DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND THE UNIVERSITY IN A COSMOPOLITAN WORLD

by
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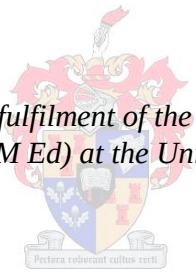

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DECLARATION

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the authorship owner thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the role and responsibility of the university in educating students to be democratic citizens in a cosmopolitan world, with specific reference to South African higher education, and Stellenbosch University in particular. Recent changes in the world, such as globalisation and the rise of the knowledge economy, has brought into question the role of the university, and some argue that the university in the 21st century is no more than another bureaucratic corporation with its business being providing the necessary knowledge and skills for students to become adequately equipped professionals. However, this thesis argues that universities in the 21st century do not only have the responsibility of training students to be competent professionals, but also of equipping them with the necessary skills to be responsible citizens in a democratic society.

In this thesis, a theoretical framework is constructed in order to better understand the concept of democratic citizenship for a cosmopolitan world, and what such an education would entail, whereafter the South African Higher Education landscape is explored to gain an understanding of the institutional landscape and legislative and policy framework within which South African universities are situated. The final part of the thesis focuses on Stellenbosch University and the extent to which democratic citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world is encouraged and supported at an institutional level.

The ultimate conclusion that Stellenbosch University is committed to the education of students towards democratic citizenship for a cosmopolitan world, at least as far as policy and planning documents are concerned, however raises further questions ─ amongst others about the transformation of the institutional culture.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie tesis ondersoek die rol en verantwoordelikheid van die universiteit in die opvoeding van studente tot demokratiese burgerskap in ŉ kosmopolitiese wêreld, met spesifieke verwysing na Suid-Afrikaanse hoër onderwys en meer bepaald studente aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch. Onlangse wêreldwye tendense soos globalisering en die opkoms van ŉ kennis-ekonomie plaas noodwendig die rol van die universiteit onder die soeklig. Daar is diegene wat argumenteer dat die universiteit van die 21ste eeu niks anders is as nog ŉ burokratiese korporatiewe instelling nie. Die besigheid van so ŉ instelling, word geargumenteer, is die voorsiening van die nodige kennis en vaardighede ten einde studente voldoende toe te rus as professionele persone. Daarteenoor is die argument van hierdie tesis dat universiteite in die 21ste eeu nie net die verantwoordelikheid het om studente op te lei tot bevoegde professionele persone nie, maar ook om hulle toe te rus met die nodige vaardighede om verantwoordelike burgers te wees in ŉ demokratiese samelewing.

ŉ Teoretiese raamwerk is ontwikkel ten einde die konsep ‘demokratiese burgerskap’ in ŉ kosmopolitiese wêreld en wat dit behels, beter toe te lig. Vervolgens is die Suid Afrikaanse hoëronderwyslandskap ondersoek ten einde ŉ begrip te verkry van die institusionele landskap sowel as die wetgewende en beleidsraamwerke waarbinne Suid-Afrikaanse universiteite hul bevind. Ten slotte fokus die tesis op die Universiteit Stellenbosch en die mate waartoe die instelling opvoeding tot demokratiese burgerskap vir ŉ kosmopolitiese wêreld op ŉ institusionele vlak aanmoedig en ondersteun.

Die uiteindelike gevolgtrekking dat die Universiteit Stellenbosch wel verbind is tot die opleiding van studente tot demokratiese burgerskap in ŉ kosmopolitiese wêreld, ten minste soos vervat in beleids- en beplanningsdokumente, lei egter tot verdere vrae oor onder meer die transformasie van die institusionele kultuur.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	ANC Youth League
AoC	Alliance of Civilisations
CEPD	Centre for Education Policy Development
CHE	Council on Higher Education
HE	Higher Education
HEIs	Higher Education Institutions
HEQC	Higher Education Quality Committee
HEQF	Higher Education Qualifications Framework
HESA	Higher Education South Africa
NCHE	National Commission on Higher Education
NQF	National Qualifications Framework
OSP	Overarching Strategic Plan
SAHECEF	South African Higher Education Community Engagement Forum
SAQA	South African Qualifications Authority
SU	Stellenbosch University
UFS	University of the Free State
UMD	Unit for Multiculturalism and Diversity

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Motivation for the proposed research

Manuel Castells ends his last book in a series of three on the Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture with the following hopeful aspiration for the world (2000a:380):

> There is nothing that cannot be changed by conscious, purposive social action, provided with information and supported by legitimacy. If people are informed, active, and communicate throughout the world; if business assumes its social responsibility; if the media become the messengers, rather than the message; if political actors react against cynicism, and restore belief in democracy; if culture is reconstructed from experience; if humankind feels the solidarity of the species throughout the globe; if we assert intergenerational solidarity by living in harmony with nature; if we depart for the exploration of our inner self, having made peace among ourselves. If all this is made possible by our informed, conscious, shared decision, while there is still time, maybe then, we may, at last, be able to live and let live, love and be loved.

We all hope for this world; yet, looking at the current state of affairs in the world we cannot help but despair. Racial, cultural and ethnic intolerance is translated into bombs and killing sprees; global warming and the climate crisis are becoming very real issues as natural disasters hit our continents; the global economy is in crisis, and it seems that the ones who will suffer the most are the poor. Amid this despair one cannot help but ask, How can we change this world; where do we begin?

The Alliance of Civilisations [1](AoC) proposes that the causes of terrorism and hostility among different groups of people can be inhibited by addressing the lack of understanding

[1] "The United Nations Alliance of Civilizations (UNAOC) is an initiative of the UN Secretary-General, which aims to improve understanding and cooperative relations among nations and peoples across cultures and religions, and to help counter the forces that fuel polarisation and extremism (Alliance of Civilizations, 2009)."

among these different groups by seeking to "identify and build upon common interests and shared goals". Education was identified as one of the means by which knowledge "among national and international populations about the beliefs, practices, histories, and cultural expressions of diverse groups of people within and beyond national borders" can be increased (Alliance of Civilisations, 2006:4).

Referring to the citation from Castells, it is my contention that universities educate tomorrow's businessmen and -women, political leaders, journalists and other major role players in society; therefore we have to ask what role universities can and should play in educating citizens who are able to understand and accept differences among people, and, despite those differences, work together to create a better world.

As a South African citizen, I am compelled to ask what South African universities are doing to prepare their students to be good citizens, not only in the local context, but also in the global context, given the realities of globalisation where "nations are fading into a borderless world" (Calhoun, 2008:106).

1.2 Research problem and rationale

In her book, *Pedagogy and the University*, Monica McLean (2008:45) refers to the "economising of higher education", where money and power are overpowering the capacity for rational examination and argument, where the over-emphasis on utilitarian, transferrable skills for employability is a symptom of pedagogy that has been colonised by technical rationality. Based on the theories of Jürgen Habermas, McLean (2008:63) derives three main responsibilities universities have towards students and their education: (1) to equip students in the area of extra-functional abilities, in other words, to prepare them for work; (2) to help students gain an understanding of the meaning of an active engagement in culture and society; and (3) to shape the political consciousness of students.

In the debate about tuition fees, there are those who argue that a university education is more of a private than a public good, as the benefits of such an education accrue to the individual who acquired this education rather than to society as a whole (Altbach & Davis, 1999:5). Peters (2004:74) writes that, as a result of globalisation and the rise of the knowledge economy, "higher education will become a global international service and tradable

commodity". On the other hand, Gould (2004:456-457) argues that, in order for universities to survive in the knowledge economy, where institutions of higher education are no longer considered to be the sole providers and generators of knowledge, they have to emphasise their role in contributing to the public good. Waghid (2008c:20) considers this contribution to the public good to be the cultivation of democratic action and producing graduate students who can engage in critical reasoning. Delanty (2008:29) supports this notion when he writes that "as an institution of knowledge production, the university's contribution to society is to develop and enhance global public culture by connecting citizenship and knowledge".

I agree with the latter, in that the university has a purpose beyond knowledge production and training graduates for their profession. This thesis explores the university's responsibility in preparing students to be democratic citizens in a cosmopolitan world. In particular, I focus on the South African context, with specific reference to Stellenbosch University (SU) and the extent to which there is an institutional commitment towards democratic citizenship education.

During the course of this study, I sought to address the following issues:

- The role universities ought to play in advancing citizenship education
- Meanings of citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world
- How citizenship education is defined and addressed within the South African higher education policy framework
- To which extent this policy is translated into practice at university level, with specific reference to Stellenbosch University

1.3 Literature review

This study draws on the works and theories of various authors in order to gain an understanding of the university, its functions and responsibilities with specific reference to democratic citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world.

Since the publication of John Henry Newman's *The Idea of a University* in 1854, in which he describes his view on the purpose of university education, much has been written on this

subject. Newman draws his answer from the "ancient designation of a Studium Generale" or "School of Universal Learning" to expand on his "Idea of a University" (Halsall, 1998). More recently, Jürgen Habermas (1971) described the functions and tasks of the university in his book *Toward a rational society*, as: producing and transmitting technical knowledge; equipping students with extra-functional abilities; transmitting, interpreting and developing the cultural tradition of society; and forming the political consciousness of its students (1971: 1-3). In the *University in Ruins*, Bill Readings (1996) questions the role of the university as an institution of culture in a society where knowledge creation is no longer the function of universities only, where the power of the nation-state is being overshadowed by the power of multinational companies. Readings argues that the place of the university in society should be reassessed in view of the contemporary shifts in the university's function as an institution, where the modern-day university is defined more in terms of excellence than culture, and that the changing institutional form of universities should be acknowledged. For the purpose of this study, however, I refer to Monica McLean's *Pedagogy and the University* (2008), in which she explores how the contemporary university should develop and what form of pedagogy universities should use, with a specific focus on how university teachers should focus on equipping their students to be future citizens who will influence politics, culture and society. Based on the theories of Jürgen Habermas, which she regards as a "legitimate theoretical framework that endorses her beliefs about the nature and purpose of university education in contemporary society" (McLean, 2008:8), she derives three purposes for a contemporary university and how these purposes can be achieved through what she calls a "critical pedagogy". Based on McLean's work, I show in this thesis how one of the purposes of a university remains, even today, to educate students in their role as democratic citizens.

In conceptualising the idea of a democratic citizen, I have relied on the work of Amy Gutmann (1987), Iris Marion Young (2000), and others, with a specific focus on Gutmann's book *Democratic Education*, in which she describes the theory of democratic education, which focuses on "conscious social reproduction" (Gutmann, 1987:14), and refers to the university's role in this process. Another important aspect of Gutmann's work is that she shows how democratic education is compatible with cosmopolitanism, which is another important concept on which I have focused my attention.

The inclusion of cosmopolitanism as a concept in this study is important, as we no longer live in a world where an individual's citizenship ends at his/her country's borders. In the analysis

of cosmopolitanism as a concept, as well as in exploring cosmopolitanism, I consulted the work of Martha Nussbaum (1997), with specific reference to her book *Cultivating Humanity*. In this book, Nussbaum shows how the education of the world citizen, or *kosmou politēs,* as referred to by the Stoics, is connected to Socratic enquiry and the idea of an examined life (Nussbaum, 1997). Nussbaum also explains how this idea of the examined life and the Socratic capacity to reason is essential to create citizens for a deliberative democracy. In addition to Nussbaum's work, I also refer to various articles written on the subject of cosmopolitanism.

The final part of my study, in which the focus is on South African universities, and Stellenbosch University specifically, was informed by literature related to higher education policy in South Africa, such as reports published by the Council on Higher Education (CHE), the policy documents *per se*, and articles, where applicable. As to Stellenbosch University, I studied institutional documents, policies and plans in order to gain an understanding of the institution's commitment to democratic citizenship education.

1.4 Research methodology and methods

1.4.1 Research methodology

Le Grange (2008:103) explains that methodology is the philosophical framework that guides the research activity, or described differently, methodology can be viewed as the theories behind the method. I conducted a qualitative study, as Caelli, Ray and Mill (2003:6) explain: "Generic qualitative studies are among the most common forms of qualitative research in the field of education. They characteristically draw from concepts, models and theories … which provide the framework for the studies. Analysis of data uses concepts from the theoretical framework and generally results in identification of recurring patterns, categories, or factors that cut through the data and help to further delineate the theoretical frame."

My research can be positioned as interpretive in the pragmatic tradition, where the focus of interpretive research is to understand and account for the meaning of human experiences and actions (Fossey, Harvey, McDermott & Davidson, 2002:720). This study is interpretive in that it seeks to understand how a university responds to the challenge and responsibility of educating its students for democratic citizenship in a cosmopolitan world.

Pragmatism is a philosophy which is often associated with the name of John Dewey. A nuanced explanation of pragmatism as an interpretive approach is that it "deploys the view that meanings and (human relations) can be understood in the context of pursuing practical purposes in the world" (Waghid, 2008b:7). Biesta and Burbules (2003:22) argue that Dewey's perspective that "rationality is about intelligent human action and human cooperation" is of particular importance to educational research, as education is a "thoroughly human practice in which questions about 'how' are inseparable from questions about 'why' and 'what for' ".

In the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Hookway (2008) describes Dewey's perception of pragmatic inquiry: "... inquiry aims for 'the controlled or directed transformation of an indeterminate situation into one that is so determinate in its constituent distinctions and relations as to convert the elements of the original situation into a unified whole". According to Hookway (2008), Dewey recognises that when we face a problem, our first task is to understand the problem through describing its elements and identifying their relations, or as Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004:17) explain: "[W]hen judging ideas, we should consider their empirical and practical consequences." By describing and conceptualising the elements of democratic citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world as an educational goal, the question asked in this thesis is whether Stellenbosch University is supporting the pursuit of this educational goal at an institutional level.

1.4.2 Research methods

The main purpose of this study was to determine the extent to which Stellenbosch University is committed to and encourages an education that would prepare its students to be active democratic citizens in a cosmopolitan world. In order to do this, I established a conceptual framework for the case study of Stellenbosch University. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001:282), the conceptual framework "entails stating the purpose of the study; presenting the principles guiding the study; sharing the reasoning that led to the hypotheses or questions; and carefully defining concepts". In order to state the purpose of the study, I start by explaining why democratic citizenship education is an important aspect of a university education, based on the work of Monica McLean (2008). In addition to the motivation for democratic citizenship education at university level, I do a conceptual analysis of democratic

citizenship education and cosmopolitanism in order to establish a theoretical framework within which democratic citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world can be explained.

After establishing a conceptual framework, I focus on the South African context. By examining and analysing policy and related documents pertaining to higher education in South Africa, I proposed to establish to which extent South African higher education is encouraging democratic citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world.

The final part of my study is a case study of Stellenbosch University. With a view to determine whether the institution supports and encourages democratic citizenship education, I did a content analysis of the University's policy and planning documents, as well as other relevant documents, including speeches made by University staff and students on this subject. By doing a case study, I was able to gain in-depth insight into Stellenbosch University's approach to citizenship education. However, an important limitation of this case study is that the results are not generalisable to the rest of the South African higher education landscape.

1.5 Outline of the study

Chapter 1 gives an overview of the research problem, as well as the motivation for the study. The literature review provides a conceptual framework for the research question, while the description of research methodology and methods endeavours to explain the research process followed during the course of this study.

In Chapter 2 I contextualise the university in the 21st century, with a specific focus on the trends that have an impact on universities, as well as on questions and concerns regarding the purpose of the university in the 21st century as a result of the influence of the afore-mentioned trends on universities and their core business. In the final part of the chapter, I show how the university still has a role and purpose in society, which is more than just contributing towards knowledge creation and transfer, and that an important aspect of this role is to educate democratic citizens for a cosmopolitan world.

In Chapter 3 I conceptualise the research question within a theoretical framework that I constructed based on research done in the fields of democratic citizenship education and

cosmopolitanism (with reference to the work of Seyla Benhabib, Martha Nussbaum, and Amy Gutmann, among others).

In Chapter 4, I focus on universities in the South African context, by examining and analysing South African policy documents on higher education. However, in order to understand the current context of South African higher education, it is important to take note of the history of South African higher education, as it plays an important role in the current higher education policy. It is for this reason that I also provide a brief historical overview of South African higher education for the period just before the first democratic elections to date.

Chapter 5 focuses on the research question of this thesis, and the institution in question, namely Stellenbosch University. In analysing the university's planning and policy documents, I determined the extent to which the university is committed to creating enabling structures which support democratic citizenship education at an institutional level. In his book, *Toward a rational society*, Habermas (1971) describes three conditions that are generally present in the politicisation of student consciousness. Habermas (1971:14) argues that if students regard their university as an agent of social change, the knowledge that they belong to such a university provides them with an "impulse toward entering the struggle against the traditionalism of inherited social structures". It is for this reason that it was important to ask the research question at an institutional level, in order to gain an understanding of the institution's commitment to democratic citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world.

In Chapter 6, I summarise my findings and also highlight those issues that need to be addressed in future research studies.

CHAPTER 2
THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY IN THE 21ST CENTURY – EDUCATING DEMOCRATIC CITIZENS FOR A COSMOPOLITAN WORLD

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I show how, despite many concerns regarding the role and relevance of the university in the knowledge society, the university still has an important role to play, especially regarding the education of students for democratic citizenship in a cosmopolitan world. In commenting on the fundamental principles included in the Magna Charta Universitatum signed in Bologna in 1988 by rectors of 388 major universities worldwide, with specific reference to the fourth principle which states that "[a] university is the trustee of the European humanist tradition; its constant care is to attain universal knowledge; to fulfil its vocation it transcends geographical and political frontiers, and affirm the vital need for different cultures to know and influence each other" (Magna Charta Universitatum, 1988:2), Gould (2004:455) argues that higher education has a social mission of global proportions, and because of this, "the challenges of living in a global knowledge society ─ and even of internationalising the university curriculum ─ are ethical projects for all the university's disciplines."

2.2 The role of the university in the 21st century

2.2.1 The role of the contemporary university

In *Toward a rational society* Habermas (1971) discusses the role of the university in a democracy, and among other things, he describes four responsibilities of a university. In the first place he argues that, in view of its teaching and research activities, the university is connected to the economy and therefore one of the roles of the university is to ensure that it both generates and transfers "technically exploitable knowledge" (1971:1). The university is also expected to equip graduates with a minimum set of knowledge and skills, which would prepare them for a professional career. However, Habermas emphasises that these skills are not only limited to the technical knowledge related to their professions, but that graduates also have to be equipped with "extrafunctional abilities and attributes" (1971:2), which refer to leadership skills and other important characteristics companies look for in future

employees. According to Habermas, the third responsibility of a university is to "transmit, interpret, and develop the cultural tradition of society", while the fourth responsibility is to shape the political consciousness of its students (Habermas, 1971:1-3).

In her book, *Pedagogy and the University*, McLean (2008) seeks, among other things, to define the role and purpose of the university in contemporary society. With Habermas's idea of the role and function of the university as a theoretical framework, as described in the previous paragraph, and within the context of three overarching issues of modern-day society, McLean (2008:17) proposes that there are three goals which a contemporary university education has to achieve:(1) to re-balance the emphasis on economic wealth and individual prosperity by acknowledging the traditional aims of education, which are individual fulfilment and transformation and citizenship in a democracy; (2) to address inequities in terms of class, gender, ethnicity and disability, among others; and (3) to address complex global problems such as poverty, conflict and environmental issues.

Habermas(1971) acknowledges the role of the university in preparing students for work and equipping them for public and political participation in society, while the aims as identified by McLean (2008) focus primarily on the university's responsibility to prepare students for public and political participation and to assist them in gaining an understanding of their responsibilities towards society. In summarising these opinions on the role of the university, one can say that the university has several responsibilities towards its students in preparing them for economic participation by preparing them for work through the 'transmission of technically exploitable knowledge'; preparing them for political participation by 'shaping their political consciousness'; teaching them the meaning of citizenship in a democracy; and preparing them for social participation and their responsibilities toward society, by creating an awareness of social inequities, global problems and their duty to actively engage in culture and society (McLean, 2008:16).

Recent changes in the world have, however, led to several authors questioning and raising concerns regarding the role of university in society, with a specific focus on the social, cultural and political aspects of a university education. Altbach and Knight (2007:290-291) argue that, as a result of globalisation, which they define as "the economic, political, and societal forces pushing 21st century higher education toward greater international involvement", the subsequent internationalisation of higher education is contributing towards

the perception of higher education as being an international commodity to be freely traded and that it is more of a private good than a public responsibility.

2.2.2 The role of the university: Questions and concerns

In the prologue to his book *The Rise of the Network Society*, Castells (2000b:1) writes how "several events of historical significance transformed the social landscape of human life" at the end of the 20th century. These events are characterised by words and phrases such as 'globalisation', 'the knowledge economy', 'the information-communications technology revolution', and 'the network society'. In this changed world everything is connected, and the exchange of commodities, ideas, knowledge and money can happen within a matter of seconds, and as Delanty (2003:71-72) notes, this global society is "less defined by the parameters of the national state". Taking all these changes into consideration, one needs to ask how this affects the university and its role in society.

With reference to Bill Readings's *The University in Ruins*, Peters (2004:70) writes that "it is no longer possible to talk of the idea of the modern university or of an institution regulated and unified through the force of a single idea", due to the combined pressures of globalisation, managerialism, and marketisation. According to Peters (2004:70), "the founding discourses of the modern university have been permanently fractured" in the light of these global changes, with these founding discourses being the Kantian idea of reason and the Humboldtian notion of culture.

Readings (1996) describes how the national culture mission, which he regards as the *raison d'être* of the university, is declining as a result of the weakened power of the nation-state in the wake of globalisation and the rise of transnational corporations which now seem to have more power over, among other things, the macroeconomic policies of countries than the countries' own governments. Readings concludes his book by claiming that it is not possible for the university to serve as a model for community in a globalised world, and that this can no longer be considered to be the university's social function. He argues that the whole idea of the university as an institution which helps students to "gain an understanding of active engagement in culture and society and shapes the political consciousness of students" (McLean, 2008:63), is no longer relevant. According to Readings (1996:3, 22), the university

is “becoming a transnational bureaucratic corporation where students are the customers and excellence has become the unifying principle of the contemporary university”.

Giroux (2002) articulates his concerns regarding the influence of neoliberalism on the way in which society is defined. He uses McChesney’s description of neoliberalism (in Giroux, 2002:425) to define this phenomenon: “Neoliberalism is the defining political economic paradigm of our time ─ it refers to the policies and processes whereby a relative handful of private interests are permitted to control as much as possible of social life in order to maximise their personal profit.”

Giroux writes (2002:427) “how the relationship between a critical education, public morality and civic responsibility as conditions for creating thoughtful and engaged citizens are sacrificed all too willingly to the interest of financial capital and the logic of profit-making” in a society which is defined through the cultures and values of neoliberalism. In other words, such a society would expect its universities to be institutions of excellence, with a focus on training the students to work professionally in the knowledge society. In this manner they will enable these students to be successful and promote their own individual success and economic wealth. Giroux’s concern for society is that corporate culture not only takes over society, but also leads to the demise of democratic public spheres which are normally expected to take responsibility for the moral vision of society, by holding those in power accountable for their actions. It is Giroux’s (2002:431) contention that “in the current historical moment neoliberal capitalism is not simply too overpowering, but that democracy is too weak”.

Another factor that threatens the university’s role as an educational institution in society, which Giroux and Searls-Giroux touch upon in their book *Take back higher education* (2004), is the role played by the media in the “schooling of the public mind”. The Alliance of Civilizations’ High Level Group Report on education (Alliance of Civilisations, 2006:15) also touches on how “the constant exposure of populations to electronic media presents an educational challenge”. However, instead of allowing this new educational force to bring into question the relevance of the university in a time where education takes place in various spheres of society, such as the media and the Internet, Giroux and Searls-Giroux (2004:7) argue that this is all the more reason to ensure that there are “formal spheres of learning”, where these formal sites can provide citizens with “the kinds of critical capacities, modes of

literacies, knowledge and skills that enable them to both read the world critically, and participate in shaping and governing it", with the university being one of these spheres.

Barnett (2004), in referring to his own work, *Reclaiming universities from a runaway world* points out that the very title of his work implies that something has been lost. He goes on to say that the loss can be distinguished as the loss of the idea of the university, as there is a sense that the university has dissolved; the loss of practices that could have been said to be constitutive of the university; and the loss of the social space that universities once occupied (Barnett, 2004:195). However, the title does not only refer to a loss, but also to a hope that the idea and practices of universities can be reclaimed. This is a hope cherished by all the above-mentioned authors, with the exception of Readings (1996:14), who contends that "the economics of globalisation mean that the university is no longer called upon to train citizens, while the politics of the end of the cold war mean that the university is no longer called upon to uphold national prestige by producing and legitimating national culture."

Worldwide trends such as globalisation, neoliberalism, the knowledge economy and the rapid development of information and communications technology have led to mixed sentiments regarding the role of the university in this changed world. Some are of the opinion that universities are to be regarded as a business providing the service of knowledge production to its clients (students, industry partners, etc.). This has led to questions regarding the role of the university in the education of its students to become thoughtful and critical citizens in a democratic society. Divala (2008:194, 198-199) expresses his concerns that "globalisation and neo-liberalism push universities to a position where they are more relevant to global demands than local needs, where this is especially true for the developing world and its universities". Altbach and Knight (2007:304) describe the current position in which universities find themselves at a "crossroads where emerging programs and practices must ensure that international higher education benefits the public and not simply be a profit center".

2.2.3 The university as a public space

While there are many questions and concerns regarding the role of the university in the 21st century, and despite pessimistic predictions on the future of the university, it is my contention that the university still has an important role to play in society. As Barnett (2004:205) writes:

"The university remains a privileged institution. Even as it fears that the space available to it is shrinking, that space may be growing. That is to say, the opportunities to create space are growing and widening. Space can be developed in teaching, research, and in the way the university engages within itself as a community." The university has to assess the environment in which it is situated and, taking all the realities of this environment into consideration, re-establish itself as a public space within the public sphere of civil society, where students are not only trained students on a professional level for the world of work, but where they are also made aware of their responsibility to make a contribution as critical citizens to a democratic and just society.

In her model for a deliberative democracy, Young (2000) lists several conditions which are necessary for a deliberative democracy, such as inclusion, equality and reasonableness. According to Young (2000:25), these conditions entail that "the interaction among participants in a democratic decision-making process form a public in which people hold one another accountable". However, for people to be able to hold one another accountable they need public spaces where they can hold one another accountable, where they can deliberate on decisions and where they can criticise or comment on decisions and actions of those in power (and one of these public spaces is the university). In discussing the public sphere and what constitutes publicity, Young (2000:168) writes that it refers to a site where there is a relationship among citizens, where these citizens can engage in discussion and contestation, and express themselves through a specific form of speech and other expressions within that public space, where this space can only be regarded as being public insofar as anyone can access that space.

In her exploration of society's role in the promotion of social justice, Young (2000:155, 159) distinguishes between the state, the economy and civil society, where civil society includes a vast array of activities, institutions and social networks outside state and economy, in order to promote trust, choice and the virtues of democracy. While it can be said that some of the university's activities are situated within those of the state and the economy, there are still some functions of the university which are not situated within these two spheres, and it is my argument that these are the important activities which the university should pursue, even in a neoliberal, globalised world. Barr and Griffiths (2004:85) explain the need for public spaces: "People require public spaces in which they can discover, construct, develop and reinterpret knowledge of various kinds, and, in some cases, use the knowledge to help resolve practical

problems they face." The university, given its activities, is an ideal space in which to address this need, as the activities of a university are of such a nature that there is a constant creation, questioning, and reinterpretation of knowledge through teaching and research, and where problem-solving is often the objective of many research projects. Giroux (2002:450) supports the notion of the university as a public sphere where he emphasises the need for education to be treated as a public good, as it is fundamental to the "rise of a vibrant democratic culture", since universities are one of the few public spheres left where "students can learn the power of questioning authority, recover the ideals of engaged citizenship, re-affirm the importance of the public good and expand their capacities to make a difference".

Barnett (2004: 205) proposes that we consider not only the notion of a university of excellence in the 21st century as Readings suggested, but also the possibility of an ethical university where this university would work on the concept of space by not only focusing on its internal relations, "but also be sensitive to the kinds of possibility in which the university can imaginatively construct new public spaces in its interrelationships with communities around it".

There are many questions and concerns regarding the role of the university in a globalised world where values are influenced by neoliberalism and the pursuit of excellence and economic progress. However, there is a continued need for universities to play a role, not only in the economic development and progress of a country, but also as a public space where the values of a democratic society are pursued, where public debate and critical thinking are encouraged and where students can be made aware of their responsibility to be active citizens contributing to the economy, while also ensuring that the ideals and values of a democratic society are continually pursued and sustained within their societies.

2.2.4 The role of the university as a public space in the 21st century

Thus far I have shown how, despite several questions and concerns regarding the role of the university in the 21st century, the university has an important role to play as a public space where citizens can engage in democratic deliberation. I shall refer once again to the work of Habermas and McLean and their definitions of the role and purpose of a university education. I propose to explain that professional training, while it is an important aspect of university education, is not the only important aspect; and further that the cultivation of a consciousness

for their political and social responsibility is as important as professional training for students studying at a university. Finally, I propose to show why it is important to focus on a democratic citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world, based on Young's argument for a global democracy.

In the first part of this chapter I explained how Habermas and McLean define the role and purpose of a university education as preparing students for work and making them aware of their social responsibilities, but also shaping their political consciousness (McLean, 2008:63). McLean summarises the four functions of the university as identified by both Habermas and Delanty as being research (accumulation of information), professional training (accreditation and vocational training), general education (human experience / the formation of personality) and public enlightenment (public issues / intellectualisation of society). McLean emphasises that all aspects of a university education are equally important and that "a rounded citizen is both culturally and technologically competent". She also points out that research and professional training will focus on the technological aspects, while general education and public enlightenment will address the cultural aspects (McLean, 2008:119). However, she draws attention to the over-emphasis on technical skills which would ensure employability, and she contends that this over-emphasis leads to the breakdown of universities as spaces where "students form their identities and develop as citizens" (McLean, 2008:66). She warns that regarding a university education as a means by which employment related skills can be acquired, strips such an education of the "power to develop minds and to contribute to understanding and knowing how to act in the world" (McLean, 2008:67). I have shown that the cultural side of citizenship education is as important as professional training. Giroux (2002:432-433, 450) echoes this warning when he emphasises the importance of education as a public good which is vital to a democratic culture and civic life, as the university as a site of critical learning is the place where "students gain a public voice and come to grips with their own power as individuals and social agents".

Universities have as much a responsibility in educating students to understand their rights and responsibilities as citizens in a democratic society, as they have to prepare students on a technical and professional level for work. According to Gould (2004:453), "the broadest and most vibrant context for the development of knowledge in higher education is its social mission to empower individuals and to serve the public good".

Giroux and Searls-Giroux (2004:279) describe the cultural aspect of education as allowing students to understand the meaning of democracy, to help them recognise the promise and possibilities democracy holds for citizens in a society, to explain to them their rights and responsibilities as citizens in a democratic society, and to "offer students the opportunity to involve themselves in the deepest problems of society and to acquire the knowledge, skills and ethical vocabulary necessary for critical dialogue and broadened civic participation".

As I have shown, the university has a responsibility to equip students with the technical and professional skills necessary for them to be able to do a job, as well as with the necessary skills and knowledge to be responsible citizens in a democratic society. It is my contention that this can be done by teaching students to think critically. Waghid and Le Grange (2002:6) argue that, because of the focus on excellence and competitive advantage as a result of globalisation, it is the responsibility of higher education institutions to "produce individuals who can take responsibility for their own success and who can contribute towards shaping a democratic society". Students need to be able to look beyond the promise of success and economic progress and ask themselves what they need to do to ensure that their own ambitions are not pursued at the cost of a democratic society. In his article, 'The public role of the university reconsidered', Waghid (2008c:20) makes a strong argument for the role the university has to play in cultivating democratic action where he writes that "education ought to have a liberating and democratic purpose, and that it is the civic responsibility of the university to produce graduates who can engage in critical reasoning". Giroux and Searls-Giroux (2004:7) also support the notion that the university, as a site of formal education, is responsible for teaching its students the ability to think critically about what they are being taught, about what they already know and about the world they live in, in order to enable them to participate in shaping and governing the world in which they live.

In the final part of my argument for the role of the university as a public space responsible for teaching its students to think critically and take responsibility for their role as democratic citizens in society, I propose to show how society is no longer limited to the local area where students live and study, or even the borders of their country, but that this society is now a global society and that universities need to prepare their students to be democratic citizens in a cosmopolitan world.

In her book *Inclusion and Democracy*, Young (2000:242), explains how people within a set of interdependent institutions stand in relations of justice to each other:

> Wherever people act within a set of institutions that connect them to one another by commerce, communication, or the consequences of policies, such that systemic interdependencies generate benefits and burdens that would not exist without those institutional relationships, then the people within that set of interdependent institutions stand in relations of justice.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the world we live in has become interconnected, and while Kymlicka (1999) argues that we are far from a world of transnational governments and global citizenship, he also emphasises how our moral principles should be cosmopolitan in scope. In writing about the university and cosmopolitan citizenship, Delanty (2008:31), makes a strong case for the university to "become a cosmopolitan actor in the global knowledge society by forging new links between knowledge and citizenship". With the university being an institution that studies all aspects of human development and activities, where its functions of professional training, research, teaching and general education of students in cultural and intellectual transmission are interlinked and place it in the unique position of being aware of the ways in which the world is changing, it has an important role to play in the future of this interconnected world in enhancing global public culture by connecting citizenship and knowledge (Delanty, 2008:29).

In this chapter I have shown how, despite the influence of global changes and the subsequent emphasis on excellence and economic progress, universities still have an important role to play as a public space where students are educated to become active democratic citizens. However, as a result of the afore-mentioned global changes, societies can no longer be limited to the borders of a nation-state; we are living in a globalised world where students need to be educated to become active democratic citizens in a cosmopolitan world. In the next chapter I explore the idea of democratic citizenship for a cosmopolitan world.

CHAPTER 3
EDUCATING DEMOCRATIC CITIZENS WITH A COSMOPOLITAN PERSPECTIVE

3.1 Introduction

In Chapter 2 I discussed the challenges faced by the university in the 21st century regarding its role and relevance in a world where the university is no longer the sole supplier and distributor of knowledge. However, I have also shown that the university can be regarded as a public space, and still has a very important role to play. Delanty (2008:31) envisions 21st century universities as "having the role of public spheres, that is, discursive sites in society where social interests engage with the specialised worlds of science and where national and global forces meet. This suggests a notion of cosmopolitan citizenship."

We live in a country with people from different cultures who speak different languages and have different values and beliefs. However, the world we live in does not provide for individuals who have the same culture and who speak the same language to live isolated from people who are different from themselves. Despite these differences, we have to live together and work together and together ensure that the country is governed in such a way that all different groups of people are treated fairly and are granted equal rights. Our belonging, however, does not end with being part of a nation; we are also part of the global world, a world that has become interconnected and where people move easily across the borders of their own countries. The ideal therefore, is to live in a world where all citizens are treated fairly and are granted equal rights.

In this chapter I propose to show the link between democratic citizenship and cosmopolitanism based on the work of Seyla Benhabib. Once I have established this link, I shall discuss Amy Gutmann's work on democratic education and how democratic citizenship for a cosmopolitan world might require a compromise between patriotism and cosmopolitanism. In the final part of this chapter I shall focus on the education of students as democratic citizens for a cosmopolitan world, with specific reference to the work of Martha Nussbaum. I shall give attention to how she envisages this education of university students unfolding in order to prepare them to be democratic citizens in a cosmopolitan world.

3.2 Democratic citizenship and cosmopolitanism

3.2.1 Democratic citizenship in a multicultural society

We live in a world where people of different cultures live and work with each other each day and where citizens from the same nation-state are very different from one another. However, despite those differences they are all citizens who have certain rights and obligations toward their nation-state, but even more importantly, toward each other. According to Benhabib (2002:7-8), cultures can be viewed as "imaginary boundaries" between the "we" who share the same culture, and the "others" whose cultures differ from ours. She explains that there is always a struggle going on between the "we" and "others", a struggle to be recognised, acknowledged and respected. Benhabib argues that the only way to shift these imaginary boundaries and to facilitate these struggles is through the creation of impartial public spheres where conversations between people from different cultures can take place without prejudice or discrimination. In any society, the decisions that are made by government impact upon all citizens, and therefore they have to be made in such a way that everyone's opinion has been heard, their concerns have been taken into account and that the final decision is representative of everyone who participated in the conversation.

This society where there are public spaces, where conversations among people of different cultures can take place in order to enable citizens to better understand each other, where everyone has the opportunity to be heard regarding decisions that will impact on them, can be described as a democratic society where important political decisions are made after citizens have had the opportunity to deliberate and be heard. Benhabib (2002:105) describes democracy as "a model for organising the collective and public exercise of power in the major institutions of a society on the basis of the principle that decisions affecting the well-being of a collectivity can be viewed as the outcome of a procedure of free and reasoned deliberation among individuals considered as moral and political equals".

While a democracy may provide a platform where deliberation can take place and individuals can be heard, this does not mean that the majority will not overrule the minority. It is therefore clear that citizens need to accept that by assuming certain rights, they also assume a responsibility, the responsibility to ensure that the same rights they lay claim to are accessible to everyone else in the society. However, citizens will not necessarily accept the fact that

everyone else is entitled to the same rights they lay claim to; therefore it is important that citizens get to know one another in order to be able to respect them as human beings who are essentially the same even though they may differ in their daily practices. Benhabib (2002:14) refers to this opportunity where people from different cultures can learn from each other by listening to their stories and points of view as "interactive universalism," and she emphasises the importance of processes such as interactive universalism in multicultural societies, which enables citizens to become aware of the "otherness of others", and to respect each other despite their "otherness".

Even in a multicultural society where decisions are based on the principles of deliberative democracy, where individuals are given the opportunity to interact and learn from each other, and deliberate on societal issues that may impact on them, it does not necessarily mean that everyone will agree on the outcome of every decision that has been made. However, the ideal is that citizens will be satisfied that they have been given the opportunity to be heard and that, even though they do not agree with the final decision that has been made, they have been treated fairly and have been given a fair chance to make their opinions heard, and that these opinions were considered before the final decision was made. As Benhabib (2002:115) writes, "[S]ocieties in which multicultural dialogue take place in the public sphere will articulate a civic point of view and a civic perspective of enlarged mentality".

The ideal is therefore that in any democratic society, citizens will listen to the points of view of others, and even be willing to change their own points of view, based on what has been said by others. Through this process of deliberation, based on respect for one another's opinions and willingness to change one's opinion, all citizens would ideally become willing to comply with decisions made, as those decisions would not merely be based on the opinion of the masses, but could be regarded as reflecting a "civic point of view".

3.2.2 Democratic citizenship for a cosmopolitan world

We no longer live in a world where our political, social and economic frames of reference are limited to the borders of the country we live in. What happens in the rest of the world has an influence on our society ─ whether it is an economic crisis, the outbreak of a deadly virus, or an act of terrorism in another country, it has an influence on us. It is my contention that a university should prepare its students for this interconnected world, and the only viable

solution seems to be to educate students as democratic citizens with a "cosmopolitan perspective". Ulrich Beck, in his book *Cosmopolitan Vision,* describes this "cosmopolitan perspective" and explains that it will enable us to "grasp the social and political realities [of a world where] national borders and differences are dissolving and must be renegotiated" (Beck, 2006:2).

Because of globalisation, a new public sphere is brought into existence where people across the globe necessarily have to communicate with each other in order to work together in, among other things, preventing and managing global crises. Benhabib (2007:30) writes: "The current state of global interdependence requires new modalities of cooperation and regulation. Arms control, ecology, combating disease and epidemics and fighting the spread of poverty must be global joint ventures which will require the work of all people of good will and good faith in all nations of the world." Benhabib describes this public sphere as a global civil society that not only comprises of multinational companies and global organisations, but also of individuals who recognise the need to hold multinational corporations accountable for their impact on economies and the environment, as well as the need to hold political leaders accountable for their actions and how they impact on other people.

One of the consequences of globalisation is the fluidity of borders and the erosion of national boundaries. According to Banks (2008), worldwide migration has increased and globalisation is influencing every aspect of community. All these changes are transforming citizenship, and as Benhabib, Waldron, Honig, Kymlicka and Post (2006:45) explain in *Another Cosmopolitanism*, "the constitutive dimensions of citizenship, namely collective identity, the privileges of political membership and the entitlements of social rights and benefits are being unbundled". We need to rethink the status of citizenship and what allows us entitlement to be regarded as a citizen. What about a person who settles in a country to work there for the long-term: they do not have the right to vote, but they are also directly influenced by decisions made. They also need to be kept safe and to have access to medical care. How do we take their needs into consideration when they cannot be given the opportunity to participate at a political level? This is, however, not the only issue that needs to be addressed. We can no longer turn a blind eye to the suffering of people in countries where governments are oppressing their citizens, where people live in fear of genocide, and we can no longer ignore injustices and the effects of industries on the environment. In this globalised world, we are

informed; we know what is going on, and we need to take a stand as citizens of this world to protect those who cannot speak for themselves. There is a need for an additional collective identity, where we need to regard ourselves not only as citizens of a country, with a responsibility to respect and treat our fellow-citizens as equals, but also as citizens in a world where human rights need to be respected.

In the first part of this chapter I described the importance of deliberation and "interactive universalism" in a multicultural, democratic society. The same sort of conversation needs to take place, not only among people who are from different cultures and happen to live in the same country, but also among citizens from different countries. Benhabib (2002:36) emphasises this need: "If in effect the contemporary global situation is creating real confrontations between cultures, languages, and nations, and if the unintended results of such real confrontations is to impinge upon the lives of others, then we have a pragmatic imperative to understand each other and to enter into a cross cultural dialogue." Benhabib et al. (2006:60) argue that the "rights, and other principles of the liberal democratic state, need to be periodically challenged and rearticulated in the public sphere in order to retain and enrich their original meaning". If new groups lay claim to the right to be called a citizen in order to accommodate the changes brought on by, among other things, globalisation, we need to reassess what is required to be regarded as a citizen of a country. Deliberation and interactive universalism is not only a necessity for a multicultural democracy, but also for a globalised cosmopolitan world, where there is an even bigger need to bridge cultural divides between people who are different from each other. This cosmopolitan citizenship does not, however, mean that we have to disregard our national perspective. In fact, according to Osler and Starkey (2005:21), we need a national perspective as this national perspective recognises universal values as the standard for all contexts, whether it be national, regional or global, and these universal values enable human beings to recognise the commonalities that unite humanity, instead of the differences that divide us.

3.3 Educating democratic citizens

In the first part of this chapter I have shown the importance of educating students to be democratic citizens, not only for a multicultural nation-state, but also for a cosmopolitan world. But how do we make the connection between educating democratic citizens for a nation-state and educating democratic citizens for a cosmopolitan world? In *The Claims of*

Culture" Benhabib (2002:183) writes that "democratic citizenship requires commitment; commitment requires accountability and a deepening of attachments". This leads one to ask if it is possible to be a loyal citizen to a nation-state, while at the same time being a citizen with a cosmopolitan outlook. In exploring this issue, I shall focus mainly on Amy Gutmann's *Democratic Education* (1987), in which she addresses burning questions regarding education for democratic citizenship.

3.3.1 The importance of education for democracy

In order for a democracy to 'work', a democratic nation-state's citizens have to be educated as to how a democracy works, as it is the participation of citizens in decision-making processes that make or break a democracy. If citizens do not know what is expected of them in the democratic process, how will they be able to participate? It is Gutmann's (1987:xiii) contention that one of the primary aims of mandatory schooling is the cultivation of the skills necessary for citizens to participate in a deliberative democracy. According to Audigier (2000:17), these skills, or core competences, associated with democratic citizenship are those competences that contribute to the "construction of a free and autonomous person, aware of his rights and duties in a society where the power to establish the law, i.e. the rules of community life which define the framework in which the freedom of each is exercised, and where the appointment and control of the people who exercise this power are under the supervision of all the citizens". Students must be taught how to communicate their points of view to those who differ from them, they have to acknowledge that all citizens are essentially equal despite their differences, and within this acknowledgement learn to be open to others' points of view, and only after all arguments have been made, make a final decision as to what their standpoint on a certain issue is.

3.3.2 The role of the university in democratic education

Gutmann (1987:173) argues that, while there is no substitute for character training, which students are expected to have learned either at home or during their years of compulsory schooling, "learning how to think carefully and critically about political problems, to articulate one's views and defend them before people with whom one disagrees is a form of moral education to which young adults are more receptive and for which universities are well-suited". She takes this argument one step further stating that it is the university's

responsibility to prepare students to have a sense of responsibility not only as future professionals, but also as citizens who will play an important role in society, as political leaders, business leaders, educators, etc. (1987:183). However, Gutmann asserts that democratic education should not be limited to a single society. Students have to learn to understand that the same mutual respect and understanding that is required of them as citizens in a democratic, multicultural nation-state, is required of them as citizens in an interconnected world, where one society's actions may affect many others.

3.3.3 Patriotism or cosmopolitanism?

Does educating students as democratic citizens for a cosmopolitan world mean that they have to be either patriotic or cosmopolitan? Gutmann argues that those philosophers who do advocate cosmopolitanism over patriotism are referring to a kind of egalitarian cosmopolitanism where someone advocates for the equal treatment of all human beings, regardless of their race, culture, language or nationality. However, it is this respect for all human beings that is cultivated through a democratic education, where students learn the principle of reciprocity where they can acknowledge that the same rights and privileges they lay claim to must be awarded to those who are different from them. Gutmann (1987:311-312) concludes that democratic education is compatible with this egalitarian cosmopolitanism as "democratic education, by virtue of its moral commitment to the equal dignity and civic equality of all individuals, therefore, is conducive to cultivating egalitarian cosmopolitans as its primary aim".

Getting back to the argument advanced by Benhabib that democratic citizenship requires a sense of belonging, I want to contend that it is only through belonging to a democratic nation-state where citizens experience equal treatment and fair decision-making processes that they can acknowledge that this same fair and equal treatment must be extended to human beings across the world, whether they be temporary workers in a specific country, refugees, or strangers in another part of the world.

3.4 Cultivating humanity – learning to understand and accept others as being different but equal

Thus far in this chapter, I have argued that citizens in a multicultural democratic nation-state have to be able to respect the opinion of other citizens who are different from themselves, whether it is a difference in culture, race, language, religion or any other aspect of life. They should not only respect one another's opinion, but they should also be able to regard one another as equals. In a democratic nation-state, citizens also need to learn to listen to other people's points of view, and critically examine all facts before they make a final decision when they vote. I have also shown how the same principles of mutual respect, or reciprocity as Gutmann (1987) refers to it, can be extended beyond a nation-state's borders where a cosmopolitan point of view is important in an interconnected world. As Gutmann wrote, the same principles applied in a deliberative democracy can be applied to an egalitarian cosmopolitan view. I have also referred to Gutmann's argument that citizens need to be educated for democratic deliberation and participation, and while this education is important at the compulsory educational level, it can also be extended to universities, as these institutions are responsible for training the future leaders and decision-makers of the world.

The question that I propose to address in the final section of this chapter is what students need to learn in order to be citizens who can actively participate in a deliberative democracy, and have an egalitarian cosmopolitan point of view regarding all human beings across the globe. In exploring this issue, I shall focus on the work of Martha Nussbaum and her ideas of educating students to be not only democratic citizens in a multicultural nation-state, but also world citizens with a cosmopolitan point of view.

3.4.1 The capacities students need to be democratic citizens in a cosmopolitan world

Nussbaum (1997:9-11) contends that three capacities are needed to "cultivate humanity" for today's world. In other words, universities need to teach students three capabilities in order to enable them to be democratic citizens in this cosmopolitan world of the 21st century. These capacities are the capacity for critical self-examination; an ability to see oneself not only as a citizen of a nation-state, but as a part of humanity, bound to other human beings; and a narrative imagination.

3.4.1.1 The examined life

In explaining the first capacity, Nussbaum refers to the Socratic notion of the examined life, where students need to be able to examine themselves, their cultures and beliefs in a critical manner. By doing so, students will learn, among other things, more about themselves and their beliefs; they will also be able to explain themselves and their points of view when they are in a deliberative discussion with people who are different from them. As Nussbaum writes, "The failure to think critically, produces a democracy in which people talk at one another, but never have a genuine dialogue" (1997:19).

It is imperative that students learn to reason logically with each other about their beliefs and values. However, they should not only reason with each other for the sake of reasoning and defending their own beliefs; they should be able to accept that, from time to time, they may have to change their own points of view in order to accommodate other people's standpoints, which may for a specific situation make more sense than their own. We cannot assume that what we have been taught in our own homes and schools is necessarily right, as Nussbaum (1997:62) explains: "As education progresses, a more sophisticated grasp of human variety can show students that what is theirs is not simply better because it is familiar."

3.4.1.2 Being not only a citizen as part of a nation-state, but a human being as part of humanity

It is often difficult to view ourselves as being equal to someone else who lives in another part of the world, living a life completely different from our own; however, this is one of the capacities that Nussbaum claims is necessary for students to be democratic citizens in a cosmopolitan world. We need to recognise the worth of all human beings; we need to be as indignant at injustices done to someone on the other side of the world as we would have been if we ourselves were suffering the injustice. We need to understand that human beings have common needs and aims, even when they are realised differently under different circumstances (Nussbaum, 1997:10).

Being able to see oneself as a citizen of the world and part of the whole of humanity is closely linked to the first capability discussed above, as one is required, as a citizen of the world, to allow for the same deliberation as that which is required within a democratic nation-

state, and in that deliberation to be able to critically evaluate our own points of view in the light of the discussion regarding different points of view among world citizens. However, this does not mean that one is required to discard one's own beliefs and unconditionally accept those of others. As members of the human race we have a responsibility to speak out against injustice and unfairness, but we first need to respect and understand the actions of others before we criticise them. Nussbaum (1997:63) explains that "[t]he task of world-citizenship requires the would-be world citizen to become a sensitive and empathic interpreter. Education at all ages should cultivate the capacity for such interpreting."

3.4.1.3 The narrative imagination

The last capability required of students is a narrative imagination. In order to be able to respect another's point of view, one must be able to understand where that person comes from, what his/her story is. Students need to be taught how to place themselves in someone else's shoes, to have empathy with that person, and imagine that their suffering could be their own. Nussbaum (1997:11) explains that the narrative imagination is necessary because "the first step of understanding the world from the point of view of the other is essential to any responsible act of judgment, since we do not know what we are judging until we see the meaning of an action as the person intends it".

While Nussbaum refers to three capabilities required of students to become democratic citizens in a cosmopolitan world, it is clear how these three capabilities are interrelated. Students need to be able to examine their own lives in a critical manner in order to enable them to be open to deliberative discussion. They need to see themselves not only as citizens of a nation-state, but as part of humanity, equal to other human beings. This they can only do if they are able to examine their lives critically and allow for the fact that other human beings are entitled to the same rights that they enjoy. In the final instance, in order to be capable of acting against the injustices of this world students need not only to see themselves as part of humanity, equal to other human beings, but they also need to be able to imagine the suffering of other human beings as if it were their own suffering.

3.5 Educating democratic citizens – Expectations for a university education in the 21st century

In this chapter I have shown how democratic citizenship education is necessary to prepare students not only as active citizens in a deliberative democracy, but as world citizens, with a cosmopolitan outlook and a sense of responsibility for the fate of all humankind. I have referred to Amy Gutmann's (1987) statement that an important task of the university is to educate students to be critical thinkers capable of deliberating and having meaningful conversations on political and societal issues with people who are different from them. Martha Nussbaum (1997:294) writes that the task of universities is to prepare students for a specialised career and to be active citizens ─ not only in a democratic society, but also in a cosmopolitan world. She warns that "it would be catastrophic to become a nation of technically competent people who have lost the ability to think critically, to examine themselves and to respect the humanity and diversity of others" (Nussbaum, 1997:300). In Chapter 2 I argued that the university is a public sphere with a responsibility to educate its students to become democratic citizens in a cosmopolitan world. But what can universities do to ensure this education?

3.5.1 Educating students as democratic cosmopolitan citizens

Heath (2000:43-44) describes citizenship education as "a practice which encourages students to reflect upon who they are and their roles in society". The university is in a position to influence young people in such a way that they can become active, responsible democratic citizens in a global society. In most universities, students come from different backgrounds, cultures and regions; in other words, the student population at universities is truly multicultural, and therefore it creates the ideal public space for students to learn about diversity and accept people who are different from them as equals.

Giroux and Searls-Giroux (2004) contend that citizens are not born, they are made, and that it is the responsibility of universities to ensure that students are critically educated and well informed. Students need to realise that they have a role to play in society, and that they can influence what happens in the world, but they have to learn how to take responsibility to initiate changes in society that will continuously pursue the goals of democracy, freedom, equality and human rights.

Martha Nussbaum has written extensively on what she regards as an education for citizenship in a globalised world. Among the important aspects of such a university that Nussbaum advocates, are a multicultural education, the use of literature to gain an understanding about people who are different from us; and the instruction of philosophy.

3.5.1.1 A multicultural education

The cultivation of mutual respect, critical self-evaluation and an openness to another's point of view must, according to Nussbaum (1997:66), take place in university classrooms, where students should be encouraged to show each other mutual respect, as well as in the prescribed reading material students are expected to study. She goes on to explain that a multicultural education is essential to helping students gain an awareness of and an understanding for people who are different from themselves. She advocates the merits of a multicultural course where students can get the opportunity to debate burning issues such as "the validity of language of rights and appropriate ways in which to respond to the just claims of the oppressed" (Nussbaum, 1997:77).

3.5.1.2 Literature as a means of gaining understanding

The importance of literature in developing the third capability listed earlier in this chapter, namely the narrative imagination, is also emphasised by Nussbaum (1997). She holds that it is through literature that people's circumstances are illuminated in such a way that students can, to a certain extent, identify with the characters in a book, and thereby become aware of the plight of others. This in turn can bring about empathy and compassion for those who live in dire circumstances. Through literature and stories about other people and the unfamiliar, students can be taught to imagine the circumstances of the strange and unfamiliar and thus learn to "have sympathy for distant lives" (Nussbaum, 2002:300).

3.5.1.3 Instruction of philosophy

According to Nussbaum (2002:294), the instruction of students in philosophy is a very important aspect of higher education, as it is through philosophy that students can learn to "have sufficient respect for their own reasoning and really care about the substance of ideas

and the structure of arguments". Creating opportunities for students to discuss ideas and contentious issues will help them master the techniques of critical reasoning and deliberation.

Rapoport (2009:92) describes the university's task as a moral, political and ideological preparation for students to become citizens of a future world, where this future world is not only a "world of common markets of goods, capital or labor, but also a world of common values, tolerance, a world of multiple identities and loyalties, and a world of shared responsibilities". This is what is expected from the university in the 21st century: to prepare students to become better citizens who, in return, will create a better world.

CHAPTER 4
SOUTH AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES IN THE 21ST CENTURY

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I focused on universities and their responsibility to contribute to democratic citizenship education in the 21st century. In this chapter I shall focus on universities in the South African context, with specific reference to the promulgation of educational policies to guide democratic citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world.

South Africa is still a relatively young democracy, since the first democratic elections only took place in 1994. Prior to 1994, the country went burdened under the apartheid government where gross racial discrimination was prevalent. This political system inevitably had an influence on universities, as pointed out by Bunting (2006:52): "Under apartheid, higher education in South Africa was skewed in ways designed to entrench the power and privilege of the ruling white minority." It is therefore important to look at the higher education landscape that was inherited from the apartheid government and at what has been done to address the inequities of the past, while also gearing universities to be relevant for the future. In this chapter I shall give a brief overview of the history of South African higher education and the current policy documents and legislation governing this sector since 1994, with a specific focus on references to the preparation of democratic citizens in these documents.

4.2 South African higher education in the apartheid era

South Africa had its first democratic elections in 1994 only. Up until then the country had been governed by a government that believed in racial segregation, and this segregation impacted on all aspects of society and institutions, including higher education institutions.

The higher education system that was inherited from the apartheid government was a result of the 1984 Constitution, which made specific distinctions regarding the educational affairs of different race groups in the country. As a result, higher education institutions were designated for the exclusive use of one of the four race groups, and the government in power during that time implemented legislation that prevented institutions designated for the use of one race group from admitting students from another race group (Bunting, 2006).

According to Fataar (2001:11), the key legislation that shaped apartheid education were the Bantu Education Act of 1953, the University Extension Act of 1959, the Coloured Persons Education Act of 1963, the Indian Education Act of 1965 and the National Education Policy Act of 1967. It was the University Extension Act of 1959 that provided for separate university education for different race and ethnic groups, with the stated purpose of the Act being to "provide for the establishment, maintenance, management and control of university colleges for non-white persons; for the admission of students to and their instruction at university colleges; for the limitation of the admission of non-white students to certain university institutions; and for other incidental matters" (Union of South Africa, 1959). Kissack and Enslin (2003:37-38) explain how the National Party, which came into power in 1948, wanted to preserve the identity and culture of the Afrikaner people, not only by separating educational institutions according to race, but also by providing for separate higher education institutions for English- and Afrikaans-speaking whites.

The legal and policy framework for higher education put in place by the apartheid government was meant to create a separate but equal system that catered for the educational needs of all race groups in parallel. The effect of this legal and policy framework, however, was a highly fragmented and uncoordinated higher education system, which was marked by inequalities among different race groups (Bunting, 2006).

It is in the context of this fragmented institutional landscape that the democratic government, under the leadership of the ANC, since 1994 has sought to establish a legal and policy framework for higher education that would address the inequities of the past and tackle local and global challenges through responsiveness and efficiency.

4.3 Transforming higher education in South Africa

In 1994, the newly elected democratic government was faced with the challenges of a changing world and with trends such as globalisation and the rise of the knowledge economy that impacted directly on higher education. It also had to address the legacy of apartheid, which had left the higher education system divided and wrought with inequality. Badat (2004:4) explains that the new, democratically elected South African government was faced with a triple challenge regarding the transformation of higher education: not only to be globally competitive, but to ensure at the same time that at a national level "growth and

equity must be pursued simultaneously, [and that] this must also be advanced within a democratic framework and the consolidation of a fledgling democracy".

I shall now proceed to discuss the process the democratic government has followed since 1994 in terms of establishing structures, formulating policies and legislation in order to address these issues, with a focus on the policies, legislation and other documents or initiatives that specifically refer to democratic citizenship education. The transformation process can be categorised in two phases: the first phase (from 1994 to 1999) focused on policy formulation and establishing the legislative framework, while the second phase (post-1999 to date) can be regarded as the period of implementation (Cloete, 2006).

4.3.1 The National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE)

The first order of business in the pursuit of the transformation of South African Higher Education was the establishment of the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) by presidential proclamation in 1995, with the task to "investigate all aspects of Higher Education and make policy recommendations" (Badat, 2004:10). In 1996, the NCHE submitted their report, "An overview of a new policy framework for Higher Education transformation". In this report, the NCHE acknowledged the role higher education can play in the "political, economic and cultural reconstruction and development of South Africa" (NCHE, 1996:1.1). However, the NCHE acknowledged the need for transformation and submitted the report as the basis for the transformation. The report (NCHE, 1996) was based on "three pillars of transformation", namely:

- **Increased participation:** The premise of this pillar was that the massification of higher education in South Africa would address the need for equity, redress and development (CHE, 2004b).
- **Greater responsiveness:** The NCHE envisaged that the transformed higher education would lead to a higher education system that would be more open to contribute and respond to societal needs by engaging with the problems and challenges of society, while at the same time establishing governance structures that would encourage stakeholder participation.

- **Increased cooperation and partnerships:** The NCHE argued that higher education institutions should not be insulated from the multiple stakeholders that hold an interest in higher education, but that the system should be managed on the principle of cooperative governance (NCHE, 1996).

The NCHE identified as one of the deficiencies of the current HE system at that stage, the fact that ethnic, racial and gender divisions of the broader South African society was replicated in higher education institutions (HEIs), and as a result the system failed to produce graduate students who had a sense of the values of democratic citizenship. In the light of this deficiency and taking into account the new global realities with which South African higher education institutions were faced, the NCHE identified as one of the challenges for a transformed higher education system the responsibility to "support a democratic ethos and a culture of human rights by educational programmes conducive to a critically constructive civil society, cultural tolerance, and a common commitment to a humane, non-racist and non-sexist social order" (NCHE, 1996:1.3.1).

4.3.2 The Education White Paper 3 (White Paper)

After the NCHE report was submitted, a further widely consultative process took place before this report could be translated into policy. In July1997, after broad consensus was reached, the Education White Paper 3: A Programme for the Transformation of Higher Education (White Paper) was published. The White Paper outlined a comprehensive set of initiatives to establish the transformation of higher education into a single, coordinated national system with new planning, governing and funding arrangements (Department of Education, 1997:1.2).

The White Paper also acknowledged as one of the purposes of higher education the need to "contribute to the socialisation of enlightened, responsible and constructively critical citizens. Higher education encourages the development of a reflective capacity and a willingness to review and renew prevailing ideas, policies and practices based on a commitment to the common good" (Department of Education, 1997:1.3). The White Paper described the challenges that had to be addressed by the transformation of the higher education system as both the national needs, inequities and economic development which had to be addressed, as well as the need for responsiveness to global developments such as globalisation and the

advancements in information and communications technologies. This meant that HEIs had to ensure that graduates were equipped with the necessary knowledge and skills that were on a par with global standards to contribute to the national economy, but they also had to be "socially responsible and conscious of their role in contributing to the national development effort and social transformation" (Department of Education, 1997:1.12).

The White Paper based the requirements for the transformation of the higher education system on the same three pillars that were identified by the NCHE (as listed above). The cultivation of a democratic culture, which would translate into the broader South African society, formed an integral part of the transformation of the higher education system envisaged by the White Paper. One of the specific vision points reads as follows (Department of Education, 1997:1.14):

> The Ministry's vision is of a transformed, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist system of higher education that will: … support a democratic ethos and a culture of human rights by educational programmes and practices conducive to critical discourse and creative thinking, cultural tolerance, and a common commitment to a humane, non-racist and non-sexist social order.

The principles on which the transformation of the higher education system were to be based were identified in the White Paper, where it was emphasised that these principles emanated from the spirit of an "open and democratic society based on human dignity, equality and freedom" (Department of Education, 1997:1.17).

The White Paper also identified the goals for this transformation, both at a national and institutional level, with specific goals referring to the education of democratic citizens who recognise their responsibility to contribute towards a democratic society. At a national level, a higher education system was envisaged which would equip students with skills such as critical thinking, the ability to deal with change and diversity and the ability to tolerate different views and ideas, and by engaging them in community service projects during their educative years (Department of Education, 1997:1.27 (8) & (9)). At institutional level, the goals for institutions were, among other things:

- to establish an academic climate that encouraged free and open debate;

- to contribute to their communities by making available the HEI's knowledge and expertise in order to address societal problems; and
- to create an environment that encouraged tolerance and respect (Department of Education, 1997:1.28 (4), (5) & (6)).

In its description of the institutional landscape, the White Paper indicated that the Minister was agreeable to the notion of involving students in community service projects in order to make them aware of societal needs and to cultivate in them a responsibility to contribute to addressing those needs (Department of Education, 1997:2.36).

The White Paper also addressed the issue of quality assurance in higher education and the need to establish a committee which would coordinate the quality assurance function in higher education. This committee would be the Higher Education Quality Committee (HEQC), which is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

4.3.3 The Higher Education Act of 1997 (HE Act)

Following the White Paper of 1997, was the Higher Education Act of 1997 (HE Act), which gave legal form to the principles and goals as envisaged in the policy documents. The Act focused on, among other things, the establishment of governing structures within the higher education system, the establishment of public and private HEIs, and the funding of higher education.

While it does not mention the issue of democratic citizenship education in any of the Articles, the preamble to the Act emphasises the vision to establish a higher education system that would "promote the values which underlie an open and democratic society based on human dignity, equality and freedom; and respect and encourage democracy, academic freedom, freedom of speech and expression, creativity, scholarship and research" (Republic of South Africa, 1997).

4.3.4 The National Plan for Higher Education (National Plan)

In terms of the HE Act, the Council of Higher Education (CHE) was established as a juristic person, with one of its main purposes being to advise the Minister on any aspect of higher education as requested by the Minister, with some of the important issues on which the CHE had to give advice to the Minister being the structure, planning and governance of HEIs, as well as the allocation of state funding to these institutions (Republic of South Africa, 1997). One of the first issues on which the Minister sought advice from the CHE in 1999 was the optimal size and shape of higher education in South Africa. The National Plan was, in part, drafted as a response to the CHE's size and shape report (CHE, 2004b). The National Plan provided the framework and mechanisms for the restructuring of the higher education system to achieve the vision and goals for the transformation of the higher education system outlined in the White Paper. The National Plan suggested that many changes be made to the structure of higher education in South Africa in order to address issues such as producing the graduates needed to address the need for social and economic development in South Africa, achieving equity and diversity in the SA higher education system, sustaining and promoting research, and restructuring the institutional landscape of the SA higher education system.

The National Plan acknowledged the goals, values and principles identified in the White Paper, including the goal to "support a democratic ethos and a culture of human rights through educational programmes and practices conducive to critical discourse and creative thinking, cultural tolerance, and a common commitment to a humane, non-racist and non-sexist social order" (Ministry of Education, 2001:1.2).

The National Plan (2001) addressed the strategic objective to "produce the graduates needed for social and economic development in South Africa" by identifying specific outcomes that had to be achieved within the higher education system and at institutional level. Outcome 6 was identified as "enhanced cognitive skills of graduates", and it is in the description of this outcome that the issue of democratic citizenship education is addressed, where the National Plan states that "it is crucial to equip all graduates with the skills and qualities required for participation as citizens in a democratic society and as workers and professionals in the economy" (Ministry of Education, 2001:2.7). The National Plan envisages that this objective be met through the continuous evaluation of programmes and programme content and the way in which it could contribute to the preparation of students to be not only technically

prepared for the world of work, but also to be prepared to participate as active citizens in a democratic society.

4.3.5 Other policy developments and initiatives

4.3.5.1 Quality assurance in higher education

The NCHE recommended that quality assurance should be an external responsibility which is coordinated nationally and that quality assurance for HEIs should operate within the framework of the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) Act of 1995, where this Act provided for the development of a National Qualifications Framework (NQF) (Republic of South Africa, 1995).

In 2000, the South African Qualifications Authority published a policy document for curriculum development within the NQF, and in this policy document a set of critical outcomes are identified, where the document stipulates that those who set the standards for curriculum development (the HEQC, in the case of higher education) should ensure that all critical outcomes have been addressed in the development and assessment of qualifications. The SAQA acknowledges that some of the outcomes identified are related to a specific qualification, but that there are other outcomes which are linked to the development of the student as a person to "make a meaningful contribution as a citizen in social institutions, by displaying tolerance and ensuring the social and economic success of our country" (South African Qualifications Authority, 2000:18).

The White Paper adopted quality as principle, and placed the primary responsibility for quality assurance with each institution, while also recommending that a permanent committee would be established within the CHE. The Higher Education Act made provision for the Higher Education Quality Committee (HEQC) to be established within the CHE, where this committee would have the executive responsibility for quality promotion and quality assurance in higher education (CHE, 2004a). According to the Higher Education Act, the functions of the HEQC would be to "promote quality assurance in higher education; audit the quality assurance mechanisms of higher education institutions; and accredit programmes of higher education" (Republic of South Africa, 1997,5(1)(c)(i-iii)). The Higher Education Act was amended in 2008 to make it consistent with the NQF and to provide for a quality

assurance framework within higher education institutions, which is referred to as the Higher Education Qualifications Framework (HEQF). The implementation date for the HEQF was 1 January 2009, and according to the CHE, the "HEQF is an integral part of the NQF, and defines how higher education qualifications fit within the NQF and also allocates the responsibility for standards generation and setting for higher education qualifications to the Council on Higher Education" (CHE, 2008). While the HEQF makes no specific reference to the preparation of students to become responsible citizens, it is specifically stipulated that "the policy also provides the basis for integrating all higher education qualifications into the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) and its structures for standards generation and quality assurance" (Department of Education, 2007:5). The National Qualifications Framework Act of 2008 specifies that "the objectives of the NQF are designed to contribute to the full personal development of each learner and the social and economic development of the nation at large" (Republic of South Africa, 2009:5(2)). It is therefore clear that while it is not specifically stated in the HEQF, by aligning the HEQF with the NQF and its outcomes it is implied that the education of students to become responsible citizens who can participate in a democratic society.

4.4 Beyond policy and legislation – current realities in South African higher education

In the first part of this chapter I have shown how the South African higher education policy framework and legislation envisages the education of students to become responsible democratic citizens in a globalised world as part of the higher education that students are to receive at South African universities.

However, policy is sometimes far removed from practice, and it seems that this may be the case when it comes to preparing South African university students to be democratic citizens for a cosmopolitan world, especially when one looks at the racial tension that is still rife within higher education institutions.

In 2008, institutions were asked to report to the then Minister of Education, by way of a task team she appointed, on the progress that had been made regarding transformation, social cohesion and the elimination of discrimination in public higher education institutions. This report was the result of an incident at the University of the Free State (UFS) where racial discrimination and a blatant disregard for human rights was filmed, and which entered the

public domain on 26 February 2008 through distribution on the Internet. This incident shocked the world, and political parties and other organisations called upon educational leaders to take action against racism at universities. In a press release a day after the video was made public, the ANC Youth League called upon the university management to "act now and demonstrate its unwavering commitment in building a non-racial society" (ANCYL, 2008).

The Minister of Education responded to this incident by establishing a committee on progress towards transformation and social cohesion and the elimination of discrimination in public higher education institutions, with the committee's primary purpose being to investigate the extent of discrimination in public higher education institutions, with a particular focus on racism, and to make appropriate recommendations on how to combat discrimination and promote social cohesion (Government Gazette, 2008). The committee went through a thorough process, where they received, among other things, written reports from all public higher education institutions on the transformation progress in each institution, visited all the institutions and interviewed students, staff members and other stakeholders. The committee reported that they had found that discrimination, especially with regard to race and gender, was still rife at these institutions and they concluded that there is an apparent "disjunction between institutional policies and the real-life experiences of staff and students" (Department of Education, 2008:13-14). One of the recommendations of the committee was that the curriculum content should be reassessed in order to determine whether the current curricula "prepare young people for their role in South Africa and the world in the context of the challenges peculiar to the 21st century" (Department of Education, 2008:21).

In response to this Report, Higher Education South Africa (HESA) published the "Preliminary Sector Position Paper" in March 2010, on behalf of HEIs. In this document, universities acknowledge the challenge transformation poses to universities, and express the need for an ongoing debate and discussion among universities and other role players in South African higher education in order to come to an agreement as to how universities should go about realising the goals of transformation, promoting a culture of human rights and advancing socio-economic rights, which all contribute to building and sustaining a democracy (HESA, 2010:3). Through this collective response, universities also acknowledge the need to move beyond policy formulation to achieving practical results. However, they also emphasise the fact that the actions that would help them achieve practical results have

resource implications, and that there is a need for universities to interact with the Ministry of Higher Education and Training in order to discuss ways in which their "transformation efforts can be supported and resourced as well as monitored and evaluated" (HESA, 2010:4, 7).

The first step toward the discussion and debate requested by HEIs was taken in 2010 when the Minister of Higher Education and Training, convened a Higher Education Summit on 22-23 April 2010 with the purpose of providing "a national platform for those engaged in higher education (i.e. universities) in order to discuss issues that continue to pose significant challenges to the attainment of the transformational vision of Education White Paper 3: A Programme for the Transformation of Higher Education (1997)" (CEPD, 2010b). In his keynote address at the Summit, the Minister of Higher Education and Training emphasised the fact that transformation is about "radically changing our society ... to ensure that they can serve the interests of all South Africans in a democratic, equitable and prosperous society" (Nzimande, 2010). During the course of the two-day Summit, stakeholders in higher education engaged in discussions on the issues that pose challenges to HEIs, and this culminated in a Summit Declaration where the fundamental principles of the White Paper were affirmed, challenges were identified and recommendations were made as to the way forward. One of the challenges that were recognised was the challenge of "producing socially responsible graduates conscious of their role in contributing to the national development effort and social transformation", while some of the key recommendations were to "establish a permanent Stakeholder Forum; convene an annual summit to review sectoral progress; develop mechanisms to promote student-centredness and caring universities; establish a working group who can take the framework for differentiation forward and develop recommendations in consultation with the sector; and the need to develop a curriculum oriented towards social relevance and which supports students to become socially engaged citizens and leaders" (CEPD, 2010a).

4.5 Support for the education of students as democratic citizens for a cosmopolitan world within the South African higher education context

In Chapter 3, I outlined a theoretical framework for democratic citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world, where some of the most important aspects of such an education would require higher education institutions:

- to create spaces for "interactive universalism" (Benhabib, 2002:14), where people who are different from each other get the opportunity to deliberate and listen to and learn from each other;
- to teach students to look beyond their national borders in order to gain a cosmopolitan outlook;
- to teach students the meaning of democratic citizenship's "principle of reciprocity" (Gutmann, 1987:309), where they are aware of their rights, but also of their responsibilities towards society;
- to teach students how to respect those who are different from them and to realise that all citizens (whether in the national or global context) are equal, despite differences; and
- to teach students how to critically examine themselves and their own world views in order to have meaningful conversations and take part in effective democratic deliberations.

While it is clear that the legislative and policy framework for South African higher education, as discussed in this chapter, supports the idea that students need to be prepared not only to be professionals in a competitive, globalised world, but also to be critical, democratic citizens who will make a positive contribution to society, what seems to be lacking is how the practical implementation of this goal is envisaged. In studying the documents related to South African higher education legislation and policies, I have found that most of these documents emphasise the goal of creating democratic citizens who contribute to societal needs, who respect human rights, and who have the ability to think critically, but what I have not read in these documents is how HEIs are to ensure that students receive an education that would provide them with these competencies.

In 2004 Jansen wrote the following: "The suite of education policies since 1994 are impressive. Each policy, grounded in a progressive Constitution, makes commitments that signal profoundly democratic principles and practices for education. But policy is not practice, and while an impressive architecture exists for democratic education, South Africa has a very long way to travel to make ideals concrete and achievable within educational institutions" (Jansen, 2004:13). The first time HEIs were required to report on some of these aspects was as an ad hoc request to submit a report to the Committee on progress towards

transformation and social cohesion and the elimination of discrimination in public higher education institutions. The HEIs were requested to indicate what was being done in their institutions to promote transformation, social cohesion and the elimination of discrimination.

Fifteen years after our first democratic elections there is still great concern regarding the graduates universities are delivering, not necessarily pertaining to their technical skills, but regarding their social, ethical and political skills and their ability to function as democratic citizens in the 21st century. A Wits University Vice-Chancellor articulated this concern during the university management's meeting with the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion, when he commented on the Reitz incident. He was quoted in the Committee's report as saying that "what is offensive about Reitz, is not the blatant racism, but the fact that the students could graduate with their views unchallenged. The role of institutions … is to challenge the prejudices of students and to understand and explore these as a basis for overcoming them. The fact that this did not happen is a sign that the institution has failed the students" (Department of Education, 2008:86). While I am of the opinion that "blatant racism" cannot be ignored and should be regarded by all democratic citizens as offensive, I do agree with the fact that institutions need to teach students to "understand and explore their views", which in essence refers to the concept of the examined life, which Nussbaum (1997) listed as one of the three capacities students need to have in order to be democratic citizens, as discussed in Chapter 3.

In the next chapter, I shall look at Stellenbosch University and what has been done at an institutional level to encourage and support the education of their students in becoming democratic citizens for a cosmopolitan world, with reference to the goals envisaged by the South African higher education legislative and policy framework as discussed in this chapter, as well as the theoretical framework from Chapter 3, which I have summarised in the latter part of this chapter (Chapter 4).

CHAPTER 5
STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY – AN INSTITUTIONAL OVERVIEW WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO ITS COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

5.1 Background

Stellenbosch University (SU) was established in 1918 with a student number of about 500. Today, the University has 10 faculties and more than 26 000 students. The mission of the University is described as being "to create and sustain, in commitment to the universitarian ideal of excellent scholarly and scientific practice, an environment in which knowledge can be discovered; can be shared; and can be applied to the benefit of the community" (Stellenbosch University, 2000:10).

In the previous political dispensation, SU was classified as a white university with a student population. Since its student population consisted of mostly white, Afrikaans-speaking students, it is regarded as a historically advantaged white university. This university was strongly associated with the apartheid government, and it is one of the South African universities where it has been clear since the first democratic elections in 1994 that much work has to be done with regard to the transformation of its demographic profile (regarding both staff and students) as well as its institutional culture, for it to be more representative of the South African population. It is also widely believed that it needs to be more open to a diversity of people and ideas.

5.2 Current realities

5.2.1 Findings of the HEQC institutional audit

In 2005, the University underwent an institutional audit, as provided for in the "Founding document of the HEQC" (CHE, 2004a), which stipulates that an institutional review comprises "the review of effectiveness of quality assurance policies and systems of all public and private providers of higher education, with particular emphasis on teaching and learning, research and knowledge-based community service arrangements" (CHE, 2004a:13).

Based on the audit conducted during the period 10 - 14 October 2005, the Audit Panel made several recommendations for areas on which SU needed to focus on in order to enhance the quality of education provided. One of these areas was the transformation of the institution's demographic profiles for both staff and students as well as the institutional culture. From the report one could even question the possibility of a link between the institutional culture and the demographic profile of staff and students, as some of the observations recorded during the audit suggested. The following observation by the Council on Higher Education (CHE, 2007:54) illustrates this point:

> Interviews with black academics indicated the role and noticeable impact that institutional culture and the use of Afrikaans as the language of communication in all committees and governance structures have in preventing new staff from fully participating in the academic governance of the institution, ranging from departmental meetings to committees of Senate. The panel learnt from some of these interviews that some white students at Stellenbosch find it difficult to deal with both their black classmates and their black lecturers. Some of the latter expressed concern about the existence of racism among many of SU's white students.

Based on these and other observations, the HEQC recommended that SU develop a comprehensive strategy to change the university's institutional culture, and in this development to take into account the role language plays, as well as to create opportunities for conversations, debate and other activities among both staff and students that "encourage respect for diversity and human rights in the context of a democratising society" (CHE, 2007:37).

In the University's Strategic Framework for the Turn of the Century and Beyond (Stellenbosch University, 2000:16), the university recognises the need for self-renewal, and acknowledges "its contribution to injustices of the past and commits itself to appropriate redress and development initiatives". However, based on the recommendations in the above-mentioned institutional audit report, it seems that the University still had work to do in terms of self-renewal and institutional transformation. If an institution is expected to educate democratic citizens for a cosmopolitan world, one would expect that institution to reflect the principles of democracy and the diversity of a cosmopolitan world in, among other things, its

institutional culture, policies, practices, and its openness to different people, cultures, beliefs and ideas.

5.2.2 Views on Stellenbosch University's institutional culture

In an address given at a conference on changing institutional culture, Waghid (2008a) emphasised the importance of the University creating a public space where fair, free and rational conversations can take place among different groups of people, and where these groups respect one another's opinion, and even learn to respect the other for their otherness. Waghid emphasises that an institution can only build an institutional culture "when members of the university attempt to influence each others' opinions by engaging in a public dialogue in which they examine and critique, in a civil and considerate manner, each others' positions while explaining the reasons for their own views" (Waghid, 2008a).

In a presentation given at the same conference, the Director: Employment Equity and the Promotion of Diversity of Stellenbosch University explained the reasons for the slow pace of change in the diversity profile of both staff and students:

- the lack of a clear, long-term transformation plan;
- negative experiences of black and female students and staff;
- alienation of students in terms of the language of instruction; and
- alienation of black staff members in terms of language used in institutional documentation, staff meetings and committee work (Van Wyk, 2008).

Van Wyk (2008) describes how these negative experiences lead to valuable members of staff leaving the institution because they feel unwelcome and excluded. He further states that it is necessary for Stellenbosch University to develop and implement a clearly articulated transformation plan.

5.2.3 Language at Stellenbosch University

An aspect that seems to have a great impact on Stellenbosch University's institutional culture, demographic profile of staff and students, and its image to the outside world is the language

policy. The language policy determines that the default institutional language of Stellenbosch University is Afrikaans, with English being used alongside Afrikaans as a means of communication as circumstances may require. The policy further stipulates "that the particular needs of non-Afrikaans speaking staff and students are catered for with the appropriate sensitivity" (Stellenbosch University, 2002:3). According to the University's language policy, the University "makes a contribution to the development of Afrikaans as an academic language, but at the same time takes into consideration the multicultural and multilingual reality of South Africa by, alongside the particular focus on Afrikaans, also taking English and isiXhosa into account" (Stellenbosch University, 2002:1). It is further emphasised that the policy recognises and respects the core values of the South African Constitution and takes into account the values and premises set out in SU's strategic framework and its diversification goals (Stellenbosch University, 2002:2).

However, despite the University's best intentions with its language policy, it would seem that the fact that Afrikaans is the language of preference at SU plays a major role in making staff and students for whom Afrikaans is not their first, or even second language, feel unwelcome. In a 2006 survey conducted on the experiences of third-year undergraduate students, lecturers and administration staff on the implementation of the language policy, it was found that the issue of language at SU was a highly emotive issue, where race played a role in the "affective and politico-cultural issues, for example, feeling at home at the university or attitude towards the language policy per se" (Stellenbosch University, 2006:2). One of the most persistent themes that occurred in the report was the marginalisation of African students as a result of SU's language policy (Stellenbosch University, 2006:4). For instance, at the 2008 conference on changing institutional culture, a black student told how some of his fellow black students felt excluded because of Afrikaans in both lecture halls and on campus, while other students considered leaving the university because of the daily challenges they had to face in attending Afrikaans lectures and trying to understand it in order to succeed academically (Mvulane, 2008).

In 2008, a multilingual teaching model was accepted by the University Council, where the proposed model is "an attempt to: offer Afrikaans speaking students an opportunity to study in their mother tongue; expand accessibility in order to attract black students who have Afrikaans as home language, school language or subject; create accessibility for black students who did not have Afrikaans as a school subject; and to support all students to be

successful academically" (Stellenbosch University, 2010c:9). However, one of the main caveats of this model is that it is to be implemented insofar as it is academically attainable and affordable. If the University therefore cannot afford to create accessibility for those students who are not familiar with Afrikaans as a language, it would continue to exclude and marginalise these students.

In Chapter 4 I referred to the three pillars for transformation which were identified by the NCHE. One of these was increased participation, where this meant that the transformation of the South African higher education system should address the need for "equity, redress, and development" (CHE: 2004b). Before 1994, Stellenbosch University catered mainly for white, Afrikaans-speaking students. Considering its current language policy and the experiences and opinions of especially black students as mentioned earlier, one needs to ask to which extent its current language policy is perpetuating the exclusion of specific groups of students, and if the current language policy is excluding students who are different from the majority of students on campus. The next question that has to be asked is what the impact is on the institutional culture and the transformation of this culture. In Chapter 3 I quoted Benhabib (2002) who wrote how the globalised world leads to confrontations between cultures, languages and nations, and how, as a result of these tensions and confrontations, we have the "pragmatic imperative to understand each other and to enter into a cross cultural dialogue" (Benhabib, 2002:36). If Stellenbosch University wishes to prepare its students to be democratic citizens for a cosmopolitan world, it has to pursue the goal of inclusion and welcoming those who are different from the majority of its student and staff population in order to create a space within the university where students and staff can get the opportunity to enter into a cross-cultural dialogue and learn to respect the other and their otherness.

In the next part of this chapter, I shall look at Stellenbosch University's policies, strategies and other initiatives in order to determine if, and to which extent, the institution is committed to democratic citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world.

5.3 Institutional commitment to democratic citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world

5.3.1 The Strategic Framework for the Turn of the Century and Beyond and Vision 2012

In March 2000, the University Council approved the Strategic Framework for the Turn of the Century and Beyond (Stellenbosch University, 2000), a document which set out the strategic framework, mission, and values of the institution, as well as Vision 2012, which set strategic goals for the institution, leading up to the year 2012. In developing this strategy, both global and local trends and realities influencing higher education were taken into account. In the global context, globalisation and the knowledge economy had to be taken into account, together with the impact of massification of higher education which led to greater participation and the need for universities to be open to a diversity of students, being more inclusive, and moving away from the image of universities as ivory towers. With regard to the South African context, there was a need for higher education institutions to focus on social-economic responsibility and responsiveness, and to ensure that the work that is being done at HEIs is relevant to societal needs. Given the new political dispensation and the new Constitution, HEIs were also expected to foster an institutional culture of tolerance and respect for fundamental human rights (Stellenbosch University, 2000:5-7). In the light of these realities and the University's association with the apartheid government, as mentioned in the first part of this chapter, SU did not only acknowledge the need for change and self-renewal, but in the Strategic Framework committed itself to "an open, broad process of self-scrutiny and self-renewal, where this process involves, not just the making of projections, but a serious and critical reassessment of the University's institutional character" (Stellenbosch University, 2000:7).

In its vision, the University committed itself to producing graduates who are not only known for their professional excellence, but also for their well-roundedness and their creative and critical thinking abilities (Stellenbosch University, 2000:9). In terms of student development, the University, in its Strategic Framework, emphasised the need to focus on access, equity, financial support and development of student leadership (Stellenbosch University, 2000:18). It is also important to emphasise the values to which the University committed itself, with specific reference to those values that are conducive to creating an environment that supports

democratic citizenship education. Among the values to which the University committed itself, the following are of specific relevance: equity, participation, transparency, readiness to serve, tolerance and mutual respect, and responsibility (Stellenbosch University, 2000:10).

However, this Strategic framework and Vision 2012 was already part of the University's institutional framework when the institutional audit took place in 2005, and despite this, it still seemed as though the University was struggling to change its institutional culture. In Chapter 3, I highlighted some of the important aspects of an education that would encourage democratic citizenship for a cosmopolitan world, with one of these being a multicultural education. Nussbaum (1997:66) wrote that the "cultivation of mutual respect, critical self-evaluation and an openness to another's point of view must take place in university classrooms where students should be encouraged to show each other mutual respect". While the audit panel of the HEQC acknowledged in their report that "cultural attitudes are slow to change" (CHE, 2007:14), it seems that there was a need at Stellenbosch University to place a renewed emphasis on its commitment to institutional transformation in order to be more accessible and welcoming to all groups of people within the South African, and even global population, where the inclusion of these different groups of people would make a positive contribution to achieving the ideal of a multicultural education in order to prepare students to become democratic citizens in a cosmopolitan world.

5.3.2 A Pedagogy of Hope

At the end of 2006, a new rector, Professor H. Russel Botman, was appointed at Stellenbosch University. In his inaugural speech in April 2007, the rector emphasised the institution's commitment to Vision 2012, but at the same time acknowledged that it needed to be more focused. Professor Botman (2007) described the need for Stellenbosch University to establish a new pedagogical framework in order to address, among other things, the problems of inequity and institutional culture, which stemmed from before the first democratic elections in 1994, but which the University could not seem to get rid of. He named this new pedagogical framework a "Pedagogy of Hope", with his vision for his term of office being to build a multicultural university with a pedagogy of hope that is a relevant and respected role player, both locally and globally (Botman, 2007). In a paper read at the 12th General Conference of the Association of African Universities, Professor Botman (2009) explained that "Stellenbosch University seeks to embody a pedagogy of hope through knowledge

pioneering scholarship, research and teaching, generating hope and optimism from and within Africa" (Botman, Van Zyl, Fakie & Pauw, 2009:11). Under the University's new leadership, five central themes related to the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals were identified on which the University had to focus its mission and vision. These themes were regarded to be central to the University's business of teaching and learning, research and community interaction. The five themes are:

- Consolidating democracy and ensuring peace and regional security;
- Contributing to human dignity and health;
- Eradicating endemic poverty;
- Ensuring environmental and resource sustainability; and
- Maintaining the competitiveness of the industry (Botman et al., 2009: 12).

The Overarching Strategic Plan (OSP) is seen as "the instrument with which to transform and renew the broader pedagogy of the institution. The OSP consists of 22 strategic projects that are embedded in the academic core functions of teaching and learning, research and community involvement, but that at the same time will promote specific internal strategic objectives of the University" (Stellenbosch University, 2010c:7). In showing its support to the OSP and its objectives, the University Council agreed to it that R320 million of university funds were to be re-allocated as funding for the OSP. The OSP is aimed at making the university "significantly different from the past and significantly better able to help meet the needs of the people of South Africa, and Africa as a continent" (Botman, 2010c). On 21 July, the University launched the public phase of the OSP, which is now referred to as the Hope Project. Through this public launch, the University has now publicly declared its commitment to "align its core strengths of research, teaching and community interaction with five key international development themes, in a bid to tackle the issues specific to the country and the continent" (Stellenbosch University, 2010d). In the light of the fact that the timeline for Vision 2012 is drawing to a close, the University Council accepted certain broad points of departure for a new vision for Stellenbosch University in May 2009. Some of these points of departure, which testify to an institution committed to changing its institutional culture and its commitment to society are: "to place sustained emphasis on instruction and community interaction that are of high quality and relevant; to extend our endeavour to be knowledge

groundbreakers with/for a pedagogy of hope; and to be an inclusive, value-driven university" (Stellenbosch University, 2010c:7).

Among the institutional goals identified in the White Paper, as discussed in Chapter 3, was the goal set for institutions to "contribute to their communities by making available the Higher Education Institutions' knowledge and expertise in order to address societal problems" (Department of Education, 1997:1.28(5)). It would therefore seem that the University, through the Pedagogy of Hope and the OSP, is certainly pursuing this goal, as it is aligning its core business with five developmental themes that address problems facing our society. However, these themes are not only aimed at addressing problems in the South African society, as they are derived from the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals; the issues that these themes highlight are problems and challenges facing the world at large. Harkavy (2006:34) argues that the likelihood of the advancement of citizenship, social justice and the public good is much greater where universities "give very high priority to actively solving strategic, real world, problems in their local community". The Millennium Development Goals are meant to address some of the most pressing global issues. By adopting these goals into themes according to which its core business is conducted, Stellenbosch University shows that it is an institution that can impress upon its students a global-mindedness and an awareness of their responsibility to contribute towards addressing societal problems. In doing this, the University would contribute to democratic citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world by encouraging students to look beyond their national borders, as well as impressing upon them the idea that they have a responsibility towards society, which emphasises the principle of reciprocity.

5.3.3 Other institutional initiatives

5.3.3.1 Courageous Conversations

Another initiative driven by the Rector is that of courageous conversations for both the staff and the student corps, whereby the University creates a safe space where a diversity of people can engage in discussion regarding any issues affecting the institution, its people and culture. Regardless of whether these issues are sensitive or controversial, they are talked about in order to hear the points of view of all participants. In his description of courageous conversations, the Rector emphasised the prerequisites for participation in these

conversations as being "respect for the other person and his/her point of view, honesty and openness to other ways of thinking, but most of all, a sacred regard for the dignity of all the participants" (Botman, 2008). One of the first of these courageous conversation initiatives was the conference on changing institutional culture with the theme "The doors of learning and culture shall be opened ─ Perspectives on changing institutional culture", which was held in May 2008. This conference followed the incident of racial discrimination at the University of the Free State and the Department of Education's investigation into transformation and social cohesion at higher education institutions in South Africa, as discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis. During this conference various role-players in higher education, including student leaders, lecturers and university management, were given the opportunity to share their views and experiences on this topic.

In Chapter 4 I summarised the important aspects of an education for democratic citizenship in a cosmopolitan world. Two of these were that HEIs would create spaces for "interactive universalism" (Benhabib, 2002:14), where people who are different from each other get the opportunity to deliberate and listen to and learn from each other; and teach students how to critically examine themselves and their own world views in order to have meaningful conversations and take part in effective democratic deliberations. Divala and Waghid (2009:1200) echo this view in stating that "the preparation for future citizenship should particularly allow room for forgiveness and create a deeper sense of understanding of the other". Through the initiative of courageous conversations, SU is creating the opportunity for both staff and students of the University to gain a deeper sense of understanding of each other, and a space is established where public deliberation can take place where people respect those who are different from themselves and whose opinions differ from their own.

5.3.3.2 Stellenbosch Seboka on higher education and ethical leadership

In 2008, SU hosted the "Stellenbosch Seboka on higher education and ethical leadership". *Seboka* is a Sesotho word meaning "coming together" or a "group of people coming together for a common cause" (Stellenbosch University, 2008b:5). Concluding the Seboka, the participants, including Stellenbosch University, adopted a formal statement of beliefs and principles. One of the aspects included in this statement, and related to this study, is the belief that "Higher education is a public good and an important empowerment agent for the individual and society" (Stellenbosch University, 2008b:41). The declaration also affirmed

that HEIs need to enact the beliefs by doing the following (Stellenbosch University, 2008b:41):

- fearlessly acknowledge and confront moral issues in society by articulating and publicly discussing them, and by deliberately addressing them as part of its teaching, research, community engagement and administrative agenda;
- prepare graduates for lives of meaning and purpose, and equip them as holistic agents of change;
- embrace diverse people and perspectives to ensure a rich learning environment;
- develop authentic moral and ethical leaders within institutional cultures of collaboration;
- engage in substantive collaboration with other parts of society, such as government, communities, NGOs and the corporate sector, to promote a moral and ethical society for the common good; and
- integrate moral and ethical principles and practices across the curriculum and amongst all role players, thus visibly permeating the entire institution.

These are very important actions which, if taken by an institution, can contribute to the education of democratic citizens for a cosmopolitan world, with specific focus on public discussion of societal issues, preparing graduates holistically, and embracing diversity. If Stellenbosch University could successfully implement these actions, it would contribute towards an institution where staff and students have the opportunity to deliberate publicly on issues and problems facing society. Moreover, they would fulfil their responsibility towards society as agents of change who need to address these issues and problems and they would embrace the diversity of people and perspectives. All of these are important aspects of democratic citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world, as described in Chapter 3 and summarised in Chapter 4.

5.3.3.3 Other initiatives taken by Stellenbosch University

In 2009, Stellenbosch University also presented a symposium on social cohesion in collaboration with the Stellenbosch Municipality, where various stakeholders of the town of

Stellenbosch had the opportunity to discuss issues and challenges facing the town, the shared vision for the future of the town and how each stakeholder can contribute towards achieving this vision. Through its active participation in and commitment to this discussion on social cohesion, the University acknowledged that it has a responsibility towards the community within which it operates. As the Rector emphasised in his speech given at the conference, "If we as a society can succeed in learning to live our hard earned democracy, by building the levels of tolerance and trust among our people as well as re-establishing confidence in our institutions, we will have laid a solid foundation for a more social cohesive society and we can walk together toward a new horizon of hope, to the country of tomorrow that is beckoning" (Botman, 2009). Moreover, the University continues to support various initiatives that are conducive to a institutional culture of understanding and tolerance, with one of the latest being the celebration of Youth Day 2010 with the theme Make the Circle Bigger, where various youth leaders from the Stellenbosch community were given the opportunity to engage in a discussion on "why it is necessary that young people in Stellenbosch must reach out to each other and how it can be done on a practical level" (Stellenbosch University, 2010a).

5.4 Focus on democratic citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world within core functions of Stellenbosch University

The University is regarded as having three core functions, namely teaching and learning, research, and community interaction. One would therefore expect these functions to embody the principles and values of democratic citizenship for a cosmopolitan world, if the institution is committed to educating students to become democratic citizens.

5.4.1 Teaching and learning

The University's Teaching and Management Plan (2003) describes the ideal profile of a Stellenbosch graduate: the University endeavours to train students who, aside from being capable, equipped and professionally trained, are individuals who "can play a leadership role in society as responsible and critical citizens in a democratic societal dispensation" (Stellenbosch University, 2003:5). It is therefore clear that the University is committed to democratic citizenship education. SU even goes so far as to commit itself to being measured in future in order to determine if its graduates do indeed conform to this ideal profile. The Teaching and Management Plan also indicates that the ideal is for every graduate to display

characteristics such as independence, critical thinking and an inquisitive spirit (Stellenbosch University, 2003:7).

The 2007 Learning and Teaching Policy (Stellenbosch University, 2007:1) affirms the endeavour to produce graduates who fit the profile as described above, while it also emphasises the goals and commitments set out in Vision 2012, and confirms the University's commitment to the achievement of these goals, through teaching and learning at the University. Two important commitments are:

- to play an outward-oriented role within South Africa, in the rest of Africa and globally; and
- to foster a campus culture that welcomes a diversity of people and ideas and that promotes Afrikaans as a scientific language of teaching in a multilingual context.

In 2009, the Division for Institutional Research and Planning launched a programme renewal process whereby the content of all academic programmes at the University are to be scrutinised in order to align SU's programmes with the Higher Education Qualifications Framework, with a view to implementation in 2012 (Stellenbosch University, 2010c:20). As part of this renewal and alignment process, each faculty was required to complete a template for each academic programme offered within that faculty. Three important aspects on which information had to be provided, was on the relevance of the programme in terms of development needs, quality, diversity and quality assurance, and how the programme contributes to responsible citizenship. These three aspects are described as follows in the "Format for initial renewal and alignment proposals – Manual for Template" (Stellenbosch University, 2009a:2-3):

- **Relevance in terms of development needs:**
- Formulate a statement on the programme's relevance in terms of the programme's contribution and responsiveness to:
    - high level skills needed for the development needs of the region, the country, and the continent;

    - specific reference should, where possible, be made to those Millennium Development Goals that the University has made a commitment to in terms of its strategic priorities.
- **Quality, diversity and quality assurance:**
- Give account of the notion(s) of quality underpinning the programme including:
    - the programme committee's views of the relation between quality and diversity of people and ideas
- **Responsible citizenship:**
- Formulate a statement on the programme's contribution to responsible citizenship and how it can possibly be enhanced through the alignment process. For this request the programme committee should consider the appropriateness and relevance of the programmes:
    - in terms of the social, ethical, political, technical skills and competencies developed in the course of the programme
    - in the context of post-apartheid South Africa
    - in post-apartheid South Africa's location in Africa and the world.

These are all important aspects in terms of democratic citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world, and it would say much for the University's commitment to this type of education if programmes were indeed to be aligned in such a way that the aspects, as described above, are incorporated into academic programmes, if it is not yet the case.

In 2009, one of the topics discussed at the annual SU Conference on the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning was "Teaching in higher education as citizenship", while two other seminars were also held during the course of the year. These seminars addressed the issue of the type of graduates that the University is producing and how the University can contribute to the public good through the types of graduates it produces (Stellenbosch University, 2010c:20-21). It would seem that, in terms of teaching and learning, the University is giving serious thought to its responsibility in terms of the type of graduate that it produces, with a focus, not only on academic excellence and professionalism, but also on the University's responsibility towards society and the extent to which its graduates can make a positive contribution towards building and maintaining a democratic society.

In the University's 2009 Annual Report there is also a noticeable focus on academic excellence and achievements as well as social responsibility and the University's contribution towards building a better society. Some of the salient points are the following:

- Faculty of AgriSciences: The expansion of interactions with rural communities where, for example, support services are provided to emerging farmers in collaboration with both governmental and nongovernmental organisations (Stellenbosch University, 2010c:39).
- Faculty of Education: Emphasis is placed on a democratic citizenship education agenda, where the faculty endeavours to "engender criticality and deliberation and attending to the recognition and respect of differences" in terms of their teacher training programmes (Stellenbosch University, 2010c:42).
- Faculty of Health Sciences: This faculty has committed itself to the establishment of a rural clinical school, where the purpose of this school would be "to give students experience in rural healthcare, as well as serving as a laboratory to develop a workable African model for health sciences training in a region with limited resources" (Stellenbosch University, 2010c:44).
- Faculty of Theology: This faculty states as one of its points of departure for the future, to "become a hospitable space for people from different environments, traditions, experiences and convictions who want to practise dynamic, accountable theology" (Stellenbosch University, 2010c:48), which suggests the creation of a public space where deliberation can take place with an openness for ideas and different views.

These are just some examples of what is happening within faculties at Stellenbosch University. Moreover, the 2009 Annual Report clearly indicates that the OSP and Pedagogy of Hope are indeed taking shape within faculties and their activities.

5.4.2 Research

In terms of research, the University has also made a concerted effort to align its activities with the Pedagogy of Hope, with a specific focus on the five themes that have been derived from the Millennium Development Goals, where research activities, informed by a

foundation of fundamental scientific research, are clustered within the framework of these five themes (Stellenbosch University, 2009b:27). According to the Vice-Rector: Research, the University's research strategy has a developmental orientation, where the need for societal relevance is recognised (Stellenbosch University, 2010b:3).

Most of the 22 OSP projects, as referred to earlier in this chapter, also have a strong research focus, where the resource outcomes from these projects are related to at least one of the five development themes. Figure 1 provides a graphic representation of the 22 OSP projects and how they are positioned in terms of these development themes:

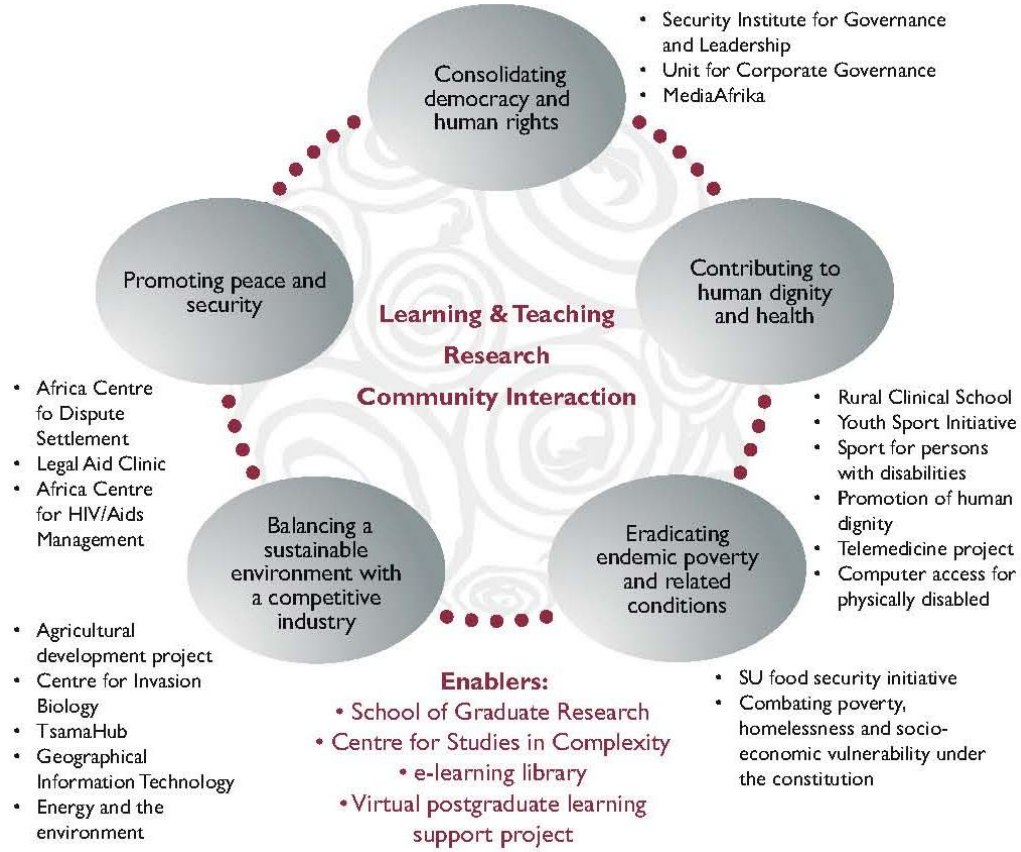

Figure 1 – OSP projects and themes (Botman, 2010a:6)

5.4.3 Community interaction

Through the University's community interaction policy, the institution affirms its "commitment to and relationships with the communities in which it is rooted" (Stellenbosch University, 2004:1). According to its policy, the University regards community interaction to be more than just service learning, as SU chooses to define community interaction in the

broadest sense, taking into account all forms of interaction with the community, including service learning as well as service-oriented academic and non-academic interactions. This policy also allows for the University to give expression to different forms of social responsiveness (Stellenbosch University, 2004:2).

The SU community interaction model is based on two focus areas: (1) community partnerships between SU and various establishments within the community, and (2) social responsiveness whereby SU seeks to apply knowledge and skills within the University to address societal needs. The objectives of the University's community interaction policy are to strengthen the University's interaction with the community; to encourage civil responsibility in students by giving them opportunities to deal with societal realities, and in doing so, prepare them for participation in a democratic society; and to provide guidance regarding the implementation of SU community programmes (Stellenbosch University, 2004:2).

Through its community interaction activities, the University seeks, among other things, to encourage research with a focus on addressing societal needs, and to add value to the development of critical thinking skills of students in synergy with teaching and research, and in doing so, to prepare students for participation as citizens in a democratic society. However, in its institutional audit report, the HEQC audit panel indicated that, despite the endeavour to prepare students for participation as citizens in a democratic society, the panel could not find an indication of issues of citizenship being incorporated into either curricular or extra-curricular activities (CHE, 2007:99). As stated earlier in this chapter, the issue of citizenship preparation through curricular activities is now being addressed through the programme alignment currently in process at the University, but the issue of citizenship preparation through extra-curricular activities, with a specific focus on community interaction, still needs to be clarified.

In 2009 the University joined the Talloires Network, which is "an international association of institutions committed to strengthening the civic roles and responsibilities of higher education," where participants have committed themselves to "education for social responsibility" and the "application of university resources to the needs of local and global communities" (Botman, 2010a:2). The University has also played a major role in the establishment of the South African Higher Education Community Engagement Forum and

currently holds the chair for 2010-2011 (Botman, 2010a:4), with the objectives of this forum being, among other things, to:

- advocate for community engagement in South African Higher Education with relevant stakeholders;
- share experiences and best practice in terms of community engagement amongst South African Higher Education Institutions;
- facilitate the generation of a body of knowledge about community engagement in a South African context and the dissemination thereof;
- promote service learning as a vehicle for development and transformation;
- facilitate the organisation of national community engagement conferences and provide platform for debate about practices of monitoring and evaluation;
- promote debate about innovative practices in the field of community engagement in Higher Education.

(South African Higher Education Community Engagement Forum, 2010)

In the University's 2009 Annual Report, the Vice-Rector: Community Interaction and Personnel emphasises the University's commitment to be both relevant and socially responsible, and through the continuous expansion of its community interaction activities, the University's Division for Community Interaction turns its words into action, with one of its most recent undertakings being to conceptualise science and community initiatives in collaboration with the Division for Research Development, the Sustainability Institute and the Stellenbosch Municipality (Stellenbosch University, 2010c:28-29).

5.5 Stellenbosch University – A campus life conducive to democratic citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world?

While a university is an academic institution, and students attend university with the main objective of obtaining a qualification, student life and the out-of-class experience play a major part in students' university experience, and one would expect that the campus life therefore has an impact on students' preparation for life after university. In the final part of this chapter I shall therefore look at Stellenbosch University's campus life, with a specific focus on the activities of the Division of Student Affairs and Student Housing at the University.

5.5.1 Student Affairs and the Unit for Multiculturalism and Diversity

The purpose of the Division of Student Affairs at Stellenbosch University is to serve as the link between the University's student body and all other divisions within the University. This Division focuses on, among other things, student leadership, student discipline, student diversity and other aspects related to students. An important unit located within the Division of Student Affairs is the Unit for Multiculturalism and Diversity (UMD), where this Unit is "committed to raising awareness, imparting knowledge and enhancing students' skills and competencies for managing multicultural and diversity challenges ─ operating from the assumption that heightened sensitisation brings about a student corps that understands difference and is better able to deal with cultural diversity" (Stellenbosch University, 2008a:33).

5.5.2 Student housing at Stellenbosch University

Student housing at Stellenbosch University has been undergoing steady transformation towards the promotion of diversity, tolerance and a learning environment, with a value-driven management style practised with regard to student housing at the University. In the past, students in residences at SU had a strong residential identity and this restricted their ability to think independently (Le Roux, 2008). Residences also had strong traditions and initiation practices which often bordered on human rights' violations. In 2003, following some unfortunate initiation incidents in residences, a panel was appointed to investigate aspects of student and residence culture (Stellenbosch University, 2008a:31).

In the Strategic Framework for student housing, emphasis is placed on conversations on all aspects of student housing and related activities, as a result of its philosophy of value-driven management within the Division for Student Housing, recently renamed the Division for Student Communities (hereafter called the Division). The Division focuses on the establishment of a structure conducive to dialogue and a culture encouraging conversations within an environment of cultural diversity. In doing so it creates opportunities for students to communicate and socialise in smaller groups. In its Strategic Framework, the Division emphasises the importance of its role to contribute towards the preparation of students who can make a meaningful contribution to a democratic society and therefore it focuses on creating opportunities for students to socialise with, students who are different from

themselves. It is believed that in getting to know such students stereotyping will be diminished and prejudice against students from different religions, cultures, and race groups will ultimately be eradicated (Stellenbosch University, 2009c:5).

In his address at the Student Housing African Summit on 30 May 2010 the Rector emphasised the important role student housing plays in aiding the academic project and the promotion of a sense of civic responsibility among students. He also pointed out that SU's approach to student housing is to "achieve greater integration between students' classroom and out-of-classroom experiences" (Botman, 2010b). An important student housing initiative that contributes to the above-mentioned is the Res-Ed Initiative, whose goal is to "provide a supportive, residentially focused learning experience to groups of students with some geographical proximity and the provision of integrated support services to students. It involves students from diverse social and cultural backgrounds, seniors as well as first years, men and women, students in private residences or University housing. It strives to change the student culture to include positive orientations towards successful learning and a stronger academic focus in student housing environments" (Stellenbosch University, 2008a:32-33).

The cognitive framework for the Res-Ed initiative is based on an effort to get students to partake in intellectual engagement, not only in the classroom, but also as an out-of-classroom experience; to create pluralistic student communities in order to promote cultural diversity; and to encourage students to take responsibility for their own development and academic success (Kloppers, 2007:9). Through the Res-Ed initiative student housing is committed to creating an environment that cultivates students who can contribute to the establishment and support of healthy communities. According to Kloppers (2007:13) its goals are, among other things:

- to create a student-friendly learning and living environment which promotes academic goals;
- to develop an understanding for mutual goals and diversity among different groups of people;
- to broaden students' outlook on life by exposing them to a diversity of ideas and experiences;
- to develop management and leadership skills;

- to develop a sense of personal and social responsibility; and
- to give students the opportunity to participate in a variety of social, cultural, sporting and other activities.

5.6 Summary

In this chapter, through a thorough analysis of institutional documentation, policies and other relevant information sources, I have provided information on Stellenbosch University's mission, vision, goals and activities and the extent to which all of these contribute towards an education for democratic citizenship in a cosmopolitan world, for its students. In the next and final chapter of this thesis I shall look at the issues highlighted in this chapter and how they relate to the framework for democratic citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world which I have discussed in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 6
STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY – EDUCATING DEMOCRATIC CITIZENS FOR A COSMOPOLITAN WORLD?

6.1 Introduction

In Chapter 1 I explained that the motivation for this research was to establish the role universities are expected to play in preparing students to be competent in practising the profession for which they studied and to make a positive contribution as citizens and future leaders of the world. In this chapter I shall give an overview of my argument thus far and focus specifically on Stellenbosch University and its commitment to the democratic citizenship education of its students for a cosmopolitan world. I conclude this thesis by identifying the limitations of this study, as well as areas for which further study is recommended.

6.2 Higher education: Current realities and expectations

6.2.1 Global changes and the corporatisation of universities

The world has been changing at a rapid pace, and the world in the 21st century is very different from the one that existed when the first university was established. Globalisation, the vast expansion of information and communications technology, and the rise of the knowledge economy are among the factors that contribute to the changes we are faced with in the 21st century. Giroux (2002:429) expresses his concerns regarding the impact of these changes on the cultures and values of our contemporary society. He argues that neoliberalism, as defined in Chapter 2, with its market-driven discourse, is promoting corporate culture as the model for the good life and is shaping the way in which individual success and fulfilment are defined. Like all other organisations, the university would inevitably have to adapt to these changes in order to keep up with the changing world. It stands to reason that what happens in the world of the university will influence society's actions, expectations and subsequent expectations.

The commodification of knowledge through the rise of a knowledge economy has had a direct impact on universities. Universities are now fighting for survival in a globalised,

interconnected world where they are no longer the sole creators and distributors of knowledge. As Altbach and Knight (2007:291) explain, "current thinking sees international higher education as a commodity to be freely traded and sees higher education as a private good, not a public responsibility". This does not only mean that universities are now competing with each other and other knowledge providers on a global scale, but also that their public role is brought into question, which leads to the tendency of governments to reduce state funding to universities. Reduced funding and increased competition have caused universities to become businesslike, to focus on providing programmes that their students, who are now regarded as customers, prefer. There is an intense focus on success, quality assurance and performativity in order to ensure that universities provide a good 'service' which would attract more 'customers'. According to Readings (1996), excellence has become the "unifying principle of the contemporary university" (1996:22). At Stellenbosch University, excellence seems to be playing a role in annual budget allocations to both faculties and administrative departments. The Executive Director: Operations and Finance explains in the University's 2008 Annual Report (Stellenbosch University, 2009b: 33):

> Strategic-financial planning in a long-term financially sustainable manner is aligned with the University's institutional strategic priorities and the related business plans of the respective centres of responsibility, with rolling three-year plans providing a framework for the annual budget. In 2007, the detailed budget method was finalised and three-year operating targets were determined for each faculty for 2008, 2009 and 2010. Critical performance indicators, within the context of service-rendering agreements, increasingly direct the resource allocation and performance evaluation of support divisions.

It is evident from the above-mentioned that the values of neoliberalism and the striving for excellence are impacting on universities worldwide and that even South African universities are emphasising performance, and are becoming more businesslike in the management and allocation of their resources.

6.2.2 Universities and democratic citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world

In the second part of Chapter 2 I showed how, despite the opinions of sceptics such as Readings, the university still has an important role to play in influencing society by promoting democracy through the education of students, not only to be competent professionals, but also responsible citizens who will be aware of their rights as well as their responsibilities as citizens in a democratic society. However, as a result of changes such as globalisation, citizenship is no longer limited to the boundaries of a nation-state. Our world has become borderless and there is a need for people to realise that they do not only have responsibilities toward the promotion of democracy and its underlying values within their own countries, but that they need to have a cosmopolitan perspective and acknowledge their responsibility to uphold democratic values on a global scale. Beck (2006:33) explains how a cosmopolitan outlook will enable us to gain a better understanding of global interdependencies and how they impact on a nation-state. Against this backdrop, it is clear that we need to realise that what happens in the world has an impact on our country. We therefore have to take responsibility for global events and make an effort to prevent or at least limit those events that have a negative impact on the world. However, in order for people to acknowledge their responsibilities as citizens with a cosmopolitan outlook, they need to respect the rights of people, regardless of their race, culture, religion, nationality or anything else that differentiates different groups of people from each other. People need to respect not only the rights, but also the opinions of those who are different from themselves, as global problems cannot be addressed if people from different countries cannot respect each other as equals and deliberate collectively on the best solutions to these problems.

Universities have a significant role to play in creating an awareness of these responsibilities among citizens, and in cultivating a cosmopolitan outlook and respect for others. Gutmann (1987:183) argues that "universities are more likely to serve society well, not by adopting the quantified values of the market, but by preserving a realm where the nonquantifiable values of intellectual excellence and integrity, and the supporting moral principles of nonrepression and non-discrimination, flourish". This realm can be regarded as a public space where people with different points of view can deliberate and, through critical thinking and discussions, come to a collective conclusion as to what the best way forward would be. The university is such a public space where students, through their higher education can "gain a public voice and come to grips with their own power as individuals and social agents" (Giroux, 2002:432).

In exploring the concepts of cosmopolitanism and democratic citizenship education in Chapter 3, I have outlined a theoretical framework for democratic citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world and identified some of the most important aims of such an education on which universities need to focus. I summarised these aspects in Chapter 4 as follows:

- to create spaces for "interactive universalism" (Benhabib, 2002:14), where people who are different from each other get the opportunity to deliberate and listen to and learn from each other;
- to teach students to look beyond their national borders in order to gain a cosmopolitan outlook;
- to teach students the meaning of democratic citizenship's "principle of reciprocity" (Gutmann, 1987:309), where they are aware of their rights, but also of their responsibilities towards society;
- to teach students how to respect those who are different from them and to realise that all citizens (whether in the national or global context) are equal, despite differences; and
- to teach students how to critically examine themselves and their own world views in order to have meaningful conversations and take part in effective democratic deliberations.

If universities can commit to an education that not only focuses on preparing students to be professionally equipped for their work, but also incorporates the aspects listed above, or as Gould (2004:456-457) describes it, an education that succeeds in the "integration of the moral, intellectual and, by implication, the professional lives of students", they will indeed be institutions of knowledge production contributing to society by developing and enhancing global public culture through the connection of citizenship and knowledge (Delanty, 2008:29).

6.3 South African universities and democratic citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world, with a specific focus on Stellenbosch University

6.3.1 The South African context

South Africa does not only face the challenges brought on by global trends such as globalisation and the rise of the knowledge economy, but as a country with the legacy of an unfortunate political past where segregation, discrimination and exclusion of people from different race-groups prevailed, its citizens are also still experiencing gross inequalities. These inequalities, as well as racial tension and in some instances even hatred among its citizens, need to be addressed and eradicated. One of the ways in which the first democratic government of South Africa sought to address these issues was through education. In a draft document for South Africa's new Constitution, written by the African National Congress (ANC) and presented to a meeting on human rights at Harvard University in October 1993, this goal for education is explained (Nussbaum, 1997:66):

> Education shall be directed towards the development of the human personality and a sense of personal dignity, and shall aim at strengthening respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and promoting understanding, tolerance and friendship amongst South Africans and between nations.

In examining policy documents and legislation pertaining to South African higher education, it becomes clear that this goal was kept in mind when these documents were drawn up. However, it seems as if concrete guidelines for actions that would actively contribute to achieving this goal within South African universities are lacking. An incident of racial discrimination at a South African university in 2008 prompted both government and institutions to place the spotlight on issues of transformation, social cohesion and the elimination of discrimination at universities. This culminated in the "Stakeholder Summit on Higher Education Transformation", which took place in April 2010. At this summit, the Minister of Higher Education and Training announced in his keynote address that the Department of Higher Education and Training would develop a Green Paper for public discussion. This paper would be intended to "analyse the post school education and training system, set out objectives and priorities for the various sub-system, including higher education, and set out a vision for the integration of education and training" (Nzimande,

2010:10). In addition to this, on the final day of the summit, recommendations were made as to the way forward. However, as of yet, there is no indication of the development of the afore-mentioned Green Paper, or that actions have been taken in response to the recommendations made at the summit.

6.3.2 Stellenbosch University and democratic citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world

Through its vision, mission, Strategic Framework, and other institutional documents it has been made clear that the institution is committed to inclusion, transformation, redress of past inequities and educating students to be "responsible and critical citizens in a democratic societal dispensation" (Stellenbosch University, 2003:5). The University has also, especially in recent years, created opportunities for deliberation and open discussions on relevant issues impacting on the institution and its staff and students, with one of these being the Courageous Conversations initiative. It is in these opportunities and initiatives that one can see glimpses of an institution committed to democratic citizenship education for a democratic society. This is further apparent in the speeches and reports of the University's management on the direction in which they want to steer the University, with special reference to the University's Hope Project. However, despite these efforts, it seems that the University's institutional culture often stands in the way of transformation and institutional change.

Stellenbosch University is struggling to rid itself of its image as a historically white, advantaged university that catered for Afrikaans-speaking students in the past. One of the main factors that contribute to this image is the fact that Afrikaans is still the preferred institutional language. Despite the university's efforts to promote a multilingual teaching environment, the majority of staff and students speak Afrikaans. Afrikaans is generally the language in which meetings are conducted and correspondence takes place, which often leads to the exclusion of others who are not familiar with this language. If certain groups are excluded from conversations on campus, one needs to ask whether it is at all possible for democratic deliberation to take place. I want to emphasise that the University is continuously making efforts to include people who are not fluent in Afrikaans in its conversations, activities and correspondence, but, as noted in Chapter 5, institutional culture is slow to change, and until all staff and students are sensitive to the needs of those who are not

conversant in Afrikaans, this exclusion will continue to take place at the cost of preparing students to be democratic citizens for a cosmopolitan world.

In the first part of this chapter I referred to the University's virtually corporate approach to the allocation of funds to faculties and support services, where it is to some extent determined by each unit's performance in terms of critical performance indicators and operational targets. The University needs to be cautious not to let the "market driven discourse of neoliberalism" (Giroux, 2002:429) determine its values and business at the cost of its role as a public space that prepares students to become democratic citizens with the ability to think critically about the world and its problems. This does not deny the significance of financial and business considerations in planning and financial allocations, but these factors cannot be allowed to be the only determinants in planning and administrative processes if SU is pursuing the ideal of democratic citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world.

Stellenbosch University has the potential to be known as an institution that is committed to the transformation of its institutional culture in such a way that it was not only successfully achieved in terms of its measurable goals regarding staff and student diversity, but that transformation was also achieved in the hearts and minds of all people affiliated with the university. There are three institutional initiatives that have led me to making this statement: the Hope Project, the Programme Renewal Process, and the Res-Ed initiative.

Through the Hope Project, the University has publicly committed itself to addressing societal needs and problems by focusing its core activities of teaching, research and community interaction on five themes derived from the Millennium Development Goals. If this can translate into everything that is done at the University and engage both staff and students in pursuing this goal, the University would actively engage students in attempting to solve problems within society, and thereby create an awareness in its students of their responsibilities towards society and their fellow citizens, not only in their country, but in the world, which is an essential element of democratic citizenship education.

The Programme Renewal Process, which is currently under way, creates the perfect opportunity to focus on the University's teaching activities and what exactly students are being taught there. If the University is to scrutinise all proposals submitted by faculties with a specific focus on the information required regarding the way in which the programmes

contribute to responsible citizenship, and refers those programmes that do not address this issue back to faculties instead of approving a programme that complies to all other requirements except the contribution to responsible citizenship, the University will affirm its commitment to democratic citizenship education. Le Grange (2004) emphasises the importance of appropriate classroom conditions and activities in developing critical thinking skills ─ the Socratic ability ─ among students. According to Le Grange, students need to practise their Socratic ability through discussions with fellow students as well as their lecturers in the classroom, where they can debate and deliberate on important issues and learn to listen to and respect the opinions of others, while at the same time questioning the validity of their own opinions. Another way in which students can practise this ability is through written assignments where they are required to construct and analyse arguments by applying their critical thinking skills. However, it is important to take note of Le Grange's caveat for the successful implementation of classroom activities which would develop these abilities in students: "committed, creative and imaginative teachers / faculty members" (Le Grange, 2004:67). It is my contention that this commitment starts with the institution and the extent to which it holds faculties accountable for preparing its students as democratic citizens.

The third initiative which, in my opinion, can make a positive contribution to the transformation of institutional culture and the preparation of students to become democratic citizens in a cosmopolitan world is the Res-Ed initiative. Through this initiative, an important part of student culture is addressed, namely residential cultures and activities, many of which originated when the University's target group were white, Afrikaans-speaking students. The Res-Ed initiative creates opportunities for deliberation, conversations and social interaction among students from diverse cultural and social backgrounds, and different genders and races. Nussbaum (1997:68) contends that "an awareness of cultural difference is essential in order to promote the respect for another that is the essential underpinning for dialogue". Such an awareness can be cultivated through the opportunities created via the Res-Ed initiative.

6.4 Limitations of the study and recommendations for further study

While the thesis explores the role of universities in democratic citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world, and the theoretical framework for such an education can be applied to universities on a global scale, this thesis focused specifically on university education within the South African higher education policy and legislative framework, and even more

specifically on one South African university, namely Stellenbosch University. Since the analysis of activities that would promote democratic citizenship education for a cosmopolitan world is limited to one university and is therefore context-specific, my findings on these activities are not generalisable: each university has its own institutional culture and other factors that influence the democratic citizenship education of its students, and therefore has to be analysed as such.

It was beyond the scope of this study to look at the way in which Stellenbosch University's commitment to democratic citizenship education translates into the core activities of the University on a faculty, departmental or even programme level, where the actual education of students takes place. An in-depth study of programmes that claim to promote democratic citizenship education, the contents of these programmes, the classroom activities presented in these programmes and their impact on students' perceptions of their rights and responsibilities as democratic citizens in a cosmopolitan world would provide great insight into what is being done ─ and done successfully ─ in terms of democratic citizenship education, and how this can be adopted in other programmes that do not address this specific issue as yet.

6.5 Conclusion

In this thesis I have argued that universities have a responsibility in educating their students to become democratic citizens in a cosmopolitan world, where these students will realise that they have a responsibility towards humanity in the pursuit of social justice and in seeking the common good for all people amidst a world driven by neoliberal values that focus on individual success and economic affluence. Democratic citizenship education is one of the goals set for South African universities within the South African higher education policy and legislative framework, but the framework fails to indicate how this goal is to be achieved practically within universities, and universities are not required to report on if and how they are pursuing this goal. In focusing on Stellenbosch University and the institutional commitment to providing their students with an education that would also teach them how to become democratic citizens in a cosmopolitan world, it became clear that this institution is committed to this goal, at least in its policy and planning documents. It is also evident that, on a more practical level, the University has had several moments where the commitment to this goal could be seen in the activities on which the institution has embarked.

If Stellenbosch University can successfully transform its institutional culture and can focus on creating an environment that promotes inclusion, multiculturalism and mutual respect where students can practise their critical thinking abilities and learn to listen to and deliberate with those who are different from themselves, students will indeed exemplify the profile of a Stellenbosch graduate as envisaged in the University's Teaching and Management Plan. Those graduates, in addition to being capable, equipped and professionally trained, will be individuals who "can play a leadership role in society as responsible and critical citizens in a democratic societal dispensation" (Stellenbosch University, 2003:5). However, the crucial question that arises is whether SU will be able to transform its institutional culture and provide its students with a multicultural education if its demographic profile does not change drastically in terms of staff and student composition.

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