with a ‘special merit’ and also, as goods which can be undersupplied if left to the markets (Coclough 1996: 589). Thirdly, there might be a slow change to the market signals if markets are responsible for the provision of education (Coclough 1996: 589). This is due to the fact that education is a ‘long term investment’ containing even a longer ‘gestation’ period (Coclough 1996: 589). Lastly, the negative impact of leaving the provision of education to the markets, particularly in the African countries is that: its provision may only be possible if its supplier is a monopolist.

According to Hursh (2007: 499) many of the federal and state educational reforms for the past two decades have paralleled Milton Friedman's conception of the neoliberal paradigm and its implementation on a sectoral level. The reforms motion for: a globalisation which requires privatisation, deregulation, and free market capitalism (Hursh 2007: 499). These basic tenets are operationalised in the current education system to ensure that: the provision of education is efficient and accountable (Hursh 2007: 499). Another component implied by the neoliberal paradigm in the education sector is: Standardised testing, which provides a 'quality indicator' to the consumer about the value of student learning within education markets (Hursh 2007: 499).

According to Ross and Gibson (2006: 4) the role of the public sector in the provision of education is under attack across the globe due to the influence of neoliberal government policies. The reason behind the neoliberal interest in education is due to its market size; for example, at the time of their writing, global expenditure in education was more than $1 trillion (Ross and Gibson 2006: 4). Ross and Gibson (2006: 4) quote Kuehn (1999) as follows: "education's centrality to the economy has a potential to challenge corporate globalisation if education succeeds in producing critical citizens for a democratic society".

Lynch (2012) cites O' Hearn (2003: 35) to argue that: apart from the majority of African countries' membership to the IMF and the World Bank being the main cause for these countries adopting the neoliberal policy; another major reason is their economic dependence on foreign investment. Furthermore, African countries are dependent on Transnational Corporations whose headquarters are located in the Western world (Lynch 2012; O'Hearn 2003: 35). African countries realise that the main incentive that attracts these investments and the expansion of transnational corporations across their borders are government policies that are pro-low corporate tax (Lynch 2012; O' Hearn 2003: 35).

African governments are led to pursue an economic growth model which is based on neoliberal tenets, in particular: low taxes, a restraint on the fiscal policy and minimal interference in business (Lynch 2012; O' Hearn 2003: 35). This means that by adopting the neoliberal paradigm, most African countries further weaken the fragility of their own conception of being welfare states (Lynch 2012; O'Hearn 2003: 35). They weaken this conception by drastically reducing the means to fund their states through enough taxation (Lynch 2012; O' Hearn 2003: 35). This limitation in taxation further leads to a reduction in government involvement in other areas necessary for public or social life such as Healthcare and Education.

The areas of public life become privatised and passed on to the markets, and are further enveloped by the neoliberal paradigm within their managerialism and functions.

Roberts (2015) argues that the neoliberal approach to education has embedded within it a belief that: the value of education is based on how well it enables a country and its citizens to compete in the marketplace; not only locally but globally. With such a belief, it is then assumed that this global economic competitiveness can only be achieved if schools become more like businesses (Roberts 2015). In this manner, parents and pupils are to be considered as consumers; furthermore, schools competing for sources of funding will be enough motivation to drive up the standards in educational provisioning (Roberts 2015). Education is then turned into an economic good which can only be obtained by those who can afford it (Roberts 2015). The neoliberal paradigm turns the education system into a private good independent from government's locus of control.

Kiernan (2015) argues that in the 20th century, education and (especially universities) was accepted as a social and public good. With globalisation and the rise and spread of the notion of the 'information society' there has been major reforms in education which came in the form of a neoliberal paradigm implementation (Kiernan 2015). Kiernan (2015) argues that the idea behind the 'information society' or what is called rather- the 'knowledge economy' is that: we are currently situated in a post-industrial era or scenario. What this means is that our societies are based on the 'production and promulgation of knowledge' (Kiernan 2015). The changes in the workplace environment require a highly educated workforce; that is, the current economy needs more people to go through higher education in order for it to grow and develop (Kiernan 2015).

The pursuit of the goal of 'information society' is hindered by the neoliberal paradigm, as the paradigm prevents access to higher education for the poor and low class (Kiernan 2015). Neoliberalism achieves this by not allowing government to step in financially to secure poor and low class peoples' access to education while treating education as an economic good (Kiernan 2015). In its extremity, the neoliberal paradigm asserts that we should be pursuing economic good above everything else (Kiernan 2015). By limiting government involvement in the education system, the neoliberal paradigm posits that everything should be funded through user charges (Brown 2018). In the case of higher education, user charges come in the form of tuition fees (Brown 2018).

Davies and Bansel (2007: 4-14) cite Brown (2003: 38) to argue that universities and schools have been reconfigured to produce highly responsibilised and individualised subjects. The educated citizens then become ‘Entrepreneurial actors across all dimensions of their lives’ (Davies and Bansel 2007: 4-14; Brown 2003: 38). Davies and Bansel (2007: 4-24) further cite Soul (2005) to argue that institutions have increased responsibilisation, competition and the transfer of risk from the state to individuals ‘at a heavy cost to many individuals’.

According to Basu (2004) “The globalisation of neo-liberal solutions to education problems has gained increasing dominance in recent years”. Basu (2004) cites Taylor (2001: 4) to argue that rationalising and restructuring the educational system in neo-liberal terms is based on improving public sector efficiency. At the same time, costs are reduced, due to the need to increase the standards of education, ensure accountability, improve outcomes, and remain competitive globally (in a knowledge based market economy) (Taylor 2001: 4). Basu (2004) further cites Apple (2001) to argue that the neoliberal policies in education which are increasingly concerned with issues of marketization, performativity, privatisation and the ‘enterprising individual’ have created greater disparities and inequalities.

According to Brown (2016) neoliberalism has made education increasingly focused on the question of ‘return on investment’. What this means is that: very few poor students and students of the working class can perceive the value of education as it were in the 20th century (Brown 2016). In the 20th century, education was perceived as something to do with capacity, expansion of human beings and their capacities as citizens (Brown 2016). Instead, the question that neoliberal education poses is: how much money can you put in it and how much money are you likely to get out of it as a potential higher earner at the other end? this in turn has a huge and disturbing effect on education itself (Brown 2016).

Brown (2016) states that: “the question of the return on investment diminishes the existence of university courses that expand the soul, the mind, the character, and the citizen capacities of students. The return on investment creates an increasing demand by students, by families, and by university administrators to provide a really high level vocational education”. Therefore, the neoliberal education does not promote university courses that delve on geographies, histories, literatures, cultures of the world, arts and so forth of our ‘past, present, and possible future’ (Brown 2016). The focus of the neoliberalism is on technical education; in the fields of engineering, technology and math (Brown 2016). This then raises sceptical questions to the social sciences and humanities, such as: ‘what does this do or contribute to one’s economic or financial earning capacity at the other end?’ (Brown 2016). Everything has to ultimately be justified in terms of that economic earning capacity (Brown 2016).

According to Rustin (2013: 147) neoliberalism interprets education as an ‘industrial trainer’. Under such a conception, education is perceived as providing a workforce for a capitalist economy in terms of social character and skill (Rustin 2013: 147). Secondly, this requires the acceptation of hierarchies and inequalities (Rustin 2013: 147). Schools are reconstituted as corporations, in a sense that they are obligated to compete for resources and status within a market (Rustin 2013: 147). In broader terms, the competition between schools, especially higher learning institutions is based on: attracting potential students, competing for resources for research, faculty, and private endowments (Rustin 2013: 147).

The neoliberal education system and its functions has seen the rise in student fees (Rustin 2013: 147). Most students who are unable to pay tuition are funded through loans which require repayment from future higher earnings (Rustin 2013: 147). Furthermore, students are expected to define the education service as a ‘long-term financial investment in their own futures’ (Rustin 2013: 147). When applying for a space at higher learning institutions, students are in fact invited to make a purchase (Rustin 2013: 147). This has refined them into consumers of services which the university, as a corporation, provides (Rustin 2013: 147).

According to Wilson (2012: 1) the neoliberal attacks on public education have replaced the concept of the public good. The neoliberal attacks include: critiquing the idea of teachers being a collective voice, privatising the management of public interests, turning test scores into a proxy for teaching, learning and growth. Molnar (2017) argues that neoliberal proponents seek to subordinate the mission of democracy concerning public education, and turn it into a theory of market-driven social organization and economic development.

According to Baltodano (2012) there has been fundamental changes brought forth by neoliberalism to the schools of education to fast-track teacher preparation programs that by-pass traditional requirements. Due to the privatisation of public education, a new market has surfaced to train educators and administrators for charter schools (Baltodano 2012). Baltodano (2012) argues asserted that there now exists little talk about public education and freedom. Neoliberalism has taken away creativity of teaching, the formation of strong public intellectuals and the joy of learning (Baltodano 2012).

Giroux (2010) argues that there is an emergence of a new form of bare pedagogy which is focused on competitiveness which is market driven and even a goal-setting of a militaristic nature. Such a pedagogy's emphasis is on the hard work of critical analysis, social responsibility and moral judgements (Giroux 2010). This is happening while critical pedagogy (which goes to the very core of what it means to address the actual real inequalities of power among administrators and faculty) is disappearing (Giroux 2010).

Shahjhan (2014) argues that there is a need to place an emphasis on transformational resistance in Higher Education regarding the issue of neoliberalism. Such would mean the creation of new ways of knowing, being and doing in Higher Education in order for the academy to be transformed (Shahjan 2014). The Neoliberal Higher Education refers to a 'theoretical and practical' restructuring of Higher Education according to the logics of neoliberalism (Shahjan 2014). This logic asserts that society should produce and construct individuals who are self-enterprising and who are solely interested in enhancing their human capital (Shahjan 2014). Economic rationality operates as the 'overarching frame for evaluating, understanding and governing social life (Shahjan 2014).

According to Slater (2018) Education has been traced for decades by an increasingly and aggressive reform of a global nature. Such a reform is aimed at not only institutional privatisation, but at ideological containment, an enclosure of radical dissent as well (Slater 2018). Those with a commitment to the struggle for critical education and a society of an egalitarian kind face an extractive project which aims to profit from schools and students (Slater 2018). The neoliberal project in education is also aimed at a greater measure of social control by reframing the educational purpose with a ‘strict market-based economic rationality’ (Slater 2018). Slater (2018) cites De Lossovoy (2015) and Saltman (2016) to argue that such narratives of freedom and choice have presided over an educational restructuring of a regressive regime.

According to Gyamera and Burke (2017) we live in an era of globalisation and internationalisation. The agendas of neoliberalism have become part of the important aspects of national and institutional governments’ in higher education policy (Gyamera and Burke 2017). Their major impact can be more noticed on the curriculum. The over-emphasis on the market produced by the hegemony of neoliberalism has resulted in universities engaging in questions of the curriculum in relation to the notions of ‘International Leaderships’ (Gyamera and Burke 2017). Furthermore, their focus has been positive, focusing on effecting ‘innovation’ in the curriculum of higher education to meet ‘international standards’, compete in the global market, and forming partnerships with industry and business (Gyamera and Burke 2017).

In such a context knowing and knowledge are mostly reduced to the logics of the market (Gyamera and Burke 2017). Furthermore, knowing and knowledge have deferred to wider anxieties about the competitiveness of the global economy and positioning in the context of world rankings (Gyamera and Burke 2017; Nixon 2013). Neoliberalism has assumed an increasing central position in the practices and policies of universities in the Global South, with a rising emphasis on internalisation (Gyamera and Burke; Hill and Rosskam 2009; Unterhalter and Carpentiar 2010).

As a conclusion to the chapter, the neoliberal paradigm has been deemed to be detrimental to the future economic growth of countries. For African countries, its implication has resulted in slow economic development. The neoliberal paradigm was created in the Western world to solve a Western problem. Its extended reach that envelops its application to African countries has been criticized by many authors on the grounds that: it increases inequality, whereas the rich get richer and the poor get poorer; furthermore, the outcome is that a few minor elite ends up rich while the majority of the country ends up poor. The market mechanism fostered by capitalism and the neoliberal paradigm in particular has meant that those who do not have any source of income could not participate in the market as the principle of demand and supply relies on money. The literature review has carefully analysed the tenets and elements of the neoliberal paradigm such as: its competitive nature, privatisation, commodification, deregulation, and etc.

In the neoliberal paradigm's praxis, other services that are deemed crucial for the survival of the society have been excluding the poor as they have been turned into commodities that need to be purchased in order to be enjoyed. Such services include healthcare and education. The literature review narrowed down the functioning of the neoliberal paradigm to the education sector. The aim was to explore how the application of the neoliberal paradigm functions on a sectoral level. The intention has been to operationalize and explore the concept in order to illicit an in-depth understanding from its global context to its domestic sectoral functioning.

Chapter 5: The adoption and consequences of the neoliberal model of education in Africa

According to Kapoor (2011: 15-31) Neoliberalism from introduces a knowledge-based economy to universities in Africa in order to prepare students for a rapid, brutal and harsh reality of the competitive global economy. The neoliberal educational reform does this by standardized testing, ratings/grading and obsessions with effectiveness, accountability, measurements and meeting targets (Kapoor 2011: 15-31). The imposition of a neoliberal globalisation together with its Eurocentric education (which is scientific in its nature), raises questions and concerns on the development of African people's sociability and humanity (Kapoor 2011: 15-31). African educational philosophies have been invaded by neoliberal globalisation, which replaces them and takes the lead in determining the developments of the curriculum and how it is to be implemented, especially in the fields of technology and science (Kapoor 2011: 15-31). The indigenous knowledges found in the domestic terrain of African societies is in contestation with neoliberal globalisation (Kapoor 2011: 15-31).

Until recently, universities operating in the public domain in African countries almost had a monopoly in their provision of higher education (Varghese 2004: 4). The pressing need of the emergence of private higher education was caused by the reforms which were market-friendly, the financial crisis, and the deregulation of policies; in the current era, private higher education is fast increasing and expanding due to having a conducive environment for cross-border education (Varghese 2004: 4). The major role in development post- the period of world war II was played by the state; during the reconstruction and nation-building phase, most deveoping countries were highly dependent on foreign capital and personnel in essential national development areas (Varghese 2004: 4). This was due to the recognition of the importance of trained and qualified manpower, to stir and efficiently manage the economy and to organize and plan the systems of education and higher education development (Varghese 2004: 4). Such then created a gateway of a neocolonial and neoimperialist nature in the future of higher education, particularly in how it is managed, the curriculum taught in private higher education, its relationship with the outside world, and also how it was to function. Western-centric views, science, engineering, technical learning, technology, mathematics, and other subject matters which were to sync with neoliberal globalisation were created. Education was a product to be consumed as a form of training and preparing learners for professionalism. Courses such as the humanities and social sciences took a major hit as they were about human consciousness, society and civic responsibility. Learning was only considered important as a form of investment, whereas profit and returns would be ripped in the future through employment. Private higher education limited the role of the state in higher education, and functioned on private funding such as sponsorships, tuition fees and donors through partnering with corporations who were looking for potential employees. Education in Africa was transformed into a business.

The neoliberal policy agenda as implemented by African countries from external pressure and promoted through policy documents by donors such as the World Bank has caused Higher education in those countries to witness problems in social equity

(Molla 2012: 1). Higher education policies in African countries are reformed to achieve the standards of economic efficiency, reduced political commitments usually required for the marginalized to benefit from the education system through the instruments relevant for equity, and reduced costs in the provision of education (Molla 2012: 1). In the modern era of the knowledge economy, nation states are looking for a competitive advantage, therefore, they search for human capital in Higher Education expecting pupils to be of quality (Molla 2012: 1). Upon the World Bank's underscoring of the Higher Education's critical role in terms of how it supports development which is 'knowledge-intensive' through producing new knowledge, training and acquiring the capacity to apply and access global knowledge- the World Bank then renewed its interest in 'revitalizing Higher Education in Sub-Saharan Africa' (Molla 2012: 1). The neoliberal agenda has been pervasive and largely considered to provide an educational agenda that is external although being indorsed by internal governments of the African continent; the consequence of the reform of the educational agenda to function in a neoliberal perspective has been a high record of 'inequitable Access' (Molla 2012: 2). The neoliberal agenda in educational reform has emphasized the growing importance of the market forces with the limited role that the state would play; as a consequence education policies on a national level, and practices in the countries that received aid have been restructured and shaped by an educational agenda that is globally structured (Molla 2012: 2).

According to Verger, Fontdevila and Zancajo (2016: 3) the neoliberal agenda in educational reform has been promoting the privatization of education; subsequently, the states in Southern countries have been endorsing pro-privatization policies although having different educational traditions and educational regulatory frameworks. Such educational policies have been met by political disputes; most stakeholders opposing the privatization of education argue that such a move had a negative effect and was against the notion that education is a basic human right and that education should be considered as a public good (Verger, Fontdevila and Zancajo 2016: 3). As aforementioned by Molla (2012: 2), Verger, Fontdevila and Zancajo (2016: 3) also assert that the neoliberal privatization policies are running 'the risk of undermining educational equity' and that the benefits that are presupposed by educational privatization have not been globally rigorously tested. When measures of educational privatization take place, organizations of different types, trade unions, family associations, and groups from civil society gather together and organize themselves against them (Verger, Fontdevila and Zancajo 2016: 3). Apart from the expected and likelihood of risks of educational privatization, which include educational equity and quality- privatization also undermines the conditions of labour, their members' rights, and in general- the status of the teaching profession (Verger, Fontdevila and Zancajo 2016: 3).

According to Rustin and Barrs (n.d: 10) the project of neoliberalism by political conservatives was intended at dividing education users from their professional providers. The reason behind this motive was the claim that professionals were not providing the service according to the commitments they had to their pupils but rather due to their own self-interest (Rustin and Barrs n.d: 10). Neoliberal conservatives branded professionals as arrogant and that they had no idea about the needs of their pupils; this strategy populated and was pursued in various public services including schooling (Rustin and Barrs n.d: 10). Targets and rigorous standards were set, competition was allowed so as to enable freedom of choice for pupils, and public sector education failure was exposed; furthermore, from the

Western world and across the developing countries, the education system was turned into a 'market' model, competitive, individualist, and was moved away from all forms of collective provision which usually relied on professional trust and commitment (Rustin and Barrs n.d: 10).

Such a programme implementation was complicated; the project stated that up to a certain level, education had to be provided at least to all children and institutions, resources and rules were to be sufficiently used and practiced, in order for such to be achieved (Rustin and Barrs n.d: 10). Society as a whole depended on the education system to provide their citizens with useful skills and knowledge so that they could be beneficial to- and fulfill their societal roles (Rustin and Barrs n.d: 10). However, neoliberalism does not bear any responsibility on an individual's failure. If an individual does not become successful in a neoliberal curriculum and according to neoliberal standards of measurements, such as grading, the individual bears the responsibility or the state does, ultimately. In a neoliberal education system, failure cannot be attributed to the markets; furthermore, failure cannot be tolerated (Rustin and Barrs n.d: 10). Even though in markets- failure is expected and inevitable, it is a different case with education.

According to Munchick (2017: 40) neoliberal schools in their own terms produce inequalities; furthermore, they produce larger inequalities outside their own confines, and on the society at large. Neoliberalism structures the education system in what can be described in a Marxist view as an economic order of capitalism in all its areas, be it institutions and practices; the reduction of the state's involvement in education means that individuals bear and incur the cost of education privately, becoming inaccessible to many who are marginalized (Munchick 2017: 40). In African countries where education has been facing external reforms, education has become only available to an elite few who can afford it; therefore, schools serve the interests of the dominant (Munchick 2017: 40). Citing Bowles and Herbet (1976), Munchick (2017: 40) argues that schools prepare students for the exploitative needs of capitalism instead of preparing them to become political agents or citizens who consciously function as democratic. In its simplest sense, neoliberal educational reform policies turn higher learning institutions and schools into organizations that produce workers; therefore its goals are to enhance technical capacities required for productivity and economic participation (Munchick 2017: 40).

Hill and Kumar (2009: 1) argue that across the world, both in the Global North and Global South, phrases such as ‘education for all’ have become a rhetoric, with the true reality being the diminishing role of the state in education. There is a definite action by the state, as it is retreating from being the main educational provider for its citizens (Hill and Kumar 2009: 1). Such a retreat is taking place during a time where there is a private capital debauchery across the world with its unending hunger to maximize or produce surplus accumulation (Hill and Kumar 2009: 1). The education system, schooling and their neoliberal restructuring have led to the privatization of public services, the commodification and capitalization of humanity, and introducing competitive markets in education marked by exclusion and selection- operating within an exponential growth in international and national inequalities (Hill and Kumar 2009: 2). African countries whose governments are non-conforming to these transitions, transformations and reforms in their educational policies face destabilization and intervention by the United States and its allies (Hill and Kumar 2009: 2). Markets in education have limited the involvement of the state and have increased the number of choices for parents as to which school they would like their kids to go to study at with a range of options at their disposal (Hill and Kumar 2009: 2).

In a neoliberal setting, Hill and Kumar (2009: 20) cite Mulderrig (2002) to argue that education is perceived as being positioned theoretically to fit a market grand plan which connects its relationship with the economy and state policy at a broader spectrum. The shift to the 'concomitant consumerisation' and education's commodification by actors in the social setting plays an important and significant role in legitimizing and constructing a policy for post-welfare learning as an ongoing globalization project; this is to challenge the continuance and the worsening condition of education turning into a complete neoliberal paradigm (Muderring 2002; Hill and Kumar 2009: 20). Therefore as a general shift, students would neither be referred to as clients or consumers, no more would professors and academics be referred to as facilitators or a 'service of pizza delivery'; education is not a 'product', neither is it something to be delivered, crossed off the list and consumed (Muderring 2002; Hill and Kumar 2009: 20). Education rather, is a process which is continuous and reflective, and it is the very anti-thesis of a commodity (Muderring 2002; Hill and Kumar 2009: 20).

According to Ugwu, Atama and Aronu (2016: 42-52) neoliberalism has strived on guiding diverse local people- to specific directions. This is called the philosophy of intervention or the 'intervention philosophy' (Ugwu, Atama and Aronu 2016: 42-52). The predispositions that are ethnocentric in nature and which are driving this philosophy always end up with a negative outcome called underdifferentiation, whereas countries in the Global South are perceived as being more the same than they actually are (Ugwu, Atama and Aronu 2016: 42-52). Therefore, in development plans, international contacts or outsiders from the West tend to ignore the diversity of cultures in the Global South, replacing them with a uniform approach (Ugwu, Atama and Aronu 2016: 42-52).

Neoliberalism has had an impact that is profound, on social and on state life in general; for example, it has promoted and influenced the idea that neither welfare states nor nation states are qualified appropriately to ensure individual rights and freedom in making choices, profit-making, competing with other social groups and individuals, and striving for personal success that is greater (van der Walt 2017). When it comes to education neoliberals assume that although education has been expected to work under a market that is regulated by the state, they argue that the state has faced failures and has not been always successful in its regulating of education (Rustin 2016: 154; van der Walt 2017).

Across the globe and also in North America, public education is under attack, due to government policies transitioning into the domain of a neoliberal paradigm; these policies suggest that education should open up to being a market for educational services for the purposes of profit maximisation further turning schools into managrement organisations (Ross and Gibson 2006: 4). Even though following the tenets of neoliberalism and its practices has brought achievements in the contemporary society in terms of society's democratisation (with individuals gaining economic freedom and political freedom), the paradigm has had its darker side, such as: leading to an obsession with efficiency, effectiveness, effectivity, individual freedom, profit motive, choice, achievement, measurement/assessment, ranking and rating, increasing inequality, inequity and competition among social groups and individuals- and all of this taking place in the context of education (van der Walt 2017).

According to Banya and Elu (2001: 1) the problem of how to finance higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa has yet to be given enough attention or coverage in relevant literature. The issue is dismissed based on the assumption that national governments finance higher education; therefore, the issue is left to the national budget. However, there is a pressing need to conduct empirical research on the matter due to the conditionalities given to African countries by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, another external effect affecting higher education is the global market and its impact (Johnstone 1998; Zidermann and Albrecht 1995; Banya and Elu 2001: 1). In the 1960s, the presentation of higher education was essential to establishing a polity that is modern through political recruitment, political integration and political socialization (Banya and Elu 2001: 3). A conference in 1962 at Madagascar assigned seven roles to African universities, such as: to ensure the unification of Africa, to advance and teach knowledge through research, to enrich human resources for reaching needs of the labour force, to equip the whole person with skills for nation-building, to maintain loyalty and adherence to standards of the world academy and more. The state plays a major role in financing higher education in African countries; although universities have reformed and reshaped themselves in a neoliberal context whereas user charges and tuition fees keep universities functional, Banya and Elu (2001: 4) argue that universities, especially those in the public domain are highly dependent on central governments for their financial resources, and that even though there may be tuition fees expected to be paid by the students, they are highly negligible, or face major resistance.

According to Brock-Utne (2003: 24) World Bank’s educational policies made for African countries (especially in the sub-saharan region) have portrayed an attitude that is hostile towards the development of higher education. The bank emphasizes diversification and cost-sharing in higher education, even though the Declaration for Human rights by UNESCO states that: on the basis of merit, higher education shall be accessible to all (Brock-Utne 2003: 24). Recent documents produced, published and released by the Bank now recognize the importance of the education sector after years of neglect; despite a growing emphasis on the education sector, the fundamental neoliberal tenets such as more privatization and cost-sharing still remain (Brock-Utne 2003: 24). For African countries, it is almost impossible to formulate policies for higher learning institutions due to conditionalities brought forth by and accompanying the loans provided by International Financial Institutions; furthermore, the policy document by the World Bank is an attempt to limit and decrease the role of higher education and give more attention to primary education in Africa, therefore, such leaves African scholars skeptical as to whether we are reverting back to the colonial times (Brock-Utner 2003: 24).

According to Baatjes (n.d: 1) there is wide and increasing transformation of Higher Education Institutions (in his case he focuses on South Africa) by a neoliberal fatalism that argues against the non-commodification of these institutional spaces so as to dress them with the global market utopia, on the basis of TINA (There Is No Alternative). Baatjes (n.d: 1) emphasizes on the increasing need to protect these spaces as they hold the representation of a democratic society and the values which symbolize the sites of struggle in retaining education as a public good. Neoliberalism attacks public institutions, convincing the world that what is private is good and what is public is bad, it also promotes economic rationality, supporting competition, efficiency and effectiveness by giving learners and workers requisite knowledge, dispositions and skills to equip them to operate and become competitive in a global economy that is ruthless (Baatjes n.d: 2). Citing Apple (2002), Baatjes (n.d: 2) argues that neoliberals perceive public spaces as black holes in which money is poured; furthermore, they claim that such spaces suck out of society its financial life and due to that should not be supported. In African countries and in other developing countries, the replacement of the Public sector by neoliberalism and privatisation, particularly in the education sector has been brutal, promoting market capitalism, re-organising society as per the politics of the markets and corporations while rejecting social justice, civic responsibility, equity and redress and the values that underpin an inclusive democracy (Baatjes n.d: 3).

According to Caffentzis (2002: 91) Neoliberal policies have affected the education sector in more ways than one, such as: urging governements through structural adjustment programmes that they should charge fees for rendering the education service. Neoliberalism has also taken the lead in- and spearheaded the direction of the curriculum of educational institutions, by recommending a highly technical and vocational curriculum to be taught to students. Citing Posner (1992), Caffentzis (2002: 91) argues that such a move was intended at utilizing reform policies for the application of the 'commodity logic'. These solutions have failed time and time again, even when the SAPs changed into Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, (PRSP) leaving countries of the African continent facing dire conditions, such as increasing illiteracy, wages collapsing and other aspects of the quality of life in the continent facing an apocalypse (Caffentzis 2002: 91).

According to Mwanza (n.d: 18) Neoliberalism treats education as a private good; with a case study analyzing the education system in Zambia, he points out how education is utilized for human capital rather than human interest. Such a view supports education as a tool for social efficiency and also as a contribution to market gains; furthermore, social equity's importance is placed lower than that of the efficiency of the market (Mwanza n.d: 18). The changes in the governance of education in African countries include the establishment of educational standards, the introduction of competition, the quality measurements of educational material learned and also the alignment of education with the needs of the labour market (Mwanza (n.d: 19). This then includes new expectations, new curriculum, new functionalities and mechanisms, and new actors, such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD); the funding of education is no longer concentrated on higher education but rather on primary schooling with minimal or reduced funding for secondary, vocational, tertiary and training (Mwanzan.d: 20). When it comes to Higher Education there is limited government provision, with students personally consuming the service from their own pockets based on the idea that they will be employed upon graduation and recuperate the cost or the money they lost (Mwanza n.d: 20). This concludes that there is no external aid or overall aid for the provision of education, and where there is funding from bursars, it comes with conditions, such as students being potential employees in future for the funders; therefore, educational provisioning has been privatized (Mwanza n.d: 20).

Chapter 6: The case studies of South Africa and Rwanda

The following chapter explores the case studies of two African countries, namely: South Africa and Rwanda. As aforementioned, the paper utilises ‘document analysis’ as a form of data collection method, a case study methodology is deemed fit to analyse the phenomenon under investigation. Having narrowed down the neoliberal paradigm’s influence and application to the sectoral level of education, both South Africa and Rwanda have been theoretically and practically challenging the neoliberal paradigm embedded within their education system.

6.1 The South African Case

According to Cheru (2001) the burden of poverty is further perpetuated and worsened by the lack of access to educational institutions. The issue surrounding education is motivated by the effort to increase the rate of employment (Cheru 2001). Cheru (2001) argues that since the year 1994, South Africa introduced free and compulsory education for all children. Furthermore, the South African education strategy includes the rebalancing of geographical and racial disparities in this service's provision (Cheru 2001).

6.1.1a The Effectiveness and Limitations of International Laws Obliging South Africa to Provide free education

According to the 'Convention against Discrimination in Education' (or in short: the CDE), a document adopted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (1960) states that: all countries that are ratified by the convention should undertake to develop, formulate, and apply a national policy that tends to promote equality of treatment and of opportunity when it comes to education. Article 4(a) in particular stipulates that: primary education is to be made compulsory and free; secondary education in its various forms is to be made generally accessible and available to all; an equal access to higher education to all based on the capacity of the individual, and lastly, an assurance of compliance by all those obligated to attend school as articulated by the law.

In Arendse's (2008) attempt to explore a South African national interpretation of international laws regarding education, he first outlines the different types of international laws in existence. He refers to article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) which pronounces the right to education for all, and also that, at least in its fundamental and elementary stages, education shall be free (Arendse 2008). He however, highlights the limitation of this law by arguing that since the UDHR's existence in 1948, so far, the words "compulsory" and "free" have only been internationally attributed to "the right to a primary education" (Arendse 2008).

According to article 13 (1) of the "Implementation of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights" (ICESCR) by the United Nation's Economic and Social Council (1999): “Education is both a right in itself and an indispensable means of realising other human rights”. Furthermore, the document states that education is an empowerment right and a powerful main driver by which, socially and economically “marginalized” children and adults can obtain the tools to fully participate in their communities; moreover, it is a tool they can utilize to lift themselves out of poverty (United Nations Social and Economic Council 1999).

Arendre (2008) refers to article 28(1) of the “Convention on the Rights of the Child” (CRC) which he interprets as obliging states who are parties to the convention to make primary education free and compulsory. Article 28(1)(b) of this convention “requires states to make secondary education available and accessible to the child” (Arendse 2008).

6.1.1b South Africa’s National Law Regarding its Provision of Free Education

According to the Library of Congress (2016) free education is a constitutional right in South Africa, and the Bill of Rights chapter of the South African Constitution which stipulates that:

“1. Everyone has the right to: a) a basic education, including adult basic education and, b) to further education, which the state through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible.” Library of Congress (2016)

Churr (2015) further states that: the right to a ‘basic education’ is codified in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), and that the constitution considers this right as one of the most essential. The value of its importance is attributed to its enabling nature of promoting social and economic well-being (Churr 2015). Kinley (2015: 3) states that the Freedom Charter was adopted during the

1950s, at the time when the majority of valuable and demanded jobs were only reserved for ‘white workers’. The Freedom Charter demands a compulsory, free, equal and universal education for all; thus, Kinley (2015) argues that: as Section 29(1)(a) of the constitution (about the right to free basic education) constantly being interpreted as not qualified by “progressive realisation” or “available resources”, this means it is an immediate right which the government is responsible for providing in the present.

According to the ‘White Paper on Education and Training’ by the Department of Education (1995) the South African education system should increasingly provide access to: education and training to adults, children and youth. In order to achieve such a goal, inequalities among the previously disadvantaged and the vulnerable in the education sector should be emphasised and redressed (Department of Education 1995). The paper classifies the excluded and marginalized groups as: street children, those from rural communities, those who require ‘special educational needs’, out of school youth and etc (Department of Education 1995). The paper also supports and promotes the idea that state’s resources must be allocated according to the principle of equity; in that way, the provision of the ‘same quality of learning opportunities for all citizens’ shall take place (Department of Education 1995).

The ‘Reconstruction and Development Programme’ adopted in 1994 shared the same sentiments about education and training. In support of this claim, O’ Malley (1994) pointed out that: in order to develop its human resources, South Africa’s Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) policy enacted in 1994, stipulates that: the government’s role in ensuring an education and training programme is crucial. Such a role is intended for the purposes of enabling South African citizens to secure new job opportunities which require new skills, and also to manage and govern the society (O'Malley 1994). In terms of education, the RDP is aimed at both the primary and/to tertiary level; from childcare, to advanced technological and scientific training, and from young children, students and adults, both in the workplace and in formal educational institutions (O'Malley 1994).

The 'Education White Paper 3' by the Department of Education (1997) states that: there exists a demand for a transformed higher education system in South Africa, for the purposes of serving a new social order, meeting national needs, redressing past inequalities and responding to new opportunities and realities. The paper advocates for a 'single national co-ordinated system' in the governing, funding, and planning of the higher education system; such a system will help the country achieve its central goals of overcoming fragmentation, inefficiency and inequality which exist as a result of the country's past (Department of Education 1997). Section 1.6 of Chapter 1 of the paper titled 'Challenges, vision and principles' stipulates that: in order for higher education to contribute to the development and reconstruction of South Africa, the distortions, imbalances and inequities witnessed in its 'past and present structure' should be addressed (Department of Education 1997). Furthermore, the section states that: the transformation of the country's higher education should be aimed at meeting the challenges of new non-sexist, non-racial, democratic society which is committed to justice, equity and a better life for all (Department of Education 1997).

6.1.2 Neoliberalism in South Africa's Education

According to Gebremedhin and Joshi (2016: 172) in South Africa, education is viewed as a means to practical economic development, human rights, social justice and democracy. They cite Hartshone (1999: 2) who mentioned that: historically the education in South Africa has been used to discriminate the majority of the country's inhabitants on the grounds of colour, and also against the oppressed, weak and poor, instead of being used to open doors for opportunities (Gebremedhin and Joshi 2016: 172). They cite Van De Berg (2007) who attests that the South African education still faces the same historical challenges, in terms of a large shortage of teachers and a decline in student enrolment (Gebremedhin and Joshi 2016: 172).

According to Swanson (2013: 194-212) South Africa has embraced capitalism and its globalising effect within the neoliberal tenets; this new knowledge economy has been shaped by technology and science being considered as the most important fields for the necessities of economic growth. As a consequence, there has been a deflation in the importance of a robust Social Science and Arts to offer an intellectual domain for the youth of South Africa for workable, plausible, and critical alternatives to an economic and social status quo that restricts possibilities and limits opportunities (Swanson 2013: 194-212).

Despite the discourse transformations taking place in the country, there exists an intensification of economic rationalism which views epistemic and ideological expression in narrow economic scientism, pragmatism, and instrumentalism (Swanson 2013: 194-212). Therefore, the individualistic effects of the neoliberal economic order are enforced into societal institutions such as education through rhetorical manoeuvres such as powerful hegemonic discourses, which not only dehumanize the already unemployed, disadvantaged, alienated, and racialized youth, but which further seeks to marginalize and subjectify these groups by referring to them as the ‘failed citizens’ of the state (Swanson 2013: 194-212).

The marketplace in South Africa excludes the marginalized through categorising and classifying them as ‘inappropriate’ due to their lack of skills, training, education and also as people who possess insufficient ‘competencies’ which it considers as effective (Swanson 2013: 194-212). According to Baatjes (2005) many of the South African public schools and public education in general have been considered as a failure; and they are being abandoned and left to their own demise.

Baartjes (2005) further argues that the failure has resulted in: a loss of international competitiveness, unemployment, declining economic productivity, crime, poverty and so on (Baatjes 2005). The reason for the failure can be attributed towards the neoliberal arguments and factors which the South African education system has failed to fulfil, such as: poorly paid and trained educators, a failure to teach economically useful skills, poor scores on standardized testing, and a decline in functional literacy (Baatjes 2005).

According to Sader et al. (2005) Universities are traditionally viewed as sites for knowledge production, academic scholarship and critical citizenship. In the international context, the restructuring of higher education has been categorised by changes reflecting a shift towards a more focused global knowledge economy; furthermore, public universities have been facing increasing cuts in their funding, a demand for increased accountability, effectiveness and efficiency, changing demographics and advanced communication technology (Sader et al. 2005).

According to Millard and Collins (2012: 70) The South African tertiary education has not as of yet transformed enough to meet the needs of its integrated population, since the election of the first democratic government in 1994. These problems have been faced by the black majority in particular, as they are the ones considered to be the portion of the population which has been historically disadvantaged (Millard and Collins 2012: 70-71). They cite Scott (2008) having mentioned that it is essential for

South Africa to improve its university graduate outputs in order to meet its future needs, such as: an adequate economic growth, redress and equity (Millard and Collins 2012: 71-72).

The current education system was initially structured by colonial powers and shaped further by cultural and political struggles of the Apartheid era; it is now faced with the challenge of educating and engaging a wholly different student body (Millard and Collins 2012: 71-72). They further state that in South Africa: the majority of black students that are disadvantaged are having the trouble of bridging the gap between a ‘poor secondary feeder school’ and a privileged white minority system of education (Millard and Collins 2012: 71-72).

According to Balfour (2015) the fundamental redesign of the education sector affected public institutions which were responsible for the provision of free basic education and what has been termed ‘Further Education and Training’ in South Africa. Balfour (2015) emphasises that the key issue faced by South Africa is in giving access to quality education; in 2006, it was noted that the effectiveness and efficiency of the South African education system had deteriorated to the point where 80% of all the schools across the country were classified as dysfunctional.

According to Valley (2007) the current trends in higher education in South Africa entails a disincentive in enrolling students coming from poor backgrounds, and it perpetuates the existing reproduction of a high elitist system. The neoliberal education system in South Africa perceives education as a success of the marketplace; it shrinks public allocations to education, and provides a discourse of efficiency and competitiveness (Valley 2007). These trends have ‘side-lined previous commitments’ to equity, access, and genuine transformation; furthermore, such developments are in accordance with the utopia of global markets which classifies the education service as a commodity, reinvigorating new managerialism, that is ‘market-driven’ containing the notions of privatisation, competition, and consumption; with the intentions of maximising profits and reducing costs (Valley 2007).

Valley (2007) argues that the path of neoliberalism in South Africa especially on its focus on individualism and markets over values such as social justice, solidarity, and community ends up creating new moral imperatives. Furthermore, he cites Ball (2003: 25) to argue that: a commodification of values and education allows the government to systematically abandon and neglect the outcomes of policy and practices, therefore leading to a demoralisation of society (Valley 2007). South Africa is currently grappling with challenges that are socio-economic in their nature, such as: high rates of unemployment, inequality and poverty; the 2.8 million of the 6.8 million unemployed youth from the ages of 18-24, are classified as ‘not in employment, education or training’ (Nyembezi and Sibiya 2017). The feature that defines economic debates of the recent years is the importance placed on neo-classical economics which attaches human capital as a determining indicator of economic competitiveness and success (Nyembezi and Sibiya 2017).

6.1.3 Student Protests for Fee Free Education Under the Banner #FeesMustFall

According to IFAA’s Student and Youth Department (2017) the socio economic circumstances that provoked student protests against fee increases, labour outsourcing, racial inequality and student debt can be traced to policies oriented under a neoliberal ideology. Upon the advent of democracy in the country, the ruling party’s (African National Congress) economic orientation was grounded in the ‘principles embodied in the freedom charter’ which were later articulated in the

Reconstruction and Development Programme (IFAA's Student and Youth Department 2017). The country's freedom charter calls for: a radical redistribution of wealth, political and economic equality, and imagining the country as a social democracy.

According to Langa (2017: 6) the student protests that occurred in the years 2015 and 2016 are not something new in 'post-apartheid South Africa', especially in historical black universities. The heated debates on fee increases in South Africa were sparked by the #feesmustfall movement; and the demands by students during the protests included: the decolonisation of the educational system, the outsourcing of general workers, and also the transformation of universities in addressing gender and racial inequalities (Langa 2017: 6). Langa (2017: 6) further mentions that the message behind and driving the protests was clear: there was a concern towards the higher cost of university tuitions which students deemed unaffordable especially by the majority of poor black students.

According to Leibowitz (2016: 3) it is of necessity to complement the current talks of decolonisation with a discussion on social justice; as social justice argues for interacting with social peers on an equal footing. In order for such to happen in the educational context, there has to be social arrangements that make it possible for individuals to interact on par with one another (Leibowitz 2016: 3).

According to Ndofirepi and Cross (2017) there is existing proof that during different historical periods, universities contributed to the perpetuation and reproduction of colonialisms in Africa, India, East Indies and the Americas; in many ways, universities have always been considered global. They cite Marginson and Ordorika (2010) to argue that a new dominant view about universities emerged at the end of the 20th century which articulated the: demise of the welfare state, a new structural adjustment, neoliberalism and globalisation.

The enactment of new public discourses and policies proclaimed the pre-eminence of productivity and competition, the importance of the private sphere over the public sphere, a view of the markets as efficient regulators in aspects such as: economics, politics, social and even cultural (Marginson and Ordorika 2010; Ndofirepi and Cross 2017). With this in mind, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2014) further argues that the experienced African decolonial struggle of the current era exists and persists due to the failure of the post-1945 decolonization project which failed to deliver a genuinely deimperialized and decolonized world.

Education and in particular, universities and colleges did not escape the current economic paradigm push of neoliberalism towards marketization, commodification, and privatisation of education products and goods (Marginson 2007; Ndofirepi and Cross 2017). Ndofirepi and Cross cite Ordorika (2010) having stated that the current increased interest in the connection to markets, productivity, accountability, innovation, new managerialism and competition have become the dominant feature of higher education policies all across the world.

6.1.4 Arguments for Free Education in South Africa

Masutha (2018) posits the argument that the South African government should not only provide free basic education but should also provide free higher education. In supporting his argument, he states that: South Africa can actually afford to provide free higher education, especially for the poor and students of the working class (Masutha 2018). He argues that the provision of free education should not be looked at through the lens of the budget as its feasibility ‘goes beyond its affordability’

(Masutha 2018). Free education should be perceived as an investment on the country’s youth (in particular, a youth emanating from the country's marginalized communities) as it has the potential to produce well-known social, cultural, economic and political returns (Masutha 2018).

Motaung et al. (2016) argues that the focus on fee free education in South Africa should not focus on its cost but rather on its outcomes. On the contrary Tshayana (2018) argues that there should in fact exist practical means to fund free education (Tshayana 2018). Tshayana (2018) provides two possible options to achieve this goal, such as: The South African government increasing corporate tax, and ensuring that this increase is directed at and focused on funding free education.

The second option Tshayana (2018) recommends is that businesses should contribute a certain portion of their profits for the purposes of solely funding free education. He argues that the bottom line in the provisioning of free education debate is that: the provisioning of a quality fee-free education by the South African government is possible (Tshayana 2018). However, he adds that such a goal requires the effort of everyone and that ‘we should all work together to ensure that it happens’ (Tshayana 2018). Masutha (2018) argues that the advantage brought-forth by the provisioning of free education is a decreased dependence on free housing and social grants by the citizens of the country, because: upon employment, the economically active citizens are likely to be automatically disqualified from benefiting from social grants.

6.1.5 Arguments against Free Education in South Africa

According to Business Tech (2017) free education is not possible due to students who stay at university longer than they are supposed to. The website quotes Pali

Lehohla stating that: “lazy students who take longer to finish their studies are the main reason that free education is not possible” (Business Tech 2017). Zibi (2018) supports this line of argument by stating that: although education is considered as a long-term investment, the cost of paying for their education in a year where they are academically unsuccessful has to be considered as bad investment and be written off. Therefore, such turns the provisioning of free education into a waste of public funds (Zibi 2018).

According to Muller (2017) there exists various myths about the possibility of free higher education in regards to the South African case. The myths he points out are quite numerous but this paper illustrates only the ones the researcher considers most relevant to the study. The first myth is the ‘myth behind the reason that spending on higher education is about helping the poor’ (Muller 2017). Muller (2017) argues that higher education only benefits a small proportion; which mostly stems from wealthier households (Muller 2017). Therefore, it is mostly the rich which are likely to benefit from such a reformed educational system (Muller 2017).

The second myth he explores is the ‘myth that there are no consequences for increasing taxes or decreasing borrowing’ upon the inception of free higher education (Muller 2017). Muller (2017) argues that the result of such a policy for education could result on the reliance on taxes, like VAT (Value Added Tax), and this could be a problem as this tax is paid by the majority of the citizens of the country and is hard to avoid (Muller 2017).

The last myth that this paper outlines from the range of myths Muller (2017) points out is the ‘myth that free higher education will reduce youth unemployment and save on future social spending’. Muller (2017) argues that the proportion of the poor youth that can be found in- and who can access universities are only a tiny proportion. Therefore, a claim about social expenditure is rendered as clearly false (Muller 2017).

Badat (2011) argues that fee-free higher education is not possible due to the fact that public subsidies received by universities from the government do not cover their full operating cost. Universities depend on residence fess, donors, research, and tuition in order to maintain themselves and also to perform their activities (Badat 2011). Therefore, free education would have to mean that the government must provide the benefits for the shortfall in funding experienced by South African universities; if this is not done then the universities would collapse (Badat 2011).

According to Zibi (2018) the mere fact that free education means that parents won't be paying fees does not necessarily mean that the cost of education would just disappear; it simply means that the cost will be borne by government taxpayers. Just because everyone accepts that education has to be provided freely by the state, does not mean we should not look at the practicalities of making such an ideal a reality (Zibi 2018). According to Tshayana (2018) the provision of free higher education in South Africa faces various challenges which include: its funding, the capacity of higher learning institutions in South Africa to absorb an increased number of students, existing scepticism regarding returns on investing in education. In regards to the scepticism, it is caused by unemployed graduates, a lack of a careful analysis in the alignment of the decolonialised and quality education with industrial needs (Tshayana 2018).

To elaborate his points further, Tshayana (2018) asks the question of: 'how can the goal of providing free education become a possibility with South Africa's limited tax pool/base, and also, its low corporate tax?’. Secondly, Tshayana (2018) argues that: the number of students that South African universities can accommodate on a yearly basis is currently 600 000. Lastly, Tshayana (2018) argues that the current education system of the country is not aligned to the needs of the industry (Tshayana 2018). This is due to the country’s continued production and promotion of unemployable graduates or graduates who specialise in fields that are not in need (Tshayana 2018).

Motala et al. (2015: 2-3) and Cloete (2015) argue that: when one looks at the proportion allocated to higher education spending in the country’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP), one can only conclude that free education for all in South Africa is not possible; as the country’s expenditure on higher education is below that of most African countries.

Roodt (2018) further argues that: state-schooling is not enough as it has produced negative outcomes for the marginalized. In order for private schools to be replaced by public schools in South Africa, there should be an improvement in the quality of education offered by public schools (Roodt 2018).

Cloete (2016: 6) refers to a February 2008 report by HESA (Higher Education Statistics Agency) to outline three points that support the objection of government suggestions in regards to its regulation of fees for higher learning. The points are as follows: such an approach is likely to create homogenization amongst institutions as it discourages institutional differentiation, getting rid of fees does not amount to an increased access to education for the poor, instead, education becomes cheaper for the rich; lastly, government intervention constrains the flexibility and autonomy of higher education institutions (Cloete 2016: 6). According to Badat (2010: 9) South

Africa is faced with competing goals, as there exists social and political dilemmas in its pursuit of quality, redress and social equity in higher education; these dilemmas are most evident in the context of academic development initiatives and inadequate public financing.

6.2. The Rwandan case

6.2.1 Rwanda's Progress Regarding the Provision of Free Education

In a 2011 paper prepared for the 'Education for All Global Monitoring Report', Hilker (2011: 8) states that: after the 1994 genocide ended in Rwanda, the Government was pressed to deal with the challenges of children returning to school. Furthermore, the government had to face the legacies of a system that was based on discrimination and inequality (Hilker 2011: 8). Ever since then, the Rwandan Government has been attempting hard to achieve its goal to 'broaden access to education' by: 'abolishing fees at the primary level' (Hilker, 2011: 8). During the time period of Hilker's (2011: 8) paper, the Rwandan Government had recently extended its access to free education from six year olds to nine year olds. The most impressive progress of the goal is its rapid growth witnessed in the enrolment rate, most notably in the primary level (Hilker 2011: 8).

Neumann (2012) states that the Rwandan government introduced free education in 2003 as part of its policy for the purposes of improving school enrolment in general, and the attendance of deprived children in particular. In support of this, article 2(a) of the 'Organic Law' document of the country stipulates that: the mission of Rwanda's education is to educate its citizens in a manner that is not characterised by any form of favouritism or discrimination (Organic Law 2003).

According to Mafeza (2013: 1-2) in the aftermath of the genocide, the Rwandan government began to dedicate itself to the goal of reconstructing the nation and creating a social cohesion aimed at preventing another genocide. In this vein, the Rwandan government viewed education as an instrument that could help in fostering reconciliation and unity; furthermore, the Rwandan government began to perceive the role of education as intended at combating any form of division among the Rwandan citizens (Mafeza 2013: 2).

The education system of Rwanda has radically transformed; the Rwandan government enacted a new educational policy which emphasised its main purposes as it being intended at: producing citizens who are free from religious, ethnic regional and national prejudices, with a commitment to the society and its human rights (Mafeza 2013: 2). Averink (2013: 4) states that: The Rwandan Ministry of Education's first post-conflict educational policy focused on equal access to education; furthermore, it focused on the 'equity of provision to all Rwandans'. The ethos driving the new school has resulted in a policy which is inclusive, and with one of its key values being individual responsibility.

According to Gasanabo (2017: 119-120) the 'National Conference on Education Policy and Planning' that took place in 1995 with the support of UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) brought together Rwandan and international religious, social and political leaders to discuss the scholastic future for Rwandans. The collapse of society and infrastructure was acknowledged to have brought-forth various challenges in rebuilding the Rwandan education system; such challenges included: insufficient funds, scarcity of learning spaces and other materials, a large amount of orphaned children, and a lack of qualified teachers (Gasanabo 2017: 119-120).

The 28 session of UNESCO's General Conference in the year 1995 required the Director General of UNESCO to create a 'Plan of Action for Rwanda'; an office in Kigali was established from 1997 to 2004 intended at assisting with financial and technical support in the process of rebuilding (Gasanabo 2017: 119-120). In the present-day Rwanda it remains evidential that the UNESCO goals and values are held in high regard and are venerated, in particular: the goal and value of establishing education as a 'basic human right' (Gasanabo 2017: 119-120).

According to the Rwandanese Republic's Ministry of Education 1995 paper called the 'Study of the education sector in Rwanda': education is considered as a 'fundamental right for all human beings'; furthermore, education in the Rwandan government is perceived as being intended at helping to ensure a complete 'blossoming' of every individual's potential (Rwandanese Republic 1995).

The Rwandan government states that: education possesses a great deal of duty to reconstitute a qualified human resources, as well as committing to the promotion of a development strategy that is harmonious for the Rwandan society and in reinstalling populations that are displaced (Rwandanese Republic 1995). Section 8 under the heading 'Employment and human resources' of the paper provides the general directions intended at African the country's human resources, it outlines them as follows: the elimination of illiteracy, the training of personnel that is capable to manage and plan public services and the economic system, a capacity-building of the nation in the areas of technology and research, the strengthening of its teaching of sciences, mathematics, and official languages, and lastly, improving the link between the streams of training and the needs of the market of employment (Rwandanese Republic 1995).

The Republic of Rwanda's Ministry of Education's 2003 paper called 'Education Sector Policy' states on its 'Preamble' that: Rwanda currently finds itself in the same predicament faced by a lot of other countries in regards to achieving and strengthening its commitment to 'international development targets', such as, Education for All (EFA) and Universal Primary education (Republic of Rwanda 2003). The Rwandan government aims to fit its education system to the guidelines outlined in the Poverty Reduction Strategy, the Information and Communications Technology policy, the Decentralisation policy and the Vision 2020 (Republic of Rwanda 2003). In its introduction, the paper states that: education is an important tool in ensuring that all 'Rwandanese citizens'- boys and girls, women and men fully explore and utilize their potential (Republic of Rwanda 2003).

In Rwanda, education and training are considered to be the most important tools to achieve poverty reduction and development; their aims are: to provide all Rwandanese citizens- the necessary values and skills to be 'good citizens', and also to improve the quality of life through the informal and formal systems at all levels (Republic of Rwanda 2003). Furthermore, the paper stipulates that: The Rwandan government advocates for the generalisation of basic education, the sole basis of access to higher levels of education is on competence and that technological and scientific knowledge are to be concentrated on (Republic of Rwanda 2003). The objective of the Rwandan government is to ensure that all its citizens are housed, educated and healthy; its justification of perceiving education as a public good is that: education is necessary for providing a skilled and equipped human capital capable of reducing poverty (Republic of Rwanda 2003).

According to Williams et al. (2014) in the case of Rwanda's education, the Ministry of Education establishes education policy but oversight of implementation occurs through a separate entity called the Rwandan Education board. The delivery of the education is performed by districts but there exists local management of schools.

The approach that Rwanda applies to children's basic education must be understood in relation to its broad economic and social project of development (Williams et al. 2014). The planning document and strategic policy called vision 2020, provides details about the process which is aimed at making Rwanda become a middle-income country by the year 2020 (Williams et al. 2014). It places strong emphasis on macroeconomic stability, transformation from an agrarian to an economy that is knowledge-based. There exists an explicit reference to the importance of basic education for all as part of its 'broader aim of the development of a skilled labour force', including human resources development through promoting gender equality, human resources development, improving literacy, providing training in technology and science and also: strengthening social cohesion (Williams et al. 2014).

According to Rwanda Civil Society Platform (2014) education has been considered to be an enabler and insurer of citizens (be it boys, girls and, men and women) to have their potential fully realised; it has been noted to be a fundamental human right. By far education has made a change that is significant in terms of its contribution to the country's democratisation; access to education has also tremendously increased (Rwanda Civil Society Platform 2014). In the current era, a Rwandan born child can expect to at least be guaranteed nine-year minimum period of basic education, with six of those years spent at primary schooling and the remaining three at secondary schooling (Rwanda Civil Society Platform 2014). This radical improvement has been accompanied by the number of children at the primary school level in Rwanda doubling; when it comes to the secondary level schooling the number has increased nine times, and seventeen times regarding those who are attaining higher education

(Rwanda Civil Society Platform 2014). The only obstacle between a student and their education is no longer based on whether a student can afford to pay their fees but rather on their performance and hard-work; the Rwandan government has expanded its expenditure on education at an unprecedented and faster rate in order to match the country's economic growth rate (Rwandan Civil Society Platform 2014).

The access to education has increased greatly in the country of Rwanda, with a notable increase particularly at the lower primary; this is according to the Study of the World Bank conducted in the year 2018 in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), categorising the country as an 'emerged' one (The World Bank n.d). According to McNaught, Wulsin and Bridgeland (2009) in the Rwandan budget, education accounts for 27% of its expenditure; making it the largest area of government spending, therefore, affirming the government's commitment in increasing its availability to its citizens. Despite the education system disruption caused by the genocide that took place in 1994; there has been a positive reporting on the people of Rwanda receiving a better profile regarding their education and their contribution to the country's workforce in the year 2000 than in 1991 (McNaught, Wulsin and Bridgeland 2009). In order to make it possible for Rwanda to be become competitive globally, the development strategy enacted by its government has been based on improving the country's human capital by using education as the main tool to be utilised in equipping its citizens with the necessary requisite skills (McNaught, Wulsin and Bridgeland 2009). The policymakers of Rwanda regard its central goal to be the making of Universal primary education possible by domestically providing every child within its borders with primary education (McNaught, Wulsin and Bridgeland 2009).

6.2.2 Case Study Comparison

Both the South African and the Rwandan case studies have highlighted how these two countries are abiding by the International Law in regards to free educational provisioning. It has also stressed out how these countries articulate these goals in their constitutions and other official documents. However, the goal of free education in the documents perused to organize the case studies has been vague on fee-free higher education for both countries. With Rwanda mostly, the majority of the published work regarding its free education has been about primary schooling. The Rwandan case study notes that a learner in its territory or country is at least guaranteed a nine-year minimum period of free education, with the first six being spent at the primary level and the rest spent at a secondary level. In South Africa, the provision of free education depends on whether the learner is in a private school or a public government sponsored school. The difference between the channels of funding when it comes to the access of education for children is that, in Rwanda it is not only the government's responsibility to ensure that they receive quality free education but also that of the international community, as the country is a previously war-torn zone. Due to reconciliation, redress and redistribution in South Africa, through the means of taxing the middle class, corporations and higher class, the government has more means to provide free education in the country; however, its resources and sources of income are limited and therefore its provision of free education still requires improvement.

In South Africa the official documents stressed an accommodation for secondary and higher learning, but also that this could be achieved and considered only if there are available resources to attain such. Until recently, due to student protests for fee free education in the years 2015 and 2016 under the banner #Feesmustfall in South Africa: the former president of South Africa (Jacob Zuma) in January 2018 introduced and announced fee free higher education for the low class and the working poor. Data about its progress and how it is facilitated and handled has not been sufficient to further explore the case study, therefore the researcher leaves it to future research. However, in applying these two case studies to the phenomenon, what has been of great interest is that the goal of curbing the neoliberal paradigm from their education system has been progressive.

In the case of South Africa the citizens have taken great interest in the matter, therefore mirroring public policy making with their concerns. Such is the sign that a healthy relationship between the government and the governed could achieve shared goals and that their public policy making can successfully be made without exogenous interventions from Western states. A grass-root approach, from the bottom up could be the solution. Even if such a solution would not be applicable beyond the nation-state, the goal is to gain flexibility and independence domestically without any imperialistic impositions from the West.

Chapter 7: Discussion of findings (Data analysis and Interpretation)

This chapter aims to provide knowledge and information (data) collected by the researcher. The chapter bases its findings on a historical analysis, to clarify the transformation of education from being treated as a public good to currently being treated as a private good. Furthermore, the chapter delves on the arguments that support neoliberalism in the education system and the arguments that are against it. The chapter aims to provide findings, discuss findings, compare and contrast findings, and lastly, to identify the knowledge gap in the existing literature in order to form recommendations and solutions.

7.1 Education as a public good vs education as a private good

According to Poclyn (2015: 32) the basic characteristics of a public good are: non-rivalry and non-excludability in consumption; furthermore, public goods are those goods that the private sector is not interested in producing. Although schools charge tuition fees from students and pupils, education remains to be under the monopoly of the state, and schools benefit from this through subsidies (Poclyn 2015: 32). The reason for treating education as a public good is that: its benefits include its contribution to a country's social capital (Poclyn 2015: 32).

According to Gareth and Ourania (2015: 1) the ideological shifts and the promotion and imposition of the English Higher Education form of system to the rest of the world was based on a certain perception. The perception that education played a major role in the economic growth of countries (Gareth and Ourania 2015: 1). This perception was accompanied by a privatisation in education's financing (Gareth and Ourania 2015: 1). Although the transitioning of education from a public good to a private good came with benefits, it also had its 'dangers'. Such dangers included: the neglect of non-economic benefits of education, inequality, and the shift in its role, conception and perception from being viewed as a long term strategy to a short term strategy (Gareth and Ourania 2015: 1).

Cretan and Mosteanu (2011: 34) outline the characteristics that cause education to be interpreted as a public good, such as: education consumption not being based on its scarcity, and it being made increasingly available without additional costs. They further argue that: one student accumulating knowledge at a university does not decrease the availability of knowledge to other students (Cretan and Mosteanu 2011: 37). Therefore, education qualifies to be categorised as a public good, as it possesses the aspect of 'non-rivalry' which is in line with the definition of a public good (Cretan and Mosteanu 2011: 37).

Although the aim of the study has been to illustrate how the neoliberal influence has been curbed, reduced or mitigated in the education sector of Rwanda and South Africa; the force, perpetuation and exacerbation of the paradigm is still felt in this sector. The neoliberal paradigm becomes a mutation, encompasses, covers and reconfigures itself to subordinate any paradigm that seeks to overthrow it into its grip. Instead of being replaced, any attempt aimed at a new epistemology succumbs to the neoliberal pressure. For instance, in the case of Rwanda's free education case study, Williams, Abbot and Mupenzi (2014) explain that although education is considered to be provided for free in Rwanda, this is not the case, as there are hidden costs involved. They argue that the fee-free education policy of Rwanda does not include how students still contend with costs that are school-related impacting completion, attendance and performance (Williams, Abbot and Mupenzi 2014: 932). Although the government of Rwanda provides funds to schools, the rate at which teachers get paid is determined by a Parent Teacher Association (PTA), where parents contribute certain amounts so as to improve the quality of learning provided by teachers and to also offer financial assistance to teachers; therefore, this has proven to be hard for those children who come from poor households (Williams, Abbot and Mupenzi: 2014: 936).

According to Wangenge-Ouma (2012: 884) education in South Africa is rather transitioning from private good to debates about it being public, as treating education as a private good was a tool used during the apartheid era to exclude black communities from its access. The new South African framework for funding education reflects strongly that it is meant to address apartheid's inequities post the transformation. More importantly, it is crucial to note that even in the contemporary world, Higher Education Funding in South Africa lags behind the rest of the world, as Villiers and Steyn (2009: 43) would mention.

Daviet (2016: 2) argues that: at least since 1945, education has been deemed to be a public good and a human right in 'global public policy'. However, education's humanistic approach has been losing its grounding, due to it being opposed by a narrower utilitarian and economic discourse which interprets education as a private good. Daviet (2016: 2) contrastingly advocates for the persistence, readjustment, the expansion and reconfiguration of education as a public good. Daviet (2016: 2) argues that this is to accommodate the increasingly changing global environment as opposed to privatising it.

Daviet (2016: 2) argues that: there exists a pressing need for a fundamental principle of a normative kind, which will allow a more holistic and humanistic approach in dealing with the challenges currently present in the changing global context. Furthermore, there should be a rethinking of the purpose of education in order to achieve an updated development model (Daviet 2016: 2). Such a model has to consider human dignity, cultural diversity, respect for life and social justice (Daviet 2016: 2). Furthermore, a complete development of a person should consider the social, cultural, civic, ethical, economic and cultural dimensions of education (Daviet 2016: 2).

Locatelli (2018: 2) cites Daviet and UNESCO (2016; 2015b) to argue that there exist limitations in theorising the concept of education as a public good. This is due to its inherent 'transposition' of applying the economic concept of 'public good' to the field of education. As a result of the dynamics that are continuously changing in the landscape of global education, the lead role of the state in regards to education is being questioned (Locatelli 2018: 1). One of the factors that have resulted in the questioning of this role is the continuing diversification of actors and sources of funding across all levels of education (Locatelli 2018: 1).

Locatelli (2018: 1) argues that there is a need for an emphasis to revisit the concept of education as a public good by withstanding, reshaping and taking into consideration the current global trends of marketization and privatisation of education (Locatelli 2018: 1). Locatelli (2018: 1) recommends that the continuity of treating and conceptualising education as a 'common good' contributes to an effective complementary framework for governing education under the influence and pressure of a constantly changing context.

The global pressures of commodifying education (transitioning its public good perspective and features into a private good) have been also felt in the South African context. According to Vally (2007) in higher education, the current trends contain within them a disadvantage for universities when it comes to the enrolment of students who come from financially disadvantaged families and poor backgrounds. Education is more oftenly considered to be a private good due to the success of the marketplace perception, the discourse of competitiveness and efficiency, transformation which is genuine and lastly, the reductions made to the allocations to education (Vally 2007). Vally (2007) cites Baatjes (2005: 29) further elaborating that these changes are due to the utopia which has been created by and adopted by the global environment; such a utopia perceives higher education as a commodity, motioning for consumption, privatisation, competition and adopting corporate management models to reduce costs and maximise profits.

According to Tilak (2005: 2) both basic and higher education are conventionally regarded as a public good that produces a large amount of externalities. These externalities benefit the whole society in general and the individual in particular (Tilak 2005: 2). Such a view has been held in high regard and has also been successful in influencing public policy-making when dealing with the issue of education (Tilak 2005: 2). However, in the current era education has faced three challenges, such as: a shortage in its public funding, the imposition of economic policies of a neoliberal nature, and globalization in every sector of every country (Tilak 2005: 2). These challenges led to the proposal of the legitimising of the purchase and sale of education (Tilak 2005: 2). The advocates of this proposition perceive education as a commodity that is meant for trade, and they also view education as a private good (Tilak 2005: 2).

According to Mohan and Srivastava (2014) the debate in the international arena regarding education has created the mentality of ‘prestige maximisation’ among educational institutions. ‘Prestige maximisation’ impacts negatively on education’s initial purpose of representing a ‘larger social goal’. Marginson (2007: 307) argues that our current understanding of higher education and its public/private dichotomy is adopted from a ‘statist political philosophy’ and/or from neoclassical economics.

A weakness has been exposed in the traditional meanings of education as a public/private good due to the development of markets and competition on the national level (Marginson 2007: 307). Another factor is the introduction of possible new potentials for public and private goods as a result of globalisation (Marginson 2007: 307). Marginson (2007: 307) makes a distinction, categorisation, and classification of education as a public good versus education as a private good based on their characteristics (Marginson 2007: 307). In this manner: education as a public good refers to its control and regulation being rested on the government, education being state owned and regarded as a non-market good (Marginson 2007: 307). Secondly, Marginson (2007: 307) argues that education as a private good refers to education being run by a business or certain individuals. Therefore, in this manner, education is privately owned and is part of the market (Marginson 2007: 307).

In South Africa, there has been attempts by the government to turn education into a public good amidst global pressures. Although the country has been facing issues in terms of its public provisioning of education due to a limited tax-base and also the insignificance of the portion of its budget allocation to education for other areas and matters of priority, the government has fought to reduce the costs of education incurred by private house-holds. What this means is that a complete elimination of the neoliberal paradigm, more especially where it has already invaded cannot be done. Neoliberalism is not meant to be understood as a free market theory and practice alone but also as a trend that functions on interdependence in the area where it exists. Therefore, in order for neoliberalism to operate properly, one factor changes other factors: for example, if managerialism is introduced to education, the view of education becomes corporatist, courses become perceived in terms of career-paths, and education and its structure duplicates that of a company. In this view the cost of funding education becomes too high to be maintained by the government alone, therefore transforming education from a public good to a private good, as a solution to reduce costs. At this point the whole area affected by neoliberalism has been fully taken over by the paradigm, as fees, user charges and other costs are now incurred by parents and students as they are deemed to be consumers, education being deemed to be a product, management and teachers deemed to be sellers.

In South Africa the acceptance of education as a private good has been faced by scepticism. The government of the country has been attempting other channels with which to provide the service for free. For instance, in terms of education at the primary, secondary and high school level, the education sector in the country has become separate between public and private schools. A majority of public schools are free to attend while costs are incurred by households in private schools. The government also provides materials for learners, builds the infrastructure, and provides food in terms of feeding schemes. In terms of university, the government has also made proper channels to secure students from poor house-holds get the education they need to change the poor conditions and situations at their homes. These funding channels include National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS), National Research Foundation (NRF) and FUNDZA Lushaka. However, due to international pressures, the education policy of the country has been challenged by the neoliberal paradigm through the introduction of school fees in basic education, and tuition fees at university. According to Fiske and Ladd (2003) the country has accepted most of these ideas but is still fighting against them; for example, the education policy makers in South Africa have been trying to 'strike a proper' balance between the country's reliance on private and public funds.

Williams (2016: 131) argues that the notion of education as a public good stems from a normative case provided by its proponents who are usually concerned about the matters of equity. Furthermore, other academic supporters of this notion argue that: a society which possesses a large number of educated citizens is economically more efficient and better in various ways (Williams 2016: 131). On the other hand, those who support the notion of education as a private good argue that higher education demands resources, and that someone has to pay for them (Williams 2016: 131). Therefore, it is rationally justified that those who benefit from education should be responsible for its costs (Williams 2016: 131).

Another argument opposing education as a public good is that: although the already existing knowledge may be intrinsically free, it is still very expensive to create or acquire new knowledge (Williams 2016: 131). Therefore, those responsible for its acquisition and creation deserve to be reimbursed (Williams 2016: 131).

Williams (2016: 131) asserts that the main issue surrounding the education debate boils down to its financing. Lymn (2016) argues that: the existence of a widespread accessibility to high quality education, together with a commitment of utilising public resources to fulfil this end- is most likely to enable and prepare individuals of a country to gain employment. It also strengthens their capacity to compete on a 'global knowledge economy' (Lymn 2016).

Lymn (2016) advocates for the preservation, sustenance and maintenance of education as a public good, despite its pressures and challenges. Lymn (2016) recommends that: as a response to the debates regarding the lack/limitation of public funding in the allocation of the education service, countries must sustain their educational institutions' crucial education, service missions, and research through public investment.

Locatelli (2016b: 1) argues that states have a commitment to securing, preserving, and maintaining public interest through education. Therefore, states are expected to finance or provide education for their citizens, especially at the compulsory and basic level (Locatelli 2016b: 1). In spite of the current global trends of privatisation, liberalisation and globalisation, the conception of education as a public good remains to occupy global and national debates (Locatelli 2016b: 1). The existence of education as a public good has been persistent, progressive, continuously implemented and active, especially in African countries (Locatelli 2016b: 1).

Locatelli (2016b: 1) argues that most countries consider education to be a public good that functions to preserve public interest. Furthermore, such a conception enables the state to protect fundamental principles such as: equality of opportunities, social justice, social cohesion, democratic participation, human rights and equity (Locatelli 2016b: 1). Monashy (2011: 96) cites Ball and Mundy (2006; 2009) to argue that the reason behind the widespread acceptance of education being a public good is due to its conception. A conception that has gone beyond education being perceived as contributing to mobility and social status to it being considered as a fundamental entitlement (Monashy 2011: 96).

7.2 Decolonial Arguments for the Minimisation of the Neoliberal Influence in Education

Through an analysis of the Global implications of the neoliberal paradigm, the decolonial approach attempts to critique it by portraying the disadvantages of the BoP (Bottom of the Pyramid), which discusses a Eurocentric market-based strategy for the emerging economy (Faria and Hemais 2014: 1). Faria and Hemais (2014: 1) argue that this approach (BoP) imposes the neoliberal order under the rhetoric and façade that refers to it as the most effective method for the economic salvation of African countries. By imposing the logic of market-orientation as an applicable solution for the 'poor others' in dealing with their development goals and challenges, the BoP promotes a United States-led neoliberal structure and order in non-Western states (Faria and Hermais 2014: 1). This phenomenon challenges and impedes the progress of the decolonial option which advocates for the co-existence of many worlds and knowledges (Faira and Hemais 2014: 1).

According to Gradin (2016: 4) the Decolonial perspective views neoliberalism as another form of ‘totalitarianism’; the main proponents of Decoloniality who developed this critique are Mignolo (2011) and Quijano (2007). The implication of a ‘totalising ontological narrative’ is the assumption that Western rationality is the only universally valid mode of knowledge that currently exists (Gradin 2016: 4). This in turn is linked with the worldview of the former colonial period, which possesses a lens that perceives and considers modern societies modelled by the West to constitute progress, and the claim that such societies are the centre of the world (Mignolo 2007; Gradin 2016: 4).

Gradin (2016: 4) cites Gibson-Graham (2008) to offer a decolonial retaliation to the current reality of Western hegemony by stating that: by questioning the current global economy’s totalising narrative, another question further develops of whether the global relations based on the capitalist ideology are necessarily the only form of economic relations. Rather than accepting the inevitability, desirability, and the omnipresence of the capitalist global relations, a rejection of this totalism creates the possibility of the existence of multiple types of economies (Gradin 2016: 4).

Decoloniality attempts to open opportunities for other perspectives, epistemologies, ideologies and paradigms to co-exist with the already dominant paradigm of neoliberalism through looking at how one conducts themselves in the contemporary world. The argument about other different types of economies as posited by Gradin is crucial to the study. The education sector of Rwanda and South Africa have made significant progress in their push from neoliberalism to a decolonial reality. Their influence has been felt, as other multilateral institutions are now adapting to the changing nature of how to treat education. One notable institution is the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. The Organization released a paper called '*The Funding of School Education: Connecting resources and learning'* in 2017. The paper argues that there is a need for revisiting the importance of school funding policies, to ensure the effective organisation of spending and raising school funds in complicated education systems (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development 2017: 3). Secondly, the paper highlights the need for efficiency in fully supporting the objectives of equity and student learning through looking at the design of the mechanisms utilised for distributing funds to schools (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development 2017: 3). Thirdly, the paper looks at the effectiveness and enhancement of the usage of school funding through 'monitoring, evaluation and reporting practices' schools (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development 2017: 3). Lastly, the planning of procedures to inform educational budgets and their preparation in order to ensure their sustainability in the long-term and their alignment with policy objectives (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development 2017: 3).

According to Gordon (2015: 2) a Decolonial critique of universality enables and equips us to further investigate the existing scepticism about 'space' and 'time' being the only contested subjects when analysing the Eurocentric form of knowledge production. They are (space and time) rather considered to be constitutional concepts utilised in the creation of the idea of modernity (Gordon 2015: 2). Furthermore, through such a process, they further become a reflection of the way 'we' interpret 'knowledge' altogether (Gordon 2015: 2).

Gordon (2015: 2) argues that to successfully rid the rest of the world off the Western ideological influence, there is a need for the examination of the modern genealogies of both of these concepts. The examination will reveal how the Western world continues to structure today's 'reality' (Gordon 2015: 2). The problem with the neoliberal paradigm and its globalising effect is the rarely noticed issue of 'the loss of human diversity' (Gordon 2015). Gordon cites Sachs (2010: 111), to argue that this problem is most prevalent and noticeable in the disappearing of languages.

According to Gordon (2015: 2) the homogenization of the world by the West cannot be limited to political and economic processes only, but must also equally be thought of in regards to subjectivity and knowledge. The Decolonial theory advocates for a lens that perceives the world in terms of its geopolitical aspect of knowledge (Gordon 2015: 5). Therefore, there exists an agency of a critical approach in examining the relationship between colonial/modern knowledge and its representation (Gordon 2015: 5).

The current limitation faced by Decoloniality is its lack of alternative ways of imagining the world (Gordon 2015: 2). This demonstrates that the reason behind the existence of homogenisation or homogeneity is partly due to the epistemological and cognitive issue (Gordon 2015: 2). Western homogenisation of the world is critiqued by the Decolonial theory for its categorisation of the world as being predominantly: White, masculine, classist, modern and authoritarian (Gordon 2015: 5).

According to Mott et al. (2015) the neoliberal project impedes effective teaching (in particular, the ability of lecturers to teach) in universities. In order to tackle this challenge, the Decolonial perspective advocates for educators, activists and academics to educate and familiarise themselves with radical pedagogical approaches (Mott et al. 2015). It is important that the spirit of critiquing the neoliberal university system is awakened. Mott et al. (2015) cite Peck and Tickell (2002) and Said (1981) to argue that the same way that students are encouraged to be aware of 'oppressive forces' that exist in the world from outside (especially from the Western world), the same energy should be applied in portraying how the institutions of higher learning are a 'site of inequity'.

The study has observed that Decoloniality is perceived as a rhetoric without any form of praxis, and through utilising the education sector, the research project pointed out how the sector has been impacted by neoliberalism too. In applying the decolonial theory to education to supplement neoliberalism, the findings suggest that there is a need to transform the perception of education as a whole. To support this line of argument Vally (2007) motions for the urgent need to revisit the way in which we look at higher education systems. As policy makers, think-tanks, scholars, lecturers, and leaders, there is an urgent matter to be attended to which is necessary for the prevention of corporatizing higher education institutions any further (Vally 2007). This is due to 'unfulfilled promises by the state' and the insurmountable number of tasks ahead (Vally 2007). A decolonial reality in this case is perceived to be requiring too much time and effort for new models, ideational patterns, resources, restructuring of the system, synchronization, and adaptation. Therefore, there exists a form of pessimism in applying the theory to reality. Furthermore, the sensitivity in which the dominant discourse of neoliberalism reacts to an alternative paradigm causes the neoliberal paradigm to become flexible in order to self-preserve its existence. The paradigm does this in numerous ways such as: embodying and reshaping the alternative through acting as if it accepts the new paradigm but at the same time responding to it using its own tools and instruments, particularly those of the market.

The alternative paradigm is then rendered useless as it disappears in the process of profit making, while it is further exploited by neoliberalism. There becomes no distinguishing factor between its intentions and that of neoliberalism as they both exist for the same purpose which is profit-maximisation, except for the fact that the alternative paradigm argues against what both of these paradigms are doing in the first place.

University inequities are the contemporary reinforced remnants of the same system of historical oppression (Peck and Tickell 2002; Said 1981; Mott et al. 2015). The goal is to counter them through the practice of pedagogy, such as critically questioning and providing solutions to the issues of neo-colonialism and white supremacy (Peck and Tickell 2002; Said 1981; Mott et al. 2015). Within the institutions of higher learning, there exists a normalisation of a white supremacist lens, hetero-normativity and Euro-centrism, and they remain as broadly unquestioned 'throughout the university system' (Mott et al. 2015). These oppressive forces function to prohibit a large amount of individuals from engaging in the knowledge production of an academic nature (Mott et al. 2015).

7.3 Implications of Minimising the Neoliberal Influence in African Countries

As the signatories of the International Financial Institutions, and having accepted the conditions that come with these institutions upon seeking for financial assistance, funds and aid; there could be negative implications if African countries decide to delink from the neoliberal paradigm which they adopted and incepted into their own countries through policy reforms. This section explores the international issues that

African countries could possibly face if they decide to abandon the neoliberal paradigm.

In narrowing the discussion to the education sector for the purposes of the study. The paper looks at the International Community’s decision when it comes to education and neoliberalism. The paper also looks at how African countries are responding to the global stance on the matter. According to Fiske and Ladd (2003) during the formalisation of the global commitment in the 1990 conference in Jomtien regarding universal basic education on Education for All, in Thailand- the conference made it clear that in developing countries, national governments lack resources that are tax-generated for them to fund education at a level which is adequate. In such a context, education as a private good was introduced in a manner of user charges and school fees in developing countries (Fiske and Ladd 2003).

The existence of the neoliberal paradigm in African policies is due to ‘conditionality’. International Financial Institutions require African countries to reform their public policies before providing them with funds and aid (Petroia 2016: 4). These institutions impose ‘Western-style capitalism on African countries’ while avoiding the negative consequences this has on their social effects (Petroia 2016: 4).

African countries are obligated to comply with the policy advice and requirements of the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) in order to receive foreign financial aid for the purposes of their social and economic development (Petroia 2016: 17). Such a situation presents a barrier on the independence of African countries in formulating their own policies based on their specific, unique, and domestic ideas and experiences (Petroia 2016: 17). This is due to them being obligated to apply a Western-centric approach (Petroia 2016: 17).

It is difficult for African countries to apply an auto-centric approach regarding their development (Rosero and Erten 2010: 222). This is due to the imposed conditionality framework accompanying aid packages from IFIs (Rosero and Erten 2010: 222). The negative implications of the donor's (IFIs) response to a recipient that fails to comply or meet its demands ranges from: the suspension, termination or reduction of the aid (Selbervick 1999: 13). When these negative implications are applied by the donor, a form of donor sanction occurs, through the withholding of debt relief and Balance of Payment support (Selbervick 1999: 13).

The 1980s and 1990s have been a period of political and economic reforms for most African countries (Selbervick 1999: 13). The imposition of reforms and the tool used to achieve this aim by donors has been varying forms of conditionality (Selbervick 1999: 13). The imposition and dominance of the neoliberal paradigm in African countries is due to the power of the West instead of its effectiveness when applied (Sida 1997). The IFIs are pushing for more policy-based aid, and they refer to their conformists as 'credible reformers' (Sida 1997).

7.4 Alternative African paradigms

Grosfoguel and Mignolo argue that the decolonial theory advocates for a polycentric and pluri-versal world where both epistemes from the Global South and Global North co-exist in the same world. This section briefly explores alternative paradigms produced in the African continent which can be utilised as an attempt to assimilate or replace the neoliberal paradigm.

- **Afrocentricity**: According to Schiele (1994: 1-6) the Afrocentricity concept has been used to convey different meanings. Epistemologically the perspective of Afrocentricity emphasises an 'affective' way of generating knowledge (Schiele 1994: 1-6). Therefore, this means that the knowledge which is obtained through emotions or feelings is critical to the standpoint of Afrocentricity (Schiele 1994: 1-6). He cites Akbar (1984) to argue that the focus on the conception of Afrocentricity being based on affect does not mean that it does not recognise rationality. Instead, it offsets the use of rationality through using affect as a means of knowing (1984).

  The neoliberal paradigm considers individuals to be atomised, functioning through a market mechanism and the rationality of cost and benefit analysis before deciding on making a purchase. It also provides a study on consumer behaviour, describing how economic activity can be driven by impulse due to how a product is advertised and designed. Whenever the paradigm of neoliberalism mentions affect, it only refers to it as consumer dissatisfaction or cognitive dissonance after a purchase, in which case it manipulates the consumer's feelings in order for the consumer to believe they really needed what they had purchased and that they should keep it. Neoliberalism's main concern is profit-maximisation, therefore to introduce Afrocentricity in the scenario would completely revolutionise the functioning of the markets, their commodification, packaging and presentation. This would severely reduce the influence of neoliberalism.

In terms of education, those courses which have lost value or are being taken for granted, such as the Humanities and Social Sciences would once again regain their respect and stature. Furthermore, since affect would be the paradigm in place, most students who lack funds would have a wide variety of choices to choose funding, from private corporations performing corporate social investment, from the government providing grants, and also from the university itself. Instead of treating students as mere digits to be sort accordingly by administrators, Afrocentricity may bring a more humanistic approach, further mitigating the impact of neoliberalism in the education sector.

According to Asante (2009: 1) the concept of 'Afrocentricity' as a paradigm is based on the idea that the people of Africa should 're-assert a sense of agency' for the purposes of achieving sanity. The Afrocentric paradigm is considered to be a shift of a revolutionary nature in thinking (Asante 2009: 2). It is proposed as an adjustment to black dis-centred-ness, lack of agency and disorientation (Asante 2009: 2). Afrocentricity questions the natural responses to the attitudes of the environment, religion, color preferences, and 'historical reference point' for the people of Africa (Asante 2009: 2). That is, if there never existed an intervention by the West through enslavement and colonialism (Asante 2009: 2). To answer this question, Afrocentricity attempts to assert the central role of the African subject by removing Europe from the core of the African reality and contextualising African history (Asante 2009: 2).

Schiele (1984: 1-6) makes a basic distinction between Eurocentric and Afrocentric views of human beings. He argues that the fundamental difference in the conception of human beings between the Eurocentric and Afrocentric philosophical models is that: domination, fragmentation and conflict takes centre stage within the European lens (Schiele 1984: 1-6). Therefore, people are conceived as individuals primarily, and they are separate from people and nature (Schiele 1984: 1-6). On the other hand, Afrocentricity is more concerned with interpersonal relationships, collectiveness, sharing and the most important aspect of Afrocentricity is the enhancement of a harmonious inter-personal relationship as a cultural value (Schiele 1984: 1-6). Afrocentricity fosters a focus which is rooted in a human-centred perspective towards life instead of an object or material perspective (Schiele 1984: 1-6).

According to Kumar-Abiwu (2016: 7) the creation of Afrocentricity was inspired by the struggles for self-determination in many aspects of life for centuries, occupying the central place within the communities of Africa. Aside the socio-economic, political, and cultural struggles, the Afrocentric ideas and their theoretical grounding have gained recognition in academia (Kumar-Abiwu 2016: 7). Kumar-Abiwu (2016: 7) cites Asante (1991: 9) to argue that the concept of Afrocentricity constitutes a 'framework of reference' where a situation or phenomenon is perceived, viewed and understood through the lens of the African people (Kumar-Abiwu 2016: 9).

The mode of thought and action that drives the Afrocentric paradigm is based on centralising African values, interests, and perspectives (Kumar-Abiwu 1991; Asante 1991: 171). Therefore, when analysing an African phenomenon, African people are placed at the center (Kumar-Abiwu 1991; Asante 1991: 171). Kumar-Abiwu (1991) cites Mazama (2001: 388) to argue that the idea posited by the Afrocentric paradigm is the assertion of the primacy of utilising African experiences when dealing with African people. Such allows them to claim their 'identity and victorious consciousness' (Kumar-Abiwu 2016: 9).

According to Mazama (2014) the Afrocentric paradigm emerges out of a concern for African marginalisation and disenfranchisement in various spheres of life, and in particular, the intellectual arena.

- **Pan-Africanism**: According to Legum (1962) Pan-Africanism is essentially a movement of emotions and ideas. Its conception as emotions is dispersed widely to African peoples who felt themselves either socially, mentally, politically through colonialism, or physically through slavery or dispossession (Legum 1962). With such a loss of their homeland came about discrimination, persecution, inferiority and dependency; for it resulted in the loss of their independence, dignity and freedom (Legum 1962).

  The meaning and intellectual 'superstructure' of Pan-Africanism is relevant only if one constantly reminds themselves that at its roots, it contains deep feelings of oppression, dispossession, rejection and persecution (Legum 1962). According to Momoh (2003: 4), the current view that Pan-Africanism has about Africa and its relationship with Western states is that: the manner in which Africa is portrayed is part of a planned hegemonic ideology inspired or nurtured by the Western world and then reproduced by domestic African leaders. Such an 'Afro-pessimism' becomes the formed ideology about Africa, and it is not a correct or fair reflection of the political mood of the African people (Momoh 2003: 4).

  Pan-Africanism seeks to challenge the Western neoliberal perspective and analysis when it comes to its viewpoint or description of the African continent. Most Western countries usually utilise a scientific dichotomy inspired by empiricism- a by-product of what they refer to as rationality, objectivity and positivism. Western countries are sceptical in applying normative statements, hence utilise statistics to validate their statements. In their view, facts matter more than emotions. Such a dichotomy is inspired by Social Darwinism and other evolutionary theories which claim superiority through logic. Western countries consider themselves to be advanced, evolved, individualistic, modernized and logical while they refer to peoples of other countries as uncivilized, emotional, collectivistic and irrational. By utilising such a dichotomy, they justify and legitimise their invasion of other territories, and since they consider their knowledge to be superior they take other cultures, symbols, systems and knowledge for granted, replace it with theirs with a belief that such would elevate the native inhabitants to their level. Their outlook on developing nations is that of drastic poverty, malnutrition, and citizens who are only suited for hard labour due to their lack of education. They trample on free thought, knowledge and consciousness of domestic citizens whom they have found in those countries. This is also how the neoliberal paradigm has also remained dominant in African countries. Domestically formed policies must be aligned with the codes of good practice and governance, neoliberal values of liberalisation, non-state intervention, privatisation, free markets, deregulation and also liberal democracy have sought to replace everything they found in those countries they invaded. Policy ideas by Western countries are not based on relevance but rather on power, ‘what is might is right’. Their explanation of the situation and conditions of African countries is fabricated to keep their hegemonic status alive. Pan-Africanism seeks to fight against these mis-diagnoses, notions and false interpretations.

The people of Africa have freed themselves from their colonial bondage, and have further set up their own independent nation-states (Potekhin 1986). The Western imperialists having been forced to abandon direct political control, now attempt to regain it through taking advantage of Africa's economic dependence (Potekhin 1986). The Pan-Africanism ideology has a foundational basis deducted from Africa's current power position (Potekhin 1986). In the current global 'balance of power', the African states have attained sovereignty, and this has been accompanied by their interest in Africa and their own independent policies (Potekhin 1986).

Potekhin (1986) further argues that: African governments are attempting to limit and reduce the previous economic positions of the metropolitan states within their domestic economic affairs. According to Garvey and Julius (2016) the Pan-Africanist view asserts that the hegemony of Western states over the people of Africa is systematised under multilateral institutions such as: the United Nations, The World Trade Organization, the International court, and the International Monetary Fund. As a result, this has given the African continent a globalised economic system, the European domination of the world, its people and ideas, and a consciousness of the world that is Europeanized (Garvey and Julius 2016). Pan-Africanism advocates for an African epistemology which views self-knowledge as the 'basis of all knowledge' (Garvey and Julius 2016). Africa is in a period of post-colonialism and is faced with identity, thought and meaning, and a belief crisis (Garvey and Julius 2016).

According to Nabudere (2003: 9) a foundation of an African epistemology is a critical requirement for its development and production of its own knowledge. The gap witnessed between the African elites and the African people is due to the fact that the elites are constantly taught through a foreign culture (Nabudere 2003: 9). This results in African elites possessing overwhelming knowledge considered not suitable for their communities (Nabudere 2003: 9). This is why the African civilization and cultures have stagnated, as the elites undermine and look down at their compatriots from the village and consider them illiterate and ignorant (Nabudere 2003: 9).

Sherwood and Adi (2003: 9) argue that as an adverse consequence of the new reality of globalisation, the Pan-Africanist thought and movement inspired the formation of the African Union (AU), created by African governments. According to them: there has never existed a universally accepted definition of what Pan-Africanism constitutes of (Sherwood and Adi 2003: 9). They then attempt to explain it as follows: a definition of Pan-Africanism should include men and women of the continent's descent, whose work and life have been dedicated to the political and social emancipation of the African diaspora and those of the African people (Sherwood and Adi 2003: 9). According to Logan (1965) the Pan-Africanist movement is aimed at encouraging mutual understanding and assistance among the African descent. It takes the form of an initiative to aim at obtaining self-government for the people of Africa (Logan 1965)

- **African Renaissance**: According to Stremlau (1999: 61) the proponents of the African Renaissance seek to outlay a vision that is positive about Africa being peaceful, democratic and also oriented towards the market in order to attract foreign investment and trade. The calls for a renaissance are aimed at encouraging all African peoples to confront Africa's unfavourable realities such as: deadly conflict and human deprivation (Stremlau 1999: 61). They are also aimed at ensuring that there's a greater responsibility of reversing these realities (Stremalau 1999: 61).

  In the face of globalisation, the African renaissance approach is to establish a community of nations, rather than state to state alliances (Streamlau 1999).

These must become the basis for advancing prosperity and peace throughout Africa and also for enhancing the influence of Africa in world affairs (Stremlau 1999: 62). According to Ntuli (2002: 60) The African renaissance is about recapturing the spaces needed in the reinvention of ourselves. The African renaissance is also about fashioning ourselves with strategies and knowledge systems that will lead us to the next millennium as independent individuals who are capable of producing value systems and goods, and also as being worthy of our dignity (Ntuli 2002: 60).

Unlike the other paradigms mentioned in this chapter, the African Renaissance does not seek to delineate or delink from the dominant discourse of neoliberalism but rather to reconfigure it and synchronize it with African values. By reiterating and reverberating the importance of African ideas and values, the paradigm seeks to create a system whereby the neoliberal agenda is subordinate to and supports the growth of African virtues. This then would mean that African cultures, symbols, languages, background and history would not be lost. Instead, the African peoples would become economically enabled by aligning their art and creativity with the marketplace, further improving their significance and importance in the positions that they hold in the global economy. In other words, the paradigm would form a hybrid system whereas domestic values are not lost while African countries interact with the rest of the world through trade, foreign investment and finance. In terms of the education system and sector, curriculums at school would also include extensive African studies, which means that access to information could also be transferred through verbal interactions between inhabitants, therefore institutional education would face a challenge as unconventional ways to teach would be applicable to students. This would then require that universities and other schools decrease their prices in terms of fees in order to maintain the number of students who register to study. This would be due to the fact that students would have a choice to either receive education in an institutional framework or outside the institution as both of these methods would still secure their prospects of getting employed. Such a paradigm although accepting neoliberalism as a dominant discourse, can quickly become a stand-alone paradigm upon its implementation and success. Such an analysis is necessary as there is a lack of literature to fully stretch and describe the paradigm. It leaves the author with the responsibility of having to elaborate its praxis or practicality. The commodification of education by the neoliberal paradigm would not only be faced with the challenge of unconventional education but also by domestic policies of the government of the country; this is due to the fact that upon its inception, the government is more likely to promote the paradigm and therefore, attempt to financially assist students facing difficulties with paying their fees due to circumstances not of their choosing.

African Renaissance is considered as a project and in such a lens it seeks to recapture the spirit of equity and fairness regarding production and consumer levels (Ntuli 2002: 60). African Renaissance also helps Africans distance themselves from their unsavoury past (Ntuli 2002: 60).

In Maloka's article of 2001, he provides an example of the key elements of African Renaissance which he identified from the ANC's (African National Congress) "African Strategic perspective on South African Foreign Policy" document (Maloka 2001: 3). These elements include: The African continent's recovery as a whole, the establishment of a political democracy on the continent, the urgency and need of detaching from the neo-colonial relations prevalent between the world's economic powers and continental Africa (Maloka 2001: 3). A key element he outlines is: the rising mobility of the people of Africa in taking charge of their own destiny (Maloka 2001: 3). This is to prevent the perception that continental Africa is a place to exploit and attain strategic and geopolitical interests that benefit the world's most powerful countries (Maloka 2001: 3). Another element he explores is that: there exists a need for a fast-paced development which is people-centered, people-driven and also economically and developmentally intended at meeting people's basic needs (Maloka 2001: 3).

According to Ajulu (2007: 1) the African Renaissance idea has re-emerged as part of the continental agenda and has captured the imagination of journalists, politicians and scholars. African Renaissance has been broadly interpreted as a call for African economic regeneration and political renewal (Ajulu 2007: 1-3). It entails the renewal and rebirth of the continent, an achievable sustainable economic development, and the establishment of political systems that are democratic (Ajulu 2007: 1-3). Furthermore, it is entailed at changing Africa's position in the world, to free the continent from International debt burden so that it is no longer perceived as a supplier of raw materials and an importer of manufactured goods (Ajulu 2007: 1-3).

Okumu (2002) argues that the idea of the African Renaissance should not be perceived as an empty buzz word. This is more likely to result in the manipulation of the concept in a cynical manner by the enemies of the African liberation, economic development and progress (Okumu 2002). The concept should also not be viewed as propaganda; it should clearly be pointed out that the African Renaissance is not an imitation of- neither is it blindly copying the European one (Okumu 2002).

What is distinctive about this type of Renaissance is the importance and emphasis that is put on African identity (Okumu 2002). African Renaissance embodies a black consciousness that reflects and promotes the right of the African people to create their own image of themselves (Thiong'O 2009). A consciousness that transcends and neglects a foreign image created by outsiders about and for themselves (Thiong'O 2009). It asserts that such an outside image weakens the African continent in its fight for and its own assertion of humanity (Thiong'O 2009).

Iroulo (2017: 2) argues that the African Renaissance gained attention in 1996 through the second former black African president of South Africa-Thabo Mbeki's speech called 'I am an African'. The African Renaissance is the new form of Pan-Africanism, and its emergence has encouraged the establishment and reformation of the 'African institutions' (Iroulo 2017: 2). Furthermore, its emergence has been motivated by the need to bring the African people together in order to collectively tackle the challenges facing the continent (Iroulo 2017: 2).

The African Renaissance is based on the assertion that there should be African solutions to African problems (Iroulo 2017: 2). The coining of the term was by Cheikh Anta Diop, in his essay series titled 'Towards the African Renaissance: Essays in culture and development, 1946-1960' (Iroulo 2017: 2). Jose (2009: 7) refers to the 'African Renaissance Institute' to define the concept as follows: The African Renaissance is a shift in an individual's consciousness intended for the reestablishment of the Africa's diverse traditional values. This is to embrace the responsibility of the individual to the community, and also for people living within the same community to be in charge of their own destiny (Jose 2009: 7). Africa must find a way to possess her own definition of phenomena (Jose 2009: 7). This will equip the continent with the flexibility to better place its position to retaliate against globalisation and its tendency to assimilate itself to the rest of the world (Jose 2009: 1-26).

A change in the labelling of African phenomena gives the continent a new attitude in approaching the new changes brought-forth by globalisation (Jose 2009: 1-26). A domestic naming of the African phenomena leads to an interpretation that broadly fits the common attributes of African cognitive systems (Jose 2009: 1-26). Ntuli (2002: 60) argues that the African Renaissance project seeks to create the reshaping of the ethos of our educational models. This entails a refocusing of our emotional and intellectual energies towards a vision that is holistic for societies (Ntuli 2002: 60). Furthermore, it is intended at bringing about methods that are new for socialisation, in an attempt to break the stranglehold of Eurocentrism to make way for an African-centred one (Ntuli 2002: 60).

- **Ubuntu**: According to Okumu (2002) the Zulu concept of ‘Ubuntu’ meaning ‘personhood’ is located in many African ethnic groups. ‘Ubuntu’ is a notion that suggests that it is through peoples’ relationships with other people that people truly discover who they are, what their purpose in life is for and also how they should live their lives (Okumu 2002). In these terms, the values learned by a person as a result of his/her relationships provides content to that person’s understanding of proper behaviour towards other people (Okumu 2002).

  According to Mokgoro (1998: 2) the ‘Ubuntu’ concept has been generally accepted as a world-view emanating from African societies. ‘Ubuntu’ is considered as a determining aspect in the formation of the kinds of perceptions that influence the conduct of a society. The concept has been regarded as the philosophy of life, and fundamentally, it refers to humanity, personhood, morality and humaneness (Mokgoro 1998: 2). ‘Ubuntu’ has been regarded as a metaphor that describes a solidarity of a group which is central for communities to survive amidst the scarcity of resources where the fundamental belief is that ‘Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu’ meaning that a person can only be a person through others (Mokgoro 1998: 2).

In sociolinguistic terms, Ubuntu is considered as a multi-dimensional concept representing African core values; such as, respect for human dignity, human life, humility, obedience, hospitality, collective shared-ness, interdependence, human life, communalism and interdependence (Kamwangamalu 1999: 2). Despite the cultural diversity in Africa, there exists threads of underlying affinity that runs through customs, beliefs, value systems, socio-political institutions and practices of the various African societies in the concept of Ubuntu (Kamwangamalu 1999: 2-3).

Kamwangamalu (1999: 2-3) cites Bhengu (1996: 5) to argue that Ubuntu is a humanistic experience of treating every individual with respect and also granting everyone their human dignity. According to the concept of Ubuntu, being human encompasses values such as: a universal brotherhood for Africans, respecting and treating other people as human beings, and also sharing (Kamwangamalu 1999: 2). Mokgoro (1998: 3) further expatiates that compassion, human dignity, respect, conformity, group solidarity, collective unity and also humanistic orientation are important key values of the concept of Ubuntu. Such values are viewed as a basis for a ‘morality of co-operation, communalism, compassion, and concern for the interests of the collective’ (Makgoro 1998: 3).

The notion of Ubuntu in terms of an economic paradigm has been utilised by Africans for decades after gaining independence. It differs from neoliberalism due to it being in contrast to individualism. However, the concept of Ubuntu unlike complete collectivism, does not erase the ‘individual’ in its practice. Furthermore, decisions are not collectively decided upon to exclude the individual. Values such as identity, personhood and personal human effort are taken into account. They are kept intact through a value chain which includes but is not limited to, acceptance, tolerance, support and diversity. As a collectivist ideology Ubuntu operates in a manner that people come together to form their own economic base in creative ways to maintain and sustain their collective livelihoods. Therefore, interdependence to keep members of the community on good terms with one another exists. All members of the community work together, contribute, and create economic systems that are crucial to the survival and advancement of the community as a whole. For example, instead of the method of advertisement of goods and products to serve a particular niche or segment of market as per the neoliberal ideology; members of the community inform each other and make it their responsibility to support a person’s business or product. In the ‘Ubuntu’ context, the goal is not only to meet the seller for consumption purposes, but to offer appraisal for their efforts, and to ‘help’ them gain more. In African countries, the ‘Ubuntu’ paradigm has been effective in many ways, such as: African countries providing asylum for refugees through the freedom of movement, African countries providing each other with necessary resources according to the specifics of which country lacks which resource and lastly by forming non-profit organisations through pulling talents and skills from its own educated elite to help out communities facing socio-economic challenges to receive the best services they need to live better lives. The 'Ubuntu' paradigm has become a success as it has now become a global concept.

The paradigm can become a replacement of the neoliberal paradigm if social learning were to be applied in the policy making process. It is quite clear that the way in which policies are made is in a hierarchical manner, path-dependent and is within a Western-centric model. This means that there are teachers and learners. Usually, due to the principles of neoliberalism, neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism, ideas which dominate the agenda setting and priority in policy making are usually determined by external forces. Therefore, a policy has to meet certain international standards in order to be considered valid by the International Financial Institutions. Therefore, ideas which become the status quo are usually based on power instead of how good they are. They therefore, ensure that the neoliberal paradigm remains as dominant through the whole policy landscapes. However, if the 'Ubuntu' concept were to become effective when applying ideas in the policy making process, all ideas would be treated with the same (equal) respect and concern. That would range from not only the leaders at the top but also from civil society as a whole, by broadly collecting what they have to say about their own outlook of the country and what must be done.

According to Owan and Ganyi (2016: 6) the term of Ubuntu is widely believed to have originated from the Xhosa and Zulu languages, and on its simplest translation, it means "Humanity towards others". He cites Mande (2009), Samkange (1980) and Tutu (1999) stating that Ubuntu is an African philosophy of collectivism, conceived as: the individual should always effectively represent the people from among he or she comes (Owan and Ganyi 2016: 6).

The goal of ‘Ubuntu’ is to banish the Western idea of ‘individualism’ and replace it with a more representative role (Owan and Ganyi 2016: 6). Therefore, the identity of the individual is replaced or subsumed by a ‘larger societal identity’ (Owan and Ganyi 2016: 6). ‘Ubuntu’ is about meeting the standards of a citizen with a capacity to reason; therefore, the person should uphold the values and norms of the community, the family and the society at large (Owan and Ganyi 2016: 6; Sibanda [n.d]).

The ideal individual under the paradigm and framework of Ubuntu must be able to abide by the statutes and laws of the country (Owan and Ganyi 2016: 6). Furthermore, the individual should respect him or herself, the youngsters and elders, as well as, respect the leadership located in his/her community, of the country and of the world at large (Owan and Ganyi 2016: 36). ‘Ubuntu’ is more of a ‘corporate duty’ than a worldview of individualism; Ubuntu emphasises reciprocal and collective existence as well as human interdependence and nature (Owan and Ganyi 2016: 36). The ethical values within the paradigm of Ubuntu include: helpfulness, communal sharing, trust, honesty, and respect for others and also unselfishness (Owan and Ganyi 2016: 36).

According to Prinsloo (2001: 58) the world–view of Ubuntu is embedded in the regulative concept of caring and sharing. Prinsloo (2001: 58) attaches and relates the concept of ‘Ubuntu’ to: how an African thinker compares him or herself to Western world-views on causality. Prinsloo (2001: 58) cites Khoza (1994: 1) who regards Ubuntu as an intra-human relation of Africans as a basis of their collective consciousness. To him, this means the incorporation of experiences and memories common to mankind (Prinsloo 2001: 58; Khoza 1994: 1).

Prinsloo (2001: 58) asserts that the paradigm of Ubuntu operates under the notion of: Africans having their own 'sense of Supreme Being or God, their own spiritual life, and their own moral codes' (Prinsloo 2001: 58). To Prinsloo (2001: 59) the 'Ubuntu' paradigm encompasses values such as sharing, respecting and treating other people as human beings, and universal brotherhood for Africans. According to Volkamer (2018) Ubuntu is an African philosophy considered to be the reflection of an imagined universal bond that connects all humanity through sharing.

The practice of the 'Ubuntu' paradigm in the modern age contributes to the improvement of Africa's resilience in the face of globalisation (Volkamer 2018). The situation of global dependency witnessed in the relationship between the Global North/South can be approached through an alignment of the values presented by Ubuntu (Volkamer 2018). Such values include: the improvement of common practices, common knowledge and common intuition between and among peoples (Volkamer 2018). Bruyn (2017) cites Gade (2012) who asserts that the term 'Ubuntu' denotes firstly, the moral quality possessed only by humans. Secondly, 'Ubuntu' denotes the phenomenon that occurs when 'human-beings are interconnected and interdependent' with each other (Bruyn 2017; Gade 2012). What is clear is that human-beings take the centre stage when approaching the paradigm of Ubuntu. Bruyn (2017) quotes John Miti (1970) who states that: "I am because we are and because we are therefore I am".

According to Oviawe (2016: 2) the 'Ubuntu' paradigm is less Eurocentric, positivistic, and individualistic than what has become the norm today. 'Ubuntu' does not argue for the replacement of the whole of the hegemonic Eurocentric paradigm predominant as a world order (Oviawe 2016: 2). The framework envisioned for Ubuntu serves as a part of broader belief systems of Africa and their humanist traditions (Bruyn 2017: 3). “Ubuntu is a philosophy of being that locates identity and meaning-making within a collective approach as opposed to an individualistic one.” (Bruyn 2017: 3).

According to Niekerk (2013: 13) the notion of Ubuntu functions to highlight a constellation of value claims and requirements that are morally normative. The emergence of ‘Ubuntu’ was tremendously politicised with the project of multiracial ‘nation-building’ in South Africa (Niekerk 2013: 13). This further gained it elaboration and attention in a context that is multi-cultural and beyond its cultural origins (Niekerk 2013: 13). The concept of Ubuntu is commonly denoted to be simply an abstract word for being human or humanity (Niekerk 2013: 13).

7.5 Chapter concluding remarks

What all of these paradigms share are the values of collectiveness, sharing and humanity, whereas the neoliberal paradigm oppositely advocates for individualism. Therefore, these paradigms are an anti-thesis to neoliberalism, although not completely as they also agree with neoliberalism to some extent in regards to individual accountability and responsibility. However, through the application of such idealistic paradigms in the policy-making processes of African countries (not just through application but also an emphasis on the execution) inequality would be reduced and access to services would not exclude those whom in a neoliberal paradigm are considered economically inactive citizens/population.

We are in the era of globalisation, where International liberalisation and other Western driven imperialistic trends which embed themselves to African countries through interconnectedness, interdependence, hierarchy and western dominance take centre stage. One has to question the integration of these alternative paradigms and how they would fit not only domestically (Continentally) but also how they would be accommodated by the International Economic System. The option is not to isolate the African continent from the rest of the world, as that has proven to be a solution with dire consequences for the social, political and economic well-being of the African peoples.

Most authors find that through socio-linguistically orienting these paradigms, they could have a general universal conception and framework which can be applied by other countries (with more focus on the powerful Western imperial countries) through their conceptual diffusion in their dealings with African countries. Such an approach has proven effective before, with the concept of 'Ubuntu' and how it has brought a significant contribution to the global order in terms of democracy, human rights and socialisation.

In terms of the relationship of the West with African countries, differing paradigms could co-exist without the Western world impeding nor imposing its own paradigm to African countries. African problems such as human deprivation, conflict, poverty and economic underdevelopment could be solved through the usage of African paradigms. This could be achieved only if the Western world does not punish the continent for not conforming to a Western paradigm; but instead, builds a positive and encouraging reaction towards such a change. Such an idealistic situation could practically introduce and manifest the decolonial theory to life, as it advocates for the co-existence of geopolitically different paradigms as a universal project, without one paradigm trying to dominate nor change the other through power and imperialistic means.

Chapter 8: Solutions and recommendations

8.1 The formulation of endogenous egalitarian policies

According to Ejieh (1988: 43-48) the egalitarian concept has become an issue and a subject of interest to numerous notable sociologists, scholars, philosophers, political scientists, and educators. It has also become of interest to most democratic governments all across the globe (Ejieh 1988: 43-48). Their main concern is how to achieve egalitarianism as this concept remains an ideal; another way to put it is how to build societies that are egalitarian (Ejieh 1988: 43-48).

According to Machan (2001: 1) Egalitarianism is borne out of the distaste for harsh inequalities in opportunities or wealth between individuals who happen to be alike and able-bodied. An egalitarian approach in policy making entails the formulation of policies intended at a distributive system that treats people the same and allocates resources equally (Machan 2001: 1). Furthermore, 'Egalitarianism' is intended at providing the same opportunities to individuals instead of basing social phenomena and the functioning of the economy on a social luck/lottery basis (Machan 2001: 1).

The Egalitarian viewpoint and notion deems it unfair that there exists a wealth gap between those who work hard but are worse off while others are well off simply from belonging to a particular family, have acquired a plenitude from mere luck without any exercise of wisdom, prudence or other virtues (Machan 2001: 1). According to Brooke (2013: 40) the pluralism advocated by egalitarianism is a form of democracy whose codes underline the ensuring of equal participation in the political processes for as many persons as possible. An egalitarian decision-making process is only considered legitimate if they emerge from a process of bargaining and representation in which all the ideas and interests of individuals have an equal substantive chance of being heard and also of being capable to influence outcomes (Brooke 2013: 46).

Brooke (2013: 46) provides an argument that the egalitarian approach in policy making is more pluralist, and this contributes to the improvement of a social capital that is likely to result in distributive fairness. Such a result would condemn the inequalities borne from unfair advantages such as natural endowments, inherited resources or good luck (Brooke 2013: 41). Ejieh (1988: 43-48) argues that although the concept of egalitarianism is an age-old phenomenon, it still widely exists as no society is happy about the social inequality existence prevalent in their territories. Furthermore, members of the society envision a society where they all receive equal treatment and are all equal (Ejieh 1988: 43-48. According to Ferreira (2015: 2) the egalitarian project has been reinvigorated by multiple old and past authors which saw it progressively moving from its initial ‘demand for equality’ on individual achievements to the realm of ‘opportunities’.

According to Tungodden and Cappelen (2004: 1) the theories of liberal egalitarianism seek to combine the values of personal freedom, personal responsibility, and equality. Factors beyond a person’s control which justify the egalitarian notion of advocating for the banishment of inequality, are widely categorised as: social environment, educational background, talent and race (Tungodden and Cappelen 2004: 1). In Rawls' (1971) proposition, the egalitarian redistributive system should align itself with these two minimal conditions: the redistributive system should reduce income variations that are based on talent, but should also allow income differences due to effort. Secondly, there shouldn't be any discrimination among individuals based on their personal choices (Tungodden and Cappelen 2004: 3).

According to Calvert (2014: 70) when applying the egalitarian approach in the education sector, egalitarianism advocates for educational equality which focuses particularly on the dominant conception of 'equality of educational opportunity'. 'Equality' has long been a major influence in educational policy, and it still retains the rhetorical power used by policy-makers in liberal democracies as evidenced by many governments' genuine concerns about achievement gaps (Calvert 2014: 70). According to Cummings and Bain (2014: 8-16) there exists a determinant for the quality of education provided, and some nations believe that a system which is highly stratified will enhance the quality of education, at least for the minority who are given entry and enabled to participate in elite academic stream.

Egalitarian treatments and structures are now popular while at the same time, there exists an emphasis on the autonomy of schools (Cummings and Bain 2014: 8-16). However, in other systems across nations there are anti-egalitarian tendencies (Cummings and Bain 2014: 8-16). According to Ejieh (1988: 43-48) one of the most highlighted concerns of modern democratic governments is on enhancing and advancing their people's capacity in participating actively in the management of affairs that concern their own well-being. The best way to achieve this is through having an educated constituency (Ejieh 1988: 43-48). Ejieh (1988: 43-48) further argues that an effective method of ensuring this goal is achievable is by widening people's access to education and also to make education available to the old and the young in their societies (Ejieh 1988).

8.2 The importance of public participation in policy-making

According to Irvin and Stansbury (2004: 55) it is widely and commonly argued that increased participation in the decision making process by the government produces a lot of crucial benefits. There is no other way but to envision only positive results and outcomes on a policy process that is joined by citizens, reaching a consensus from collaborating with others, to bring about positive environmental and social change (Irvin and Stansbury 2004: 55). An advantage of an increased citizen-participation is a production of reaching a policy decision that is based on public-preference; furthermore, it shows a better appreciation of the broader community among the public (Irvin and Stansbury 2004: 55).

According to Vries (2007: 144) the legitimacy of a policy increases due to the involvement of people in the process of its making. According to Smith (2003: 1) the role of the government has been increasingly changing over the past decade, due to more emphasis on engaging citizens and stakeholders in the policy-making process. Citizen participation contributes to capacity building by asking questions like: how can the experiences of the community be tapped into at all levels in the policy making process? (Smith 2003: 8). How can the processes of public policy help build the capability of all sectors of the government to work collectively for the purposes of improving on more credible and inclusive governance and policy-making? (Smith 2003: 8). How can communities and citizens move beyond the interest groups who lobby for them to be engaged partners with policy makers and government officials in meaningful problem solving and dialogue? (Smith 2003: 2). The methods of reaching more citizen participation include: the discussion of the horizontal policy nature, the transition from consulting the public to engaging the citizens, building the capacity while striving to accomplish substantive outcomes (2003: 8).

According to Slijepcevic and Alibegovic (2015: 155) the involvement of the citizens in the process of political decision-making is the most crucial pillar of democracy. The participation by citizens in the policy decision-making process is likely to lead to better public services which reflect the needs of the citizens, better decisions which are deliberated and agreed upon collectively, outcomes of higher quality, and more efficient collaboration in utilizing public finance for public services (Slijepcevic and Alibegovic 2015: 155). Slijepcevic and Alibegovic (2015: 155) cite the 'European Institute for Public Participation' (2009) which states that: public participation can be defined as a process of deliberation which affects or is interested in citizens, government actors, organisations from civil society involving themselves in political decision making, prior to a political decision being taken (Slijepcevic and Alibegovic 2015: 156). They further cite Hartay (2011) who argues that there are several positive effects from participation, which include: increased partnership, ownership, responsibility, and advanced decisions and increased confidence in public institutions (Slijepcevic and Alibegovic 2015: 156).

8.3 African economic and political integration

According to Jiboku (2015) Africa possesses a high concentration of economic organisations that are sub-regional; furthermore, the continent has multilateral and institutional arrangements that are committed to fulfilling the ‘goals of integration’. However, despite these attempts, the continent remains the least integrated when compared to major regions in the world. According to Robson (2011) it’s not only economic considerations that the African continent has derived their concern for integration from. Other factors are political and social; the basic motivation for integration at the political core- derives from the assumption that the consideration of genuine independence and modernisation renders some kind of international cooperation (Robson 2011).

According to Adom et al. (2010: 1-7) the African continent does not have a long history of Regional Trade Agreements, however, the past decades has seen a creation of numerous agreements of that nature. Countries in the African continent have decided to embark on a journey that will, in future, lead them to a political and economic union that is fully-fledged (Adom et al. 2010: 1-7). Furthermore, the constitutive act of the African Union endorses this objective (Adom et al. 2010: 1-7). The African continent continues to be suppressed and marginalised in international affairs, while the majority of the African populace lives in poverty (Jiboku 2015). The reality portrayed in Africa clearly shows that the continent has not as of yet benefitted from its economic regional integration (Jiboku 2015). However, Harsch (2002) argues that there now exists a renewed impetus to establish closer political and economic ties among numerous countries in the continent. There is a wide gap in Africa between its theoretical aspirations regarding economic regional integration and the practical, empirical evidence of the actual reality of its integration (Jiboku 2015).

According to a ‘Briefing Paper’ by the German Development Institute (2010: 1) there has been a loss of political drive in the African goal of reaching a successful continental integration. New institutions in the African continent have been formed, namely: The New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) was established in the year 2001, followed by the transformation of the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) into the African Union (AU) in the year 2002, where the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) was formed (German Development Institute 2010: 1). Although the history that these institutions’ share is intertwined, there is a poor interaction between them (German Development Institute 2010: 1). The mandates of the Organisations overlap, while there is a stifle in the delivery of Africa’s governance and development agenda due to conflicting interests between African states (German Development Institute 2010: 1).

A solution to dealing with the Western world is that: the outside world will first have to consider regional organisations when searching for partners in Africa (German Development Institute 2010: 1). If handled well, the renewed interest in the African continent can open a political space for African countries to flexibly manipulate the terms of their engagement with imperialist powers than it was a decade ago (German Development Institute 2010: 2). African countries that have a very limited capacity should carefully manage the interests of external powers (German Development Institute 2010: 2) The crucial challenge however, is the ability of the African continent in creating well-coordinated, functional and sustainable institutions to equip its countries with better tools to engage on the global stage effectively (German Development Institute 2010: 2).

8.4 Domestic policy network over Western intervention.

Using the ruling party of South Africa (the African National Congress) as a case study, Richard (2002: 54) argues that there once existed a nationalist-oriented form of policy making in the African continent before its replacement by the Western invading paradigm of neoliberalism. Richard (2002: 54) argues that the ANC has long been committed to a development policy that responds to the basic needs and aimed at improving the living conditions of black people in South Africa. South Africa's economic policy had a "popular foundation", was a leftist and socialist approach, presented in the form of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (Richard 2002: 54). Such a policy was domestically informed and oriented, and there was less Western intervention or direction in its contents (Richard 2002: 54). However, the ruling party switched to a right-wing, neoliberal 'Growth, Employment and Redistribution' policy, which stressed on trade liberalisation, privatisation and deregulation (Richard 2002: 54). Such a phenomenon of adopting an ideology from outside which holds no domestic or national foundation has been common in African domestic formulated policies, and Richard (2002: 54) refers to it as the 'academic-institutional-media' complex.

According to Hugh (2000) The Westminster Model is being replaced by the advancement of its alternative called 'Policy networks'. The hegemony of the West and its invasion of African countries with Western-oriented paradigms has led to the merit and effectiveness of Western ideologies being questioned in conformist countries, as these ideas are based on power and hierarchy. To support this statement, Hugh (2002: 774) cites Heclo (1974: 304-15) stating that much of the policy making process is naturally not about power but rather about a 'collective puzzlement' which involves interest groups, political parties and the state bureaucracy whom are involved in a deliberation and continual analysis. However, such a status quo is not apparent in African countries, as Richard (2002: 54) argues that policy making in African countries is linked to the centres of persuasion (in their case, these centres are International Financial Institutions) and they influence the policy making process inside and outside the country.

According to Bennet and Howlett (1992: 276) a much more domestic approach to formulating public policies without the intervention of an exogenous actor is crucial. Such an approach would allow states to: learn from their own experiences, which could help them modify their interpretations of the outcomes of past actions (Bennet and Howlett 1992: 276). They refer to this as a policy 'learning approach'; it is based on a policy change that stems from an experience-induced phenomenon (Bennet and Howlett 1992: 276). Furthermore, Bennet and Howlett (1992: 276) argue that it is imperative to formulate policies based on learning within governments, as such policies will resonate well with societal needs. Governments will become perceived as societal actors creating the conditions in which the state actors must respond instead of them being state officials (Bennet and Howlett 1992: 276). They mention that there are currently five conceptions regarding learning and its role in the formulation of public policy in countries, and they list them as follows: government learning, policy-oriented learning, social learning, lesson drawing, and political learning (Bennet and Howlett 1992: 276).

Feindt (2010: 297) cites Grin and Loeber (2007: 201) to argue that there has been various attempts at theorising and addressing the complicated relationship between power and knowledge. Furthermore, there has been an agency to consider the change of ideas playing a central factor when understanding changes in policy (Feindt 2010: 297; Grin and Loeber 2007: 201). According to Balbachevsky ([n.d]: 1) there should be awareness in the interests and ideas in the process of policy making, and it should be referred to as the 'ideational dimension'. Furthermore, epistemic communities should have the flexibility to create their own knowledge and if they decide to adopt a foreign paradigm, they should have the right to diffuse policy advice, norms and values from external voices to fit their domestic context.

According to Daugbjerk (1997: 123) the analysis of the policy network has been criticised for its lack of predicting and accounting for outcomes and change in outcomes. However, he does not agree with this argument; according to him, this causes outsiders (in this case, International Financial Institutions) to intervene and initiate policy reforms (Daugbjerk 1997: 123). The main reason they do so is due to them recognising that the existing policy produces negative outcomes (Daugbjerk 1997: 123). As a solution to this issue, he advocates for a maximalist role for a state, meaning that the state should intervene comparatively deeply in its own sector economy, and also for the state to have a dominant role in the formulation of policies.

According to Hall (1993: 275 – 296) in order for a state to gain full control and independence on its policy formulation, there should be a reroute on its 'policy network'. From the external experts (International Financial Institutions) to the internal experts, actors and participants such as domestic governmental, public institutions, interest groups and academic think-tanks, and civil society (Hall 1993: 275 – 296). This will help a state to better address societal issues in an endogenous perspective instead of the Western exogenous perspective.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

The phenomenon of the dominance of the neoliberal paradigm in non-Western states and their concerns with applying the paradigm has led to the agency of these countries in attempting to delink from it. The paper has explained the neoliberal paradigm and its influence, its hegemonic discourse and its global order. It has explored how the neoliberal paradigm is economically exclusionary- and how it leads to a rich few with a poor and marginalised many.

The paper sought to find a way that the influence of the neoliberal paradigm could be reduced and decreased on a sectoral level, to achieve an incremental domestic bottom-up approach in attempting to delink from it. The paper focused on the education sector. It examined how the neoliberal paradigm functions there and its negative outcomes. As a practical approach to challenging the neoliberal paradigm in the education sector, the paper presented two case studies, namely: South Africa and Rwanda. There has been an attempt by the governments (through policy making) and the people (through social movements and protests) of these countries to apply a paradigm opposed to neoliberalism in dealing with their education sector.

The analysis of the case studies led to the analysis of data in intellectually clarifying the opposing views of how to treat education in a country, whether as a private good or public good. It also questioned the possible implications in the international arena for African countries upon attempting to delink from the neoliberal paradigm. The paper explored alternative existing paradigms which emanated from the third world- paradigms that are emancipation-oriented. These paradigms highlighted community and collectivism as the key to a successful replacement of the neoliberal paradigm which is imbedded in the ideology of individualism.

The paper then offered solutions and recommendations to be applied in solving the research problem which included: the prioritisation of egalitarian policy making in a democratic country, domestic ‘endogenous’ actors forming the only ‘policy network’ and taking centre stage in policy changes and policy-making, and public participation being crucial for the success of effective policies that reflect the problems faced by the society and community at large.

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