A feminist critique of *ubuntu*: Implications for citizenship education in Zimbabwe

Precious Simba

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of
PhD in Education Policy Studies
in the Faculty of Education
at
Stellenbosch University

Supervisor: Professor Nuraan Davids

March 2021

DECLARATION

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third-party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Date……March 2021…….

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I send up my heartfelt thanks to God, to Him be all the glory for always making a way for me to move forward where I did not see one myself.

I extend my deepest gratitude to the following people for their invaluable support in the completion of this work: To my supervisor, Professor Nuraan Davids, who had the unfortunate task of reviewing the first draft of my PhD proposal. I owe a great debt for helping me with my rough ideas and supporting me in my writing process. My sincere appreciation also goes out to the team at Canon Collins Educational Trust and the Sol Plaatje Educational Project for funding my studies and incredible support throughout my studies.

To my friend who was there when this PhD was just a pipe dream, Noma, I value your steadfastness, your proclivity to pray first in all things. It is safe to say that you have become an ancestor figure in my life. I also appreciate my friend, comrade and personal human – Dr Princess "Shumba" Sibanda. Your unwavering support, *wangu*, is more than any human can ever ask for in one lifetime. I acknowledge my friend and colleague, Dr Jennifer Feldman, for an unlikely friendship, for having the spine to listen to my half-baked ideas and for the support throughout my journey. I am grateful for my housemate turned *mtshana*, Esethu for conversation, workouts and moments of laughter. My sincere gratitude goes to Nikki for never missing a cheesecake moment, for running the last lap with me and opening my eyes to a new world of possibilities. To my community of people who gave me moments of joy, laughter, sense of home and reflection, I love you all.

I appreciate *utata* Desmond, who made sure I got home safely and for conversation in that lonely first year in Stellenbosch. My sincere gratitude also goes to the Stellenbosch University librarians. They provided invaluable support and made sure that I had access to all the materials that I needed. I am also grateful to the Stevenson Gallery in Cape Town, for swift responses to my request to use the works of Nandipha Mntambo in my study.

To the eight women who dared to share their stories with me, I am humbled and proud to know that such educators exist in our country.

I appreciate my family for unwavering confidence and prayers whenever I needed them: Mama, Baba, Mai P, Mai Ndoro, Ra, Dara, Shez, Ali, Lolo, Tetso, Priscilla and Moyoza. You remind me every day that *ndinobva kuvanhu vanhu*!

DEDICATION

For our grandmothers and mothers
Our sisters, our aunts, and countless others like them
For those outstanding womxn
Those courageous womxn
Womxn often unacknowledged
Often uncounted and many times unnamed.
For them.
Womxn who had the vision first
Womxn who will have the burden to carry it last
Womxn who broke back and bank to ensure we get here
Womxn who will build it back up to ensure we get there
We do it because they could not, so we can
We do it so they can see that it can be done
So, we do it well
Rungisa, Sunlia, Nomusa, Priscilla, Simphiwe

ABSTRACT

In 2015 the government of Zimbabwe announced the rollout of a new education policy that represented a curriculum overhaul at the primary and secondary school level. At the centre of this policy was the explicit introduction of *ubuntu* as a philosophy of education in Zimbabwe. This move took a cultural artefact and what was, until that time, an academic aspiration into policy. The move also represented the first time in Zimbabwe's education history that an indigenous artefact would sit at the centre of mass education. About the same time, I was working for a girls' education organisation in Bulawayo, where we were experiencing challenges of extending our feminist ideologies. The community would often ask us "but what about our culture, what about *ubuntu*?".

Policy changes at the national level and tension at a professional level sparked the commencement of this study and its central concern: bringing *ubuntu* into conversation with feminism. The central question guiding the study is: what is the feminist critique of *ubuntu*, and what are the implications of this critical assessment for citizenship education in Zimbabwe? In response, I unpack the notion of *ubuntu* in its multiple interpretations as an ethic, a philosophy, a notion enfolded in power and a framework of encounter. I use language as a vehicle of critique to read through the various interpretations.

In researching an artefact like *ubuntu* in a context like Zimbabwe, the study employs a research orientation that is able to contend with knowledge that is not always part of the known archive, what Mbembe (2002) calls the archivable. The study is, therefore, guided by a decolonial-feminist research paradigm. The study is largely conceptual but supported by an empirical element in the form of narratives from eight female educators from Bulawayo. Being feminist in orientation, the study places the female voice at the centre of analysis; hence the educators' conceptions of *ubuntu* in and out of the classroom add weight to the feminist critique of *ubuntu*. I use the power of stories and re-storying throughout the study but more so in chapter 5 to analyse and present the data from interviews conducted with the female educators.

My original contribution to knowledge comes in the form of a new interpretation of *ubuntu*. I advance another interpretation of *ubuntu* to subvert the inconsistencies and shortfalls of interpretations that already fill academic literature. I argue for a view of *ubuntu* as a social framework that mediates the encounter with the other permitting the currency of power

between encountering bodies and geared towards the establishment of relationship – *ukama/ubuhlobo*.

The decolonial feminist critique of *ubuntu* sees an engendering risk in a narrow conception of *ubuntu* as a foundation of morality and by extension, moral education. The critique found opportunities for feminist solidarity in conceptions of *ubuntu* as a philosophy of interrelatedness. The interpretation of *ubuntu* as a framework of encounter advanced in the study gives feminist scholarship in education ways to harness the good from *ubuntu*, to interrogate the complex encounters and resist the toxic elements of pedagogical encounters beyond the surface of performative acts by touching on the conditions that sustain and produce them. The feminist critique of *ubuntu* demonstrated that there is a challenge in dislodging male-centred tendencies and privileges when *ubuntu* is prescribed narrowly (or neutrally as is the case in the new Zimbabwean policy) as a series of observable ethics. The critique evidenced the point that the moral in education is often enacted along gendered and engendering lines, hence reproducing set binaries rather than challenging them. An expanded interpretation of *ubuntu* as a framework of encounter informed by a social script or *isintu* opens an opportunity to re-write the social script along the lines of a feminist ethics of care.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF APPENDICES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PCIET	Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training
UK	United Kingdom
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
CF 2015 - 2022	Zimbabwe Educational Blueprint Curriculum Framework 2015 – 2022
TOR	Terms of Reference
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CE	Citizenship Education
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
MoPSE	Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education
PoE	Philosophy of Education
PED	Provincial Education Director
REC	Research Ethics Committee
LGBTQIA+	Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transsexual Queer Intersex Asexual and *othered* sexualities
TP	Teaching Practice
RME	Religious and Moral Education
BPfA	Beijing Platform for Action

INTRODUCTION:
WHERE THE STORY BEGINS

I WHAT SPARKED THIS STUDY

The commencement of this doctoral study was prompted by four factors. First, when I started working in the non-governmental organisations (NGO) sector, one of the most notable informal discussion topics, when we met as development practitioners, was the Nziramasanga Report. Notable, mainly due to its recursive nature as as a topic of discussion. Such conversations (which included laments) around the direction or degeneration of the education system in Zimbabwe were often concluded with sentiments of longing "*ngabe bathatha into kaNziramasanga ngabe konke lokhu akukho*" [If they had only taken up that Nziramasanga thing then all this (mess) would not be there]. This was in reference to a document tabled by the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training (PCIET)[1] chaired by Professor C.T Nziramasanga (Nziramasanga, 1999). At the centre of this infamous document was a proposition to institute *ubuntu* as a philosophy of education in Zimbabwe. This was my first encounter with the idea of an indigenous philosophy of education, and it sparked a keen scholarly interest around *ubuntu*.

Second, upon my return to Zimbabwe from my postgraduate studies in the United Kingdom – armed with development frameworks, participatory methods, and newly discovered gender theories – I discovered that the content I had learnt and the reality on the ground were slightly incongruent. Note that upon my return, I resumed my work at a girls' education NGO. Feminism or my newly acquired form of feminism then did not evoke the same sentiments in my immediate working community. The transition from theory to practice did not follow a smooth trajectory; it came with unexpected hurdles that presented challenging situations, which required answers from my newly acquired scholarship. These include:

Feminist epistemology, while intricately critical of social norms, was not always prescriptive in an "if–then" logic.

[1] The PCIET is a popular Zimbabwean, commission report. The President of Zimbabwe in 1998 commissioned a sector wide inquiry into the adequacy of Zimbabwean education at the cusp of the new millennium. The result of this commission is a report that was tabled by a research commission headed by then Dr C.T Nziramasanga. As the head of the commission. Dr Nziramasanga became the face of the commission and to this day (and even on citations) his name is stamped on the report. The report proposed a progressive, sector wide overhaul vision for Zimbabwe's education system in 1999. The commission tabled their findings and proposals, but the commission report was not ratified into policy until 2015.

- There were aspects of Ndebele social structure (my organisation operated in a predominantly Ndebele-speaking locale) that put simply, could not contend with my new understanding of feminism, such as the premise of subjectivity and power(-lessness) in the category of woman.
- A recurring question from some community members was *"ubuntu le sintu*[2] *sethu ke?"* [What of our *ubuntu* and culture?]

Up to that point the organisation I founded operated on the logic of individuality and rights but many times in the communities that I worked in action was defined by something else. There was a sense that, what was known or common sense to the community was missing or lacking in the NGO's programming, hence the recursive question on locating *ubuntu* and its derivative *isintu* in the organisation's work. The organisation's programmes for reforming gender through girl-led peer groups in the schools while valid, theoretically sound (with regards to reigning approaches I had newly acquired in the UK), and programmatically effective, fell apart at the point of integration with what the community knew.

Clearly, my feminism needed some grounding. I was operating on a largely Western understanding of feminism. This "Western construal" of feminism (Nzegwu, 2004) is an understanding that places emphasis or over-emphasis on locating the body [Oyěwùmí (1997) calls this bio-logic], on the universal subjective condition of the category of woman, and on sexed bodies being dimorphic in experience and leading to a dichotomous discourse of women versus men. This view of feminism seemed asymmetrical to the Zimbabwean lived reality, and feminists from non-Western countries have documented this as a problematic (Mohanty, 1988; Nnaemeka, 1994; Nzegwu, 2004; Oyěwùmí, 1997; Sardenberg, 2016; Tamale, 2011, 2020). Writing about the differences between the Western and 'African' (Yoruba) worldview Oyěwùmí notes that "the body has an exaggerated presence in the Western conceptualisation of society" (1997:2). On the problematic of dual taxonomy into a mutually exclusive category man and woman, Nkiru Nzegwu writes, "for the most part, prevailing definitions of gender in African studies have come from disciplines located within the Western body of knowledge…These intellectual understandings of gender embody the political, social, and imperialist histories of the birth cultures. They also reflect the binary opposition underlying Western epistemology in which women are defined in opposition to men" (2004:560). Through the work with the Girls Development Initiative, the full weight of these problematics became

[2] *Sintu* is a form of the word *isintu*, which loses the starting vowel when used in the middle of the sentence. The word *isintu* is a derivative of *umuntu* (a person) and shares the same root *-ntu* as well as configuration as *ubuntu*.

proof that this disconnect between mainstream feminist theory and the local were not an isolated problem. The realisation that my strand of feminism (which up to that point was mostly Western informed) was detached from local realities prompted a second look, as it were, into my understanding of feminism and *ubuntu* in relation to the lived realities of the communities and schools I had been in touch with via the organisation. While the study speaks to broad issues such as *ubuntu*, feminism and citizenship education in Zimbabwe, it is also simultaneously embedded in personal experience and politics.

Third, while these conversations/contestations were going on at a personal and professional level, there were other developments at a national level that had a bearing on the same challenges that I was embattled with. On August 14, 2014, at a Zimbabwe Africa National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) People's Conference, there was a submission for the party to advocate for the reform the education sector in line with the PCIET of 1999 in parliament. This kick-started a domino effect that has led to a curriculum review process implemented by the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education (MoPSE), which has culminated into the Zimbabwe Education Blueprint Curriculum Framework of 2015–2022 (CF 2015–2022). The policy is a three-phased roadmap for an education sector overhaul currently being implemented by the ministry.

It must be noted that in taking the steps of reforming MoPSE was responding, *inter alia*, to the question of the role of indigenous philosophy. The question can be traced back to 1980, to the work of Stanlake and Tommie Marie Samkange who first posited *hunhuism/ubuntuism* as a Zimbabwe indigenous political philosophy in their seminal book by the same title (1980). The move also echoed the Terms of Reference (TOR) in the PCIET where the president asked the commission to "review the philosophy…examine, and make recommendations on the role of cultural education"' (Nziramasanga, 1999: xxi). These were calls to structure elements of Zimbabwean culture into formal institutions, education being a key example. In essence, the recursive question that haunted my work was a question that was also emerging at a national level with a thread going back to independence. The CF 2015–2022 has brought a cultural artefact and academic aspiration into a philosophy of education, possibly framing the national system of education.

The problems of contemporary Zimbabwe have occupied regional and international media space for well over two decades. Recurring issues of political unrest most accentuated in the past three national elections, an economy in a perennial doldrum, cases of gross corruption,

and the unresolved past genocidal trauma of Gukurahundi. Besides the issues that have filled the media, other pervasive social issues provide a troubled education context that a philosophy of education in Zimbabwe must respond to. These include the yet to be accounted effect of mass migrations that have seen an estimated five million Zimbabweans living outside the country, the effect of HIV/AIDS on the social fabric of the country, as well as the ripple effect of a poor economy on the provision of social services such as a quality education. All these issues are matters that the average learner in Zimbabwe will contend with at one point of their adolescent learning. Amid the broad-based educational changes, it is necessary to ask how education prepares the learner in Zimbabwe for the state the country is in now, and this is where citizenship education features.

Lastly, this study represents an attempt at extending research that stated in my masters of Arts thesis where I applied a gender lens on sections of the PCIET. Given that the thesis was only a 10000-word document there was insufficient room to fully tease out the issues and delve deep into key concepts. Also, the incarnation of the PCIET as CF 2015 – 2022 prompted a fresh look at the policy document and its implications.

As I embarked on this PhD journey, I reflected on the four factors that pushed me towards its commencement, and initial questions filled my mind. Questions such as:

- How to interpret *ubuntu* in a manner that is commensurate with lived realities or *isintu*?
- Which strand of feminism should I bring into conversation with *ubuntu*?
- What does it mean for feminism to critique *ubuntu*?
- What will a feminism–*ubuntu* critique yield?
- What learning points emerge at the intersection of feminism and *ubuntu*
- Do the learning points have a bearing on how the system of education trains its adolescent citizens?

These experiences, phenomena and questions have by-and-large prompted the commencement of this study.

II CENTRAL QUESTION AND RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Questions around the relationship between feminism and *ubuntu* are not new (see Mangena, 2009; Manyonganise, 2015; Nicolaides, 2015; Cornell and van Marle, 2015; Gouws and van Zyl, 2015; Viviers and Mzondi, 2016; Chisale, 2018; Assie-Lumumba, 2018; Duvenage,

2020), however, the circumstances that motivated the commencement of the study still make the central question a pertinent and contemporary one, especially in the context of education in Zimbabwe. The central question guiding the study is:

> ***What is the feminist critique of ubuntu, and what are the implications of this critical assessment for citizenship education in Zimbabwe?***

The above question was buttressed by the following research objectives:

- To get to an expanded understanding of *ubuntu*, one that speaks to the lived realities of progenitor communities of *ubuntu* and education in Zimbabwe
- To unpack the strand of feminism to bring into conversation with *ubuntu*
- To critique *ubuntu* from a feminist standpoint
- To understand what the implications of a feminism–*ubuntu* intersection hold for citizenship education in Zimbabwe

III THE KEY CONCEPTS COVERED IN THIS THESIS

This thesis is an academic study into three broad concepts: *ubuntu*, feminism and citizenship education.

Ubuntu is an omnipresent word within Zimbabwean lingua-culture. It is used, *inter alia*:

- As a way of caution or admonishing– *Akula buntu lokho* [that (of an action) does not have or exemplify *ubuntu*]
- As a complement of good character – *Intombi yako Dube ilobuntu!* [That Dube (a familial name) girl has *ubuntu*!][3]
- As an evaluator of character – *Ubuntu bendoda le buyasolisa* [This man's *ubuntu* (of character) is doubtful][4]

I use language as a critical vehicle to read different interpretations of *ubuntu* to arrive at one that speaks to the foundations of this study. A key goal of this study is to expand the interpretation of *ubuntu* such that that which is omnipresent in everyday Zimbabwean interactions becomes commensurate with that which populates the academy.

Another broad concept explored in this study is feminism(s). As stated in the introduction, one of the motivators of this study is that I observed a schism between my understanding of

[3] Similar complement can be made of a female or male.
[4] Similar evaluation can be made of a female or male.

feminism and the lived experiences in the communities that I worked in (Bulawayo, Zimbabwe). There is, therefore, a need to situate feminism within the local. 'The local' here meaning the personal as well as the Zimbabwean realities. This strand of feminism is situated at the nexus of academic discourse and lived experiences (both historical and contemporary) of the people of Zimbabwe.

Citizenship education is where the study concludes. The intersection of *ubuntu* and feminism has many implications about the system of education in Zimbabwe. For the sake of conciseness, I project the implications of the intersection onto citizenship education. There are many other aspects of education in Zimbabwe that I could have brought to the mix – curriculum development, teacher training, teacher professional standards, policy implementation and many other such sections. However, when I commenced this study, the policy that partly sparked my PhD was still in a shaky phase – stage one of three of implementation. Citizenship education is a good starting point for an abstract conversation on what the changes brought on by CF 2015–2022 mean. I have also taken CF 2015–2022 as an artefact, its lived aspects such as implementation are beyond the precepts of the study. I mention all this to say, citizenship education forms a ring that delimits the outer reach of the *ubuntu* feminism conversation as it could have been taken in illimitable directions.

IV WHY BRING FEMINISM, UBUNTU AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION INTO CONVERSATION

Beyond the personal and professional reasons that drew me to this study there is also academic exigency for this study. The role of education as a social, cultural as well as gender (see Bakker, 2007) reproductive site (Bourdieu, Passeron & Nice 1977; Gwimbi & Monk, 2003; Shizha, 2006; Fataar, 2012) is one that is well appreciated in education research. The fact that a system of education as an institution plays an instrumental role in (re)creating and (re)enforcing social status quo has made education an important point of focus in education research (Stromquist, 1995; Ansell, 2002; Mama, 2003; Agounke & Stromquist, 2017). The move by MoPSE to place *ubuntu* at the centre of the system of education in Zimbabwe has given *ubuntu* a privileged seat in a powerful social organising system. Taking a cultural artefact such as *ubuntu* and using it as an informing philosophy in the make-up of a system of education demonstrates how porous the line between society and education is. The overlap between society and mass education is clearly visible in having a national education system guided by a pervasive cultural artefact.

This realisation of the seat that *ubuntu* now occupies in Zimbabwean education warrants multiple disciplinary scholarly attention. A sociological analysis for example, of the move by MoPSE would be informative to the extent of understanding issues of how (if at all) an indigenous artefact affects issues of class based cultural capital and the related effects on pedagogical justice in Zimbabwe. Equally, a philosophical analysis would be expedient to the extent of understanding how (if at all) *ubuntu* defines what education is, who should be educated and how. Similarly, a study into how (if at all) *ubuntu* changes how teachers teach and students learn which is in the domain of educational psychology and curriculum studies. I mention this to say, the move by MoPSE has far reaching repercussions which need multidisciplinary perspectives to fully comprehend. In the same vein, a feminist analysis is in order with regards to MoPSE's move to understand the effect that *ubuntu* as a philosophy of education has of aspects of subjectivity of women, patriarchy, and gendered norms to name just a few. A feminist critique of *ubuntu* is an important intersecting conversation into what the privileged seat *ubuntu* has in Zimbabwe's educations means for key feminist tenets.

All the suggested studies mentioned above are necessary to comprehensively appreciate the effect that *ubuntu* as a philosophy of education has on the system of mass education in Zimbabwe. However, given my experiences and expertise as the researcher of the study the focus of this study is feminism and *ubuntu*. Citizenship education, the third component of this study became necessary because when I began to look into the policy that instituted *ubuntu* at the beginning of my PhD it was still in a shaky phase one of implementation. At the time there was a court case challenge to halt implementation and there were cases of infrastructural incapacity to implement the policy at school level (see Esau & Mpofu, 2017; Ngwenya, 2020). The logical starting point for me at that time then, was on the conceptual aspects of the policy such as citizenship education before getting to the practicalities of the implementation such as specific curriculum changes as the future of the policy was uncertain at the time. My study is therefore a conversation between feminism, *ubuntu* and citizenship education. This is one of, what I believe will be, many studies on the move by MoPSE to place *ubuntu* at the centre of the country's mass education system.

Understandably feminism, *ubuntu* and citizenship education and three very broad domains of study. The starting point in each domain is to unpack what I mean by each and the identification of focal points of concern/study in each domain that I bring to this conversation. Chapter 1 unpacks *ubuntu* in the context of Zimbabwe and as a philosophy of education. Chapter 2 unpacks feminism(s) firstly by situating the strand of feminism used in this study and then

highlighting four specific tenets (the subject, subjectivity, patriarchy, and gender) that are key in the conversation with *ubuntu*. Chapter 3 unpacks citizenship education in the context of Zimbabwe and as a highly contested concept.

V WHY AND HOW YOU SHOULD READ THIS THESIS

> "But it is not enough to have our books published. We must actively engage in establishing the criteria and the standards by which our work can be viewed' (Moraga & Anzaldúa, 2015: 163)

In an essay first published in 1946 and now archived online ("Why I Write – The Orwell Foundation", n.d.), George Orwell outlines four reasons why someone undertakes the task to write. He mentions firstly, sheer egoism – the need for one to be immortalised through archived penned works. The second reason he notes is aesthetic enthusiasm – that is, to be taken by the state of the world or moments in it that one has a desire to capture the moment in writing and represent it to the world. The third reason he notes is historical impulse, which is to write with an eye on archiving for posterity. The last reason he mentions is political in nature – that is, the need to shift society in a certain direction. All four reasons are part of the mix for why a work such as this thesis was undertaken; however, what I believe makes this thesis a work that should be read lies in the politics of the knowledge that the study advances. Orwell notes that "…looking back through my work, I see that it is invariably where I lacked a political purpose that I wrote lifeless books and was betrayed into purple passages, sentences without meaning, decorative adjectives and humbug generally" ("Why I Write – The Orwell Foundation", n.d.). I resonate with Orwell's fourth reason the most, that is, the study makes contributions to knowledge that I believe can shift perspectives on *ubuntu*, feminism and citizenship education.

The specific relevance of this study is in the contributions it makes to each of the three domains (*ubuntu*, feminism and citizenship education). In *ubuntu* scholarship, the study does not begin with questions of whether *ubuntu* constitutes philosophy. The discourse of 'African' and *ubuntu* perspectives as philosophy, in my view (and as I will argue in the study), has become a worn terrain that has been well-contested and argued (see Enslin & Horsthemke, 2004; Enslin, Pendlebury & Tjiattas, 2001; Hountondji, 2002; Karp & Masolo, 2000; Ramose, 1999, 2002; Samkange & Samkange, 1980; Waghid, 2014; Waghid & Van Wyk, 2005; Wiredu, 1980, 2004). The departure point, therefore, of this study is beyond the question of *ubuntu* as philosophy.

It is my determination that to continue down the worn path of questioning whether *ubuntu* constitutes philosophy is retrogressive, discounting and a deleterious gravitation towards gratifying what has come to be termed coloniality (Maldonado-Torres, 2007; Mignolo, 2007; Quijano, 2000) – a form of erasure of non-main-stream forms of knowledge. It is also a continuation in hegemonic cum Euro-centric traditions, which de-legitimise and obscure former colony realities, perspectives, and knowledge systems. As Karp and Masolo note, 'African' philosophy has always been called upon to justify its existence, to answer if in the 'African' lived cosmos exists a scientific formulation of knowledge and reasoning that can be held up as philosophy (2000). My study sidesteps this debate as it is more focused on unpacking *ubuntu* and building academic arguments drawn from key historical, de-colonial studies and contemporary lived realities/Zimbabwean voices. These realities are brought under a feminist lens to project how they playout in Zimbabwean education in general and citizenship education specifically.

The research follows a feminist tradition to question the society and power(s) that be. As a foundation to the system of education, *ubuntu* occupies a position of power with regards to education in Zimbabwe. The significance of this study to feminism, and perhaps its greatest contribution, lies in how the study knits a decolonial feminist methodology not only to interrogate the tenets that make *ubuntu* possible but to understand how *ubuntu* reverberates against key feminist canons.

I resonate with Nkiru Nzegwu in her contribution to Wiredu's *A companion to African Philosophy* (Wiredu, 2004). Her critique of Western notions of feminism, while stern, does not invalidate known epistemes but rather "highlight the intrusive nature of the Western metaphysics of gender on theoretical formulations in and about other cultures" (in Wiredu, 2004: 560). Off this notable path of feminist epistemology, it is my intention to question what the 'African' feminist standpoint is. In this way, the feminist critique of *ubuntu* is not static or uninterrupted. The analytical framework will shift along with the discourse of this study to arrive at a point where it is congruent with the indigenous enough to capture the lived experiences of Zimbabweans in its understanding of *ubuntu* and feminism even in a wide public domain like education. This way, my study will make sense of feminism through an *ubuntu* lived reality and ultimately invigorating feminist epistemology.

Zimbabwe's MoPSE has commenced a curriculum review exercise that draws, *inter alia*, the above-mentioned discourses. The critique will have a bearing and value on the state and

prospect of education in Zimbabwe, particularly citizenship education. The intersection of *ubuntu* and feminism is an opportunity for the *glocalisation* of citizenship education. It is my opinion that at the nexus of these two knowledge systems lies a potential to mould and ground citizenship education in the local and the global.

Beyond contributions to academia and education industry, it is my view that my study will connect the personal, lived realities of Zimbabwean women (governed by *ubuntu*) and public space expectations (governed by institutions such as education). It seeks to map a way of bringing *umuntu* [a person] who, in Zimbabwean understanding (and as I will argue), is often a carrier of *ubuntu* [the indigenous philosophy] and a representative of *isintu* [the collective lingua-culture] into public domains like education. This understanding has implications beyond my personal/professional embattlements and speaks to Zimbabwe and education as a global enterprise.

With regards to how the thesis should be read, I have two notes: one is on the sequence and the other an invitation to the reader. I suggest the thesis should be read chronologically following the sequence the chapters are set in. Each chapter builds on the one before rising to a crescendo of conversation in chapter seven where I bring the conceptual and empirical together to address the main objective of the study – that is, a feminist critique of *ubuntu*. The thesis lands in chapter eight, where the second part of the central question is addressed – that is, its implications for citizenship education in Zimbabwe. The second suggestion is an invitation or rather an entreaty to the reader for an openness to the use of multiple languages and experiences. There are sections in chapters that hang on translation and cultural interpretation. I have done this as a way of capturing that which may fall outside of the 'archivable' (Mbembe, 2002) as well as inserting myself via stories and my experiences into the study.

VI CHAPTER SUMMARIES

Introduction

This is the introduction of the thesis. In this chapter, I spotlight some of the motivations that led to the commencement of the study. While the study's *problematique* is situated in contemporary Zimbabwe, what led me to start the study is a combination of personal questions, professional tensions, and national developments in Zimbabwe's education sector. The study conducts a feminist critique of *ubuntu* and projects the implications of this intersection onto the context of citizenship education in Zimbabwe.

Chapter 1

In this chapter, I unpack *ubuntu* as a notion that fills the academy with multiple and seemingly perplexing interpretations. I use language, specifically Nguni languages, as both a vehicle of critique and an archive informing the understanding of *ubuntu*. I advance an interpretation of *ubuntu*, drawing from the scholarship of Samkange and Samkange (1980), and deviating from the vogue understanding of *ubuntu* as an ethic or *ubuntu* as a philosophy. This interpretation sees *ubuntu* as a framework of encounter employed to navigate the interface with the other whose praxis involves the creation of a social structure that permits the currency of power between the bodies in the interface; the goal being to create a plane for the establishment of relationship – *ukama/ubuhlobo*. The chapter ends with a reflection of *ubuntu* as a philosophy of education.

Chapter 2

In this chapter, I situate the work of my thesis within a broader rubric of feminist practice. The chapter gives a rationale for the study's critique and delineates the stand of feminism to be used in the critique of *ubuntu*. Feminism, as a critique of the social *status quo*, is built into the DNA of the field. Hence, a feminist critique of *ubuntu* is not without precedence. I engage with major themes within feminist epistemologies such as subjectivity, patriarchy and gender through the scholarship of hooks (1981, 2000), Oyěwùmí (1997, 2002, 2003), Nzegwu (1994, 2004, 2012), Lugones (2008, 2010), Butler (2007) and the aesthetics of Mntambo (2007, 2009, 2015). I note how 'African' feminist scholars de-emphasise the body as a site for feminist theorising while spotlighting consanguinity as an overlooked aspect of 'African' social organisation. The chapter navigates through tensions within feminist epistemologies to arrive at a strand of feminism that speaks to the local as per one of study's research objectives.

Chapter 3

This chapter is both a contextual and conceptual chapter. Firstly, I situate (primary and secondary) education in contemporary Zimbabwe and the launch of CF 2015–2022. I demonstrate how the tendency to encode political aspirations into education has a long history in Zimbabwe, dating back to the days of colonial minority settler rule. I then bring the notion of citizenship education with its contested meanings within the fray of education in Zimbabwe.

Chapter 4

My thesis uses a decolonial-feminist research paradigm, which is, as Sandoval elucidates "a set of processes, procedures, and technologies for decolonising the imagination" (Sandoval,

2000: 69). The chapter outlines the philosophical orientation of the study, the methodological decisions made in the process of doing the study. I demonstrate how criticality is built into the different sections of the study. The chapter also importantly outlines the ethical considerations and standards that I observed and held the study to throughout the writing process.

Chapter 5

In this study, I have included narratives from eight female teachers. The decision to include narratives from Zimbabwean female teachers speaks to two of the three broad aspects of the study. Firstly, *ubuntu* has, in one way, been described as a living and a lived philosophy (Ramose, 1999), the teachers' stories evidence the lived reality of *ubuntu*. The interviews were conducted in a manner such that each teacher could look back on moments or instances in their personal and professional lives and reflect how each resonates with their ideas of *ubuntu*. Secondly, because the study is feminist in paradigmatic orientation, I valorised the female voice as Lamb (1994) attests about the nature of feminist endeavours. Stories have been used with a political edge throughout the study, being accentuated in chapter six.

Chapter 6

In this chapter, I bring the conceptual and empirical aspects of the study together to address the central question. This is the penultimate and yet central chapter of the thesis. In this chapter I respond to the main question driving the thesis, "what is the feminist critique of *ubuntu*?".

Conclusion

In the conclusion of the study, I reflect on the *ubuntu* – feminism intersection and the implications it holds for citizenship education in Zimbabwe. I demonstrate the opportunities of transformation presented by an expanded interpretation of *ubuntu* as well as underline the need for sensitivity to feminist epistemologies in drafting a citizenship education that is responsive to the local. I also recount how the study has addressed the central question, the research objectives and the tensions that sparked the commencement of the study. I end the chapter by projecting areas of further study to extend the contributions of the study.

CHAPTER 1:
UBUNTU LANGUAGE, INTERPRETATION, AND A USEFUL NARRATIVE FROM ZIMBABWE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Growing up in Zimbabwe, I remember that the word *ubuntu* was rarely mentioned in our household. I grew up in a non-traditional Shona and Ndebele-speaking Methodist household. My family audibly spoke more about *isiKristu* – Christianity – than they spoke about *ubuntu*. However, in retrospect, I am persuaded that our lifeworld was framed more by *ubuntu* than Christianity. *IsiKristu* governed our religious activities such as religious attendance of Sunday church services, praying before main meals but *ubuntu* framed our personhood and relations.

My father was one of the first people from his family as well as our village to move to the city. Soon after settling into a factory job he began receiving 'relatives'[5] from his village, all seeking a better livelihood in the city. Many of these 'relatives' lived with our family, which included my six siblings, in our township home in Gwabalanda, Bulawayo. Each time a person from the village arrived, my mother went to great lengths to sit every family member down (especially the children) to explain who the visitor was, how we were related, how we were meant to relate/call them. After this introduction, she would then ask all of us to greet the relative in the manner that she had just taught. This was done too when a new neighbour moved into the neighbourhood. The following is a typical example of one such conversation:

Mama: This is Tawanda. He is the last-born son of *sekuru*[6] Herende. You know *sekuru* Herende as your great uncle, but did you know that he is the only true relative of your grandmother? *Mbuya*[7] MaMoyo *sekuru* Herende's mother is your grandmother's aunt. Not just any aunt, she was born of the same mother and father with your grandmother's father. So Tawanda is your *sekuru*, you need to respect him. Now greet *sekuru* Tawanda.

[5] The quotation marks indicate the ironic use of the term because these 'relatives' were seldom blood relatives.
[6] *Sekuru* is Shona for paternal uncle, hence *sekuru* Herende means uncle Herende
[7] *Mbuya* is Shona for grandmother

Children: (clap our hands in respect) *Makadini sekuru Tawanda* (How are you uncle Tawanda).

My parents would go to great lengths to be the first to greet *sekuru* Tawanda, for example, as a demonstration to us, as children. Early education in our household was at the tutelage of my parents, and the pedagogy was driven towards relational content and demonstrative or performative in practice.

In our household, it seems the premise was that visitors were all there because they were all family, even though we had no biological ties to most of them. Also, the household was ordered according to these ties, regardless of age, for example, *sekuru* Tawanda was (and still is) well-honoured by my parents, even though he is the same age as me, their daughter. When other relatives came to visit and saw the social interaction in the household, our family was praised as being real people (*abantu, bantu!*) or for having *ubuntu*. So, while the word was not part of my daily lexicon growing up, it was a salient frame to my world view, especially at the family and community interaction level. *Ubuntu* was the keeper of the consanguine structure (*ubuhlobo*/*ukama*[8]), *ubuntu* ensured that each body that shared our space was rightly acknowledged, empowered and respected.

Retrospectively, I can see how *ubuntu* was not communicated in a hyperbolic manner. *Ubuntu* was transmitted in the language of relationship. In hindsight, I can say that relational appellation was (and still is) a large part of our family worldview. Each body that we shared space with was rightly named to occupy a specific position within our communal hierarchy. Indeed, some of the earliest deliberate learning I can recall was in line with getting the relations and their names right. In sharing this except from my past, I do so to bridge the divide between my motivations for starting this study and the domain of the issues that I tackle in the study, which is national. While the importance of education as a discipline and development area is not lost on me, I seek to ground it also in the private. Education, as I was first introduced to in our home, was intertwined with *ubuntu*, it was personal, relational and gravitated towards humanistic needs. This is a notion presented by the Nigerian educationist, Babs Fafunwa (1982: 13) where he notes that "[T]raditional education, as far as character-building was concerned, was certainly severe. However, this was because of the importance which African society attaches to this aspect of education… a respectful attitude to one's elders and active community

[8] *Ubuhlobo/Ukama* are Ndebele/Shona words for kinship.

life are indispensable conditions for any African wishing to be considered to be a person of consequences."

In adopting *ubuntu* as a philosophy to underscore the system of primary and secondary education, the government of Zimbabwe has taken a cultural artefact of deep epistemological and ontological affect that resides in intimate social structures (as painted in the scenario above) and posited it in the public sphere. In this move an aspect of culture has been transformed into a policy/polity artefact. This move by MoPSE warrants this critical study.

1.2 CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

The central objective of this thesis is:

> ***What is the feminist critique of ubuntu, and what are the implications of this critical assessment for citizenship education in Zimbabwe?***

.

The purpose has been broken down into a fourfold mandate whose answers I have taken to be presuppositions, leading to the achievement of the central purpose. The fourfold mandate, being:

- To get to an expanded understanding of *ubuntu* – one that speaks to the lived realities of progenitor communities of *ubuntu* and education in Zimbabwe
- To unpack the strand of feminism to bring into conversation with *ubuntu*
- To critique *ubuntu* from a feminist standpoint
- To understand what the implications of a feminism–*ubuntu* intersection hold for citizenship education in Zimbabwe

It is to the first mandate that I attend to in this chapter, and the other three will be addressed in the following chapters. The goal of the chapter is to scan through various understandings of *ubuntu* as detailed in various academic sources and the Zimbabwe new curriculum framework. The chapter intends to develop a broad interpretation of *ubuntu* that will guide the study as it unfolds. The chapter also makes a conceptual link between *ubuntu* in its various interpretations and lands on how *ubuntu* renders itself to the philosophy of education. Noticeably, *ubuntu* as a lived experience will not be covered in this chapter as it is *a posteriori*, requiring empirical constructions to answer fully. As such, it will be addressed in the findings of chapter five.

Ubuntu as a concept is one that has enjoyed travel across disciplines: politics (Wilson, 2002), philosophy (Van Binsbergen, 2001; Praeg, 2008; Ramose, 1999), theology (Bongmba, 2016; Shutte, 2001), education (Assié-Lumumba, 2016; Horsthemke, 2016; Waghid, 2014; Waghid & Van Wyk, 2005), management (Broodryk, 1997, 2002; Khoza, 1994), linguistics (Khoza, 2017), feminist studies (Magadla & Chitando, 2014; Gouws & Van Zyl, 2015; Viviers & Mzondi, 2016; Chisale 2018). There are even famous restaurants in Kenya, Australia, and Canada called *ubuntu* spaces. The disciplinary list is long, casting the net of research wide. This necessitates a delineation of sorts to keep the study in line with its primary purpose. The study is situated, by reason of the research problems that sparked its commencement, in feminism and philosophy of education. As such, the net of this chapter of *ubuntu* will be largely constrained to the areas of philosophy (of education), education policy and feminism as these are by and large the main concerns of the study.

In the sections that follow, I begin by unpacking *ubuntu* as a cultural artefact embedded in language codes. I then present *ubuntu*, going through different understandings or interpretations across different timelines. The chapter proceeds to a Zimbabwean understanding of *ubuntu* and then links to *ubuntu* as a philosophy of education.

1.3 UNPACKING *UBUNTU*

> "*Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*"[9] Brenda Fassie (1988).

1.3.1 Codes in language/Decoding our tongues

> "…learn our language, the language which reflects us, our culture, our spirit." Anzaldua (in Moraga & Anzaldúa, 2015: 163)

Reference to language in this study (this chapter in particular) is prevalent; this is occasioned by the researcher (a Ndebele/Shona speaking woman of the 'South'), the site of the research (the so-called 'global South') and one of the main focuses of the study (*ubuntu*, a cultural artefact of the 'South'). There is no denying from origins that *ubuntu* is, first, an 'African'[10] cultural artefact. Therefore, in order to fully expand and connect with a concept like *ubuntu*,

[9] A Nguni aphorism which when translated into English says, 'a person is a person through other people'. It is also the title of a 1988 hit song by the late South African pop star Brenda Fassie.

[10] I use the word Africa/n in quotation marks as a sign of in-text protest of unanimism (Hountondji in Wiredu, 2004) associated with systems of thought outside the West. The protest is in line with the issues raised by Ramose (2002), that the baptismal naming and memory around 'Africa/n' have led to that which associated with Otherness. It is also a way of highlighting the South-North impasse that is almost always raised when referring to 'Africa/n'. Lastly, it a protest of the monochromatic thinking that is raised by referring to aspects of a diverse geo-social mass in the singular.

being true to its genus, it is necessary to engage with the oral (being language) to inform this study. Just as Republic is to Western liberalism, so language is to *ubuntu*. Language is, therefore, used in an archival and archaeological sense, as an excavation site, a point of reference, and analysis. Language, in this chapter specifically (and the study generally), has been employed as a major informing archive. Mbembe (in Hamilton, Harris, Pickover, Reid, Taylor & Saleh, 2002: 19) sees an 'archive' as "an instituting imaginary". Hamilton *et al*. (2002) highlight that the archive can be understood in two ways: materially and conceptually. The materiality of an archive speaks to its physical presence – that is, a place where objects of significance are stored. Conceptually, the archive is an idea of how knowledge is curated at particular moments in history. Therefore, before delving into the study's first sub-objective of unpacking *ubuntu*, it is important to spare some thought for the archive of language. To unpack or speak of *ubuntu* as divorced from the language cultures it is situated in is to engage with it as a wandering spirit[11] – one that has no provenance.

According to Sapir (1956), language has the enviable task of being the chief vehicle for the transmission of ideas and thought (also see (Khumalo 2016) on the relationship of Nguni language to culture and ontology). For Moraga and Anzaldua (2015) language is an interpretation of the othered self. Beyond that, it also serves to capture human experience, encoding it for humanity in posterity. It is this attribute that Sapir (1956) argues that gives language the scientific adequacy for scientific inquiry and unpacking of broad and complex social experiences logically and scientifically. Language is an important facet of Zimbabwean cultures and indeed of any nation in geographic 'Africa' as socialisation in many of these places is around language. We can, therefore, speak of the Kalanga people congregating around isiKalanga, the Xhosa nation congregating around isiXhosa, the Zulu nation congregating around isiZulu, the Manyika people, the Ndau people, the Kore Kore and so forth. *Ubuntu*, as used in this study, is drawn, by and large, from Nguni languages and especially the Zimbabwean language of isiNdebele. This is the language spoken in the geographic southern parts of Zimbabwe. Poulos and Msimang (1998) refer to isiNdebele as a 'sister language' to South African isiZulu.

There are three aspects of isiNdebele/isiZulu I reference in this chapter, and which I have employed as central to the task of critically unpacking *ubuntu* as it has been framed in different

[11] In Southern African cultures a person has a 'real' home where their people are, the place of their genus. When one is separated from their people or their relations are severed from the 'real' home they are a wandering spirit – a person of no abode and direction.

academic archives. The three concepts pertain to the nature of isiNdebele/Zulu. The concepts state that the languages:

1. *Are agglutinating in nature*. Through a systematic process of combining affixes, morphemes and verb roots words are constructed and if the discussion on the constitutive nature of language is taken into consideration, so too is the isiNdebele/Zulu life world created. In this process, each affix, morpheme, concord or root can lose a part of its form in order to fit with the other morphemes to create a more expansive word.

   Consider the following example:

Simphiwe		We have been given her/him [English]
si	subject prefix (of concord)	**we**
m	object prefix (or concord)	**her** or **him** (Ndebele does not have gendered pronouns)
phiw-	verb root	**given** (in the sense of a gift)
e	final suffix	isiNdebele words close with a vowel

   The same word can be written disjunctively as follows: *si mu phiwe* (we have been gifted her/him). However, there is a far stronger morphological, semantic, phonological, lexigraphic (Poulos & Msimang, 1998), and traditional practice (Khoza, 2017) sense to use the conjunctive version. Note how the object prefix *-mu* loses the vowel *-u* in order to fit into the collective word as m- Similarly, the root verb *phiw-* loses the closing vowel to transform it into an adjective.

2. *Use a class system to denote nouns due to extensive use of prefixes*. Each prefix class refers to a certain body of nouns. *Umuntu,* for example, has the prefix *um-* which is in class 1. The class is for nouns that denote forms of humanity or being human or personhood. Consider *umntwana* (a child) or *umVenda* (a Venda person). *Ubuntu* has the prefix ***ub-*** which is in class 14. This class denotes abstract objects/subjects, their nature/state or their quality, among other things. Consider the word *ubuyanga* (poverty), *ubuqeqeshi* (teaching profession) or *ubugwala* (cowardice). The prefix is morphologically significant in Ndebele/Zulu lexicon. When the prefix changes, even when the root verb remains the same, the word transforms. Consider the following example:

   Um-*fundisi* A preacher (singular)

***Aba**-fundisi* Preachers (plural)

***Ubu**-fundisi* Preaching fraternity (as in the quality of the profession)

In all the above words, the root *–fundisi* does not change – by merely altering the prefix the word morphs. The prefix in noun morphology is the transformative agent while the root remains as subject, hence nouns in isiNdebele/Zulu are categorised by their prefixes. The *ubu-* prefix is derivational – transforming the lexical category of the root that it is affixed to. This power cannot go unacknowledged. Each prefix class denotes nouns that speak to a particular issue. Class 1[12] [um(u)-] and class 2 [aba-] for example, refer to nouns that relate to personhood or personal nouns. In the example above, *umfundisi* is a preacher – a person, *abafundisi* refers to preachers – persons. However, *ubufundisi,* which, while it is tangential to the notion of personhood, denotes it in an abstract non-personal manner. *Ubu* is in abstract motion and finds substance in the root verb. Hence, in an identical fashion, the following words can be better understood: *umuntu* (a person – singular), *abantu* (persons – plural), *ubuntu* (abstract – the quality of being a person)[13].

Take, for example, the word *igwala* (a coward) – it is a substantive ascription, a concrete state of being, in essence, a coward. When the prefix *ubu-* is applied, then the meaning changes from a substantive to a temporal state, the noun becomes *ubugwala*. One can have *ubugwala* (cowardice) without necessarily becoming an *igwala* (a coward). The prefix *ubu-* has the effect of placing the root in motion – abstraction it in a sense – but without permanent situated-ness. *Ubu-* is then a prefix that denotes a becoming. Ramose punctuates this point as follows: "[*U]bu* evokes the idea of be-ing in general…*ubu* as enfolded be-ing is always oriented towards –ntu" (Ramose in Waghid & Van Wyk, 2005: 107). Similarly, *umuntu* can be juxtaposed with *ubuntu*: the former as a state of be-ing and the latter as a state of becoming.

3. *Use the prefix in a syntactically significant manner*. Note the example given by Poulos & Msimang (1998):

I**zi**nja **za**kho e**zi**mnyama **zi**yakhonkotha.

[12] For the purposes of this study the number of classes is not particularly relevant to the discussions to follow but for clarity Poulos & Msimang's (1998) classification is the guiding template.
[13] Loose translation. Full description to be offered later in the section.

Noun + Possessive + adjective + Verb

Translation: Your black dogs are barking.

The prefix *izi-* to the noun at the beginning of the sentence commands that the prefixes in the sentence should be phonologically commensurate. This is called concordiality. The prefix is important in the syntactic enterprise as it is a determinant of the concordial agreement or communal agreement in the sentence that it is used. The prefix is in close relationship with the subsequent lexemes within a sentence.

The above grammatical conversions have a significant bearing in understanding the expansion of *ubuntu* in academic discourse, narratives and indeed in lived realities, as shall be shown throughout this study. The grammatical conversions are also going to be useful in weighing the adequacy of different understandings of *ubuntu* found in academic discourse. In engaging with *ubuntu* via its progenitor languages, we see that *ubuntu* is indeed not a wandering spirit. It has roots, deep roots at that, in the language cultures of its progenitors. Hence, an understanding of *ubuntu* must lie close to the archive that informs it – language. This is both an act epistemic justice as well as a search academic clarification to grow *ubuntu* discourse through contestation.

1.3.2 *Ubuntu* in academic discourse

The goal of this section of the chapter is to trace the different paradigms in which *ubuntu* is presented. It goes through major strains of understandings around *ubuntu* and critically assesses different interpretations of *ubuntu* using language as an informing archive. Of interest, also, is how (if at all) different understandings of *ubuntu* inform the growing body of work around 'African' Philosophy of Education (APoE), which is also a growing academic corpus. The section concludes by giving an expanded understanding of *ubuntu* that will guide this study.

A scan of published works will reveal that *ubuntu* has been captured in a myriad of ways in academic discourse. In some instances, it is noted as humanness/humaneness (Biko, 1975; Forster, 2007; Samkange, 1971; Waghid, 2014; Waghid & Van Wyk, 2005), in others a philosophy (Khoza, 2017; Nicolaides & Duho, 2019; Praeg, 2008; Praeg & Magadla, 2014; Ramose, 1999; Samkange & Samkange, 1980), in others a strain of 'African' humanism (Chikanda, 1990; Makhudu, 1993; Prinsloo, 2004), 'African' communalism/communitarianism (Ndima, 2015) and in others an 'African' worldview (Ansell, 2004; Broodryk, 1997, 2002; Murithi, 2009). While the very fact that *ubuntu* continues to populate academic space, especially in Southern 'Africa', is a welcome development to

understanding, assimilation and conceptual development. It has left, for some, a residue of inexplicability, a sense of ambiguity and incommensurability with contemporary society (Enslin & Horsthemke, 2004; Horsthemke & Enslin, 2009; Matolino & Kwindingwi, 2013; Matolino, 2015; Mboti, 2015).

Gade (2011), in his historical trace of *ubuntu* in academic discourse, notes an exponential explosion of publication around *ubuntu* as a subject starting from 1980. The departure points always being a search for understanding of *ubuntu* – what is *ubuntu*? Gade's (2011) historical presentation is helpful to the point of highlighting the changes in the history of the translation of *ubuntu*, which allow us to probe further the coinciding historical developments for a nuanced understanding of how *ubuntu* enters those points of history. Academic discourse proffers value in the *ubuntu* discourse because it offers a glimpse not only into territorial differences but also historical developments in the manner in which *ubuntu* has been unpacked. Using these territorial differences and developments in history, we can trace not only the changes in etymology but also coincidental events that could have sparked the different expressions of *ubuntu*. Gade's (2011) timeline is also significant in pointing that *ubuntu* has not always meant the same thing in antiquity. The changes in its rendering over time introduce us to the myriad of ways that it is captured today. The changes also necessitate the objective of 'unpacking' *ubuntu*, which is central to this study.

1.4 *UBUNTU* AS HUMANENESS/HUMANNESS

One of the most widespread renderings of *ubuntu* into English is *ubuntu* as humaneness/humanness. Translation has always presented a unique challenge in the study of concepts espoused outside of a lingua franca such as English. Known records of translation of the *aBantu*[14] group of languages date back to the Portuguese exploration of the southern coasts of 'Africa' (Doke, 1961). In isiXhosa, there is a common saying "*isiXhosa asihumushwa"* (isiXhosa cannot be translated). According to Khoza (2017), this saying possibly comes from a history of attempts to capture that which is evident in *aBantu* linguistics but is not always easy to convey in other non-*aBantu* languages or not keenly translated. It is against the backdrop of this struggle of unlocking the *aBantu* languages that the struggle for unpacking *ubuntu* ensues.

[14] Nguni languages were part of a grouping called Bantu languages. The grouping included languages such as Lou, isiZulu, Setswana, isiNdebele to name a few. But the term 'bantu' has since fallen away due to its negative memory emanating from apartheid in South Africa. I choose to use the term *aBantu* instead (Khoza, 2017) which denotes the collective and has no racial insensitivity attached to it.

Gade notes that "the term *'ubuntu'* appears to, almost exclusively, refer to a human quality in texts published prior to 1980" (2011: 316) [my emphasis]. The early manuscripts that Gade alludes to, stretch from 1846 to the present[15]. This means that *ubuntu* translated as humanness represents one of the earliest translations in isiZulu or *aBantu* language lexicography. This early archive, naturally, includes works by the early missionary and colonial invaders/settlers of Southern 'Africa'. One of the first comprehensive dictionaries of isiZulu by Dent and Nyembezi (1964) translates *ubuntu* as human nature. Contemporaries take up this mantle and define it as humanness or humaneness. The way *ubuntu* culminates into humanness/humaneness can be followed etymologically. The Ndebele/Zulu prefix *ubu-* denotes the quality, the state of, be-ing or ontology even, of something. Note the following examples:

Um-qeqeshi which is a noun denoting, a teacher.

Ubu-qeqeshi which is a noun denoting the quality or nature of teaching translated, teaching profession.

In the example above, we see that the prefix *ubu-* has a transformative capacity to the verb root, extending the verb beyond the action associated with a noun to an essence of state. *Ubu-* speaks to the quality of the noun denoted. Hence, if *umu-ntu* is a noun denoting a person, a human being, *homo sapien sapien* then, *ubu-ntu* as derivative of *umu-ntu* can be taken to speak of the condition, quality, disposition and nature of state human being. Human-ness, in this instance, is a befitting 1:1 technical equivalent as the suffix -ness is abstracting in action. It abstracts or extends a noun or participle as in:

Happy happi-ness

Dark dark-ness

Heavy heavi-ness

The suffix *-ness* abstracts the adjective (Anshen & Aronoff, 1999) so that it speaks to the quality of the adjective and state of the associated noun. Hence, *ubu-* and *-ness* have similar lexicographic effects on the verb or adjective. Morphologically speaking human-ness/humane-ness becomes an equivalent of *ubu-ntu*.

[15] Christian B.N. Gade (2011) is careful to note, as will also be extended here, that his timeline is based on the publications and manuscripts found over the course of his study. The present is taken to be the time of the publishing his work – 2011.

The policy that inspired this study CF 2015–2022 circumscribes *ubuntu* mostly as respect, as humaneness/humanness, and as interdependence. "Unhu/Ubuntu/Vumunhu epitomises universal human interdependence, solidarity, humanness and sense of community common in African societies" (Government of Zimbabwe, 2015: 13). GoZ defines *ubuntu* as observable ethics as well as a sense of interrelatedness.

In the new competence-based curriculum, *ubuntu* is at the centre of three subjects:

- Family and heritage studies (taken by grades 0 -2)
- Religious and moral education (taken by grades 3 – 7)
- Heritage studies (a compulsory from form 1 – form 6)

The curriculum rollout falls outside the mandate of this study; however, it is important to note how MoPSE has defined *ubuntu* and where it features in the new curriculum. *Ubuntu* is at the centre of the policy in terms of its philosophic orientation.

1.5 AN APPRAISAL OF *UBUNTU* AS HUMANENESS/HUMANNESS

It can be seen from the conversions above that the translation of *ubuntu* to humanness/humaneness is geared towards looking for an English equivalent. This was the orientation of the earliest Western attempts at translation, such as Father Brusciotto who, according to Doke's (1961) exposition imposed modern European grammatical methods on *aBantu* languages, "in which only to a certain extent was '*Bantu* grammar' given any free play" (1961: 1). The one-to-one translation of *aBantu* languages saw limited dictionaries being developed as many words could not be captured in European equivalents. Nuance was also lost in this method of language capture. While the technicality behind the translations was sound and paved way to written language development of *aBantu* languages and experiences (see Colenso, 1860[16]), there was limited nuance. The words that first entered this written archive were the ones that were of common use to the Western lexicographer looking to create channels of communication with the native language speakers and not the other way round.

The use of disjunctive reasoning to unpack or translate *ubuntu* brings out key attributes of the word; however, it does not allow for a full translation. A similar scenario is with the word *sakubona*, for example. In English it can be translated as hello as it is indeed the isiNdebele/Zulu medium of a greeting. However, while *sakubona* is a greeting medium, it

[16] Three native accounts of the visit of the Bishop of Natal in September and October 1859 to Umpande, King of the Zulus

literally means *we see you* not hello. It is to be understood from its fuller meaning it prompts those seeking entrance into the lingua-culture to ask appropriate questions such as why the Ndebele/Zulu people greet each other with these words. Could it be that engagement or encounter happens at the level of acknowledgement of the humanity of the *other* – *sakubona* – we see you. In like manner, *ubuntu* has been translated in dictionary fashion and carried forward into academic spaces in this limited translation without problematising the origin or the essence of the concept. Translating *ubuntu* as humanness speaks to the moral capability or measure of *ubuntu* but overlooks the relationality of *ubuntu*. In other words, it does not capture the reasons why human actions are a prerequisite of *umuntu* in progenitor cultures. A one-to-one translation loses the loaded subtilities in *ubuntu* in as much as *sakubona* intricacies are lost in hello.

In the early translations, we also see traces of the evangelists and conquest agenda of the early scholars of *aBantu* languages. The first translated manuscript of *aBantu* languages were Catholic manuscripts, such as catechism booklets, hymn books and later sections of the Judeo-Christian Bible (Doke, 1961). The goal in translating the native languages was not purely archival in nature but was laced with secondary intentions of extending the Angola Fathers' (Doke, 1961) evangelical missions. In this then, the translation of *aBantu* languages was not a scholarship of the coded languages of the progenitor cultures, but a means to an evangelical end. The lack of nuance, then, can be understood, as the translation goal was to ensure that the missionary languages (Latin, German, Spanish and, later English) and missionary message could be comprehended by the *aBantu* people and not the other way around.

Another problematic of *ubuntu* as humaneness/humanness is that it produces illimitable possibilities and prompts secondary questions. What does it mean to be human or humane? Here authors will often add parentheses that include qualities such as kindness, respect, goodwill, honesty, cheerfulness. Can *ubuntu* be all these qualities all at the same time? Can *ubuntu* represent ***all*** things good? What is good? The possibilities become illimitable and the outer limits of what *ubuntu* is undefined. This is one of the charges raised by Horsthemke & Enslin (2004), there is an ambiguity of what *ubuntu* is in the English language. Journal titles such as "May the real *Ubuntu* please stand up?" (Mboti, 2015) allude to the seeming ambiguity of the term. *Ubuntu* as humaneness/humanness simplifies the etymology of the word to English but complicates the definitive confines of what *ubuntu* is. *Ubuntu* as humaneness/humanness does not paint a complete picture and has several pitfalls in expansion. The most obvious comes

in the form of a question: what does it mean to be human or humane? This leads to illimitable subjective definitions for *ubuntu,* which then veers into the realm of what Horsthemke & Enslin (2004) quoting Hamm (1989:3) state as "…a matter of drawing conclusions, making extrapolations, and eliciting implications…"

Interpreting *ubuntu* as humaneness or humanness is the pitfall of the first translators of Nguni languages who sort to make a one-to-one translation of Nguni languages such as isiZulu to Portuguese or English but has been carried over into academia today without much problematisation. This has led to essence and nuance being lost as the agglutinating nature of the language (stated in the section introduction) is not immediately evident in English. That said there is a vibrant scholarship that has been built around the understanding of ubuntu as a humaneness/humanness. Several academics (Shutte, 2001; Forster, 2007; Murithi, 2009; Metz, 2011, 2014a, 2014b; Murove, 2012; Letseka, 2012; Sibanda, 2014; Waghid, 2014; Chisale, 2014; Le Grange, 2018; Chemhuru, 2019) have written sound scholarship around the performative aspects of *ubuntu*. Chisale (2018) for example notes how her understanding of *ubuntu* is in the way it is embedded in 'African' moral values. She then makes the connection of these values to care ethics – an important connection in the context of theology, pastoral care and feminism. Metz (2011) also raises an argument for the exigency of *ubuntu* as a moral ethic useful in the contextualisation of human rights in 'African' moral fabric. Metz's (2011) argument is for a conception of human rights founded on the notion of human dignity which itself is under scored by the 'African' ethic of *ubuntu.* These are progressive arguments that the scholars make, relevant in contemporary Southern 'African' society. The contribution that this study makes to such scholarship is that it takes a step back from the domains that *ubuntu* has been projected on and problematises first the very interpretation of *ubuntu*. In doing this I do not question the value that countless scholars bring to various domains but make a necessary contribution that by expanding our understanding of *ubuntu* there is an opportunity to ground scholarship in indigenous reason as well as give nuance to the domains where *ubuntu* is then projected to.

This section has demonstrated that translating *ubuntu* as humaneness/humanness does not exhaustively answer what *ubuntu* is but leads to consequential questions on what humaneness/humanness is and a sense of ambiguity. This ambiguity in the understanding of *ubuntu* does not invalidate the scholarship that emanates from that (or any other) understanding *ubuntu* as humaneness/humanness but begs for depth in interpretation before projecting *ubuntu*

to other domains. A simplistic understanding of *ubuntu* is probably what empowers Broodryk to state un-categorically that *ubuntu* "is found in ***all*** African languages" (2002: 27) [Emphasis my own] because humaneness/humanness is universal. *Ubuntu* then can become anything or everything with not outer boundary or definition. In this argumentative vein, *ubuntu* as humanness/humanness can be inadequate.

1.6 *UBUNTU* AS (AFRICAN) PHILOSOPHY

> "…all people have a philosophy that guides the way they live, their perceptions of otherness, and the decisions and choices they make about every aspect of their lives" (Letseka in Lumumba, Higgs, Mda & Vakalisa, 2000: 179)

In commencing this section, it is necessary to acknowledge, as did Outlaw (in Coetzee & Roux, 2003) that robust debates abound on the 'African' continent and beyond around the validity or plausibility of a contingent that can be rightly called 'African' philosophy. This has been a lively debate that has spanned decades, one that has sparked strong views on either side and little middle ground. However, the debate is not the focus of this study. I begin this thesis post-debate based on two factors – firstly, the policy document that has partly inspired the commencement of this study and its predecessor[17] have clearly adopted *ubuntu* as 'African' philosophy of education. To double back and question whether 'African' philosophy exists would be to open the CF 2015–2022 policy to reasonable doubt and to question the validity of scholars that have offered a logically sound defence of 'African' philosophy. This in itself is not a problem but the central thesis changes from the one being pursued in this study from a critique of a substantive (*ubuntu*) to an investigation of validity/plausibility (of 'African' philosophy and *ubuntu* as a contingent of 'African' philosophy). A second and weightier factor is that the question of 'African' philosophy and by extension African Philosophy of Education has been well-argued and defended over the years (Outlaw in Coetzee & Roux, 2003; Gyekye, 1987; Hountondji, 2002; Letseka, 2012; Ramose, 1999; Wiredu, 1980, 2004), to persist in this vein is deleterious, retrogressive and of pernicious effect of the scholarly work already laid in favour of 'African' philosophy. As such, this thesis begins on a well-debated footing that a contingent does exist that can be called 'African' philosophy.

[17] The policy document referenced here is the Zimbabwe Education Blueprint Curriculum Framework 2015 - 2022 and its predecessor is the (Nziramasanga) Report of the Presidential Commission Inquiry into education and training of 1999.

There is clearly a lively scholarly body of authors who identify *ubuntu* as a deposit of 'African' philosophical school of thought or 'African' philosophy in itself. In these instances, *ubuntu* is captured as either 'African' humanism (Chikanda, 1990; Makhudu, 1993; Tschaepe, 2013; Sibanda, 2014, Abdi 2018; Le Grange, 2018), 'African' communitarianism (Eze, 2008; Ndima, 2015; Chemhuru, 2019), 'African' communalism (Kimmerle, 2006; Mabovula, 2011; Etta, Esowe & Asukuwo, 2016; Ikuenobe, 2018), an 'African' worldview (Broodryk, 2002; Ansell, 2004) or Hunhu-ism[18]/*Ubuntu*-ism (Samkange & Samkange, 1980). Ramose's erudition is expansive regarding understanding *ubuntu* as philosophy, where he says that "ubuntu is not only a word or a concept. It is not a philosophical abstraction in the fashion of Plato's Ideas or Forms. On the contrary, *ubuntu* is a lived and living philosophy of the Bantu-speaking peoples of Africa. It is a philosophy with a past, a present and a project in the future." (in Praeg & Magadla, 2014:121).

A common thread in the above *isms* is the idea of *ubuntu* as interrelatedness that manifests on different levels to give dialectic differentiation (that is, humanism versus communalism versus communitarianism versus worldview). The interrelatedness can be at a person(al) level, community/village or international level or at a technological level, as in the case of the user-driven Ubuntu operating software. Biney (2014), for example, notes that while *ubuntu* is a Southern 'African' construct, it shares deep connections to the point of being used interchangeably with other African concepts. She also notes that values enshrined in *ubuntu* or 'African' humanism include "interdependence, dignity, self-respect, respect for others, co-operation or communalism, forgiveness, sharing and equality" (in Praeg & Magadla, 2014:29). In this vein, it can be understood why many scholars have found it useful to interpret *ubuntu* as a form of interrelatedness. The interrelatedness alluded to by Biney (2014) is also observable in the language archive. This is to say, if *ubuntu* is humanness then it is a shared humanity, if it is respect then it is a respect shared between bodies, if it is honesty then it an honesty shared between bodies, and if it is forgiveness, then it is a forgiveness shared between bodies – as in the work of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). In classifying

[18] Hunhu is a Zezuru (Shona dialect) word used by Samkange & Samkange to mean ubuntu. See (Government of Zimbabwe, 2015; Nziramasanga, 1999)

ubuntu as one *ism* or the other, the authors in this discourse range, consciously or unconsciously translate *ubuntu* beyond its etymological connotation.

Harro Hopfl, in his study of the etymology of the English suffix *ism*, provides an interesting insight: "[W]hen a whole flood of neologisms passes into common usage, we have good reason for suspecting some remarkable transformation in the perceived world of the community which finds the neologisms serviceable" (1983: 3). Hopfl's (1983) deduction is helpful in prompting us to go back on the timeline to observe the phenomena evident when *ubuntu* as an ism/ideology/philosophy (as in the case of the *ism*) first entered the academic discourse.

According to Gade's chronological analysis, 1980 is the watershed year when *ubuntu* began to be referred to as a philosophy in written discourse. If we look at the Southern 'African' countries with dominant aBantu language presence – for example, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and South Africa – Gade's (2011) timeline becomes an important note. In 1980, Swaziland had just crossed its first decade of majority self-rule, Zimbabwe obtained its independence, and South Africa was in the last and critical decade of apartheid before black majority rule[19]. Thus, 1980 stands in the middle of political transformation for the three countries. It can then be reasonably understood how the political projects of navigating post-colonialism, of commencing a post-colonial state and putting to an end to a settler regime in the three countries inspired the extrapolation of *ubuntu* from a cultural artefact to nation-building narrative and (consequently) a philosophy. If 1981[20] is taken as the median liberation year, then it makes sense that *ubuntu* as philosophy would populate discourse beginning that time. It is plausible then to note that *ubuntu* philosophy can be tied to a phenomenon referred as the narrative of return (Gade, 2011; Praeg, 2008) or the 'African' Renaissance (Mbeki, 1998)[21] or nationalist-ideological philosophy (Oruka, 1990). Berktay (2010), for example, in analysing the politics of Leopold Senghor for example, views his 'African' socialism less as a socio-economic ideology and more as a political device necessary in the immediate post-colonial period due to the divisions that wracked the country. Given the timeframe of *ubuntu* as a philosophy, it is possible that *ubuntu* in Southern 'Africa' plays into the narrative of return *cum* nationalist ideologies. Given that *ubuntu* philosophy in Zimbabwe was resurrected on the back of the 2013 political victory

[19] Swaziland, Zimbabwe and South Africa have the greatest concentration of Nguni (where *ubuntu* is located) speakers in Southern Africa hence the states are made subject in analysing the chronological phenomena of *ubuntu* as philosophy.

20 Swaziland received independence in 1976, Zimbabwe in 1980 and South Africa in 1994. The median of these years is 1981 (rounded off to the nearest year).

[21] http://www.mbeki.org/2016/06/09/speech-at-the-launch-of-the-african-renaissance-institute-pretoria-19991011/# Last accessed on 4 April 2018.

by the Robert Mugabe led the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) at the national polls – thus the nationalist links to *ubuntu* are plausible.

1.7 AN APPRAISAL OF *UBUNTU* AS PHILOSOPHY

Acknowledging *ubuntu* as a philosophy short-circuits the challenge of the direct translation problematic (*ubuntu* = humaneness/humanness) as it allows for greater depth of understanding and an expansion into broader aspects such a politics, economics, jurisprudence, theology and social structure (Mbeki, 1998; Murithi, 2009; Ramose, 1999; Samkange & Samkange, 1980). *Ubuntu* as philosophy allows for the ontological and epistemological foundations that necessitate *ubuntu* to begin to be questioned. In this vein, we see *ubuntu* is also craftily instrumentalised into the political woodwork to inform liberation narratives of the time as well as the political narratives that persist to this day.

In terms of coming to a broad understanding of *ubuntu*, *ubuntu* as philosophy is expansive, albeit with some minor pitfalls. The main cause being that, as argued by Praeg (2008), *ubuntu* as philosophy is philosophy of 'it'. There is a presupposition that one knows what 'it' is and, as such, the understanding of *ubuntu* as 'African' communalism (for example) should be an axiomatic exercise as *ubuntu* is self-evident. Judging by the questions in academic discourse and the desire of authors of *ubuntu*'s propensity to always begin with a "what is *ubuntu*?", the 'it' is seemingly, not self-evident at all.

Molefe (2014), in his review of Praeg (2014), poses a different problematic around *ubuntu* as a philosophy which is the employment of Western schools of thought in delineating *ubuntu*. "[A]n African scholar has to depend on Western archives in order to make sense of Africa…For example to refer to *Ubuntu* as 'communitarian' is to insert *Ubuntu* within a debate between liberalism and communitarianism, with obvious implications for what *Ubuntu* turns out to mean" (2014: 159–160). Wiredu (2004) sees the reliance on Western archives not as problematic but as an opportunity to domesticate knowledge. However there is clearly a problem of authenticity that emerges when a lens that is foreign (and at times antithetical) is used to analyse aspects of Africa or an *aBantu* artefact such as *ubuntu*. There is much to be said and gained from epistemological comparisons or interlocution; however, when *ubuntu* is co-opted into discourses outside of its origin in a definitive manner, essence may be lost. The ideas around socialism, communalism and communitarianism, for example, centre around the classed structuring of society and, more importantly, the ownership of property. Bringing *ubuntu* into the foray (of different *isms*) is to re-mould it in a manner that requires *ubuntu* to

respond to politico-economic questions, which may be outside of its focus. In this way, we can see how *ubuntu* became part of the political ideologies of the nationalists that lead various liberation movements around 'Africa', such as the pre/post-apartheid political narratives in South Africa.

Despite Wiredu's (2004) optimism in the notion of the 'Africanisation' of knowledge, it must be acknowledged that *ubuntu* as one *ism* or another can represent a refusal to engage with *ubuntu* on its own terms. It is applying a filter to understand *ubuntu*, which in itself is a lens into Southern 'African' lived experiences. *Ubuntu* as an 'African' form of other philosophies is like the fate of *uxakuxaku*. This is a fruit that grows 'wild' in the Southern 'African' veld. It is quite common in the dry savannah of Southern Zimbabwe. It is a sappy sweet, round-like fruit less than 5cm in diameter known categorically as *thespesia garckeana* or colloquially as snot apple. When eating it, the fruit must be chewed in order to extract the sweet sap and after chewing a dry, stringy residue is left behind at which point one is supposed to spit out the residue. For this reason, it is also often called the 'African' chewing gum. If one puts a piece of chewing gum and *uxakuxaku* next to each other, however, the visual similarity is lost. u*xakuxaku* is a complex tongue twister for non-native speakers of Nguni languages which have a healthy dose of clicks. In calling *xakuxaku* 'African' chewing gum, there is a sense of running away from engaging with a difficult term. It is also undeniable that to engage with *uxakuxaku* as 'African' chewing gum is to do so standing on a specific knowledge positionality – from the familiar of chewing gum into the unfamiliar *uxakuxaku,* even though the two snacks are diametrically different. I find that to frame *ubuntu* as an 'African' version of socialism or humanism or communism is to share in the fate of *uxakuxaku*. There are undeniable similarities, but fundamental differences call upon engagement with *ubuntu* on its own terms without seeking a simile to refine the process.

The argument above is not to a vote for theoretical isolation or epistemic purity – not at all. Comparisons and contrasts between different philosophies or world systems is a vibrant academic area of which *ubuntu* needs to be drafted into to bridge knowledge from different regions in the world. My contention here, given the debates that exist on what *ubuntu* means, is that to then wholly interpret *ubuntu* from outside of its epistemic system and lived reality is to apply markers that may not be of concern to *ubuntu*. Thinking of *ubuntu* as philosophy is still expansive, however, in that it allows the inquisitive to understand *ubuntu* less as an adjective or an action or ethic and more as a system of thought inspiring ethical action.

However, as Krog (2008) notes astutely, that is important to dislodge *ubuntu* from other driving forces so that we can engage with *ubuntu* on its own terms and less as a similitude or reconstruction of other concepts.

1.8 *UBUNTU* AS EMBEDDED IN POWER

In terms of taxonomy, Praeg and Magadla's (2014) assertion of *ubuntu* as power or what Praeg (2014) has termed critical humanism, should rest in the sub-section above, in the paradigm of philosophies/ideologies/-isms. However, there is a unique position that the authors forward that warrants individual treatment, especially considering this study's *ubuntu*–feminism intersection. Praeg posits:

> "Ubuntu is about power. More accurately, to write about Ubuntu is to engage in a struggle for power…every attempt to speak about Ubuntu is an exercise in power, a primordial attempt to get the fact and meaning of blackness, black values, traditions and concepts recognised as of equal value to the people who they matter." (2014: 13–14)

Praeg (2014) entreats the reader to consider the conditions necessary to ask the question "what is Ubuntu?" and alludes to a separation first highlighted by Van Binsbergen (2001) of *ubuntu* as praxis as well as a concept in the hands of academics. Praeg and Magadla expand the separation as follows "…we use '*ubuntu*' to refer to the living practice (the 'unadulterated forms of African social life') and '*Ubuntu'* to refer to postcolonial retrodiction of that practice as abstract philosophy…" (2014: 3) [quotation marks mine]. The reader is presented with *ubuntu* versus *Ubuntu* (case differentiation by authors) or praxis versus discourse. Although Praeg (2014) issues a caveat in that, the two are irreducible to each other, the corpus of his writing in this regard largely rests on *Ubuntu* discourse and not *ubuntu* praxis. I note here a disconnect between the academic enterprise and lived reality of the progenitor cultures of *ubuntu*. Van Binsbergen (2001:590) gives an alternate approach where he notes that "…it is pointless to study the contents of a philosophy (such as *ubuntu*) in isolation – *in vitro* – without reference to the particular sociology of knowledge by which it came into being and by which it is perpetuated" (2001: 59). To exclude the progenitor cultures from an exegesis of an artefact like *ubuntu* is a critical oversight and leads to Praeg's (2008, 2014) assertion of it losing some of its potency. It lacks concodiality, as espoused in the language archive demonstrated at the beginning of this chapter. As Hountondji (in Wiredu, 2004) advises, 'African' philosophy must be an epistemological excavation that audiences 'African' people primarily.

1.9 AN APPRAISAL OF *UBUNTU* AS EMBEDDED IN POWER

Despite the shortfall of emanating from separating *ubuntu* from its provenance, Praeg and Magadla's (2014) advancement of the power dimensions in *ubuntu* are salient and useful in *ubuntu* scholarship. Their work guides us to an understanding that the continued questioning of "what is *ubuntu*" is the exercise of formal dialectics healthy for *ubuntu* scholarship/discourse and to answer the "what is" question an exercise of power. The subversion towards power is a necessary and key development that is proffered by Praeg and Magadla (2014). It begins a conversation on the driving reasoning behind the adjectival activities associated with *ubuntu*. Although the authors introduce power as a consequence of asking "what is *Ubuntu*" it is still relevant to this study of the intersection of *ubuntu* and feminism.

1.10 *UBUNTU* IN ZIMBABWE: A USEFUL NARRATIVE

One of the first works on the Zimbabwean position of *ubuntu* can be found in the seminal work of Tommie-Marie and Stanlake Samkange (1980). In their book, we are entreated to the historicity of *ubuntu* and its transformative potentiality for the pending Zimbabwean independence in 1980. In Samkange and Samkange (1980: 35), we are further entreated to a story that sparked Stanlake Samkange's interest in *ubuntu* scholarship. As it goes:

In the early 1950s, Professor Samkange was travelling through rural Zimbabwe when his car was stuck in a ditch in one of the reserves (rural) dust roads. He elicited assistance from the nearby village where two boys, with the help of spanned cattle, came to his rescue. In a show of gratitude, he offered money to the boys. At this point an old man from the village arrived, just in time, to reprimand the boys for taking the *'bonsella*[22]*'*. As directly extracted:

> …when an old man approached us, recognised me and greeted me clapping his hands and calling me "father". I reciprocated his courtesy. "Now, my children," he said to the boys, "this is the father of Danny's mother. We cannot allow ourselves to accept anything from him. It can't be done. If there is anything you were hoping to buy with your *bonsella,* forget it. *Nokuti hahungave hunhu ihwo hwo"* (because that would not be humanness). "*Hazvingaitike* (it cannot be done)," the old man went on, *"kuti nditambire chinhu kwaari iye mwana wake ndiyi naye mumba* (that I can receive anything from him whereas I have his daughter in the house)." It turned out that the old man was Danny's grandfather and Danny's father was married to a woman of my tribe,

[22] In Southern African lingo, a *bonsella* is a tip or a bonus or gratuity.

> a *tete* – father's sister, to me. So, all men of my tribe were the old man's fathers-in-law. For that reason, he had addressed me as "father".

Respect for the elderly is common practice in many socio-cultures, especially so in 'African' cosmology. It is present in geographic 'African' societies, a common feature of gestural and lingual transactions. For this reason, the interaction between the old man and Samkange can be baffling and seemingly misplaced. It is difficult to explicate the above extract using many of the interpretations from academic discourse discussed thus far. At the same time, few can argue to the contrary that the narrative is *not* a display of *ubuntu*. An understanding of *ubuntu* from a Zimbabwean standpoint may help with the impasse. The extract can thus be expanded:

There are a formality and performativity to the greeting shown by the clapping of hands which calls for reciprocation, as is common in Zimbabwean cultures. The old man 'recognised' Professor Samkange. With recognition comes an establishment of positionality. The old man acknowledges Samkange as related to a bride (Danny's mother) in their village, and because Samkange is related to the mentioned woman, he immediately assumes the position of a father-in-law. Recognition brings allusion to another salient process – deliberation. A determination of locus had to have happened to determine each member of this encounter's totem and, by extension, their *locus standi*.

Relationship – *ubuhlobo/ukama*[23] – is formed in this moment of interaction, with clearly observed social structure. The old man initiates the relation, Samkange legitimises its existence by reciprocating the old man's greeting. A temporal consanguineous link is created between the parties. The boys take a backseat in the story after the old man enters, seemingly becoming alters in the brief extract, but they are still party to the transaction. They do not legitimate or protest membership to the relation initiated by the old man; their membership is by co-optation. Their participation is seen through the transaction or loss of transaction – that is, they become party to the temporal society initiated by the old man and their membership guarantees loss of potential monetary gratuity. There is a well-known Zimbabwean proverb that says *ukama igasva rinozadzikiswa nekudya* meaning relationship is a half measure that finds fulfilment in sharing (Murove, 2004). *Ubuhlobo/ukama* is a fundamental concept in Zimbabwean sociology, what the except demonstrates is how it is tied to the workings of an *ubuntu* framework.

---

[23] *Ukama* is a Shona word that means relationship. The Ndebele/Zulu equivalent is *ubuhlobo*.

With this recognition also comes a determination of the locus of power between father-in-law and sons-in-law. In the customs of Ndebele and Shona nations of Zimbabwe, relatives of a bride are revered. They have an esteemed position in the interaction of in-laws. Hence, the accumulation of power in the above extract is in Samkange's favour. This explains the esteemed respect that the old man accords Samkange via the clapping of hands. This is a show of great respect in Zimbabwean cultures, especially among the Shona people.

With the locus of power established, the terms of relation are evident. Samkange is an in-law to people of this village; he is owed respect regardless of age. This emanates from the belief that when *lobola/roora* /*bridal-dowry* is negotiated, it is never paid in full such that the relatives of the male seeking a bride have a perpetual sense of indebtedness to the bride and her family. To this end, the old man admonishes the boys not to receive a *bonsella* as they have a bride in their village to be read as they still owe the bride's family (in this instance embodied by Samkange). The young (the boys) and the old (the old-man) occupy an equal plane with regards to their interaction with Samkange, they're sons-in law, and their actions, rights and obligation are the same. The old man willingly cedes his power (interestingly, that of the boys too) and positionality as an elder.

Once positionality and the locus of power are established, the actions to follow are plain. The reader is given to understand that there is a knowledge script informing what should 'evidently' follow. The knowledge script is sociocultural – that is, in the extract above the interaction is governed by Shona culture. It determines and delineates the acts that are (not) acceptable in the interface: *bonsella* – illicit, respect for father-in-law (Samkange) – licit.

An observer or reader can look at the brief interaction the Samkanges have forwarded and see the exchange of respect/honour and be tempted to call *that* act *ubuntu* (humaneness/humanness). Another observer might see the interaction and see how a stranger is enfolded into the community and afforded respect/honour and call *it* a show of humanism or communalism or communitarianism. Yet another might see the performative extract on the one hand and the group of analysts or readers trying to make sense of the extract and demarcate between the lived experience of *ubuntu* and the discourse of *ubuntu* (*ubuntu* vs *Ubuntu*). None would be wrong; maybe just incomplete.

There are two scripts guiding the interactions in the excerpt above. The first script is seen when Samkange is interacting with the boys alone. The second script unfolds when the old man

arrives. On the surface it seems like mere encounters, but a closer reading shows that there is a fine code (the script) that delineates what is acceptable or unacceptable. Under one script, it was permissible for Samkange to give a *bonsella*. This would have been licit. However, when the script is flipped, it becomes illicit. The script transfigures Samkange from a passer-by in need of assistance to a well-respected member of the village/family commanding certain respect. There is a movement – a translocation – in the navigation process that sees the *other*, who stands on the fringes of the cultural imaginary, being integrated into the imaginary. The *other* does not lose their ontological form *per se* (meaning they do not gain or lose their humanity, as that is not in question) but there is a transmutation of power, which comes with a range of rights. Just as in the linguistic extract given at the inception of this section (where the verb root is transformed by losing a morpheme and gaining a closing vowel), the parties to an interface gain and cede power in order to establish *ukama/ubuhlobo* – which is the *raison d'etre* of *ubuntu*. Samkange's position is transformed via the application of *ubuntu*, and he becomes a father-in law. Once Samkange's positionality is established, all the emotions, respect, ethics, gestures, respect that are accorded a father-in law via their cultural script become due to Samkange. Like the power of a prefix in the isiNdebele/Zulu archive, the positionality establishes what is concordial in any encounter.

Note, however, that Samkange does not become father-in-law to humankind. The respect accorded him is not the request of ***all*** humankind; it is confined to the encounter. Also, note that the relation can be real or fictional – that is, made up within the frame. The relation making is in line with Haraway's (2015) notion of making kin, which is not tied to genealogy. Samkange's position is temporal, as is the consanguinity between the interacting parties. The encounter is, in a sense, in flux expressed within the confines of this interface. Returning to the vehicle of language introduced earlier, when the prefix *ubu-* is applied to a root verb, the resulting denotation is also temporal, in motion without a situated epoch. From this framing, we can better understand how Samkange's positionality is performative, temporal and, yet in the moment of encounter, substantive. Within the encounter, he ***is*** a father-in law.

The greeting is a crucial point of a first encounter and highly sacrosanct in *aBantu* cultures. In one dialect, there is a shortcut – *pachipamwe*[24] (things are still as is) – offered when people have met each other more than once in a single day. In isiNdebele, *sakubona* (we see you/hello) is a common greeting, which can be used several times over. However, it sits within the need

[24] Pachipamwe is used in the Manyika, a Shona dialect of Zimbabwe.

to acknowledge the sharing of space, to acknowledge the humanity and presence of an-*other*. When someone enters a space, an acknowledgement of sorts is offered to humanity in the space. In this narrative, the old man clapped his hands in greeting. Note how the greeting in the Samkange narrative is performative and communicates power. Bhabha (1994:2) notes that the "[T]erms of cultural engagement, whether antagonistic or affiliative, are produced performatively". The encounter presented by Samkange and Samkange (1980) and quoted above certainly echoes Bhabha's (1994) assertion.

This same scene can play out in KwaZulu-Natal (a province in South Africa where isiZulu language is predominantly spoken), or somewhere in the Eastern Cape (a province in South Africa where isiXhosa is predominantly spoken), or in Matebeleland North (a province in Zimbabwe where isiNdebele is predominantly spoken); and similar (not identical) nodes of interactions can be observed. However, the positionality, locus of power and acts due in the interaction will differ. Why? Socio-cultural differences – the subtle differences in culture – become the points of departure.

From the Zimbabwean extract and subsequent commentary, I make the following deduction and advancement that while there are diverse interpretations of *ubuntu* in academic discourse, *ubuntu* from this Zimbabwean extract seems to be:

> A social framework of encounter employed to navigate the interface with the *other* whose praxis involves the creation of a social structure that permits the currency of power between the bodies in the interface; the goal being to create a plane for the establishment of relationship – *ukama/ubuhlobo*.

A social order is created that generates power (Haugaard, 2003); a system of thought is employed to justify and disseminate that power (Foucault, 1980). While the extract is only a microcosm of a more complex society, it allows a nuanced glimpse into the dynamics, tenets and interactions that make *ubuntu* (possible). This last take on *ubuntu* is expansive and helpful in understanding what *ubuntu* is and become nodes of conversation with feminism. The nodes that emerge are:

- The encounter – Are all bodies free to enter the encounter?
- The notion of power – Who wields or wills it?
- The notion of social membership – Who governs the lines of admittance?
- The notion of social structure – How are different bodies positioned in the social hierarchy?

- The notion of membership by co-optation – Is this equal to violence?
- The notion of a socio-cultural script that determines what is commensurate in encounters – What effect does this have on different encounters?

The statements above are all elements of the rupture moment we can call *ubuntu*. This understanding of *ubuntu* has ramifications in that it serves different purposes when the notion of *ubuntu* is extrapolated to other domains, such as framing education policy or in feminism or political theory. This study particularly looks at the intersection of feminism and *ubuntu*, and their ramification on citizenship education. This is done in the critique chapter (chapter seven). At this point, I will park any further critique and consider how *ubuntu* has been extrapolated into the domain of education. The journey through various understandings of *ubuntu* is important in as much as it has brought the conversation to the above-stated understanding of *ubuntu*, which draws from Zimbabwean epistemologies. Given the wide interpretations of *ubuntu* that occupy the academy, it is important to have an expanded understanding that will engage with feminism for the rest of the study. *Ubuntu* as a framework of encounter provides exactly that.

1.11 *UBUNTU* AS (AN 'AFRICAN') PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

This section of the chapter connects with one of the reasons that sparked the commencement of this study – the introduction of a policy that employed *ubuntu* as the philosophy of education in Zimbabwe. In the following paragraphs, I review a range of literature around the field of philosophy of education and connect the contributions (and contestations) raised when considering *ubuntu* as a philosophy of education. I begin my discussion with a brief exposition of the philosophy of education (PoE) then continue to the conditions that have necessitated the rise in the discourse around 'African' philosophy of education (APoE). I end the section with a discussion around the contributions and contestations around *ubuntu* as a PoE; drawing from *ubuntu* discourse in the academy as well as the Zimbabwean working definition of *ubuntu*, I expand how *ubuntu* renders itself within education.

Noddings (2018; 1995) simply avers that PoE is an applied form of philosophy; applied in that it seeks to bring philosophical techniques to the service of questions pertinent to education. Petrovic and Mitchell (2018: 1) complement Noddings' (2018) standpoint on PoE that it is about raising philosophical questions around education, such as "…what should we teach in schools? How should we teach it? Why should we teach it? To whom should we teach it? In other words, philosophers of education connect the discipline of philosophy and its intellectual

tools to questions of education…" In these understandings of PoE, the authors borrow from the traditional connotations of philosophy as (among other things) "…the examination of logic and meaning" (Barrow, 1981: 4). This understanding of philosophy as logical inquiry goes beyond etymology (the love of wisdom) to refer to philosophy as a scientific and critical discipline. It is, therefore, when these attributes of philosophy are applied to education that PoE gains full expression. PoE, therefore, offers educationists specific ways of thinking about problems that are pertinent to education. For this reason, Davids (2012), drawing from Biesta (2001), sees PoE as a method of inquiry. Waghid (2014:5) notes that PoE "enables one to understand the situations of communities", reinforcing the idea of PoE as a vehicle of inquiry.

Letseka poses a poignant question,"[W]hat then can an African philosophy do for education in Africa?" (in Lumumba *et al.*, 2000: 187). This question presupposes that there are problems or issues within education that are peculiar to the 'African' context that may require an 'African' vehicle of inquiry to understand, question and philosophise pathways around the issues. Contemporary thinkers (Letseka in Lumumba *et al.*, 2000; Ndofirepi & Shanyanana, 2016; Le Grange in Petrovic and Mitchell, 2018; Waghid, 2014; 2019b) in the field of philosophy in general and PoE specifically have come to understand the existence and need for indigenous philosophies of education. Le Grange (in Petrovic & Mitchell 2018) sees the proliferation of indigenous philosophies of education, such as *ubuntu* among others, as an act of epistemic justice or a way of establishing distinctness especially in former colony states marred by violent epistemologies. For Landry (in Petrovic & Mitchell 2018: 15) there is a need in education to seek "…alternative ways of knowing and understanding ways of knowing and ways of being through an indigenous lens". Ramose, in conversation with Boaventura de Sousa Santos (Santos & Ramose, 2016), reinforces that bringing *ubuntu* into the construction of state enterprises or apparatuses such as education or legal frameworks is a matter of epistemic justice. It is in this contemporary shift towards epistemic justice that has amplified the impetus for the development – in academia and policy – of an 'African' PoE. 'African' philosophy of education represents attempts to find methods of deliberation about issues pertinent to geographic 'Africa' using methods that draw from 'African' thought. Waghid (2014:5) advises that, "if one hopes to understand the experiences and conditions of African communities, one first needs to practice a philosophy of education". Such advancements as the one posed by Waghid (2014), have given credence to developments of *ubuntu* as a PoE.

If we accept that PoE is a way of thinking critically about the central problems/questions in education as well as a social inquiry into the societies that are subject to a system of education, then what benefits, and challenges do *ubuntu* present to the discussion in advancing PoE – especially 'African' PoE? In accepting *ubuntu* as informing philosophy of education, we need to journey into how *ubuntu* – in its various interpretative states – renders itself to problems of education within the 'African' context. *Ubuntu* stands as one tract offering ways to think about educational issues using a pathway governed by reasoning framed by an *aBantu* worldview. Looking at *ubuntu* as an informant of philosophy of education is to say which attributes of *ubuntu* as philosophy are beneficial to educational pursuits or beneficial in unpacking complex problems encountered in education.

Henderson suggests that a philosophy of education "…ought to answer three questions: What is education; what ought education to accomplish; and by what means can this be done" (1947: ix). Noddings (2018) adds that philosophy of education is about addressing the what, who and how of education – that is, what is education, who should be educated, and how should they be educated. However, in considering the contributions that *ubuntu* makes to education, I would be remiss if I did not problematise or at least question from where the 'key' questions of education emanate. One of the central contributions that Hountondji (in Wiredu, 2004) makes in the debates around the character of 'African' philosophy (and by extension, PoE) is that scholars concerned with philosophies of/from 'Africa' should not be bogged down to categorisations that are external to the 'African' realities. Meaning to say in the practice of philosophies of/from 'Africa' there should be academic liberty to pose questions and define categories outside of reigning philosophic traditions. Hence, *ubuntu's* contributions do not necessarily have to be viewed from the standpoint of reigning hegemonic discourses in PoE. With this realisation in mind, what are the contributions of *ubuntu* to education?

Waghid (2014:57) notes that his "interest in *ubuntu* as a philosophical concept involves its emphasis on dignified and humane actions". If *ubuntu* is taken as a practice of dignified ethics or the premiering of humaneness/humanness, then in education, it renders itself by defining what is ethical (humane), moral interaction between encountering parties. The placement of a premium on humanity elicits an openness to interaction (with all the associated benefits of communitarianism) as well as an abhorrent stance on practices that violate humanity such as hate crimes. Waghid (2014) places these two-headed practices as demonstrating hospitality and *hostipitality*. Clearly, when *ubuntu* is taken in its most basic understanding (as

humaneness/humanness), it expresses itself in the ethical outcome domains of education. This use of *ubuntu* in education evolves into a discourse of rights/cosmopolitan/citizenship education that centres on what is ethically permissible in educational encounters. In the face of gross human violations in society and within educational institutions, such as rape, racism, xenophobia, exclusion, war and many such heinous acts – the premiering of *ubuntu* as humaneness/humanness has a strong place within PoE.

Ubuntu as humaneness/humanness is geared towards education that underscores the moral development of students as precursor of them developing into dignified moral agents of a humane society. Hence, an *ubuntu* conception of 'African' education is about developing moral agents able to execute desirable ethical markers such as kindness, thoughtfulness, honesty, creativity etcetera. However, just as in my initial appraisal of *ubuntu* as humaneness/humanness, the markers can become illimitable (or dependant on who is authoring). There is also the problem of what should prompt these humanistic acts. Are humanistic acts laid down as institutional law or intrinsic or passed on pedagogically? Looking at *ubuntu* from its humanistic genus brings into education considerations around situation-specific standards of human conduct in culturally diverse communities allowing for reflections on the essence of (a flourishing) humanity. Indeed, it is the humanistic aspects of *ubuntu* that have been evoked when looking at modern-day problems arising in education such as violence, education for persons with disabilities, othered sexuality issues, xenophobia, migration, and teacher training among other things.

Another contribution of *ubuntu* to education is the angle that looks at *ubuntu* from its communitarian/communalistic derivative. Scholars of ethno-philosophic[25] persuasion look at the communitarian and communal aspects of 'African' societies, especially agrarian communities and glean learning points that have a bearing on philosophy and by extension education. Letseka (2000), for example, lauds over *letsema/ilima/nhimbe*/cooperatives that are common in rural 'Africa' and are used as a way of getting large or labour-intensive tasks such as cultivation or harvesting done. The key lesson for education in this instance would be the virtue of working together harmoniously to achieve common goals. Van Wyk (in Waghid & Van Wyk, 2005: 109) adds to the discourse in saying that an 'African' perspective on education "needs a sense of community characterised by common interests". A

[25] I draw from Hountondji's (in Wiredu, 2004) understanding of ethno-philosophy of worldviews and cultural practices that are drawn from 'African' people and projected into/as philosophy without critique.

communal/communitarian contribution of *ubuntu* in education rests on the idea that a premium condition rests on the relational aspects of our humanity. Hence, education should provide a platform for students to become intrinsically connected to their peers, educators and the society around them.

Ubuntu's role in education has not been received without question. Its place has been deeply questioned and nowhere more so than in the work of Enslin and Horsthemke (in Waghid & Van Wyk, 2005). The authors ask, "Is there a philosophical foundation for thinking about education that is distinctly and uniquely African" (in Waghid & Van Wyk, 2005: 54). Their questioning of the efficacy of an 'African' PoE and by extension, an *ubuntu*-inspired PoE rests on the character of a philosophy that can been termed 'African'. Enslin and Horsthemke's (2004) argument rests on the reasoning that if a tenet that can be called distinctly 'African' cannot exist in philosophy, then it invalidates any contributions that a notion such as *ubuntu* can bring into education as its meanings are universal. However, *ubuntu* cannot be said to be distinct as humans across the globe are prone to relationality. It cannot be denied, however, that there is a framework of relationality that is unique to *aBantu* and frames their world view. Proponents of *ubuntu* as a PoE raise considerations that aspects of *ubuntu* do have a bearing on the major questions of education. Enslin and Horsthemke's (2004) charges have been reasonably discharged (Le Grange & Aikenhead, 2017; Letseka, 2012); however, I raise them here only to demonstrate that *ubuntu's* role in PoE has not been received in all academic quarters without contestation. The Zimbabwean extrapolation or expanded understanding of *ubuntu* begs us to look beyond the ethic of *ubuntu*. It calls on us to understand *ubuntu* less as an ethic or a moral action and more as a social framework, an apparatus for navigating power laden encounters. The understanding of *ubuntu* as a framework of encountering the *other* opens a channel of consideration for interactions. Waghid and Davids (2013) call these interactions pedagogical encounters within the educational instructions and the conditions that necessitate humanistic responses. Thought needs to be spared for power dynamics that define pedagogical encounters, how power is accumulated (and ceded). The understanding also paves the way for acknowledging the role of informing scripts that can culminate into pedagogical codes[26] – that is, systems of meaning-making within educational institutions. Therein also we can consider ways of rewriting the said codes or unseating toxic scripts within education in favour of say inclusion, cosmopolitanism or whatever desirable humanistic endeavour that is set. The

[26] I use code with reference to Basil Bernstein's (1971) use of code theory, that is a form language as a set or organising principles behind the language used by members of social group.

expanded understanding of *ubuntu* advanced earlier in the chapter urges us to consider issues of positionality, power, moral concordiality, pedagogical codes (or scripts) towards establishing harmonious relations (relationality/*ukama/ubuhlobo*). More of the possibilities presented by the expanded understanding of *ubuntu* are discussed in chapter seven.

From the epithet on my family's interactions in the introduction to this chapter, we can deduce that education within the *ubuntu* grand scheme leans towards the acknowledgement of the humanity of the other. For example, the systematic and performative naming of bodies in a shared space underscores the relevance and importance or the role that each body occupies in that lifeworld. In my growing up, this was our family; this performative, naming, humanising act was done by all and for all. The critical reading of literature adds credence to my brief personal extract at the core of *ubuntu* is the premium placed on human life/dignity as well as the circumscription that the becoming of that life lies in its relatedness to the other.

1.12 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In the chapter, I presented a critical reading of different understandings of *ubuntu*, leading to a Zimbabwean understanding that draws from the work of Samkange and Samkange (1980). Given the shortfalls that emerge when *ubuntu* is taken narrowly, I found it necessary to devote space to problematize the different interpretations around *ubuntu* as a build-up to a working definition that guides this study. Language was used as a key archive to inform the critical reading of *ubuntu* in the academy given that *ubuntu* is firstly, an artefact of *aBantu* cultures whose worldview is encoded in language. The deduction leads to the expanded understanding of *ubuntu* as a philosophy of encounter and social framework employed to navigate the interface with the *other*. The *raison d'etre* being to establish relationality – *ubuhlobo/ukama*.

I also considered how *ubuntu* renders itself in education. I traced how *ubuntu* culminates into a philosophy of education by engaging with the leading debates around an 'African' philosophy of education. This section is a precursor to where the thesis intends to land – that is, on issues of citizenship education in Zimbabwe, which will be discussed further on in the thesis. In the next chapter, I delve into debates around feminism as well as the feminist strain used in the critique of *ubuntu*.

CHAPTER 2:
FEMINISM(S): CHOOSING THE LANGUAGE OF CRITIQUE

2.1 CHAPTER INTRODUCTION

> "Why are you doing (sic) a feminist critique, what has *ubuntu* done to feminism?" (A participant at the Education Scholars Regional Research Conference of 2018)

When I began writing this thesis, I first put together a proposal to map the study. I presented the proposal at the annual Education Scholars' Regional Research Conference (E.S.R.R.C) held at the University of the Western Cape (U.W.C) in September of 2018. After the presentation, one participant asked the question posed above. While it is not a guiding question of this research; it is a question I believe deserves brief attention as a lead into the objectives of the chapter on feminism(s).

Why a feminist critique of *ubuntu*? Feminism, as a field of study, has become a lens through which society can be analysed to give voice to *othered* subjectivities (Mohanty, 1988). Hence, critique is built into the DNA of feminism. For example, Spender (1980) in '*Man made language*' gives a feminist critique of language, Mohanty (1988) in her seminal article, '*Under Western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses*' issues a feminist critique of the development industry, and Pateman (1988) in her book '*The sexual contract*' develops a feminist critique of political theory. Feminism even critiques itself; works like '*Aint I a woman: Black women and feminism*' by bell hooks (1981) or '*The invention of women: Making an African sense of Western gender discourses*' by Oyèrónkẹ́ Oyěwùmí (1997) are examples of feminism critiquing itself and assessing its own progression. The works highlighted are critiques into significant socio-political organising systems such as language, aid and development, politics, and feminism. These are a few examples of the tradition of critique in feminism. I bring up these works to suggest that this study falls within the same tradition. This is to say a feminist critique of *ubuntu* continues in the same critical feminist tradition, there is precedence. It also speaks to the socio-political significance of education and *ubuntu* as a notion that seeks to (re)frame education. Hence, the application of a feminist lens onto *ubuntu*, its genus and mechanics, is befitting.

'What has *ubuntu* done to feminism?' When the E.S.R.R.C participant's question is examined against my own research question (what is the feminist critique of *ubuntu*?), it suggests a

conflation of two concepts: criticism versus critique. The tone of the participant's question seems to suggest that my study rests on the former. However, my study is a critique, in that its objective is to "separate and discern" (Davis & Schleifer, 1991: 3) in feminist tradition, not criticism. Of the distinction between criticism and critique, Benhabib demarcates the field as follows:

> While criticism… stands outside the object it criticises, asserting norms against facts, and the dictates of reason against the unreasonableness of the world, critique refuses to stand outside its object and instead juxtaposes the immanent, normative self-understanding of its object to the material actuality of this object. (1986: 32,33).

In line with Benhabib (1986), my study's critique is reflexive in method – that is, it brings *ubuntu* into conversation with feminism rather than feminism spotlighting *ubuntu*. The conversation requires an awareness of the conversing parties: note the expanded view of *ubuntu* in the previous chapter and the discussion on feminisms in the sections that follow. The process is iterative, presenting a dialogue between feminism and *ubuntu*.

2.2 CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

Now that I have established that critique is part of a longstanding tradition in feminism and that this study is operating within the said tradition, the rest of this chapter is dedicated to outlining what feminism is as a precursor to the feminist critique. The chapter feeds the second sub-objective of this study, which is:

To unpack the strand of feminism to bring into conversation with ubuntu

In the proceeding sections, I will map out different strands of feminism(s)[27]. The goal is to come to a feminism that is synonymous with or close to Zimbabwean lived realities and better able to speak to *ubuntu*, an artefact rooted in Zimbabwean realities. The mapping begins with the dominant or popular strands of feminism moving towards the margins, to other strands within feminist epistemology.

This chapter has a dual focus: the first being a working definition of feminism(s) that is useful in the study's main enterprise of a feminist critique. The second is a search for a feminist strand that is commensurate with Zimbabwean lived realities. Under the second focus, I argue that a

[27] In light of Cornwall, Harrison & Whitehead (2007) the plural (s) has been put in parentheses to indicate that the feminist approach in this study is decentred, recognising multiple strands of feminism, and allowing for situatedness.

feminism that draws from 'African'[28] Zimbabwean lives is better suited to critique an artefact like *ubuntu*. I proceed *a priori* to outline such a feminism, drawing from works of Oyěwùmí (1997, 2002, 2003), Nzegwu (1994, 2004, 2012), Butler (1988, 2007), Magadla & Chitando (2014), Thorpe (2018), Dangarembga (2004), Lugones (2008, 2010), Coetzee (2017), Osha (2008) and hooks (1981, 2000), to name a few.

2.3 FEMINISM(S): A WORKING DEFINITION

> At a time when the current trend is most definitely to denounce totalising theories, to celebrate difference, recognise 'otherness', and acknowledge the multiplicity of feminisms, any attempt to define or represent 'feminism' will inevitably prove problematic. (Kemp & Squires, 1997: 4).

It may seem oxymoronic or even counterfactual to present a working definition in the face of what Kem and Squires note in the epithet. However, in this increasingly *pluriversal* (Mignolo, 2007) world, definitions become more important for the sake of situating arguments. Hence, I begin unpacking feminism(s) with a search for a situated working definition. Oyěwùmí (2003:1) notes that "feminism as an ideology if not as a social movement, is subject to many qualifications. Thus, scholars differentiate between white feminism, black feminism, Western feminism, Third world Feminism and African feminism. These distinctions reflect the contestations that have become very much a part of the history and worldwide development of feminist ideas". Because of the contestations that Oyěwùmí (2003) mentions feminism(s) can be defined in several ways.

In mainstream feminist epistemology, it is explained in a linear progression of emergent thoughts or 'waves'. A linear progression is useful to the point of understanding the conditions necessitating neologisms or emergent thoughts in the movement. Feminism, then, is defined by the different developments that it has undergone over time – beginning with the suffragette movement in the mid to late 1800s to the women's rights movement of the 1950s, to the so-called 'identity politics' of the last decades of the 20th century and lastly to queered feminisms in the early 2000s. The timeline is often in line with socio-political developments in Europe and North America. This linear, time-bound (wave) definition is beneficial to a limited point

[28] I continue to use the word Africa/n in quotation marks as a sign of in-text protest. The protest is in line with the discussions raised in chapter 2 of this study as well as Ramose (2002), that the naming and memory around 'Africa/n' have led to that which associated with Otherness. It is also a protest of the problematic of a South-North impasse that is almost always raised when referring to 'Africa/n'. Lastly, it a protest on the monochromatic thinking that is raised by referring to aspects a diverse geo-social mass in the singular.

in a study such as this – done at a South African university, by a Zimbabwean black female, and speaking to education policy issues in Zimbabwe.

There are two assumptions implicit in 'wave' feminism that render it otiose to the purposes of this study. Firstly, it assumes an objective starting point of feminism such as the late 1800s movement for voting rights in the United Kingdom, Australia and continental Europe (see Ross, 2009 – '*The birth of feminism*' or Morgan, 2006). This linear progression assumes universal in subjectivity and does not account for any differences in the condition of the subject of feminism. Secondly, feminism defined in waves assumes 'travel' of the feminist movement to other parts of the world with an *a priori* of feminism being an exported movement foreign in the places it 'travels' to, which is not the case (see Sarma, 2015 – a brief memoir of mid-19th century Indian feminist Savitribai Phule). The two assumptions collapse into a problematic of distance, which is to say if feminism began with the suffragette movement, then it is disenfranchised from the realities of former colonies whose political struggles are not similar to those of the so-called West and assumed centre. The wave analogy also collapses on the issue of universal subjectivity, however, the idea that women everywhere suffer subjugation in similar ways has been debunked (see hooks, 1981; Mohanty, 1988, 1991; Oyěwùmí, 1997, 2003; Win, 2007; Lugones, 2010; Moraga & Anzaldua, 2015). In this study, therefore, the linear progression is not explored. For the stated reasons, I choose an un-centred route to unpack feminism; a route whose "starting point is pluralist", acceding that "there are feminisms, not feminism" (Cornwall, Harrison & Whitehead, 2007: 1).

Feminisms can also be defined in terms of the ideological epochs that formulate their central ideas. Shanyanana & Divala (2017:91) note that "numerous scholars have explained feminism from differing theoretical traditions and standpoints". In terms of theoretical traditions or ideological epochs, feminisms can be defined as liberal, radical, Marxist, post-colonial or decolonial to name a few strands. In each epoch the central ideas within the ideological silo inform the key tenets in feminism. Liberal feminism for example, is concerned with equality based on the sameness of female and male subjects hence deserving of equal access and standing before the law. Liberal feminists assert that women are not the property of men or male led households (see Pateman, 1988) but are autonomous beings with the ability to engage in civic or economic processes such as voting or owning property in their own standing (Wendell, 1987). In education, liberal feminism is concerned with issues of access to schooling, education as a basic human right and gender-based representation in classrooms and schools'

management. This strand of feminism is however, sometimes accused of being western in orientation and too individualistic in its perspective of the subject of feminism. Sadernberg (2013) for example, notes how liberal feminism does not always translate into real or liberating transformation for women. Regardless of this criticism liberal feminism it is still an important strand in feminist thought because of its emphasis on equality and rights.

Marxist/socialist feminism for example is of the understanding that a gendered society emanates from and is sustained by a capitalist and classed society. That the exploitative nature of capitalism drives social inequality that is sustained by uneven social classes and upheld by unaccounted labour contributions, especially of women. An important contribution from Marxist/socialist feminisms is the conceptualisation of gender as a social construction and not as a constitute of biological determinism. Capitalism is seen as a form of patriarchal domination that should be resisted via social organising often under worker unions. Armstrong (2020:5) notes that the difference of Marxist/socialist feminisms from liberal feminism is in the understanding that "the vote alone was not enough to ensure all women's liberation". Beyond the link between capitalism and women's subjugation another important contribution of Marxist/socialist feminism is the notion of social reproduction. This is the understanding that there are institutions outside the places of production that reinforce and replicate the classed capitalist society. These sites for 'capitalist renewal' (Armstrong, 2020) include the family, schooling, religion and the political economy. In education Marxist/socialist feminists are concerned with challenging schooling as a site for reproducing classed, gendered society (see Stromquist, 1995).

Post-colonial/'African' feminism on the other hand grew as a contestation to the universalist ideas of (Western) liberal traditions that could not account for fractures of experiences of the subject of feminism(s). It is emboldened by scholarship from the so-called global South and diaspora academics in western institutions. Works by Mohanty (1988), Oyěwùmí (1997), Spivak (2003), Mekgwe (2007, 2010), Win (2007), Dangarembga (2004), Phiri (2010), Aidoo (1994, 2006) to name a few, paint a different picture of the non-white, non-Western subject and in so doing dislodge ideas of subjectivity from the totalising grip of Western feminism. Post-colonial feminism recognises the effect of colonisation on re-creating a gendered society and marginalising pre-colonial social structures in formally colonised countries. Post-colonial feminism, hence, is concerned with writing back to centre (occidental colonising force) as a resistance to the effects of colonisation and recapturing post-colonial subjectivities from

Western imagination (see Oyěwùmí, 1997). In education, post-colonial/'African' feminism is concerned with finding ways to create space in education for challenging gendered colonial ideas and liberating 'African' subjects from the grip of post-colonial woes such as poverty (Assié -Lumumba, 2007).

Decolonial feminist thought challenges modernity and critiques postcolonialism in a way, in that it does not assume a 'post' or that formerly colonised worlds are beyond the influence of colonisation. Maldonado-Torres notes that "coloniality survives colonialism. It is maintained alive in books, in the criteria for academic performance, in cultural patterns, in common sense, in the self-image of peoples, in aspirations of self, and so many other aspects of our modern experience. In a way, as modern subjects we breathe coloniality all the time and everyday" (2007:243). At the heart of coloniality is an epistemic project that centralises knowledge and its production in western and simultaneously delegitimises knowledge or the any production of knowledge outside of the Western tradition. Mignolo (2005:11) notes that coloniality as a system of re-ordering the world rests of four pillars of control (the colonial matrix of power): (1) the economic: control of resources, (2) the political: control of authority; (3) the civic: control of gender and sexuality; and (4) the epistemic and the subjective/personal: control of knowledge and subjectivity (Gräbner, 2014).

The coloniality of gender acknowledges that in the creation of the colonised or colonial state it was also necessary to create not only a racialised subject but a sexed and gendered one as well. Largely patrilinous nations (as existed in pre-colonial 'Africa') where social hierarchy was determined by relations to the king (Nyathi, 2017) became racial and patriarchal states where social standing became determined by one's race and then sex (Lugones, 2010). Lugones (2010, 752) insists coloniality of gender "is not an affair of the past. It is a matter of the geopolitics of knowledge. It is a matter of how we produce a feminism that takes the global designs for racialised female and male energy and, erasing the colonial difference, takes that energy to be used toward the destruction of the worlds of meaning of our own possibilities". Decolonial feminism therefore is about resisting and delinking from the colonial regimes of knowledge. Lugones (2010) recommends borderlands thinking, creating an interstice of alternative epistemology a notion that Mamndani (2017) affirms in saying the decolonial turn is about imagining 'an alternative'. This alternative subjectivity draws from the past, recognises the emergency of the present to project new possibilities for the future. Coetzee avers that decolonial 'African' feminism is "…a space in which it becomes possible to imagine new

subjectivities and futures rooted in African histories and cultures. It is about thinking backwards and forwards at the same time, a creative alliance of memory and imagination in order to reimagine African subjectivities" (2017:74).

The advantage of explaining feminism via ideological epochs is that we are able to read the same social problems using different lenses. There is, however, still a danger of lingering back into wave or a timeline/geo-political based understanding of feminism. For example, liberal feminism is associated with the suffragette movement in Europe from the 1800s to the 1960s. There is also another possible danger of assuming ideological epochs are stand-alone silos where in actual fact the epochs overlap ideologically with scholars contributing to more than one feminist the epochs. Oyěwùmí (1997, 2003) is widely considered a post-colonial scholar but she greatly informs the work of Lugones (2010) a decolonial theorist. Similarly, Spivak (2003) through subaltern studies is considered a post-colonial scholar but she routinely draws from French post-structural schools of thought. Also, the notion of human rights while emphasised by liberal feminists runs across many of the feminist ideologies. This is all to say, the ideological epochs are porous and overlap.

In this study, while the work is greatly decolonial 'African' in orientation I desist from operating in an ideological silo. Hence, I unpack feminism(s) by the key tenets that define it. Writing from a global 'South' development perspective, Sardenberg (2008: 19) notes that what feminism seeks "is to question, destabilise and, eventually, transform the gender order of patriarchal domination". In her self-described 'little book', bell hooks offers a succinct definition of feminism as "a **movement** to end **sexism**, sexist **exploitation and oppression"** (2000: viii) [bold emphasis my own]. In Sardenberg (2008) and hooks' (2000) portraits, we can draw out four tenets concerning feminism:

1. There is an assumption of subjectivity and a central subject. Within feminism, this subject is accepted as, largely, the category woman[29] (De Beauvoir, 1952; hooks, 2000; Oyěwùmí, 1997).
2. There is an assumption of a common enemy; there is a central antagonist of which the 'movement' is geared against. Within feminism, this antagonist is accepted as

[29] U.S third-world feminisms and queer theory have re(de)constructed this central tenet of category woman from a homogenous category with similar existential subjectivity to a hetero-genus (Moraga & Anzaldúa, 2015; Weed & Schor, 1997)

the hegemony of patriarchy (Edström, 2014; hooks, 2000; Johnson, 2005; Pateman, 1988).

3. There is an assumption of a common and systemic expression of this antagonist cum patriarchy – being sexism (Butler, 2007; Friedman, 2006; hooks, 2000; Magadla & Chitando, 2014; Sardenberg, 2016).
4. The expression of sexism in feminist epistemology is best explicated through the concept of gender, which is a major theoretical framework in feminist epistemology (Butler, 2007; Coetzee, 2017; Friedman, 2006; Osha, 2008b; Oyěwùmí, 2002; Oyěwùmí, 1997).

Johnson (2004: 29) advises that "[T]he key to understanding any system is to identify its various parts and how they're arranged to form a whole". I concur with Johnson (2004) in that a segmented view of feminism(s) allows for a better understanding of the whole with the added advantage of not having a territorial infliction. Thorpe, in her timely anthology on feminisms from South Africa, reminds us that "feminism doesn't mean the same thing to all people… feminism is sometimes contested… feminism is profoundly about power, potential, passion and rights" (2018: 7). For Thorpe (ibid.), feminism is an amalgam of many things.

The particularistic entry understanding of feminism offered by hooks (2000) is one that focuses on fundamental tenets of feminisms and has been adopted in this section of the study. I will briefly delve into each tenet as understood in key feminist *epistemes*. I will also situate each part within 'African' thought and reality or problematise it in the face of common Zimbabwean realities as an introduction to a situated/Afrocentric feminism.

2.3.1 Common subjectivity?

> Feminist critique ought also to understand how the category of "women," the subject of feminism, is produced and restrained by the very structures of power through which emancipation is sought. (Butler, 2007: 4)

At the centre of feminist epistemology is the assumption of a central subject, one whose existential being or subjection is incandescent to feminism as a movement. Having a common subject has given the feminist movement great prominence, as exemplified by platforms such as the 1995 United Nations' (U.N) Fourth Conference on Women, popularly known as the Beijing Platform for Action [B.P.F.A]. As pivotal as subject and subjectivity are in feminism, they are still hotly debated aspects of feminist thought. One of the major and initial tenets of feminism has been the assumption of a *common* subjectivity coupled with a *common* subject.

Common here can also be read as universal. The idea that women as a category are on the losing end of the social status quo has been and continues to be a powerful organising point within feminism. For Lamb (1994), there is no doubt that any endeavour that claims to be feminist, has to embody women's existential priorities. But who is a woman, and what does it mean to be a woman? This section will sweep through the morass of academic thoughts subject(ivity) in feminism as a way of building towards the second sub-purpose of this thesis – to unpack the strand of feminism to bring into conversation with *ubuntu*.

De Beauvoir (1952: 249) notes that "[O]ne is not born a woman, but becomes a woman". This is an assertion against deterministic biological thinking that states that woman is a dimorph of anatomical man. It is an assertion that is shared by Butler (1986, 2007) who adds that woman is a category that predates the body entering into history. The body, for Butler (2007), is a 'facticity' born out of sustained performative acts on the corporeal body that holds no meaning before its entrance into history. For De Beauvoir (1952) and Butler (2007), sex or biology is as malleable as gender in the social construction of sex. So, to be a woman is indeed to become a woman; it is to compel the body to adhere to a socially accepted 'idea' (Wittig, 1997) or 'myth' (De Beauvoir, 1952) of category woman that exists in the imaginary. Butler (2007: xi), for example, states that "one is a woman… to the extent that one functions as one within the dominant heterosexual frame". Woman, accordingly, is a category that exists with standards and precepts. To be a woman is not only about being anatomically conforming; it is also about being socially subject to those standards. In this way, subject is tied to a socially acceptable subjectivity. 'Woman' then is not a naturally pre-determined grouping; it is a working of society on the anatomical body to conform it to a pre-determined idea of what 'woman' should be. Memory, history and territoriality, among other things, then become powerful agents in giving 'woman' a context.

While for Butler (2007) and others (De Beauvoir, 1952, Wittig, 1997) 'woman' is approached as a philosophical and psychoanalytic deconstruction, in other quarters 'woman' is a political entity. As hooks comments "[F]eminist *sisterhood* is rooted in *shared* commitment to *struggle against* patriarchal injustice". (2000:15) [Italics my own]. 'Woman' then (according to hooks (2000)) becomes a category of political expediency. Examples of the political significance of woman can be seen in the B.P.F.A.'s (1995) 12 critical areas. One of which was education and training for women, the goal being to eradicate the gender disparity in education. In identifying 'woman' as a political front, the focus is not only on defining who qualifies as 'woman' but

against what system (or whom) does 'woman' stand. It is important to note that 'woman' as a political rallying point stands against something or someone. On the one hand, hooks (2000) concedes to 'woman' (a subject) as a site for resistance, on the other she calls for the acknowledgement of diversity of experience as an agenda for the movement. She asks, "[D]o we all feel the same about black womanhood? What about regional differences?" (hooks, 1992). Acknowledgement of diversity in 'woman' is what gave way to what has come to be broadly known as identity politics. This is an epistemological shift in feminism that decentres ways of knowing and being from the universal. Theoretical offerings such as subaltern studies and intersectionality have enriched feminism to allow for dissent and ways of capturing the experiences of women who stand on the margins of the normative (white, CIS gender, heterosexual) woman. In accepting the diversity of 'woman' as a contextual experience, feminism accedes to there being a category 'women' instead of the narrow anatomic 'woman' and feminisms instead of a feminism.

The acknowledgement of *pluriversal* subjectivities in post-colonial and decolonial work has opened windows in mainstream feminist epistemology that allow for previously marginalised voices to emerge. In this emergence, various scholars write of the experiences of 'woman' outside the Western imaginary and speak against the essentialised category 'woman' as a Western fallacy[30]. It is under this cloud of diversity and multiple subjectivities that I turn to global South feminist scholarship on the issue of subject(ivities). There is a sense in global South feminist writing that feminist discourse in the West has not captured marginal subjectivities in full frame. Mekgwe (2006: 13) draws from 'African' literature to note that "[A]frican women's writing when it emerged in the 1970s mainly set out to dispel mal-representations of African womanhood"[31]. 'African' scholarship, for example, did not dispel the exigency of a struggle-against – that is the politics of feminism, but it is ideas around subject(ivities) that have been brought into question. Lugones (2010: 742) for example, notes that realities of women of colour and third-world women who sit on the margins of the Western woman normative, confound the categories set by modernity[32]. At this point, I will outline

[30] See Third world women and the politics of feminism (Mohanty, Russo & Torres, 1991), This Bridge called my back (Moraga & Anzaldúa, 2015), Combahee river collective (Eisenstein, 1978), Under western eyes (Mohanty, 1988), The invention of women (Oyěwùmí, 1997). These are examples of feminist works with a so-called global south or non-hetero normative positionality speaking against western feminism.
[31] See works by Ata Aidoo (1994, 2002, 2006), Dangarembga (2004), Vera (1996, 2007),
[32] I use modernity in this section to refer to capitalist, androcentric ways of thinking and being.

subject(ivities), as depicted in key 'African' feminist work, en route to an understanding of a feminism that is commensurate with or close to Zimbabwean realities.

Among the key 'African' voices is the work of Yoruba scholar, Oyěwùmí (1997, 2002, 2003) among many others (Coetzee, 2017; Gqola, 2011; Mekgwe, 2006; Nzegwu, 1994, 2004, 2012; Osha, 2008b; Thorpe, 2018). Oyěwùmí argues that "the cultural logic of Western social categories is based on an ideology of biological determinism: the conception that biology provides the rationale for the organisation of the social world." (1997: ix). Even though feminist scholars refute biological determinism, Oyěwùmí (1997) still questions the framing of the subject based on experiences of the body; she calls this over-emphasis bio-logic. Her charge is that even in (de)constructivist feminist theory there is an over-emphasis on the body as an organising site of struggle. For Oyěwùmí (1997), if bio-logic is taken without critique, it can be misleading towards ideas of universal/common/essentialised perceptions of what constitutes 'woman'. The idea that the physical body is also the basis of social organisation does not fully capture (for Oyěwùmí, 1997) 'African' realities. Bio-logic is a consequence of Western thought whose metaphysics almost always begin with the self[33]. The differences in framing the subject and its experiences warrant a feminism located in the 'African' experience (Osha, 2008a).

From the above, we can see that 'African' feminist scholars point to the differentiation of subject(ivities) in feminism. They prompt us to search for a depolarised and situated 'African' metaphysics to better articulate the central subject in 'African' feminism. Speaking on Ndebele history, the Ndebele sage, Pathisa Nyathi (2017 Online), notes that Queen Lozikeyi of amaNdebele (1855–1919) was often called '*mfazi-ndoda*' [female-male]. This is in reference to her traversing the lines of a sexed identity. Also, in both Ndebele and Shona culture, the patrilineal aunt *ubabakazi/tete*[34], for example, is a figure that does not circumscribe by the distinctly female subjectivity as commonly accepted. *Ubabakazi/tete* attend *idale/dare*/tribunal courts, have power beyond that of most male-bodied figures within Zimbabwean sociological

[33] Emphasis of 'self' is seen in the ancient Greek maxim 'know thy self' and also represented in the works of Descartes, Hume, Locke, Butler. Against such thought the Nigerian post-colonial feminist scholar Nzegwu (1994: 73) charges that '…they insist our conception of equality must begin with antagonistic, solitary individuals who lack social and family histories. Why do they treat people as imaginary constructs? Do they think a solitary individual can be human? Why do they think humanity begins in alienation? Why do they want everyone to be isolated?'

[34] *Tete* is Shona for aunt the origin of the word in Shona are ambiguous. Similarly, *babakazi*, which is an agglutination of *baba*, which means father, and *kazi*, which is a feminising morpheme hence, the word can literally be translated female father. This is the title of the patrilineal aunt in Ndebele.

framing. In Ndebele and Shona sociology, identity is not fixed; it shifts depending on whom one is encountering. The fact that an issue like mothering, for example, is divorced from the corporeality of childbirth[35] is an indicator of the complexity of Zimbabwean metaphysics and social structures. This is all to say, the category, women, as the central subject of feminism(s), is not unproblematic (Nzegwu, 2004). To paint it with a single-coloured brush will be to alienate experiences outside the hegemonic frame of what it means to be included in the category 'woman'.

'African' (feminist) scholarship offers a way out of rigid definitions of the category, woman – new ways of envisioning womanhood/subjectivity, and possibly new ways of subverting subjection. The examples from Ndebele and Shona cultures show that to be a 'woman' is a fluid endeavour – it is to traverse identity and power lines beyond the embodied self (female or male). Kalua (2009: 26) issues a caveat, however, that in the search for 'African' identities the endeavours should not be a pontification of 'African' and specifically that "purist notions need not be accepted unquestioningly in the light of modernity and globalization". In light of Kalua's (2009) caveat, we can critically engage with Oyěwùmí 's (1997) stance, where she states that women, and by extension gender are a colonial invention. We also have to accept and take into account what the post-colonial[36] effect of that invention now has. Evidence from Ndebele culture (see Nyathi, 2017) points to complexity of the category woman but it does not invalidate woman as is suggested by Oyěwùmí (1997). Woman, in the Zimbabwean context, is not a colonial invention. Oyěwùmí 's (1997) scholarship, however is still important as it brings us to the realisation that subjectivity and subjection are not universal. In Zimbabwean culture there are instances were bodies traverse the embodiment of what woman (as in the case of *babakazi/tete* or *mfazi/ndoda*).

The paragraphs aboveon subject(ivity) have shown, as Kemp and Squires (1997:216) aver, that to seek to locate the category 'woman', is an invocation of instability. Working through multiple theorists, I am persuaded to settle on the understanding that feminism is a movement emboldened by political scholarship and at the centre of the movement is a subject broadly accepted as category 'women'. It is a category with diverse realities by virtue of tinctured, territorial, and historical experiences. 'African' feminist scholars have raised key contestations

[35] For the Ndebele example, *umamomncane* (small mother) is the younger sister of one's mother. In all relations *umamomncane* is a mother. It is common for nieces and nephews to refer to their *mamomncane* as 'mama'.
[36] Post-colonial in this passage is indicative of the linear time preceding colonisation in Africa and not the field of study.

to the essentialisation of woman. These contestations do not invalidate feminism or its conception of subject(ivity) but, as shown through the theorisation of Oyěwùmí (1997, 2002) and Nzegwu (1994, 2004), have added diversity in the feminist scholarship mosaic. 'African' scholars allow for a subject(ivity) that is close to Zimbabwean realities that identify the central subject of feminism not only as an embodied being but as one constructed in socio-cultural relationality.

2.3.2 A common enemy?

> "When you say patriarchy," a man complained from the rear of the audience, "I know what you *really* mean – me!" (Johnson, 2005:27)

Building on the last section of unpacking at feminism(s) through identifying its central subject(ivity), I move on to the issue of patriarchy. It is commonly accepted in feminist epistemology that patriarchy is the central *problematique* of gendered societies. What patriarchy is, is yet another contested ground in feminist epistemology. hooks (2000) describes patriarchy as a system of domination as well as male domination. While patriarchy literally means 'rule of a father', as a concept, it has come to represent a broader social phenomenon (Edström, Das & Dolan, 2014). Pateman (1988) makes a key historical connection between the development of democratic state governance and the evolution of modern-day patriarchy. Patriarchy in antiquity meant the rule of a house by a father, which meant the rulership of both male and female members of the household under a single male head of a household. Pateman (1988) gives a convincing rendition of contract theory, one that weaves in the category 'woman', and in so doing sheds light on the single birthing of the modern state, patriarchy, and the subjection of woman. In the creation of the state, anatomic men consensually abrogate their right of rulership to the state and become democratic partakers of the state power through their vote. Women, on the other hand, become disenfranchised from this process, and their par-take of the democratic process is subsumed universally under men. This is a plausible retelling of contract rhetoric/theory. Like hooks (2000), however, Pateman's (1988) rendition envisions the issue of patriarchy to a dual system of male/female. Pateman (1988) draws from American and Eurocentric traditions of taking the corporeal body as the unit of social structure and socialisation. It is the embodied man that breaks away from the patrilineal/feudal system; it is the embodied man that seeks a democratic/state contract, and it is the embodied woman who is left unaccounted for in this process. There is yet again that focus on the anatomic body as a standard of socialisation that 'African' feminist scholars have contested, as stated in the section above (Oyěwùmí,1997).

Initial conceptualisations of patriarchy in feminist scholarship were focused on the actions of anatomic men. Becker (1999: 30) however advanced the patriarchy debate by presenting a stance that states that patriarchy is not an embodiment of subjection but "a social structure, not a conspiracy among men". Johnson (2005:27) adds that patriarchy is "an IT, not He, a Them, or an Us". This presentation allows for contemporary works that envision members of a society as subjects to this system even though it, overall, produces socio-economic privilege for certain bodies (mostly men). Becker (1999) and Johnson (2005) also allow for an analysis that goes beyond bio-logic. Johnson clarifies early in his book that "patriarchy is not simply another way of saying 'men'. Patriarchy is a kind of society" (2005:5). Johnson's work extends the liberal perspective on patriarchy when he says that "patriarchy, is a kind of society organised around certain kinds of social relationships and ideas… Patriarchy's defining elements are its male-dominated, male-identified… male-centered character... an obsession with control" (2004: 26, 29). He adds that it goes beyond the actions of a single individual but is a system, a path of least resistance which some are not willing to challenge and hence continues (Johnson, 2004).

I placed a question mark at the end of the title of this section not as a question to the existence of patriarchy but because of discourse shifts. Due toshifts in feminist studies around men, development and masculinities it is now less common to have work around patriarchy than masculinities. The gaze has moved from the system that subjects *othered* bodies to individual subjectivities within patriarchy such as masculinities (Edström *et al*., 2014). For Edström *et al.* (2014), this is due to the decline of "grand social theories" in the nineties. In the place of patriarchy has emerged scholarship around hegemonic masculinities (Connell, 2014; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Messerschmidt & Messner, 2018), men and masculinities (Edström, 2014; Edström *et al.*, 2014; Ging, 2017; Karioris, 2014), toxic masculinity (Elliott, 2018; Griffin, 2018; Kimmel & Wade, 2018). There is no denying that there are shifting patriarchal orders in the creation of knowledge around the phenomenon of patriarchy. However, according to Connell (2014), patriarchy is still a concept that deserves attention, even considering shifting discourse. Edström *et al.* (2014) are also quick to caution against taking stances that take away responsibility or complicity from embodied men in fear of turning men off.

Johnson (2005) gives four classifications of patriarchy that are of significance: male dominance – a concentration of power in society towards embodied males; male identification – attributes of maleness being valorised as society-wide standards; male centredness – great focus is given to those things that embodied men do; and the obsession with control. This study does not need

to delve deeply into the specificities of each categorisation. I only mention Johnson's (2005) demarcations as a way of reinforcing that while patriarchy is not 'a he' but 'a them' as previously stated, it still does not take away the privileging of embodied males and gives indications of the processes that sustain its existence.

Understanding patriarchy as a system is key to connecting with an 'African' feminist perspective where the 'enemy' is not an embodied anatomic male but can be an embodied female. Nyathi (online 2017) explains, in Ndebele culture, for example, when a woman is married she assumes the role and position of her husband. If her husband, for example, is the oldest brother (*bhudi*) in the family then, she too is referred to as *bhudi* (brother), especially in the tragic event of her husband's death. In this role, the woman acts and decides much like her husband would and takes up the relational responsibilities (and privileges) of an elder brother. While this is undeniably patriarchy at play, I use the example to show that the system is not only about the exercise and privileging of embodied males. Dangarembga (2004) gives a vivid telling of the role of a patrilineal aunt (*tete/babakazi*) whose position supersedes that of other women in the family and is seldom involved in feminised duties such as cooking. The *tete/babakazi* is the one that is often called to bring a wayward child in line or is the last line of reason against an unreasonable adult male, for example, hence, she is the keeper of patriliny. I also bring to reason Amadiume's (1987) exceptional account of Igbo life in the now seminal book, *Male daughters and female husbands*. It seems that in 'African' cosmology, the dualistic divide of powerful men and subjected women gives a limited view of its workings. This begs us to extend our thinking of patriarchy (among other aspects of feminism) beyond the dual male-female antagonistic view.

I bring up these examples above to reinforce a departure point to an 'African' take on patriarchy, it is not as clear cut. The assertion that anatomic bodies are not always social bodies Oyěwùmí (1997), brings us to the realisation that patriarchy is not always a hierarchisation of sexed bodies in the 'African' context. However, this does not take away the fact that 'African' society is patriarchal. The consanguine structures that notions such as *isintu* and *ubuntu* uphold are heavily male centred. The patrilineal aunt in Zimbabwean society has unprecedented powers while the matrilineal aunt does not enjoy the same privilege. The power differential is in the male relation that gives the *tete/babakazi* that powerful social standing. In accounting for the unprecedented powers of queen Lozikeyi of Ndebele we cannot overlook that her socio-political position was necessitated by her kinship with the male king beyond her own political

prowess. Not all Ndebele women of the time enjoyed her powers just as not all were married to the king. I set these examples to note that patriarchy is not entirely a colonial invention, but pre-colonial Zimbabwe society also exhibits male centred lines. Another important note is that social frameworks such as *ubuntu* which are built on these consanguineous structures can inevitably promote the male-centred patriarchal society.

Kuzwayo (2004), in her biography, gives an account of migration in the townships of Johannesburg in the early 1900s. In her narrative, we can see the co-optation of anatomic black men into the colonial gender system wherewith they are forced to take jobs in the mines, jobs that are not open to anatomic women. The men are also given special passes[37] that allow them to stay in the city, which are not (initially) forwarded to women. The embodied women are forced into a new system to be sole/primary caregivers. Even when women make it to the city and get passes, their charge is always to a male member of the family; in Kuzwayo's case, this charge fell upon her son, which was a haunting experience to undergo. Kuzwayo's (2004) narrative of South African history paints a picture almost similar to Pateman's (1988) reworking of contract theory into the sexual contract. The major difference being that anatomic black men do not abrogate their collective power to the state; instead, they are co-opted into the colonial system as sub-whites but superior to women who at the time were not recognised by the colonial state. This re-telling is supported in the work of Lugones (2010) were she tracks the continued exertion of modernity through to the post-colonial state in various domains; one of them being gender, tracing it back to colonial tendencies. She calls this the coloniality of gender. Tracking the historicity of patriarchy in the 'African' experience is not a way of saying 'African' people and especially privileged men are not responsible for the prejudice produced by a social system that promotes men at the expense of the non-normative *other*. Quite to the contrary, historicity here is added for context, to highlight that the patriarchal system works predominantly against embodied women as well as the non-normative, non-white male. Such is the colonial imposition on the contemporary 'African' state of affairs.

It can now be understood that while patriarchy is indeed a system (Becker, 1999; Edström, 2014; Johnson, 2005) that benefits anatomical maleness, it is one that is dually tied to an empire. The uneven exertion of an empire on anatomic males and anatomic females created an embodied system of relation that, in some 'African' societies, did not exist prior to

[37] A pass is short for internal passport. They were issued to non-white citizens in South Africa under the apartheid era as a way of maintaining spatial segregation.

colonisation. Colonisation itself became an extension of patriarchy (the coloniality of gender) with effect on anatomical females and anatomic males, although it privileged males (Lugones, 2008; Maldonado-Torres, 2007; Quijano, 2000).

Understanding the historicity of patriarchy brings us close to a patriarchy and feminist strand situated in the 'African' experience. Patriarchy, then, is not only the sexist privileging of embodied men to the detriment of women. It is a racialised and gendered hierarchy system within 'African' societies. I have shown that this system is kept in play by both anatomical men and women as 'African' cosmology allows for the bodied to traverse the normative and socialise beyond their embodied selves. It is a system that has a colonial history and subjects non-white anatomical males as well as females, albeit in different ways.

2.3.3 Gender and its troubles

> "Contemporary feminist debates over the meanings of gender lead time and again to a sense of trouble…" (Butler, 2007 xix).
>
> "Feminist researchers use gender as the explanatory model to account for women's subordination and oppression worldwide. In one fell swoop, they assume both the category 'woman' and her subordination as universals. But gender is first and foremost a socio-cultural construct." (Oyěwùmí, 2002:1)

The word gender is a neologism. Keeping in mind Hopfl's (1983) deduction that when neologisms enter into common use, that entry is tied to wider changes of phenomena in society. This leads to the excavation that gender is not an original conception of feminism. Gender was born out of the medical and psychoanalytic study of intersex individuals in the 1950s (Friedman, 2006). It is the term that intersex persons used to point to the difference they felt between their embodied selves and their imagined selves. It is important to note that gender in these studies was viewed as the immutable sense of self and sex the mutable biological assignment open to intervention (Friedman, 2006). In importing the word into feminist/women studies, gender as a concept was turned on its head such that gender came to refer to the pliable social construction that is added onto the immutable biological body, hence trumping biological determinism (Friedman, 2006). Gender was co-opted into feminist epistemology because, at the time, there was a need for a concept or a framework to account for the power

differentials in differently embodied persons in a society. Undeniably gender has come to be the august theoretical perspective of the feminist movement (Butler, 2007)[38].

Gender theory, the eminent theory of feminism, exists to explain why some bodies, in a society, have more power than others. Traditionally being, why male bodies in many societies have more dominance than female bodies. Butler (2007), for example, gives a fascinating account of the becoming process of female and male bodies and how that becoming constrains them to a pre-historic conception of what it is to be female or male, as well as according to each body's social power and access in accordance with that conception. In writing *Gender Trouble*[39], Butler (2007: viii) sought to counter "views that made presumptions about the limits and propriety of gender and restricted the meaning of gender to received notions of masculinity and femininity". In casting gender as a sustained performative (ritualistic and repetitive) act on the corporeal body, Butler's theory of gender performativity opens the conversation to genders outside the normative female-male, feminine-masculine for Western thought. Tamale argues that there are "limitations within the colonial knowledge system to understand humanity outside the constructed binaries of male/female" (2020: 94). The scholars here point to a need to think beyond the vogue binary gender system.

The idea of a third space of gender is one that has long existed and continues to exist in 'African' societies represented in the language, lived realities, aesthetics and semiotics. Aesthetic presentations such as Nandipha Mntambo's riveting corpus of work with cowhide (2018), minotaur sculptures (2015) and bullfighters (2009), for example, pose questions to the accepted female–male divide while opening a platform beyond the accepted dichotomy (2014). In a newspaper commentary reaction to Mntambo's (2015) exhibition[40], Shorkend (2015) notes how the artist's work is "an attempt to produce what I call 'a third term' – that which is above polarities, that which unites opposites". 'African' voices such as Oyěwùmí (1997) and Nzegwu (1994) also query the constructionist gender tenet based on ethnographic evidence from different 'African' societies. Oyěwùmí (1997:158) leaning on Yoruba language as an archive states that "in a society where gender is a primary organising principle, gender distinctions are reflected in language". The query thus extends that if 'African' societies have fluid embodiments of self beyond the dichotomous female–male, then any constructions of gender

[38] While I use some ideas from Butler in this thesis, I do so knowing that her scholarship is embedded in Western epistemologies. Yet I would be remiss to progressively discuss gender without engaging with her ideas on performativity. Also, these tie back to *ubuntu* as a framework with performative aspects.
[39] This is in reference to Butler's seminal book Gender trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity (2007).
[40] The exhibition under review is Mntambo's (2015) at the Stevenson gallery titled Metamorphoses.

emanating from such constructions may be problematic for an 'African' society. The lack of gendered distinctions such as gendered pronouns in Yoruba (or *aBantu* languages) is for Oyěwùmí an indicator of the impotency of gender as social positioning principle. As asserted in sections above, the body is not always the way society is organised in the 'African' context. The fact that bodies traverse the embodied self makes it pertinent to situate how gender is constructed in these societies. This validates Oyěwùmí's (1997) stand on gender. She, however, continues to note that because pronouns and (fe)male naming are not pronounced in Yoruba culture, then to speak of woman and by extension gender one would need to invent them first. Oyěwùmí (1997) bases on largely pre-colonial sociology and negates considering the impact of colonialism of 'African' social structure. For Nzegwu (2004) also, power differentials between women and men in precolonial Igbo society were not mediated by gender but social relations. Amadiume (1987), in her anthropology of Igboland society, reveals that the source of (dis)power for women was not in their bodies but in their productiveness and ability to contribute to the family structure. Clarke and Nyathi (2011) give example of royal Ndebele women who were more powerful in many instances than ordinary embodied men. Power in the examples above is shown as being from economic ability, savviness, or interrelatedness. It must be noted, however, that post-colonial 'African' societies have undergone tremendous sociological and political changes.

It is the effect of colonialist thinking that prompts Lugones (2010:742) to propose a "modern capitalist colonial modernity." For Lugones (2010: 742), gender is an interface or a lens that "enables us to see what is hidden from our understandings of both race and gender and the relation of each to normative heterosexuality". Clarke and Nyathi (2011) highlight that when British settlers first visited the Ndebele royal compound, they were intrigued to note the influence that royal women had on Ndebele politics with queens acting as ministers of foreign affairs. For the British emissary, it is highly likely that the divide between private and public domain was a clear one with its associated access – that is, men are public beings and women private. For the Ndebele, that demarcation did not exist. The kingdom operated as an extension of the King's private domain hence for emissaries to be received by royal queens was quite befitting. Also, the royal queens, while anatomically female, they did not socialise as women. Their social position was not determined by their female bodies but by their relationship to the throne, their royalty. Mkhize (in Thorpe, 2018), writing from a South African perspective,

presents a contemporary position through an intriguing interview with a *sangoma*[41] explaining how 'African' spirituality allows for bodies to traverse normative gender divides. According to Mkhize (in Thorpe, 2018), it is common in South African spirituality for an embodied man to be called *gogo*[42] because the life-giving spiritual force is from one's grandmother. Hence, one who exercises their spiritual gifting is guided by their grandmother and called *gogo* even when embodied male. There is evidence of the subversion of the dichotomous divide in both pre-colonial and contemporary 'African' society. This is what emboldens scholars such as Lugones (2010), Oyěwùmí (Oyěwùmí, 1997, 2002), and Nzegwu (Nzegwu, 2004, 2012) to state that gender is a colonial imposition and part of the colonial matrix of power (Lugones, 2010).

While gender is firmly embedded in the realities of the post-colony resistance to sexism, we must accommodate the coloniality of gender. This is where the aesthetic work of Mntambo (2007, 2009, 2015) becomes primordial as her works capture a third dimension of subject(ivity), one that sits in the interstice of the corporeality of the body (and its hierarchies, that is gender) and the imagined aspects of the body (that is, the consanguinity that defines many 'African' societies). For it is in that in-between space, materialised in Mntambo's cowhide works, for example, that the lived reality of 'African' subject(ivity) can be realised. As Simba and Davids note, "Mntambo shows that the body is not only a physical manifestation of a biologically constituted form, but it is also the sum of our imaginary concerning the body. Therefore, it is the conceptions we hold about the body that takes centre stage" (2020, forthcoming).

In closing this section, I land on the understanding that gender is indeed a troubling concept to synthesise adequately. However, the works of Oyěwùmí (1997, 2002, 2003), Nzegwu (1998, 2004), and Butler (2007) are crucial in coming to an understanding that is fluid enough to capture realities of bodies that are in motion and negotiated beyond their anatomical selves. Gender in 'African' society is also a colonial imposition that has become a contemporary reality. In order to fully understand gender in an 'African' context, there is a need to appreciate its historicity (Lugones, 2010) as well as its contemporary state. The task of this section was to seek a situated understanding of gender. What has been subsequently revealed is that by delinking from hegemonic ways of knowing (Lugones, 2008; Maldonado-Torres, 2007;

[41] A *sangoma* is a spiritual diviner.

[42] uGogo is isiNdebele/isiZulu for grandmother.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015; Quijano, 2000) and charting a third space (Bhabha, 2004) can be explored beyond the polarity of mainstream understandings of gender.

2.4 FEMINISM AND *UBUNTU*

There is a growing body of work that interrogates the intersections of *ubuntu* and different aspects feminism. Given the pervasiveness of *ubuntu* in southern 'African' societies it is therefore only logical to find these *ubuntu* – feminism intersections also emanating from different ideological traditions. Chisale (2018) for example uses evidence from an empirical study of *ubuntu* to question the gendered dimension of pastoral care. Chisale (2018) sees strong linkages between *ubuntu* and care ethics. However, the scholar acknowledges that previous research has demonstrated that *ubuntu* is generally seen 'as a double-edged sword that empowers women on the one hand by advocating for notions of equality and human dignity and, on the other hand, oppresses them by perpetuating the masculine authority and patriarchal values (Chisale, 2018:1). The empirical evidence from the study goes on to demonstrate that while there are gendered conceptions to *ubuntu* there are still opportunities for *ubuntu* to 'be used to progressively address and correct the gendering of pastoral care in African contexts' (ibid, 2018:8).

Viviers and Mzondi (2016) interrogate the patriarchal bias in *ubuntu* constructions in theological contexts. The scholars use theology-based hermeneutics to "critically scrutinise biased conceptualisations of god and Ubuntu" (Viviers & Mzondi, (2016:1). While they acknowledge the subjugation that can arise were god ideas team up with male centred patriarchal societal aspirations the scholars draw parallels between conceptions of god and *ubuntu* to note the dynamism that is possible in these conceptions where they say,

> More gender-friendly constructions of these shaping ideas, born out of the "female experience" have been at the order of the day…African womanism with its emphasis on Motherhood and Womenhood, has become an apt feminism to engage critically with Ubuntu. It shows its solidarity with the tradition but attempts to reform it from within, striving for a more gender-just society where both men and women can live fulfilled lives. (Viviers & Mzondi, 2016:8)

Similarly, Magadla & Chitando (2014:190) use a critical humanist interpretation of *ubuntu* (see Praeg, 2014) to investigate the viability of "an emancipatory potential of Ubuntu…which allows it to be owned by the perpetrators of gender violence as well as advocates of gender

justice". Riding on Cornell's (2014) concept of *ubuntu* as subaltern legality, Magadla & Chitando (2014) tease out the contradictions in conceptions of *ubuntu* which allow heteronormative male-centrism on one side and radical gay *sangomas* on another to come to an emancipatory ideology that may break the grip of gender-based violence in post-apartheid South Africa. Manyonganise (2015) however is less optimistic. Using examples from Zimbabwean experiences and languages to highlight the dark side of *ubuntu* in both scholarship and practice, the scholar (Manyonganise, 2015:3) notes that "most discourses on *ubuntu* have been done by men who conveniently ignored the implications of ubuntu on gender. As such, as one reads research focussing on 'African' philosophy, one finds that most discussions on *ubuntu* glorify the concept as the be-all and end-all of 'African' philosophy". Manyonganise (2015) sees a troubling male-centred and exclusionary aspects in both *ubuntu* scholarship as well as *ubuntu* practice.

Another confluence between feminism and *ubuntu* is in the area of ethics of care. *Ubuntu* defined as humanness/humanness is associated with a string of desirable virtues such as care, honesty, love among many others. Gouws & Van Zyl (2015:165) for example see compatibility between feminist ethics of care and *ubuntu* principles of human dignity and care. As such they posit that merging the two gives rise to a "feminist moral theory from the South" that is able to deliver more comprehensively on justice in the wake of the failure of global neoliberal moral failure. Even with its 'patriarchal baggage' (Magadla & Chitando, 2014), Gouws & Van Zyl (2015) still see value in the entrenched values of care associated with *ubuntu* which they call a 'feminist ethics of *ubuntu*'. Cornell and Van Marle (2015:2) note that "to regard ubuntu as either conservative or fundamentally patriarchal misunderstands the transformative potential of ubuntu". To this end Cornell & van Marle (2015) conceptualise *ubuntu* as a politico-ideological concept that traverses ontology and epistemology alluding to a form of critique that can they call 'ubuntu feminism'.

The arguments proffered by feminist scholars are ground-breaking and necessary in the scholarly work of building feminist strands informed by epistemologies and experiences of the South. My contribution to this work is not critique how different scholars have brought feminism into conversation with *ubuntu*, my study begins by problematising the very of *ubuntu* using language and experience as archives. This has revealed that *ubuntu* beyond the performative aspects (care, dignity, honesty) or its philosophical elements is about encounter, a power mediated encounter informed by contextually situated script of *isintu*. This

understanding opens up new ways of engaging or critiquing *ubuntu* using a feminist lens and holds interesting implications for education in general and citizenship education specifically.

This section has demonstrated that feminist scholars have projected the feminism – *ubuntu* intersection onto many domains including security studies (du Plessis, 2019), gender-based violence (Magadla & Chitando, 2014), gender (Manyonganise, 2015), theology (Viviers & Mzondi, 2016), pastoral care (Chisale, 2018), justice and rights (Gouws & Van Zyl, 2015). This study attempts to make a scholarly contribution to this growing discourse by projecting the feminism – *ubuntu* intersection onto education.

2.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, I endeavoured to define the lens of critique for the study – that is, feminism(s). In closing the chapter, I accede to Kemp and Squires' (1997) caveat that attempting to define feminism(s) is incredibly complex as the field is continually shifting and the subjects 'unstable'. Defining feminism, however, is an endeavour that is necessary to the development of this study's main objective – a feminist critique of *ubuntu*.

Firstly, I swept through a working definition of feminism, which landed on the understanding of feminism(s) to make room for different, contesting, emergent and marginal strands of feminism(s), such as presented in 'African' feminist scholarship and aesthetics. This opened an understanding of subject(ivity) in the 'African' context that do not always comply with normative ways of being. However, through key scholars, I concurred that even in the 'African' context, there is a central subject whose subjectivity gives exigency to feminism.

The chapter also explored the idea of a common enemy and revealed that patriarchy is the central antagonist of feminism. Working through the corpus of Johnson (2005), I demonstrated that patriarchy is a system and not an individual conspiracy against category women. In the 'African' context, it has been revealed that patriarchy is also an exertion of empire that subjugates anatomical women and men, although at varying degrees.

Lastly, I delved into the morass of gender and its associated troubles (Butler, 2007). Here, I used the work of Butler (2007) to expand on our understanding of gender. Her theory of performativity provides a fluidity in the conceptions of gender that opens a conversation or critique of the dichotomy of gender. In this section I demonstrated from the evidence of Clarke and Nyathi (2011), Dangarembga (2004), Mntambo (2007, 2009, 2015) among others that

'African'/Zimbabwean sociology and metaphysics do not always fit into the normalised gender/sex dichotomy.

In closing, from the reading of feminist scholarship above – dualism in defining women or patriarchy or gender is an insufficient frame for understanding 'African' realities. A situated understanding of feminism close to Zimbabwean realities leans more on the acceptance of *pluriversality* (Mignolo, 2007), such as women instead of woman, genders instead of gender and feminisms instead of feminism. The expansion of feminism(s) as a sum of its part meets the second sub-objective of the study. The main parts of feminism(s) discussed above (subject, subjectivity, patriarchy, gender, power) become the panelling in the feminist critique to be carried forward into the next chapters. With this set, I move on to the next chapter where I outline the context within which the feminism–*ubuntu* conversation will occur. Beyond this chapter, I will outline the methodology which sets the terms of the *ubuntu*–feminism conversation.

CHAPTER 3:
CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN THE CONTEXT OF CONTEMPORARY ZIMBABWE

3.1 CHAPTER INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES

This chapter seeks to give context to education in Zimbabwe and expand on the concept of citizenship education (CE).

The chapter is structured as follows: the first section gives snippets of developments in Zimbabwe's colonial and post-colonial era that have paved the way for the CF 2015–2022. The section begins its contextual analysis with the colonial education era. This is not to say this is where education in Zimbabwe began; as history (Clarke & Nyathi, 2011) demonstrates there was a formalised, nation-based, Zulu archetype system of education among the Ndebele (for example) before the first missionaries, pioneers or settlers crossed the Limpopo into Zimbabwe. Colonialism usurped the native system of national education, replacing it with a new formal education system patterned after the newly industrialised societies of Europe (Zvobgo, 1994). It is this system that has evolved into the national education of contemporary Zimbabwe. In tracing the history of education in Zimbabwe, a context is required so that the timeline is relevant and speaks to the thesis at hand. As such, I begin with education policy in the colonial years and trace it to the newly minted CF 2015–2022, and more specifically, *ubuntu* as a philosophy of education presented in the policy document.

3.2 EDUCATION POLICY IN ZIMBABWE: A HISTORY OF COMMISSIONS

Christie (2008), in her study on education policy in the post-apartheid era, notes that policy scarcely emerges out of thin air. Policy is often drafted within certain contexts to achieve set goals; in this way, policy is functional in design. It is important at this point to paint the context within which CF 2015–2022 (the policy blueprint that has introduced *ubuntu* as a philosophy of education in Zimbabwe) emerges.

In 2015, Zimbabwe began implementation of a new curriculum framework (CF 2015–2022). The policy came on the back of a commission report that had been conducted and archived fourteen years prior – the PCIET. In January 1998, with the world at the cusp on a new millennium, the President of Zimbabwe gave charge to a twelve-member commission of inquiry under statute 7C of 1998 (GoZ, 1998) to investigate ways to transform education in

Zimbabwe. The commission's mandate was evaluative – that is, to look into the adequacy of the inherited colonial education system, and prescriptive – that is, to make recommendations on how to transform the country's system of education. The commission tabled a twenty-eight-chapter white paper that proposed an overhaul of education (curriculum, focus, philosophy, management, assessment to name a few) from pre-school through to university. This elaborate proposal was not the first of its kind. History shows that since the coming in of the quasi-corporate government of Cecil J. Rhodes, commissions and policies in education were a common feature in education management.

3.2.1 Education policy during the colonial years

The Union Jack was raised at Fort Salisbury (now Harare) in 1890 by the British South Africa Company (B.S.A.C), led by Cecil John Rhodes, under a British royal charter fashioned in 1889. Since that time, the quasi-corporate government that ran Rhodesia was eager to provide critical services to support a burgeoning white minority population and attract more white settlers into the colony. One of the critical services provided was education. Although formal (European style) education preceded the Union Jack in the form of mission schools[43], it was the B.S.A.C that nationalised education. The earliest national schooling system was set up via the arm of religion through various church missions at key settler locations funded by the corporate government. This created a church–state partnership that was reminiscent of their imperial parentage.

The Education Ordinance number 18 of 1899 (Government of Southern Rhodesia, 1899) was one of the first education policies tabled in Southern Rhodesia. It set out the formalisation of education and objectives being the training of settler children while outlining restrictions to the education of natives. Mungazi (1989: 270) notes that the colonial regime "used the legislative process as a double-edged instrument with which it sought to improve white education and to restrict African education. The second is that by instituting racism in the educational process…" via the ordinance of 1899, a racial segregationist agenda began to unfold in and through education in Rhodesia.

The colonial government's[44] use of commissions as policy foundations seemed to be a way to legitimise their separatist aspirations in education and society at large. Between 1899 and

[43] Mission schools set up as early as 1859 at Inyathi (Mungazi, 1989)
[44] I refer to governments (in the plural) as power changed from the pseudo-corporate hold of the B.S.A.C to the settler minority government however, their agenda in education remained separatist and racially motivated.

1979, over 12 commissions were called into the state of education and training in Southern Rhodesia (Mungazi, 1989). After the Graham commission of 1911, for example, a policy entitled *Ordinance to Control Native Education*[45] was enacted in 1912 on the back of the commission's recommendations. The colonial government of the time was bent on maintaining the separatist, white supremacist *status quo* by providing key advanced education services to its compatriots and inferior, only necessary education to the natives. This segregated approach to education provision created a tightly controlled/centralised national education system with deliberate bottlenecks while enacting systemic exclusion. Such is the legacy of colonial education policy in Zimbabwe.

3.2.2 Post-colonial explosion

On April 18, 1980, Zimbabwe became a self-governing state from the unilaterally declared independent (U.D.I) regime of Rhodesia. Given the arduous war that had been fought leading to the talks that culminated in independence, the nation was in a euphoric state and expectations for the future were high. One area that citizens expected massive change was education (Cowden & Masarirabi, 1999; Nziramasanga, 1999; Zvobgo, 1994; Shizha & Kariwo, 2012; Shizha & Makuvaza, 2017). The black majority government was quick to act in education by declaring universal free primary education and unsegregated secondary and tertiary schooling. The decisions to open up education came on the back of national demand for desegregated education opportunities and Marxist-socialist ideologies that undergirded the war for liberation (Zvobgo, 1994). The desegregation decisions created an enrolment explosion at primary and secondary school levels. The Nziramasanga Commission of Inquiry of 1999 (Nziramasanga, 1999), for example, in its findings states that primary school enrolment between 1979 and 1987 grew from 81 958 to 2 274 178 students, a growth explosion of over 2 700% in less than a decade.

The education policy emphasis of the post-colonial (black majority) government was on desegregation and maximising access of educational services for the black masses. This policy, however, created a strain on the education infrastructure as the state could not facilitate structural growth at the rate of enrolment. For example, while primary school enrolment grew by over 2 700%, school facilities grew by just over 180% (from 2 401 to 4 504 schools)

[45] Southern Rhodesia, Ordinance Number 7: Ordinance to Control Native Education, July 12, 1912.

between 1979 and 1987 (Nziramasanga, 1999). The post-colonial explosion or honeymoon phase was cut short by shifting global politics.

The fall of the Soviet Union had a detractive bearing on Zimbabwean politics as new capital champions had to be sought to support its ideals (Logan & Tevera, 2007). This came in the form of the Bretton Woods and the institution of the economic structural adjustment programme (E.S.A.P) in 1991 (Logan & Tevera, 2007). Under neoliberal economics, the Zimbabwean government was enticed to move from a centrally controlled command economy to a neo-liberal one, as the African Development Bank Group (AfDB) reviewers note that "the rationale for the programme was that by dismantling these controls, economic efficiency would be restored". (Ojo & Ajayi, 1997). This liberalisation moves saw cuts in social spending (such as free education and healthcare). Ramsamy (2006: 519) adds that "ESAP was far from successful… Consequently, formal sector employment declined, and public services in health, education, and housing were cut deeply, thereby worsening the plight of the urban poor". However, even in the face of dwindling government expenditures on social services (education included), the enrolment rates did not abate.

By the end of the second decade into the new democracy, it had become clear that changes had to be made to the education system (Nziramasanga, 1999). It was evident that while school access was growing exponentially, learning outcomes and quality elements of education were not being achieved. The general expectations of the citizenry of what 'education' was supposed to do were disconnected with the delivery system, which lacked the capacity to deal with sheer numbers and expectations of its population. While many more citizens were able to access schooling facilities than in the colonial era, the infrastructure was inadequate, and the schooling system itself was still very much white and elitist. Despite the efforts to maximise access, the quality of education was still driven by a minority mandate that saw many students being filtered out of the education system (Nziramasanga, 1999). It became evident that the challenge of education for the masses was not just access or facilities or quantity of teachers – the ideology and philosophy behind education was still tailored for the white elite hence this had to be addressed. Put simply and colloquially, it had become evident that education in Zimbabwe was 'out of whack'.

It is under these conditions that the forerunner to the CF 2015–2022 came into existence. The commissioners of the PCIET were mandated among the many terms of reference, to look into "the basic principles and philosophy of Zimbabwe's educational and training needs and

aspirations on the eve of the 21st century" (Nziramasanga, 1999: xxi). The above term of reference points to the realisation that the delivery of education was not the only issue that was no longer adequate but also the philosophy that undergirded education was in need of an overhaul to meet national needs and international demands.

3.2.3 Education after Black Friday and land reform

The period under which the Nziramasanga commission came into existence is one of great significance politically and economically for Zimbabwe. On 14 November 1997, the Zimbabwean dollar dropped more than 75 percentage points against the greenback (United States dollar) on a single day, now widely known as Black Friday (Marawanyika, 2007). While the currency had been on a sharp decline throughout the year, Black Friday was a glaring signal of the turning tide of the economic situation in Zimbabwe. The era heralded civil unrest as workers' unions voiced resistance against industry downsizing. Within the same time liberation war veterans also placed a demand on the state to make good on the drivers of the liberation war – that is, fast-track the land redistribution process. The government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) was facing a conundrum; on the one hand, there were international demands for market liberalisation, on the other, there were internal demands for social justice. The market unrest raised the first major opposition to the Zimbabwe African National Union Political Front (ZANU PF).

It is under this cloud that the proposed overhaul to education was made in 1999. It can be reasonably argued that the GoZ was otherwise preoccupied at the time to engage in an institutional and financially demanding exercise of changing the course of education in Zimbabwe. One of the forerunners of the CF 2015–2022 was the Narrative Report of 2014–2015, and in it, the then minister of MoPSE states that the Nziramasanga PCIET of 1999 "came at a time when the country was going through major and historic socio-economic transformations. Realities such as, the historic land reform programme which began in 2000, adoption of the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No.20) Act 2013 and other major economic programmes." (Government of Zimbabwe, 2014: v). Therefore, a recipe of economic downturn, political tumult necessitated the shelving of the Nziramasanga commission's recommendations.

3.2.4 From PCIET to CF 2015–2022: the role of polity in education policy

I painted the context above to underscore the fact that policy is neither innocuous nor neutral, nor does it operate in isolation. In the colonial era, policy served the segregationists' agenda.

In the post-colonial era, there was a desire to reform education in line with changing global trends and a consolidation of indigenous languages, values, and philosophy. However, these noble aspirations were overtaken by the immediacy of an economic slump and growing political opposition. The context within which policy is activated is as important, if not more, as the function of the policy itself. The PCIET has been hailed as a ground-breaking policy but it failed to take off in the face of contextual issues at the moment of enactment.

In 2013, at the annual ZANU PF People's Conference, it was suggested that the government needs to resurrect the PCIET and finally implement its recommendations. The recommendations came at the height of populism or what scholar Ndlovu-Gatsheni has termed 'Mugabeism' (2009). The 2013 People's conference came on the back of a major (and contested) ZANU PF win at the Zimbabwean national polls. The party had garnered 60.6% of the electorate, also securing a two-thirds majority in the lower house (Zimbabwe Electoral Commission, 2013). The People's Conference took bold steps towards charting the era that was unfolding after the win at the polls. One the resolutions at the conference was to finally implement the PCIET's recommendations (The Herald, 2013). It can, therefore, be strongly inferred that the resurrection of the PCIET, with its associated recommendations for an *ubuntu* philosophy of education, is an idea re-born out of the ZANU PF political machinery. The close association between party politics and national policy begs the question whether the policy is an extension of the nationalistic agenda of Mugabeism (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009) or if it is part of co-optation of memory or reframing of identities or propaganda (Ndou, 2012) – that is, a documented charge against ZANU PF in running Zimbabwean institutions.

The CF 2015–2022 is a competence-based curriculum overhaul. In the preamble of the policy document, the then minister of MoPSE states that CF 2015–2022 is "a comprehensive plan for a rapid and sustainable transformation of our education system through to 2022" (Government of Zimbabwe, 2015: ii). MoPSE states that:

> The competence-based curriculum seeks to achieve the following:
>
> - To motivate learners to cherish their Zimbabwean identity and value their heritage, history and cultural traditions and to prepare them for participatory citizenship;
>
> - To prepare learners for life and work in an indigenized economy and increasingly globalized and competitive environment;

- To ensure learners demonstrate desirable literacy and numeracy skills including practical competencies necessary for life;
- To prepare and orient learners for participation in voluntary service and leadership; and To foster lifelong learning in line with the emerging opportunities and challenges of a knowledge society. (Government of Zimbabwe, Online)

In the preamble of the CF 2015–2022 policy document, both the then president (RG Mugabe) and then minister of MoPSE (Dr L Dokora) recall and laud over the contributions of PCIET. The link between the PCIET and CF 2015–2022 is clearly a strong one.

That the CF 2015–2022, first originated out of the ZANU PF political machinery, can be held as an indicator of what Bruns and Schneider (2016: 5) note as education policy being dependent "much or more on the politics of the reform process as the technical design of the reform". In the enactment of CF 2015 -2022 we can see the process by which a cultural artefact becomes a political artefact. The political machinery takes what resides in language and culture to cap the election win of Robert Mugabe. It was surely the pinnacle of Mugabe's career as mid-way into the presidential term he was toppled by a coup which was deemed 'not a coup'. I do not read the move from culture to policy as an independent event in the career of Mugabe and the reign of ZANU PF. It must be noted that since the emergence of political opposition in the form of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in 1999 ZANU PF began repackaging history (Ndou, 2012). This re-writing history – mainly through a controlled media – put ZANU PF firmly at the centre of the liberation narrative at the custodians of the patriotic essence of Zimbabwe. In resurrecting the PCIET there is a sense of restoring an unfinished legacy as well as entrenching the patriotic hold of ZANU PF and Mugabe. In this then, it must be understood that policy cannot always be separated from the politics under which they are created. This means while the move to operationalise *ubuntu* is a welcome one it must be taken in the political cloud that it is wrapped in of male-centred, hetero-normative, homophobic and violent Mugabeism (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009).

3.3 CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION: DEFINITIONS, CONTROVERSIES AND SIGNIFICANCE

"Literature on citizenship education abounds" (Waghid & Davids, 2013: 1).

Waghid and Davids' (2013) introduction to the concept of citizenship education (above) is telling of the vast (and expanding) corpus on the subject. Arthur, Davies & Hahn. (2008:1) also note citizenship education as a "highly significant phenomena" in today's world. The authors add that "citizenship education is a multidisciplinary subject with a contested and extremely varied curricular content" (Arthur *et al.* 2008: 6). This robust scholarship affords a multidimensional view or possibilities of citizenship education. From these, we learn that the epistemological and historical foundation of citizenship education is too diverse to compress into a single understanding; it is truly eclectic.

The first line of thought, which I interpret as an instrumentalist thought, takes citizenship education educating the citizen. This view begins with the notion of a citizen as the root of its conception which becomes a citizenship and when it is meshed with education it culminates into citizenship education. Within this line, education is seen as a vehicle towards an ideal that is democratic citizenship (for all). In this vein, a grasp of what contextually constitutes a citizen is key to unlocking what culminates into citizenship education. Kymlicka and Norman evoke a unique sentiment when they ask, "what then, is the source of unity in a multination country?" (1994: 378). The question plays into the conjunctive (sum of its parts) logic as it approaches what citizenship education via its root – that is, what it means to be a citizen. Citizenship education then is a transitive initiative towards citizenship. Arthur *et al.* (2001: 5) call it "education ***for*** citizenship" [emphasis my own]. Enslin *et al.* state it more bluntly as follows: "[For] democracies to thrive, citizens have to be ***taught*** to be democrats" (2001:1150 [emphasis my own].

The notion of citizenship has undergone many transformations from its Greek polis origins. The contemporary reality is that citizenship has become weaponised and used as legislated and institutionalised exclusionary practices (Yuval-Davis, 2011). The so-called 'migrant problem' in Europe and Donald Trump's wall politics have created hard lines between citizen and immigrant, which has become synonymous with human and non-human. What defined democracy as a civic relationship between the state and those governed by the state has disintegrated into relationships of privileges where it is profitable to demarcate the qualified and non-qualified mostly for economic reasons. 'Citizen' has become politicised into power dynamics of belonging not just to the nation-state but to imagined communities of relevance and significance (Yuval-Davis, 2011). The torching of a Mozambique national in South Africa in 2008 during a xenophobic uprising demonstrates the violence associated with a positionality

of being a non-citizen, which reminds us of the Orwell statement, "some animals are more equal than others" (2008:90). With the growing nationalist/xenophobic movements in North America, in Europe and South Africa, for example, there are reasonable concerns (Sigauke, 2012) of moulding education around a principle that has become a weapon of exclusion to deliver on democratic ideals. Intersectional barriers to belonging also further complicate the idea of citizenship as social membership, and citizenship education as training the citizen. The notion of citizenship education as the idea of educating the citizen is, therefore, not without its problems.

Another view of citizenship education emerges directly out of a critique of the idea of 'citizenship' as the central element of citizenship education. Part of the problematic of the instrumentalist view is challenged by calls for a human rights education focus over citizenship education. Ruyu Hung, for example, argues against citizenship education as this has partisan, and by extension, exclusionary implications. She advocates for human rights education instead, because "citizenship education and human rights education cannot be taken as replaceable for each other… citizenship is a distinction between 'politically qualified' and 'politically unqualified' persons… a human being is a human without any condition" (2012: 37–38). Hung's (2012) charge hangs on Agamben's concept of 'bare life' (2000) and that of 'state of exception' (2003) as a delineation of qualified and unqualified. Hung's (2012) review of the idea that citizenship education or education for citizenship acts as a qualifier for demarcated individuals to act out their 'status' (Osler 2005) in a wider society. This view, which is reflected in the works of Balibar (2001), as well as Kiwan (2005), is expansive, as it points us to appreciate the problem of inclusion/exclusion that evolves to access/denial. In my opinion, the view/assertion holds largely where the understanding of citizenship is defined narrowly by civic territoriality and belonging.

The notion of human rights is still as problematic as the idea of the citizen; not everyone has a right to be human (Benhabib, 2013). In the so-called 'global migration crisis', we have seen that to be an undesignated and unrecognised person in a territory of power is tantamount to being stripped of one's humanity and access to any rights. The lifeless body of Alan Kurdi[46] encapsulates this point. In contemporary times we have witnessed the weaponization of civic state relations along racial lines. The changing notions of citizenship especially in the West are

[46] Alan Kurdi is a three-year-old Syrian boy who drowned in the Mediterranean Sea in 2015 while him and family were attempting to illegally migrate from Turkey to Greece (Demir, 2015).

undermining what were once thought to be universal and irrefutable rights to be human (Benhabib, 2013). Therefore, the notion of CE as human rights education stands squarely in front of this growing threat.

A third view of citizenship education is one that is posited by Waghid and Davids (2013) as a reconceptualization of the concept in response to the scourge of violence in South African schools and other global trends. Waghid and Davids contend "that citizenship education is first and foremost a pedagogical encounter intertwined with equality, intelligibility and amateurism – those aspects that would firmly situate citizenship education within discourses of rights, responsibilities and belonging and simultaneously open up pedagogical spaces for a citizenship education of becoming." (2013: 9). Citizenship education as a pedagogical encounter avoids the altruism of human rights education by acknowledging that try as we might, we are all subject to democratic forces either at a national or supra-national level. Mbembe reiterates that "with the advent of democracy and the new constitutional state, there are no longer settlers or natives. There are only citizens. If we repudiate democracy, what will we replace it with?" (2015). This understanding looks at the relationship of citizenship and education not as that of concept and instrument, but in singularity as an intersubjective praxis. The learner is not a 'would be' change agent that delivers on or maintains desirable democratic values but a social (intersubjective) interlocutor in dialogue with the self and that which is outside of the self.

CE as a pedagogical encounter is not necessarily a repudiation of the democratic processes that necessitate the civic connection of state and citizen. Rather in this view of CE, neither the learner nor the learning process is objectified nor instrumentalised. This definition unshackles CE from the tight confines of a civic relationship to one centred around the pedagogical encounter (Waghid & Davids, 2013). This view takes education as an active encounter done by active agents rather than the transfer of democratically desirable genes on bodies that are hoped to be propagative social agents in the sweet by and by[47]. It is these pedagogical encounters – be they an internal dialogue (self to self), student to teacher, student to student, teacher to teacher – that bring citizenship education in dialogue with *ubuntu* (defined above as a frame for transversing the encounter with the *other*). It is also how these encounters are generative or propagative of dynamics of power, in both a Gramscian (hegemony) and Bourdieu-ian (habitus) sense, that make them commensurate with the other broad areas of

[47] The sweet by and by is statement from a Christian hymn that refers to the world yonder or the world to come or the place Christian converts go after death. I use it in this instance to mean an indeterminate time to come.

thesis in this study. Waghid (in Waghid & Davids, 2018) puts forward critical questions for 'African' democratic citizenship education such as what does it mean to be 'African'? What accords one 'African' citizenship? Is being 'African' similar to being an 'African' citizen? These questions are critical points to note, especially en route to 'African' democratic citizenship education. Citizenship education as a pedagogical encounter is, therefore, not a destination but a moment of rupture whose ripple effects have the ability to touch society beyond the confines of the schooling environment. This is the definition of CE taken in this study. One that avoids the challenges of an instrumentalised notion of CE as well as the altruism of CE as part of human rights discourse.

The differences between the above perspectives on citizenship education are not cast in stone as there are overlaps between views. The divides between each construal of citizenship education are porous. I take advantage of appropriating a view of citizenship education that will guide the study as it draws from various standpoints of understanding [although leaning greatly on Waghid and Davids (2013)] and dares to imagine a form of citizenship education tailored to the Zimbabwean context.

3.4 CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN ZIMBABWE

Citizenship education in the Zimbabwean context was first introduced in the PCIET. In chapter seventeen of the policy document, the commissioners propose citizenship education for "the development of the citizen" linked to the notion of *ubuntu* as a collage of what makes a "genuine and acceptable" person (Nziramasanga, 1999: 349). The PCIET saw CE as "education for citizenship" (Nziramasanga, 1999:350) which per definition is problematic. The CF 2015–2022, however, has moved the marker forward and envisions CE as a democratic practice. One of the aims stated in the policy document is that "this curriculum integrates the values, principles and practices of participatory action based on the equal access to, and exercise of, rights, duties and responsibilities in the context of families, communities and stakeholders". (Government of Zimbabwe, 2015: 7). The aspiration is clear and forward-thinking. The policy sees the role of education as one that facilitates and inculcates a sense of participation of learners in the broader community/state. The policy document (1999: 11) continues stating that:

> The Presidential Commission of Enquiry into Education and Training (CIET, 1999) underscored the need for the education system to be underpinned by a philosophy of Ubuntu/Unhu/Vumunhu. Consequently, such a system should offer learners

> experiences and opportunities that nurture self-actualisation, promote a sense of community and patriotism.

CE in Zimbabwe goes beyond the murky intersections of education policy and politics, beyond the vexations of the interpretations of the concept of citizenship education or well-articulated policy documents to the problematic of a violent state as a civic partner in the attainment of CE. The years since 'Black Friday' have seen gross human rights violations and ethical degeneration by state-affiliated institutions. The post-election violence of 2000, of 2008 and more recently the gunning down of civilians in the aftermath of the 2017 national election sit high on the list of government-sponsored violations. Operation *Murambatsvina* (operation restore order), for example, saw the violent evictions of 700 000 shanty city dwellers with no recourse or resettlement plan in 2005. The International Crisis Group reports that "Zimbabwe government collectively mounted a brutal, ill-managed campaign against its own citizens" (Crisis Group, 2005). Most recently, the Zimbabwean government has been accused of using excessive force, mass abductions of opposition leaders, and journalists are what has been labelled a 'military state' (Moyo, 2020).

If we accept the instrumental view of CE as a relationship between the state and its citizens, then Zimbabwe stands in a precarious position. How is CE fostered with a state that has a monopoly on violence? The civic link has deteriorated into a violent autocracy and regime of subjugation. The aspiration, represented by a well-articulated policy document, is there but the contentious issue is that the hand that signs policy and enters into international conventions that promise dignity to all is the one implicated in violence against the very people it is meant to represent. CE as a state–person binary in the current situation is, therefore, untenable. CE, as a pedagogical encounter takes the discussion to the local and interpersonal. That is, what can civilians do among themselves to uphold dignity, inclusion, and respect – those commendable performative aspects of *ubuntu* in pursuance of holistic education.

3.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, I endeavoured to give a context of education in Zimbabwe, specifically the state of CE in Zimbabwe. I began with a brief history of education policies, which dates back to the first quasi corporate settler government to the present. The emergence of CF 2015–2022 was demonstrated to be a combination of post-colonial conditions as well as political affiliations playing out in the field of education.

The CF 2015–2022, while very much a contemporary policy document draws extensively from its predecessor the PCIET, wherein the idea of CE was first tabled for Zimbabwe. As a concept, CE in the PCIET is an instrumental view of 'educating the citizen'. The CF 2015–2022 picks up where the PCIET left off without major changes, especially in the area of philosophy of education and CE.

The chapter presented contesting views of CE and expanded on the idea of CE as a pedagogical encounter – an interpretation that is carried by this study. I further demonstrate that the violence of an unchecked state demoralises the idea of a citizen as a one with fiduciary links to the state. However, the conditions are expressly ripe for CE as a pedagogical encounter. In chapter 8, I will reflect on what an *ubuntu*–feminism intersection means for education in contemporary Zimbabwe as CE in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER 4:
THE METHODOLOGY AND METHODS OF A FEMINIST CRITIQUE

4.1 CHAPTER INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES

> "The word itself, 'research', is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary." (Smith, 1999: 1)
>
> "Building on Smith's work, my concern here is the context in which research methodology is designed and deployed… as well as the implications for those who happened to be the researched" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2017: 186)

When I was preparing to come to Stellenbosch University to commence this PhD, I took time to visit relatives to bid them farewell, which is the custom in our culture and family when someone is going on a long journey. I knew that studying in another country would mean that I would miss many family functions and so went to bid them farewell as well as receive travel blessings. It was on one of these rounds that my only *tete*[48] told me, "*uvaudze nezvangu wahwa, nezvedu, kutitiriko"* [tell them about me you hear, about us, that we are there]. At the time, I brushed the statement off as my *tete* being her eccentric self. However, as I began to read literature around the central themes of the study (*ubuntu*, feminism and citizenship education), I realised that there was knowledge enfolded in stories that were not in the archive that I primarily curated to support my study. This brought me back to my *tete's* words – indeed, there was knowledge encapsulated in stories that needed to be told that fell outside of mainstream academia. I had to find a way to gather those stories to ensure that those whose lives stood at the margins found a voice in the study, particularly if their voices had a bearing on the central themes of the study.

Choosing to conduct a feminist critique was strategic for this study as it allowed disciplinary leeway to conduct the study in a way that mapped the margins of representation, a precedence already set-in feminist research work. While fulfilling academic requirements of what constitutes a PhD, I also had to find a way of entreating the archive to bring in materials outside of what Mbembe (in Hamilton *et al.*, 2002) calls 'archivable'. The words my *tete* spoke resonated with me throughout the research process.

[48] *Tete* is the Shona noun for patrilineal aunt.

A few methods were used in constructing the data for this study, as shall be discussed in the sections that follow. One way that the study gleaned knowledge was through stories, such as the one shared above and others scattered throughout the thesis. The power of stories is not lost on me, hence I use them throughout the study as an agent to clarify matters, destabilise concepts, as an act from the epistemologies of the South and an alternative to mainstream academic writing. The destabilising stories in the seminal anthology entitled *This bridge called my back: Writings by women of colour* (Moraga & Anzaldúa, 2015) underscores the power of stories. The works of Toni Morrison (1988, 2004), Mama Ata Aidoo (1994, 2002, 2006), Virginia Phiri (2010), Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (2009) and Koleka Putuma (2017), to name a few, also point to the disruptive and emancipatory power of stories. Smith (1999) cites storytelling as an integral perspective of women and elders; hence it should be built into indigenous research processes. Research is a political endeavour, as the epithets from Smith (1999) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2017) mentioned above indicate. Even more so (political) for indigenous people who have stood (historically) at the subject end of many 'research' projects (Smith, 1999). I have taken the epithets as caveats and guiding principles in weaving a design to conduct my study's research. This stance ultimately had a bearing on the research design and methodology. Using stories in the thesis reinforces the political – Smith (1999) would argue it as the decolonising potential of research.

In the following sections of the chapter, I outline the philosophical suppositions that guided the research process. The research approach and chosen framework are also discussed. I then move on to the methodology sections that provide an overview of the assumptions, ideologies, and tools informing the data construction and consequent analysis within the thesis. The second section of the chapter points to the deliberate steps that I have taken in making the work a rigorous research project. My study is steeped in feminist tradition; this tradition has research methodological implications. Ramazanoglu and Holland (2002) note that when research is feminist, there are decisions to be made, and these decisions matter in determining what counts as knowledge. The second section of this chapter lays out the research decisions taken in putting the study together.

The third section in the chapter highlights the research considerations and principles guiding the research, ethical care, reliability, validating means and limitations of the research. As this is research being done in the so-called 'global South', this last section is of great importance given the historicity of research and indigenous people of the so-called South (see Smith,

2012). Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2017) notes that research can be a way of 'undressing' respondents unduly exploiting their vulnerabilities or experiences. The section highlights the care that has been taken to protect the narratives/experiences of/from the data and the case study (*ubuntu* in Zimbabwe). Overall, the main objective of this chapter is to shed light on the *how* of the critique – the central objective of the thesis.

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

"Say not, "I have found the truth," but rather, "I have found a truth." (Gibran, 1926: 34)

4.2.1 Philosophical assumptions and research paradigm

This study is a qualitative endeavour shaped by key philosophical stances. I resonate with Creswell & Poth's (2017) statement that to conduct qualitative research is to be enfolded in the idea of multiple realities. It is the underlying appreciation of various alternate realities that frame the manner of study and varied instruments that have been pursued in this study. Reality has been taken as subjective, hence the need for 'understanding' that has been bordered in the research questions and pursued via the methods expanded below. While the study is largely conceptual, there is a deliberate valorisation of the situated empirical voice of respondents (female teachers) for the paradigmatic reasons stated below.

Cunningham and Fitzgerald's epistemological stance is coextensive with the assumptions of this study, where they say that "knowledge is located at many different sites. Knowledge is social and cultural, it does not exist outside the individuals and communities who know it" (1996: 50). I present the study as a process and an output of knowledge production. I, the researcher, am an active part of this creative process; as such, knowledge is not only resident within the archives and respondents that inform the study but with me also as an active part of the process and community. There is an interpretive value that I bring in the collation, construction, analysis, and presentation of data/information. Undoubtedly, my active stance potentially introduces some bias in the sense that I am not a passive bystander in the creation process. I believe, however, that this axiological stance of co-creative involvement allows greater depth of understanding. My reflexive positionality is stated clearly in the third section of this study for clarity and transparency. It is an intimate scenario that Hill-Collins (1986) calls the outsider within; I am the creator of the knowledge in the sense that I am the author of this study; at the same time, I allow knowledge to emerge from the readings, respondents and data with which I engage. Hence, the paradoxical insider/outsider situation.

Feminist epistemology (Code, 1991; Ford, 2007; Haraway, 1988; Stoetzler & Yuval-Davis, 2002) and indigenous experiences (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2017; Smith, 1999) are suspicious of claims of objectivity as these claims have been used to violate subjects in the process of 'extracting' truth. Situated knowledge (Haraway, 1988), however, allows for data to emerge rather than extraction and for the respondents to have a voice in the process of codifying their lived experiences. For the stated philosophical assumptions and reasons, my study is qualitative. Keller (1982) defines feminist research paradigms as a lens that brings into focus particular questions to which I would also add questions from select sections of the population. As a research paradigm, feminism foregrounds its central subject and their subjectivities through methodologies that draw knowledge from and for women. As has been reiterated, the study is deeply informed by feminist precedence, traditions, and approaches, which cumulatively we can call feminist epistemology. As a research paradigm, feminism places a demand on the female voice to be given space as well as affording the voice determination within the process and to be a sideshow. As Oyěwùmí (2003) alludes, to be feminist is for actions to be guided by female agency and their self-determination. This had a large bearing on the methodology and other research processes undertaken in the study.

Added to the feminist paradigm, I also took decoloniality as a co-paradigm to mould my study. This decision was necessitated by the central subject theme (*ubuntu*, a socio-cultural artefact of Southern 'Africa') being studied, the location and identity of the study (a thesis conducted at a South African institution by a black 'African' woman). Decoloniality, in one way, is about disturbing the chokehold of modernity on the global geopolitical knowledge ecosystem. As a concept, decoloniality developed its impetus from "the disturbing concept of 'coloniality' (the invisible and constitutive side of 'modernity')" (Mignolo, 2007: 451). Decoloniality, unlike decolonisation (which was a political aspect of the late 19th to 20th-century anti-minority rule project of state politics), is an ongoing exercise of dismantling the colonial matrix of power (Quijano, 2000); namely, control of power, control of the economy, control/coloniality of gender, control/coloniality of knowledge. I used decoloniality as a co-paradigm because of its acceptance of *pluriversality* in the construction of knowledge and its focus on language as an informing archive (which was instrumental in unpacking the notion of *ubuntu*). Mignolo's (2007) specific advancement of accepting a *pluriversal* knowledge terrain that accedes to the notion of truths instead of the truth, is not only coextensive but frames the intentions of my study. Hence, decoloniality is a co-paradigm in framing my study.

The co-paradigm feeds into the methodology of the study by guiding research choices with regards to citation practice, for example. Understandably, there are limited decolonial *ubuntu* scholars. The study leans on language and lived experiences of respondents from progenitor cultures of *ubuntu* as a way of circumventing this shortfall. While a PhD is deeply entrenched in the academic practice and its structure is defined by the academy with stylistic differences emanating from locational choices, it is still set within a body of knowledge that has a history of being occidental. The approach I took, therefore, was that while the thesis fulfils the mandate of a PhD by Stellenbosch university standards, I reworked the contents in order to challenge entrenched epistemic practices. I did this methodologically by insisting on the knowledge, citation practice, informants, analytical tools that rest in academic margins such as stories. Holistically, therefore, the worldview the study is set in a decolonial-feminist paradigm. Mignolo calls this facet of decoloniality delinking, that "implies work at the fringes… between hegemonic and dominant forms of knowledge… using the system but doing something else" (2007: 160).

4.2.2 Research approach

The research approach used in this study is a case study. Choosing a research approach was a defining decision made in the study. Merriam and Tisdell's (2016) evaluation is that a case study comes down to a choice of what needs to be studied rather than a choice of methodology per se. This is because a case study allows for methodological versatility, unlike other approaches. A choice between a hermeneutical or ethnographic research approach carries methodological implications. Since my study stands at the nexus of two broad disciplines (feminism and philosophy of education), I needed an approach that was flexible to read the different areas of study being brought together in the study. In this regard, a case study served my study requirements well.

The more significant reason for a choice of a case study lies in the tenet that defines a case study – the case. It is my research intention to spotlight *ubuntu,* expand its understanding on the way to bringing it into conversation with feminism. Merriam and Tisdell (2016) note that "the single most defining characteristic of case study research lies in delimiting the object of the study: the case"; they extend this notion saying a case study is "an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system". *Ubuntu* is the object of study, the unit of analysis, the "contemporary phenomenon" (Yin, 2014:16) under study. Mills, Durepos & Wiebe (2010: i) see a case study as "a focus on the interrelationships that constitute the context of a specific

entity (such as an organization, event, phenomenon, or person)". The approach to be taken for this qualitative study is, therefore, a case study.

Another matter of concern was whether 'the case' of the study was *ubuntu* itself or the policy framework that introduced *ubuntu* philosophy in Zimbabwe's education. At this point, the central research question became of great importance. In the dilemma of 'the case', again the research objective assisted my decision-making. The objective of the study is a feminist critique of *ubuntu* not a feminist critique of CF 2015–2022 policy. I found that the case study approach, while keeping the focus of the study on the central tenet of *ubuntu*, also gives freedom methodologically to approach this tenet through multiple angles (for example using stories and re-storying in analysis or using literature as data). The overlap between the conceptual and empirical ceases to be a contest over what is more important for the research approach but is a welcome multi-method approach to dealing with a complex tenet such as *ubuntu*. My thesis, hence, is an in-depth descriptive study of the phenomenon or case study of *ubuntu* as a philosophy of education in Zimbabwe.

In gaining an understanding of this bounded phenomenon, multiple methods and forms of data were useful as will be unpacked below. Therefore, while *injongo*/the *raison d'etre*/the objective of the study is to critique *ubuntu*, the object of study is *ubuntu* itself. The concept of *ubuntu* is taken as bounded by geography (in Zimbabwe)[49]. In my study, it was *ubuntu* that was analysed from a feminist perspective.

4.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

> "The methodology of the oppressed is a set of processes, procedures, and technologies for decolonising the imagination" (Sandoval, 2000: 69).

The processes and research decisions made in this study feed off the above main and sub-objectives. The central objective of my thesis is:

To get to an expanded understanding of ubuntu, one that speaks to the lived realities of progenitor communities of ubuntu and education in Zimbabwe

I sought a critical and descriptive understanding of this central tenet from what populates academic archive (academia) and lived experience. This descriptive understanding was then collectively placed under a feminist lens. This process called for an engagement with various

[49] This is a porous boundary as there are many similarities of conceptions of *ubuntu* within the Southern African region, however, conceptions from Zimbabwe will be prioritised.

forms of data and data sources. Both empirical and conceptual data were all necessary in order to give the unit of analysis – *ubuntu* – descriptive clarity. Methodologically, this means the data flows from the literature reviewed to the interviews conducted, from the conceptual to the empirical. All are useful puzzle pieces in crafting an understanding of *ubuntu* and bringing it into conversation with feminism. Therefore, the study is located at the intersection of the conceptual and empirical. This realisation necessitates multiple instruments, "processes, procedures, and technologies" as stated in the epithet from Sandoval (2000), to adequately meet the requirements of each research objective. The following sections outline the methodical decisions, instruments, framework, sampling, and analysis done throughout the conducting of this study.

4.3.1 Theoretical framework: Conducting the critique.

> "A useful theory is one that tells an enlightening story about some phenomenon. It is a story that gives you new insights and broadens your understanding of the phenomenon." (Anfara & Mertz, 2006: xvii)

Just like in the selection of the research approach, selecting a theoretical framework was also an exigent endeavour. The framework was also not immediately apparent, and major changes had to be made partway through the study process. When I began writing the proposal for this study, I was drawn to intersectionality as a theoretical framework. The study being a feminist critique that brings two broad and complex concepts into conversation with each other gave me the initial impetus to pursue intersectionality. However, as the research process began, I realised a major incompatibility – the study is not majorly concerned with issues of identity or difference per se; hence the full value of an intersectional framework would not be realised. In the very least, it seemed that intersectionality would end up being a tool for analysis and nothing else. I opted instead for critical theory as the theoretical framework for the study. Given that data in this research ensues from the reading of the literature to the empirical constructions, I needed a framework that could provide a lens for sifting through and unpacking literature as well as constructing meaning from the heuristic data.

If the main objective of this study – a feminist critique of *ubuntu* – can be viewed as a conversation between feminism and *ubuntu*, then the theoretical framework is the terms of that conversation. The theoretical framework specifies how the broad concepts of the study have been unpacked, how they engage with each other as well as how the empirical findings are weaved into the conversation. According to Anfara and Mertz (2006), using a theoretical

framework can be helpful in research to the degree of illuminating or delimiting the research and facilitating analysis of the data. In this way, a theoretical framework works as a lens through which research findings (both conceptual and empirical) can be processed, analysed, and appropriated. Ultimately, the theoretical framework represents experiences and conceptualisations that a researcher brings into their study (Mills *et al.*, 2010). Anfara and Mertz (2006) add that while neophyte researchers can circumvent the complexity of selecting a framework by working within the confines of their disciplines, as studies become broader and more complex, it becomes necessary to work with a theoretical framework that brings the various elements of a study into congruence. The theoretical framework should speak more fluidly to the objectives of the study at hand. This was certainly my experience. For these reasons I selected critical theory as a theoretical framework.

Critical theory is a concept that emerged out of the interdisciplinary collaborative work of the Frankfurt School in the 1930s. Over the decades it has grown in disciplinary influence and morphed in conceptual focus. To this end, Mills *et al.* (2010) see it necessary to differentiate between Critical Theory (the founding conceptualisation or original ideas from the Frankfurt school shown by capitalising the C and T) and critical theory (the contemporary idea that is concerned with the descriptive and normative inquiry into social structures of subjugation). Noddings (2018) concurs that the foundation of critical thinking is in the in-depth analysis of different social conditions and how they relate or culminate in different forms of subjugation. Mills *et al.* (2010: 261) aver saying that the foundational ideas in critical theory thinking are "the analysis of structural relationships of power, control, and discrimination". It is this social structural critique edge that has made critical theory an asset in social research. I have taken critical theory as the contemporary concern with the structural roots of the object of study and the way the object can affect inequality (Kemmis, McTaggart & Nixon, 2014; Mills *et al.*, 2010; Noddings, 2018).

Critical theory can inform a research study in several ways. It can be a paradigm informing the broad philosophical stances, it can be a methodology informing the research choices, or it can be a theoretical framework scaffolding the construction of the data. As a theoretical framework, it functions as a selective lens into the research's data, a tool for conceptual and empirical meaning-making. Critical theory, by virtue of its fundamental concerns, is biased towards understanding the interplay of key elements in a research study – that is, power, social structure, systems of domination and unfolding subjectivity. Mills *et al.* (2010: 263) continue saying that

as a research tool, critical theory "includes the questioning of what is known about the world and in what ways". Critical theorists are concerned with social exploratory inquiry into understanding what society or a system of society is juxtaposed against normative practice of what it can be (Kim, 2016). The conceptual tools common to critical research relate to the centrality of language, the interpretive approach to human behaviour, and the importance of self-reflexivity. It is these facets of reflexivity, the role of language, social structural critique and the interpretive that make critical theory appropriate for this study.

Feminism as a theoretical practice in part emerged from the Critical Theory school of thought (Mills *et al.*, 2010; Noddings, 2018). Therefore, to conduct a feminist critique in some way is to engage in a form of criticality. I note here that while critical theory fits congruently with my study, the move from intersectionality was a hesitant one. The hesitation was also due to the supposed dearth of critical theory in academia (Kim, 2016). Critical theory seems to have been overtaken in popularity in this 'post' structural/modern/colonial era in which we find ourselves. However, Kim (2016) advises that critical theory still has a place within social research with some considerations. She advocates two suggestions drawing from McCarthy (2001) for reconceptualising critical theory. That is, one needs to get back to focusing more on lived experiences (what is now known as situated or immanent critique (see Budd in Given, 2008)), and secondly, the jargon that had become endemic in critical theory needs to be simplified in order to make the theorising accessible.

In employing critical theory, I heeded Kim's (2016) caveats, using her suggestions to reconceptualise the framework in my study. I insisted on including the voices of female educators in an otherwise largely conceptual study. This move was a feminist standard and a way of bringing the study from the absolute abstract into space where it is in touch with lived reality for a better-informed critique of *ubuntu*. Secondly, I have used storytelling and re-storying as a way of analysis as well as cutting into the jargon of academic language in a bid to make the resulting thesis accessible. I, therefore, have taken critical theory as a lens and used it in more practical and active ways in the data construction process of this thesis. In unpacking *ubuntu*, for example, I used Nguni languages as an analytical vehicle to sift through the discourse surrounding the notion. The choice for language aligned with the research paradigm as well as the need for criticality. I used this critical analysis as a method to arrive at an understanding of *ubuntu* that may not be in vogue but relates strongly to the progenitor cultures

while exposing the social structures that necessitate *ubuntu*. The specifics of the process are explained in section 4.2.4 below.

In the interview process, criticality was demonstrated through a reflexive awareness of how power flowed between the interviewees and me. I was conscious of this aspect when in one interview the interviewee insisted (as is their prerogative) to sit across a very large desk, which in the end detracted from depth or 'getting real' in the interview. I mention this to demonstrate that critical thinking was present throughout the data construction and analysis process. I was constantly aware of power dynamics in encounters with people and with literature. Ultimately, the theoretical framework was useful in the data analysis, the feminist critique of *ubuntu* in chapter 6. The structures identified in *ubuntu* and in feminism became the points of conversation in conducting the critique.

4.3.2 Sampling technique – the case and its informants

In selecting samples for the empirical respondents of the study, I was guided by two techniques. Firstly, I looked to the work of Mangena (2009) who conducted a similar (not identical) study around the concept of feminist ethics and *unhu/ubuntu* in Zimbabwe. His study spans across two years, involving 30 respondents. From Mangena's (2009) experience, I logically gauged that a sample size of ten women for the lived reality component of my study is appropriate, given that I focused on one site. As this is a study associated with a specific education policy (CF 2015–2022) that is designed for primary and secondary schools in Zimbabwe, the informants were drawn from women educators in primary and secondary schools in the Bulawayo area. Time and financial resources were real constraints given that my university is in one country (Stellenbosch, South Africa) and the research site in another (Bulawayo, Zimbabwe). Constant travel between the two places was not feasible; hence the fieldwork had to be deliberately timed to ensure that adequate time was allocated for the fieldwork. As such, I used selective sampling guided by the findings in Mangena's (2009) research. The selection process was based on age-stratified or years of teaching experience. Fletcher and Plakoyiannaki in (Mills *et al.*, 2010: 837) note that besides deciding on who or what is to inform a study, sampling in case study research also involves "decisions that the researchers make regarding sampling strategies, the number of case studies, and the definition of the unit of analysis". Blaikie (2018) notes that it is difficult to determine a sample size in qualitative studies due to the iterative and co-productive nature of such studies.

Respondents, however, do not operate on a flexible schedule. When I first conducted my interviews, 15 female educators were targeted, ten were the planned cohort, eleven were interviewed, and three later withdrew from the study. One respondent, for example, whom I was keen on interviewing and who is a senior educator with more than 30 years of experience in teaching, finished her leave a few days before I could conduct the interview. Her busy schedule could not be reconciled with my available time, and in the end, she opted out of the study.

In terms of selection criteria, sex was another qualifier for the respondents. I am aware of the contested nature of the designation, 'woman'. As De Beauvoir (1952) notes in her work that to be a woman is not a biological facticity but a becoming and embodiment. Hence, a woman informant in this study is one who self-identifies as a woman. All participants were above the age of eighteen years of age[50]. This choice of informants for the lived experience question draws directly from the research paradigm (that places a premium on the voices of women in feminist endeavours), from the case under study (*ubuntu* in Zimbabwe) and the circumstances leading to the study's commencement. Lamb concurs with this approach in saying "those who speak of feminism as critique are participating in a paradigm shift that embodies the diversity of women's experiences in its challenges and questions while seeking meaning-making conditions that honour their differences" (1994: 62). The selection qualifier, 'teacher', within the context of this study, is taken as a person with a teaching role at a primary or secondary school in Zimbabwe.

The targeting process began with authorisation from MoPSE. PhD studies in Zimbabwe require authorisation by the Permanent Secretary of education who heads up the operations of the education ministry reporting to the education minister. This was an unexpected requirement, and the prospect of going to the highest offices of MoPSE felt daunting. However, the process itself was simple, and the staff at the Permanent Secretary's office were very helpful. The MoPSE head-office authorisation process took one working week. A second authorisation was needed from the Provincial Education Director's (PED) office that runs education operations in the Bulawayo Metropolitan Province in order to begin speaking to teachers in the province. The provincial authorisation process took three weeks. The authorisation letters gave me access

[50] 18 is the legal age of capacity in Zimbabwe.

to schools, most school heads were keen to accommodate me, but scheduling and time constraints meant that I could not always gain participants at every school I visited.

My study was cleared by Stellenbosch University's Research Ethics Committee (REC), by Zimbabwe's Permanent Secretary of education and the Provincial Education Director's office of Bulawayo province. I thought these high-level authorisation letters would translate into immediate keenness from potential respondents, quite the opposite was true. The first five respondents I approached to join the study turned me down. Some teachers felt uncomfortable going on record, fearing that their responses would end up in 'the wrong offices'. This prompted me to change my sampling strategy from snowballing to include cold canvassing. I planned to target two teachers from two schools in each district. Of the eight schools that I canvassed; I was turned down completely at three due to the unavailability of the teachers[51].

In the end, eleven respondents confirmed their willingness to participate in the study and three withdrew after initially confirming their willingness to participate (this was well within their rights). Some targeted interviews did not materialise for a myriad of reasons. For some, it was a scheduling issue; for others, it was a fear issue. One targeted respondent was afraid to participate as they felt the study would ask them to be critical of government policy, and it would put their position as a civil servant in jeopardy. Another teacher turned the invitation down as they identify as gay, and as homosexuality is illegal in Zimbabwe, they felt the study would compromise their position at their school and society. As Morris (2015) rightly acknowledges, making contact and obtaining the trust of respondents can be a difficult task. The difficulty is in the realisation that interviews are a political process, to be interviewed, for your experiences to be placed in the spotlight is to enact agency. In Zimbabwe, collective fear tested potential respondents' agency in many ways.

The following women participated in the interviews (a double asterisk indicates where a pseudonym was used instead of a respondent's name, as per their request; a single asterisk indicates where the respondent's real name was used, as per their request):

MaJoy**	A senior teacher at a primary school with more than twenty years of teaching experience.

[51] The time I cold canvassed was the start of term and many schools were overwhelmed with enrolment and placement issues.

Mukudzei**	Has two years of teaching experience and teaches at a rural school.
Nandi**	Is part of her school's executive management team. She has over fifteen years of teaching experience at the secondary level.
Helen**	Is a Catholic nun in her third year of teaching, teaches at a religious private school.
Malaika**	Has over ten years of teaching experience at the primary level; she teaches at an all-boys school.
Comedia Moyo*	Is still studying towards her honour's degree in teaching. When I interviewed her, she was undergoing her teaching practicum at a local school for children with disabilities. She is visually impaired.
Samantha Nyereyemhuka*	Is a teacher and disability activist. She also has a physical disability that warrants the use of a wheelchair.
Magdalene**	Is a nun and teaches at an all-girls high school.

I discuss each respondent's profile in greater depth in the next chapter when I present their narratives. It is important to note at this point that the two women with disabilities chose to be represented in the study with their real names. When I completed my fieldwork, the encounters with each of the respondents gave me a sense of immense responsibility. They had entrusted me with sections of their lives even though I did not know them. Their openness and vulnerabilities in our encounters demanded authenticity and fidelity to their stories. This is the approach that I had in constructing the data.

Admittedly, the size of the sample is one weakness of the study. A small sample size makes it difficult to extend findings on to broader issues as data maybe unique to the experiences of the small sample. In a qualitative study such as this one transferability of findings may not always be possible, however I countered this weakness with thick descriptions. The interviews were in-depth and detailed to understand the teachers' experiences in greater detail even though they may not be easily extended onto other social groups or individuals.

4.3.3 Data collection instruments

One of the objectives of the study is to advance an expanded understanding of *ubuntu*. To this end, various instruments were used to collect the data to inform the research questions.

4.3.3.1 Document sourcing (and analysis)

A significant portion of the study was spent to document reading and analysis. This was occasioned by the fact that the study is largely conceptual in design. Documents are taken as "written, visual, digital, and physical material" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016: 162). I used documents to find insights, understand theory and practices in a bid to better assimilate the three broad topics of this study – *ubuntu*, feminism, and citizenship education. As such, documents formed an important data set of this study. Both primary (official, first account) and secondary (synthesised, academic) documents were used in the data set. What Frey (2018) calls document sampling I used as citational practice. The practice influenced the decisions that guided the selection of documents used for this study. The decision of which documents with which to populate the data set was guided by the research paradigm of the study – decolonial feminism. Inspired by the paradigm, I gave space to documents from the 'global South' as a form of epistemic justice (Santos, 2016, oppositional consciousness (Sandoval, 2000) and capturing experiences closer to those where my study is situated – in the 'global South'.

Frey (2018: 544–545) adds that "it is important to remember that all documents exist within the context of their creation, meaning that the social, economic, political, and cultural influences of the time and place of their creation contribute to their representation of the construct being studied". This means engaging with documents cannot be passive; it must be critical and triangulated as there can be contextual realities that bias a document in a certain way. Bearing this in mind, my reading of the documents was done in relation to other data forms.

Various sources from academic texts, policy documents, public records, and artefacts/works to news editorials form the database. Popular culture documents have also been surveyed as data, given the social media age in which we presently live. Merriam and Tisdell (2016) advise that due to the changing trends in archiving the internet has become a common source of data. The authors (2016) also note concerning internet sources, that they are a ready and growing source of data given the digital era we are in which presents a vibrant resource to an investigator. I used the SAGE Research Methods online repository, a subscription provided by the Stellenbosch University library, extensively in the writing up of the study, especially this chapter. In the study, a wide net of document and artefact sourcing has been cast in response to the questions raised as well as the broad categories/concepts being addressed.

4.3.3.2 Interview as conversation (Some notes from the field)

Face-to-face interviews were conducted with the female teacher cohort. A semi-structured questionnaire (see Appendix E) was used to guide the interview process to ensure that the interviews progressed organically while leaving room for the respondents to give rich descriptions of their experiences. As a way of creating rapport, the strategy was to conduct the actual interview on the second or third meeting with each respondent. However, this was not always possible due to time constraints. This did not hamper the interview process as I felt the respondents opened up during the conversation and allowed me into their experiences. I discovered that I created good rapport with the respondents when I took the time to give a brief of who I was as a researcher and detailed the significance of the study.

The interview process revealed that the notion of 'powerful researcher' versus a 'powerless respondent' was not universal as also found by Reynolds in the edited work with Tim May (2002). Power had to be negotiated so that it did not detract from the progress of the interview. As stated in section 5.3.1 above, the power in my interview with Magdalene, for example, was determined by a large desk and a leather chair. The power in my encounter with Comedia was determined and mediated by language, for Mukudzei, it was mediated by providing a safe space in the material sense to tell her story. I mentioned how MaJoy, who is older than me, and referred to me as *'mwanangu'* (my child), challenged the power dynamics initially but as the interview progressed, we developed a good rapport. MaJoy was eager to let me into her world (classroom) as she saw me as a child in relation to her. This ended up being the longest and most intimate interview – as will be presented and discussed in the next chapter. Power is indeed not unitary; it is a dynamic that needs to be carefully managed in the interview process.

The interview process also proved to be cathartic as well as reflective for some of the participants. Towards the end of my interview conversation with Magdalene, she noted with surprise how she does not regularly think about the subject themes that we discussed in the course of the interview. She said:

> *You're not the only one who is benefitting from this conversation I am also benefitting from it. You know when you do these things (classroom practice) sometimes you don't take time to reflect, what have I done or why did I do that. Of course, sometimes I live it, and it becomes so normal that I don't ask what am I doing, really what am I doing? So, now I got the chance to think of 'how have I been handling this?' or 'so this is what I do on the ground.*

So, in retelling narratives from different moments of her life and career, Magdalene demonstrated how she was also reconstructing her experiences of those moments. She added that the process of recalling how she makes certain decisions in the classroom had made her more conscious of issues of *ubuntu* and respect, which she foresaw as making her a more conscious teacher. From the field experience, I can say interviewing is more a method of constructing data than a question-and-answer session. The interviewer must be sensitive to the encounter, to enter an interview session with a heightened awareness of the different ways that power can affect the process.

4.3.4 Data analysis: Storytelling and re-storying

Analysis of the data study began at the reading and write-up stage. As I engaged with various sources of literature, I used the theoretical framework to apply criticality in my selection of the literature, reading and write-up process. Because the literature forms a large part of the data, the literature reviews could not be passive readings of what populates the academy around the selected areas of study. Instead, the reading of literature was also a selecting, sifting, and sorting critical engagement process. In the chapter on *ubuntu*, for example, I go through various documents (journals, books) around the subject. I use Nguni languages as an archive and a triangulating source in my critical reading, a form of critical hermeneutical practice (Tomkins and Eatough, 2018). The language archive assists in consolidating authors that add to the expanded understanding of *ubuntu* to be carried forward throughout the thesis. In the chapter on feminism, I provide a reading of various textual sources and proceed to use the artworks of Nandipha Mntambo to corroborate my reading and analysis of the material. This is what Tomkins and Eatough (2018: 186) would call referential hermeneutics that is an interpretation or textual sense-making that we understand something by connecting it with something we already know, whether through comparison, contrast or juxtaposition.

For the interviews, I began the analysis of the data while I was still in the field. After each interview, I took the liberty to summarise the key reflections I saw emerging from the interview in front of the interviewee. I would give them an opportunity to respond if my reflections were in line with the response they had just given me. I did this reflection in line with the decolonial-feminist paradigm that favours co-production of knowledge as well as triangulation. I used a fieldwork journal to capture nuances such as staging, interviewee gestures that emerged in each encounter but were not on the audio recordings. These field reflections represented a first-level analysis of the data.

Once I concluded the interviews, I began the arduous task of transcribing using the InqScribe software. This took three months to complete. Firstly, because some respondents pulled out after I had begun working on their transcripts and secondly, because many of the respondents spoke in three languages in a single interview. This demanded that I transcribe the works myself as I am conversant in all the languages, which was a blessing in disguise because it gave me an intimate knowledge of the data. As I transcribed, I notated the transcripts merging them with some of the notes in my Fieldwork journal. This was the second level of the analysis. The third level of analysis was done through storytelling and re-storying the empirical data; this is presented in chapter six. The final analysis is presented in chapter seven, where I bring the conceptual and empirical together to conduct a feminist critique of *ubuntu*.

As the respondents began to unpack their experiences in the classroom and beyond, it became apparent that what they told were stories. Their experiences were encapsulated in stories. A case in point is when I asked MaJoy how she came into the teaching profession, and her response was "*rega ndikuudze kanyaya*" meaning "let me tell you a little story". For the interview with Magdalene, the statement "*this one time"* became a recurring anaphora throughout the interview. I realised that stories were not only going to be pinned epithets, but in order to capture and understand the respondents' experience with *ubuntu* within the context of education, I had to understand their stories. This changed my initial plan to analyse the empirical data thematically. It was not feasible to be authentic to the data, the stories the women had entrusted me, by cutting it up into segmented slabs no matter how neat the process. I needed a narrative way of thinking around the phenomena that were the women's experiences (Clandinin, 2006).

When people tell stories there are patterns that they follow which can be either chronological, that is, following a timeline of how events in the story unfold or it can follow key phenomena, that is how certain phenomena sparked other events. In a study such as this one space does not always allow for full stories as captured in interviews to be re-presented, for this reason re-storying becomes an import part of the analysis (Kim, 2016). It is not a manipulation of data but a critical part of data analysis that sees the researcher arranging the data (the stories) in a way that will make sense to a reader.

4.4 RESEARCH CONSIDERATIONS

4.4.1 Ethical considerations

Morris (2015: 17) notes that "there have been periods in human history where what was called 'research' was conducted in an extremely crude and inhumane fashion". Smith (1999) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2017) also raise concerns about the trauma 'research', especially for disenfranchised communities. Considering these concerns, I made careful undertakings to ensure the protection of the research respondents. Firstly, informed consent was obtained from all respondents. Consent was sought from the eight female teachers in the empirical cohort as well as family members whose stories I use in the process of my study such as my mother, father and aunt (see appendix D for a copy of the consent form).

Three respondents out of the targeted teacher cohort exercised their right to back out of the research without recourse; the action is a testament that there was no duress applied to respondents to participate in this study. All participants were received voluntarily with permissible exit at any point of the interview process. Two respondents – Samantha and Comedia – chose not to be anonymous. I took this as a unique turn towards oppositional consciousness. That the two women with disabilities would individually choose to attach their names to the narratives in the study showed a level of owning their story that I could not deny. However, I ensured that the final transcripts of all interviews were shared before going ahead with the analysis to give the respondents a sense of what their stories included.

Ethical clearance was sought from Stellenbosch University Research Ethics Committee to conduct this study (see appendix A). Additional clearance was obtained from the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education's Permanent Secretary's office as well as the Provincial Education Director of Bulawayo Province to conduct the interviews with teachers in Zimbabwe, Bulawayo (see appendix B and C for the approval letters). I also ensured that each respondent was above the age of consent; the youngest respondent was 24 years old. Where the interview was conducted away from a respondent's place of work, I made a reimbursement or arrangement for transport so that the respondent did not incur any financial loss by being a participant in my study.

4.4.2 Validity and reliability of the study

"Qualitative researchers strive for 'understanding', that deep structure of knowledge that comes from visiting personally with participants… During or after a study, qualitative researchers ask, 'Did we get it right?'" (Creswell & Poth, 2017: 302).

The twin issue of validity and reliability in qualitative research is an area where there is tension between the demand for rigour and the need for creativity (Whittemore, Chase & Mandle, 2001). Merriam and Tisdell (2016) note that validity in qualitative research is equal to ethically conducting research. Reliability in qualitative research investigates the rigour of the research as a scientific process. Unlike in positivist studies, validity in qualitative research does not look for replicability as social science research is underscored by an assumption of subjective views of phenomena as stated in the research design of this thesis. Instead, reliability in my study was demonstrated in striving for ethical aptitude, following reasoned scientific processes and, using recognisable instruments as has already been outlined. While the same interview guide was used for all the interviews, each took unique turns that could not be anticipated beforehand. MaJoy's interview was over two hours long, and Malaika's interview was only thirty-five minutes long. The same script produced different levels of depth in the data. Replicability in qualitative interviews is indeed not easy nor desirable.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) list a range of terms that are associated with validity and trustworthiness such as transferability, dependability and confirmability. They (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) also note that a pathway to meeting these demands is multiple data sources, methods, and thick description. The standards highlighted by Lincoln and Guba (1985) have been embedded in this study in order to meet academic and scientific rigour. In terms of transferability, however, the cohort used is small compared to say a survey, which limits the extent of transferability. This was not, however, the goal of my study, the objective was geared towards 'understanding' rather than research transferability.

Another way of looking at reliability, especially in research with an empirical component, is asking if the research demonstrates fidelity to the respondents' stories. The analysis strategy selected is a demonstration of the search for authenticity to the respondents' stories. Kim (2016) reminds researchers that the ethical consideration should rest on fidelity to the respondents, which implies something to be trusted. I have shown fidelity to the participants' stories in the way that I eventually presented the interviews in the form of stories interwoven with my own reflections.

4.4.3 Limitations of the study

The study is limited to the three broad subject areas viz. *ubuntu*, feminism, and citizenship education with a focus on the Zimbabwean context. About *ubuntu*, a concept/word/philosophy common in many 'African' languages and cultures – interest was paid to how it is constructed in Zimbabwe languages. Inferences have been made to other constructions of the concept/word/philosophy, but the understandings relating to Zimbabwean experience/definition/knowledge were most valorised. A premium was placed on the situated understanding of feminism, and the feminist critique was conducted along this situated understanding.

An overarching assumption is made with regards to research informants, that they were credible and honest in their responses in the study. No indication was given in the interviews to consider the contrary.

4.4.4 Positionality

> "If one admits… that social position greatly influences social perspective and if one cannot frame a question without also thereby expressing a perspective, then all science, knowingly or ignorantly, expresses a perspective." (Kleinman, 2007: 1)

My identity markers as a person are intimately connected to the parts and process of this study. I am a black Zimbabwean woman, educated up to honours' degree level in Zimbabwe. *Ubuntu* is part of my culture. These markers mean I have experiences that have a bearing on the study; I certainly did not produce this work passively. The thesis that I present herewith represents a significant personal knowledge investment into the global knowledge geopolitical economy. I make this investment with an awareness that while my educational background gives me access to this economy, my social qualifiers (female, black, Shona, Ndebele speaking, Zimbabwean, 'African') also situate my voice on the margins of the normative of the economy I write into. Hill-Collins describes this oscillation between insider/outsider as the outsider within (1986). This realisation does not only pertain to identity qualifiers, but it is also not lost on me that I draw from the experiences of female educators and education professionals within the Zimbabwean education sector from an outsider looking in perspective. As such, throughout the research process, great reflexivity was required on my part as a researcher to navigate the politics of knowledge production. In producing this authentic piece of knowledge, I do so from a positionality of what Sandoval (2000) calls "oppositional consciousness", which is a way of

ordering consciousness to stand to a hegemonic social structure. This stance is informed by the decolonial feminist paradigm adopted in the research. It is a positionality that demanded reflexivity, meta-ideologizing and sensitivity not at the level of data construction alone but through the process of producing the piece of knowledge. Two of the study's respondents, for example, are black Zimbabwean women with disabilities. As a social group, they are marginalised in many ways that I cannot fully comprehend. Reflexivity on my part as a researcher demanded that care was taken to ensure that the interview locations catered to their physical needs so as not to exert any discomfort in the interview process.

While the motivations for commencing this project rested at the personal and professional levels, the impetus for completing this piece of academic work, and more importantly completing it in the manner that I have presented, are an emancipatory technology and liberatory practice – a form of oppositional consciousness on my part. My positionality had to be negotiated in many ways throughout the research process. In the interviews, this negotiation meant re-arranging the interview space, finding alternative meeting places, reading para-linguistic cues to ensure that the interviewees were at ease throughout the conversation. In another interview, for example, the respondent started off calling me ma'am. I recognised the power differential cue and began mixing English with *isiNdebele* to destabilise her view of me as her superior in any way. The interview ended up being the second-longest in the cohort and deeply revealing. Positionality is not fixed in any way; negotiation is necessary to navigate different dialogic spaces and to ensure authenticity in the knowledge being produced.

4.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The sections in this chapter discuss the methodological orientations of the thesis and research process undertaken throughout this study. Issues associated with content and data analysis were also discussed. The chapter laid out the rigour taken in completing this study as a scientific project and the decisions taken to construct the data that informs the thesis. Doctoral research is indeed messy. The chapter laid to rest the myth of linear doctoral research as my experiences proved that the process is an iterative, inductive path of discovery. The research was underscored by assumptions of pluri-versality (Mignolo, 2007), that reality is subjective, and that knowledge does not exist outside of its knowers (Cunningham & Fitzgerald, 1996). The research methods were guided by a decolonial-feminist paradigm that dictated citational practises that draw from what Santos (2016) calls "epistemologies of the South" and valorise the voices of women.

The methods that shaped the study were selected in line with the thesis' research questions that required both conceptual and empirical data. Methods were adapted to collect the data in a way that allowed for triangulation and reliability. The decisions with regards to the documents used for the critical (conceptual) reading were in line with the philosophical assumptions research paradigm that informs the study.

Key considerations were taken in order to protect the respondents' confidentiality and stories throughout the research process. Nine women participated in eight interviews. Of the nine, six of the respondents chose to remain anonymous while some insisted on being named by their real names – this was taken as an act of their oppositional consciousness, elaborated in the findings chapter. Authorisation was sought with three offices, being, the Permanent Secretary in MoPSE in Zimbabwe, the Provincial Education Director of Bulawayo Metropolitan Province and Stellenbosch University Research Ethics Committee. Methodologically the study's contribution is reflected in the combination of conceptual and empirical methods in the process of producing the study.

CHAPTER 5:
STORIES AND RE-STORYING - *UBUNTU* AS A LIVED REALITY

5.1 CHAPTER INTRODUCTION

> Interviewer: What is *ubuntu* to you?
>
> Nandi: *Ah* ubuntu *(she leans back as if to stretch) I am because we are, you are because I am (as if reciting a rhyme)*
>
> Interviewer: Is that your understanding?
>
> Woman: *Well, that's what they say (pauses, then smiles) of course we know it means so much more, don't we? (switches to isiNdebele) Nxa sikhuluma ngo'buntu…* [when we are talking about *ubuntu*…]"

When I started my PhD, I knew I needed to add voices from the margins. Once the subject themes were clarified, and the methodology took shape, I understood that during the course of the thesis I would add the voice of female teachers, their conceptions and experiences of *ubuntu* in their classrooms. Conceptually this aspiration or component to the thesis was clear. The process of bringing the voices from the field into conversation with what already populated the academy around the themes of *ubuntu* and citizenship education was not so clear. I resonate with education researcher, Jeong-Hee Kim's statement: "I didn't know it during the data analysis period, but after finishing it, I felt like I went through a rite of passage" (Kim 2016:186). This was certainly my experience of data analysis – the process felt like a rite of passage in my scholarship.

5.2 CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

The goal of this chapter is to present the findings from the interviews/conversations conducted with the female teacher cohort. The chapter fits into the grand scheme of the study by helping to address the first objective of study which is:

> To get to an expanded understanding of *ubuntu*, one that speaks to the lived realities of progenitor communities of *ubuntu* and education in Zimbabwe.

The chapter brings in lived realities of *ubuntu* into the study. As Ramose (2002) illuminates *ubuntu* has a living and lived dimension. By adding the voices of the educators to the

understanding of *ubuntu* I tap into that lived dimension. Also, because the study is framed by a decolonial-feminist paradigm the voices had to be the voices of women.

The data constructed from my conversations with eight teachers are presented in the form of re-storied narratives built around key themes. The interviews turned into conversations, often taking different turns, and awakening intimate details of the respondents' experiences around their lives and teaching practice. This meant that the sequencing and coherence were unique to each conversation. While the interviews themselves were guided loosely by an interview guide, once the conversation got into a certain rhythm, the interviewees began to tell their stories as they unfolded, often chronologically. The script became more of a prompt rather than questions. I allowed this unfolding, but it meant that the analytical presentation that follows had to be done in a way that is authentic to the stories and sensical to the objectives of the study.

Even though this study does not employ thematic analysis in its purest form, themes were an important way of calibrating the narratives from the respondents so that there is a coherent narrative that speaks to the aspirations of this study. In this way, Mischler's statement that "we do not find stories; we make stories" (1995:117) proved true in the analysis and write-up of this chapter as re-storying was a significant and necessary part of the data analysis. The narratives presented below are excerpts from the interviews. Many parts had to be translated into English, but where the original word(s) are difficult to render into English or where the original language paints a unique sentiment, I kept it as is with explanations. All the words in italics represent an original excerpt from an interview. Where I added explanations for clarity of the narrative, I place them in brackets. In some places the language is informal or even colloquial lingo, which points to the power of the voice and tone of the original delivery. Thematic analysis on its own did not serve the data well to represent the complexities from the conversations. I used themes only as rallying or sensemaking points to pool narratives from the eight conversations and create coherent stories around each theme. As Morrison states, "one of the principal ways in which we acquire, hold, and digest information is via narrative" (1993: Online). This means that part of the data analysis involved re-storying the conversation data in a way that speaks to the research questions posed in the thesis while giving sufficient context and sense to the reader.

The themes that have been used are as follows:

- Different conceptions of *ubuntu*

- Illustrations of *ubuntu*
- Teaching as an *ubuntu*-mediated relational practice
- *Ubuntu* in the classroom
- *Ubuntu* and education policy
- Challenges of *ubuntu*

After each thematic section, I give critical reflections on how the respondents' narratives speak to the central tenets of the study. Some of the reflections are comparisons and contradictions that emerge from the teachers' narratives. The reflections are in line with the critical theoretical framework of the study. While the stories are golden in themselves, additionally as part of the greater cause of the study, the re-storying process ties them to the broader questions posed by the study.

5.3 RESPONDENT PROFILES – WHO PARTICIPATED

The following are the respondents that joined the study:

MaJoy**[52]

MaJoy is a boisterous teacher. Before I met her face to face, I could hear her voice bellowing through the corridors of her school. She was referred to me by the deputy head of her school. She is a veteran of the profession with over 20 years of teaching experience. When I first met MaJoy in the corridor of her school, it was the week of schools closing. The school was bustling with activity as staff and faculty were preparing for the end of the term and parents where queuing nearby to make outstanding fees payments to ensure their children got reports on closing day. She had been told about me by the school's deputy principal who referred me to her.

From the outset she called me *mwanangu* [my child]. After going through my study and what I required from her, I also added that should we decide to meet anywhere outside her place of work, I was mandated to compensate any transport costs that she would incur. At the mention of the word compensation, she cut me off and said "*huh huh! Zvawave kutaura izvo hazviiti. handiti wauya kwandiri uchida rubatsiro? Rega ndikubatsire mwanangu. Zvino kana wave kuda 'kundibhadara' hazvisiseapounhu/ubuntu, handiti ndiwe urikunyora nezve ubuntu? Kana uchida kuzonditenda unonditenda asi haunditaurire seunoda kundibhadara.*" [No, no! What you are now saying is not possible. Is it not that you came to me because you need my help?

[52] Double asterisk (**) is used where the respondent chose to remain anonymous.

Then, let me help you, my child. Now, if you want to 'pay me' then there is no *ubuntu* in that, are you not the one writing about *ubuntu*? If you want to thank me, you can do that, but you do not say it as if you want to pay me). Needless to say, I was humbled and equally excited. I had hit the jackpot with someone whose sense of *ubuntu* permeated their everyday language and decisions.

Samantha*

Samantha is a teacher at King George IV school in Bulawayo. It is a school for children with physical and sensory disabilities. She has a physical disability that necessitates that she uses a wheelchair. She is an information technology teacher and administrator at the school, one of two of such schools in the province. She is also a disability activist and has championed the cause of people with disabilities at both national and international levels. When I approached her school, she was eager to get on board with the study. When I asked if she would want to be anonymous in the research, she responded nonchalantly saying *"why would I want you to do that? I agreed to be in the study, I have nothing to hide, and I want my story to be known"*. Her story represents a kind of oppositional consciousness that is rarely documented of people with disabilities, which challenges mainstream ideas of frailty and brokenness.

Magdalene**

My encounter with Magdalene was the first completed interview, even though she was the third respondent in this study with whom I met. I had emailed her school principal at a private Christian academy requesting the principal's participation in the study. Instead, she noted that she was busy but arranged for Magdalene to take her place. I went to the meeting hoping to explain my study and what I required of her, but as it turns out all the documentation that I had sent to the principal had been explained to her, and she was ready to conduct the interview there and then. I was placed on the back foot somewhat. As such, this is one interview where the interviewee led the conversation as she was sure of what she wanted to say.

Magdalene on the surface represented everything that I associated with Catholic nuns. She sat with a fully upright posture and talked with her hands gently rested on her lap – in Zimbabwe, it is customary to speak with vibrant hand gestures. At first, her responses felt rehearsed, but when we got to the issue of *ubuntu* her demeanour changed. She slapped her hands on her lap and said, "*whenever I think of my profession as a teacher and also being a nun that's actually where we meet so much, and I feel excited many times when I talk about* ubuntu". The

expression opened a whole different side of Magdalene. She did not break her posture again, but her responses were vibrant and rushed, demonstrating genuine excitement at the topic.

Helen**

Helen is a nun with the Roman Catholic Church. She was referred to me by another teacher who had taught temporarily at the same school as Helen. Interestingly, the other teacher could not participate in my study because she was away on a school trip, and we could not match schedules for us to set up a meeting face to face or by telephone. The conversation with Helen taught me something that I had not read in any of the research books, staging the interview. My encounter with Helen was in a small office with a large desk with a leather chair on one side and a wooden school chair on the other. Because of the distance between us, I had to put the recording device between us, and it became a heavily conspicuous object. Throughout our conversation, Helen would talk to the object rather than to me. The conversation was an important lesson in staging as it relates to the performative and power dynamics in interviewing. In the interviews after that, I became more conscious of these facets. Although the interview itself was short, the conversation was revealing as Helen used Shona idioms to connect her sense of *ubuntu* and her teaching practice. Her conceptions of ubuntu seemed to be intricately wrapped in her use of the language.

Malaika**

I had the conversation with Malaika shortly after I met MaJoy. She was referred to me by MaJoy. The interview was conducted in her classroom in the presence of her rambunctious students. At first, guided by my experience of staging in the interview with Helen, I felt compelled to offer an alternative location and time for the interview. Then, before we could begin talking, she talked to her class. She called her students 'boys' but had a way of dragging the last syllable that made it sound like the way mothers call their children when they are far off. I quickly decided to engage with her in this setting as I perceived that the classroom setting would bring out other features that would add depth to our conversation. And indeed, the setting did just that. Malaika's classroom was her space, and she felt safe, which made our conversation light and open. This was also true of my conversation with MaJoy, whom I interviewed in her classroom.

Comedia and Blessed*[53]

[53] Comedia came to the interview with her visual assistant as is within her right and when the conversation began to touch on issues to do with disability her assistant interjected and gave her opinion as she has a physical disability

When I met Comedia, I was midway into my fieldwork. All the respondents that I had met up to that point had two or more years of teaching experience. I was eager to meet and interview someone who was at the beginning of their teaching career. She was referred to me by a colleague who ran programmes for people with visual impairments at the centre I used as office space while I was in Zimbabwe. Comedia is a visually impaired teacher in training at a local university. At the time of the interview, she was going through the practicum portion of her teacher training. She opted for us to meet at the American Spaces office. I arranged for transportation for her and her assistant, Blessed. When our conversation began, Comedia referred to me as ma'am. I used Ndebele and Shona cues to break the formality (and skewed power undertones) of speaking in English, and it worked. As the conversation progressed, she became more at ease and used all three languages as is common in multi-lingual people As noted in the previous chapter, Comedia and Blessed also chose to be part of the study using their own names. While I am mandated to protect the identities of all my respondents, this request to use their real names was tied to a sense of ownership of their narrative and stories; hence, I agreed. There is no perceived negative recourse from their narratives. Of the eight interviews that I conducted, the women with disabilities, those who would be considered to be on the margins, are the ones who did not feel a need to be anonymous, to be hidden in the study. They wholly owned their stories with no sense of recompense.

Nandi**

My interview with Nandi took place at the America Spaces centre, where I was stationed during my fieldwork. She had come to the space to connect to the Internet and do some research for her postgraduate degree. She was a reluctant participant because she felt she did not have anything of value to add. When I first asked her to be part of the study, she volunteered someone else whom she thought was more of what I was looking for. She said, "*kulomunye esisebenzalaye, hayi uzamthanda ngoba vele uyazithanda into lezi*" [There is another (person) that we work with, she loves these things (being part of research)]. It was interesting that she disqualified herself before I had the opportunity to expand on what I was looking for. Nandi is a veteran teacher with more than 15 years of experience, and she is in the senior management of a high school in the heart of a township. She later agreed to be in the study, but because of timing, we had to conduct the interview there and then in the National University of Science

---

as well. I recognised that the two women worked as a team and shared in their experiences greatly as they spent their time together. I took this interviewee as singular and not as two respondents in the spirit of co-production of knowledge.

and Technology American Space library (NUST American Space) office. The interview was short, but her understanding of *ubuntu* prompted me to keep her responses in the study.

Mukudzei**

I interviewed Mukudzei two days before I rounded up my fieldwork and left Bulawayo for Stellenbosch. She called me with a number that had blocked its caller ID. She said she had heard of my study from a friend (to this day, I do not know who this friend is) and that she wanted to share her story. She insisted that we meet at my home instead of the office, and I later understood why. Mukudzei is a lesbian teacher in Zimbabwe. Those markers carry heavy connotations in a country that legislatively and socially looks down on people of other sexualities. Before I met Mukudzei, I had one woman who had been referred to me by a member of the LGBTQIA+ community, withdraw from the study because she thought it was too risky. For Mukudzei to contact me on her own represented a landmark decision on her part. I was also apprehensive about the meeting because I did not know how genuine the call was, could it be that this was a Zimbabwe security sweep into my study (not uncommon in Zimbabwe), had someone mentioned that I was in liaison with leading members of the LGBTQIA+ community? I asked my friend to leave the house on the day for safety on both Mukudzei and my parts.

When our conversation started, I found out that she was a teacher at a rural school, two years into the profession. When I asked her, what prompted her to be part of my study even though she felt it was risky, she said: "*Akwaziwa, eminyakeni elandelayo abantu bazabala bebekwazi ukuthi lathi sasi khona*" [you never know, in the years to come people will read (my thesis), and they will know that we (gay people) were there].

5.4 DIFFERENT CONCEPTIONS OF *UBUNTU*

A key talking point in all the interviews was each teacher's conception of *ubuntu*. While the question "what is *ubuntu* to you" came much later in the conversation, after the interviewee had time to settle into our conversation. I brought the theme up first as a matter of research priority tied to the study's objectives. Each teacher defined *ubuntu* uniquely, which is not to say that the narratives are remiss of commonalities, there are many. One of the issues surrounding *ubuntu* scholarship, as raised in chapter 2 (literature on *ubuntu*) of the study is the difficulty of defining the term. As such, I bring this theme first to speak to that conundrum. One of the many offerings tabled by this study is a multi-standpoint view of *ubuntu*. In presenting the data, therefore, I begin with the teachers' various conceptions of *ubuntu*.

Malaika

[When asked how she defines *ubuntu*] *(laughs) It is difficult. Ha! It is really difficult to define ubuntu because when you talk of ubuntu, there are so many things that come. You cannot have one single definition. Ubuntu, one may say it's being able to live in harmony with others, you can also say it's being considerate of som'one's feelings, so there are many things that come into Ubuntu which makes it really really difficult to define it. But generally, I would say ubuntu according to me it's being able to live in peace and harmony with others without offending anyone, respecting other pe'ple's views and all those things. For me that would be* ubuntu. *Learning how to live with other people in a proper way, respecting them and also listening to their views, being non-judgemental, carrying yourself well. So' it's broad (laughs) I can talk and talk and talk. It boils down to respect, I think so. Respecting yourself and respecting others. I am sure if* ubuntu *is there* [as in someone possesses *ubuntu*] *you're able to communicate with people where you are mindful of their feelings you're mindful of what is not good what is wrong. Ubuntu basically applies to someone who has a conscience, when you don't have any conscience ubuntu flies out of the room. Because that conscience is what would make you have ubuntu know that ah, I'm upsetting someone I'm being insensitive.*

How you handle yourself, how you talk to other teachers, as I said, past the perimeter fences of the school but out in society. We are really encouraged to hold high standards of morality because it is really important and imparts on these boys [her students]. *As an individual and as a teacher we really think about that* [*ubuntu*] *a lot becaus' we've got our teacher professional standards which came into effect last year or last year but one. Where they were really emphasising on ubuntu, starting from the teacher. How you cooperate with others how you handle yourself in the society because, as a teacher, you belong to everyone. When you walk in the street there, and'you're busy doing your things there, you just hear a child say, "good afternoo' ma'am". So, ubuntu as teachers I think is very important because it doesn't remain at school as the children, they look at you as role model. Whatever you do in the society the children are there, the parents are watching, you are known by many people. Because you can just imagine how many streams pass through you. So, every time they are there. So ubuntu is really emphasised.*

And the way you interact with others is also important we emphasise on that. So, ubuntu is being really emphasised in our TP [teaching practice] *as teacher professional standards. They expect you to have that. And you will be able to mingle, and'you'll be able to get along with anyone from different cultural areas that they are coming from regardless of tribe, regardless*

of race, regardless of the language that you speak. That is ubuntu, respect of everyone regardless of who they are.

Helen

[*Ubuntu* means] *Munhu akabva ku vanhu*[54] [A person who comes from people].

So, one thing th't I've learnt as I was growing up is respect. Respect of yourself and respect of others. We might not have the same vision, we might have disagreements or different points, but at the same time, I respect you for who you are, and you have to respect me for who I am.

This [ubuntu] *it's not about what you have, it's not about the kind of knowledge that you have it's about if I am a person, I am a human be–*ng *- we all deserve due respect. And I always say to them* [her students]. *Respect is not demanded its earned, normally if you respect yourself when you walk around the people that see you will also respect you back and there are also values that we have here at this school like sharing. So, it's that respect that dignity of life that we say life is precious and each one of us is important and no one is of less value. There is a time when I would need someone, and I would need something from someone. So, as much as they might have money, there is something that they might be lacking.*

For example, there are also sort of religions who actually sort of perpetuate this is issue of discrimination to say, for example, when you are not a catholic then you are nothing. But that's not respect, and that's not what we learnt as vanhu[55]*!* [people!]. *We learn to say munhu munhu!*[56] [a person is a person]. *This is despite of what they have or do not have, what they believe in* [reigious affiliation], *but the dignity of humanity should always be respected. So that's what I can say.*

I just want to stress on the point where we are talking about "it's not all about academics, academics". We are trying to give a holistic education whereby even if you pass through this

[54] This is a Shona aphorism that means that a person who is connected to a community (a people) is well taught in the fundamentals of *ubuntu/hunhu* and they carry these fundamentals with them as markers of the grounded-ness of the community or family one comes from. Hence when one acts in a respectable manner the behaviour is attributed to the *ubuntu* of the people/community/family you come from. To be a real person (*umuntu/munhu*) is to have *ubuntu/hunhu* and to demonstrate ubuntu is to pay homage to the community or family that raised you.

[55] *Vanhu* is the Shona word translated as people coming from the word *munhu/umuntu* – a person. A real person has *ubuntu/hunhu*. The emphasis shown by the exclamation mark on the word indicates that the interviewee is referring not just to people but real people as those constituted by *ubuntu*.

[56] *Munhu* is the Shona word for a person. It is repeated and the second repetition is said with emphasis on the last syllable to indicate a real person – as constituted by *ubuntu*.

school and you don't get [good] *grades that you need at least you are a responsible citizen out there.*

MaJoy

It really does mean something to me. Ubuntu for me is simple, chivanhu*!*[culture!]. *In the books it's too abstract. Ubuntu to me is very broad. When I am talking about ubuntu in my own perspective I am looking at an individual level without the academic part of it. What makes you, what makes you tick. When I see you how do you communicate with people around you, how do you carry yourself where'you're not known? When you are around people, let's say I get to a certain place. It's a new environment with grandmothers and grandfathers, do I look down upon them because I am a teacher? How do I approach them, how do I talk to different age groups?*

When I look at ubuntu, I should be able to communicate [with] a 1-year-old, a 5-year-old, a 10-year-old, a 20-year-old, an 80-year-old differently. If I am around the elderly how do I handle myself.

When you go wherever you go, you don't carry your profession. I leave my profession here in class. When I leave my school out there, I am like anybody else. I cannot say, when I arrive where there is a queue to buy mealie-meal, "you should allow me to skip the queue because I am a teacher – I teach your children". When I get there where there is a queue I also queue, I show respect. The profession has nothing to do with ubuntu; ubuntu is how you carry yourself, the words that come out of your mouth, are you hurting someone, are you leaving a dent or a mark that says that is a person to talk to or the person says I wish I'd never met this type of a person, that's when we talk about ubuntu.

For children [students], *you have to explain that there is no difference, whether you're a Ncube or Mhlanga or Maphosa* [family names] *those are just surnames they don't mean anything. When I am born, I'm just a person. I was born as munhu* [a person]. *I was born without a marker* [beyond being a person]*,'you're the one who is naming me. What remains is respect. So, you talk to them* [students] *at the beginning, you tell them, respect each other. That is my property, my personal property so if you disrespect it then there's going to be a problem because you are disrespecting me. I should disrespect you as well.*

Nandi

Ah, ubuntu (she leans back as if to stretch) *I am because we are, you are because I am* (she says it as if reciting a rhyme). *Well, that's what they say (pauses, then smiles) of course we*

know it means so much more, don't we? When we are talking about ubuntu, we are talking about the very nature or essence of being umuntu [a person]. *That* [*ubuntu*] *is what makes us to be abantu abamnyama* [black people]. *Now the common sayings (laughs) well they capture it yes, we do not refute that, but we also know to have ubuntu surpasses the saying 'I am because we are' it* [*ubuntu*] *speaks to the that which makes us to us!*

The ability to discern that when you get into a place with elders that you have to greet them, for example, that's what makes you ubengumuntu [to become a person]. [Asked if she learnt *ubuntu* by it being demonstrated to her] *Yes, I think. I can't remember' It's just that these things are now so ingrained that we forget how they came to be. Let meIe.... yes, I remember my grandmother, for example, would not allow me to get into a place with elders without greeting them.*[Is respect of elders *ubuntu*?] *Oh no, that's just an example (laughs). Ngesintu*[57] [By cultural custom] *everyone is your mother, your father, your aunt or uncle. So, you are expected to treat people a certain way whether you know them or not. That is who we are.*

Samantha

[*Ubuntu*] *It's something that you hold, and you also take out into the society when you're going into a different community. That's something that I value.*

So, a child has to identify themselves so, culture and ubuntu they play a very big role in s'mebody's life. Culture is very important because it gives you an identity of who you are. We might mix culture, but at the end of the day, you still identify, or you still choose who you want to be at the end of the day. And it also plays a very big role in your society because uhm you need to fit in. You can't be a lost sheep you know

[Expressing *ubuntu* means] *I need the help, but I don't want somebody around me 24/7 (laughs) I want to be mobile that's why I say I need an electric chair because I can't wheel myself, but I want to be, you know, mobile. I want to do this and that on my own. So, that independence is very, very important. Of course, I do stay alone with the aid of someone who helps me. But I should be in a position to say today we are doing this and that. This is the way I want to bath; this is what I want to wear. I can't do it physically but mentally; I should be able to say I'm free. I should decide this and that for myself. It should be done the way I want. It's not about the disability that should be on the side. As long as I'm able to say this is for me.*

[57] *Ngesintu* is a Ndebele word derived from the word *isintu* a derivative of *umuntu* (a person).

Because I am the person who wants to receive the service and because I am the person who wants that thing so you can't ask her [disability assistant] *what I want. You should come to me; how can this make you comfortable what changes do you need to be done. My assistant is there, but that doesn't mean she should speak on behalf of me. I have a voice, I have the right to say this I want that I don't want. I should be allowed the freedom of expression. I know once people see a person in a wheelchair, they think oh this person is you know crazy you know feel pity, but that's not the case. I should be able to have that right to say this should be done for me, this I don't want*

What makes me happy is the smile on a child's face. It's about the child being independent. It's the child being able to express themselves. For them to be able to say, "I want this, I don't want that". It is the child having freedom. It's the child being able to say, "I've been abused, I need help". It's the child crying out for help and getting a solution at the end of the day. And being able to help that child. That's what makes me happy, that is 'hat it's all about.

Magdalene

[So, for you, *Ubuntu* has to be visible, it has to be seen?]

Exactly! That is true. When you do hunhu, that ubuntu you don't say "ah I am now doing ubuntu". You don't name it, you just do it. Yes, it has to be seen; it has to be tangible. It cannot be earned by talking only. People think you're a great person when you have money or when you're rich, which is not true. [Ubuntu] *That's the one thing that whenever I think of my profession as a teacher and also being a nun, that's actually where we meet, and I feel excited many times when I talk about ubuntu.*

[Talking of a day when her students performed in front on the school] *You know I had that inner joy and peace to say, ok I've managed, and I've achieved that aspect of ubuntu when someone is dignified, and it's so pronounced it's the behaviour that is seen outside not talking about the behaviour that is not visible. We talk about the behaviour that is seen in terms of now. When they are presenting during assembly, how do they present. When they are talking to people outside, how do they do it, when they meet someone or an elderly person, what is the approach how do they handle that?*

My grandmother used to tell me a lot of things, the values especially that I need to uphold in my life so that I am accepted in the society. And when I was trying to exercise that I discovered that it works. Even if you do not belong to any religious assembly or any such community but once you uphold those values in the society, you are automatically respected. So, these values

are important, things like respect, how you carry yourself, when you meet someone what do you do. Things like the need to have a positive attitude all the time and to know God. And once you know God, you strive and what we call the gospel values. And these gospel values are the normal values that we find in the bible that anyone, any Christian must have them. I shouldn't say should have them but must have them! Once you touch the Bible, there is something that when you read the Bible, you should be transformed.

Whenever I hear the word Ubuntu personally, at a personal level, I feel good and I think'as you're se'ing we've been doing it. And even if it's not written and even if we don't do it the way it is written on paper, but it's taking us back home, I have been advised [as in that is how she was raised] *to do that.*

Mukudzei

[*Ubuntu*] *Yikuba ngumuntu* [It is about being/becoming a person]. *A person is a person through other people, right? That's what they say. It's being kind, to have respect, to show you were raised right. There are things that you can say using mere words. Such as "do this, don't do that". But I think ubuntu should be demonstrated. We teach the basics of ubuntu – respect, honesty, kindness.*

Yes! Indeed it [ubuntu] *shows its'lf. It's only when people act that you can say "this one has* ubuntu, *this one does not", you know. It has to come from deep within, you cannot fake it. The way a person treats other people is an indicator of ubuntu. The way a person is like around elders, to know to collect oneself, to respect, to have a bustle approach to work, things like that.*

Comedia

[What does *ubuntu* mean to you?] *Humanity. Haaaaaaa that one is difficult to define, though. That one is difficult (sighs) how do I explain? I…I....its....eh...what can I say it is because in a way it is already self-explanatory (laughs). Ubuntu is ubuntu. I don't even know how to explain it. Maybe if I sit down and really think about it. "what is ubuntu?" (laughs). Yah! laughs) To say.... yah, uhm....what can I say about ubuntu? To think I also studied it (laughs).*

[At this point her aide steps in] *It is something that I, firstly, grew up hearing and secondly, that I was taught. It is something that I live at the same time. You have to respect; you have to respect yourself. Have self-respect and respect for others. Have self-respect first, self-respect then respect for others. I am not sure what I can really say about because it* [ubuntu] *is something that we grew up with. It is something that is talked about; it is something that you*

learn. Ubuntu is the way you handle yourself around other people. I can explain it this way; it is the way you handle yourself that is visible to other people. Ubuntu is what was demonstrates where you come from. Sometimes, the way you carry yourself it shows people where you are from or what kind or teaching you received from your home.

That thing that says where you are from. It is what carries you to show people where you come from that, is ubuntu. You carry it wherever you go such that people will see this person was well raised/taught. Because it shows indeed when someone was well raised or taught even though the person does not explicitly say I was well raised. For some people having ubuntu will drive them to have compassion for others. That's how I see it.

Your ubuntu is what demonstrates that you a person (indeed). Culturally they say you are a person through other people, yes!

5.5 REFLECTIONS ON DIFFERENT CONCEPTIONS OF *UBUNTU*

The narratives from the interviewees confirm an aspect of *ubuntu* that has dominated academic discourse, that *ubuntu* is not easy to define. Malaika states that *"You cannot have one single definition"* of *ubuntu*. Comedia stammered through her explanation of *ubuntu* before settling on *"ubuntu is ubuntu"*. The participants presented a mosaic of *ubuntu* conceptions. In different articulations, one can see patterns of significance and similarity. One emerging commonality was that *ubuntu* was interpreted in line with each teacher's identity or lens of experience. Magdalene, a Christian nun, sees *ubuntu* as the point where her profession and calling to ministry intersect. She defines *ubuntu*, among other ways, as *"gospel values"* and that knowing God is an aspect of exemplifying *ubuntu*. Samantha, a woman with disabilities and a disability activist, defines *ubuntu* in terms of independence, freedom, and the ability to express what one wants. Malaika, a long-serving teacher, describes *ubuntu*, among other ways, as the highlight of a teacher's professional standards. While there are common expressions in the definition of *ubuntu*, it must be noted that these seem to be filtered through personal identity markers or experience.

Most of the teachers attach the concept of *ubuntu* to the ontological constitution of the person – that is, what it means to 'be' a person. For Nandi, *ubuntu* goes beyond the popular Nguni aphorism – *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* (a person is a person through other people). She rhymes the statement almost as if to signify it becoming rhetoric. For her, *ubuntu* is *"about the very nature or essence of being* umuntu [a person]". MaJoy adds that *ubuntu* is what makes one *"tick"*. Mukudzei states, *ubuntu*, *"yikuba ngumuntu* [it is about being/becoming a person].

These sentiments resonate with Ramose-an thinking of *ubuntu* being the edifice of 'African' ontology, particularly the prefixal *ubu*-dimension of *ubuntu*. Ramose sees *ubu-ntu*[58] as "the generalised understanding of be-ing" (2002: 36). The metaphysics of personhood, therefore, from the narratives of the teachers, do not rest in reason or biology alone but also in upholding moral imperatives in the unfolding of the person.

Comedia and her aide, Blessing, brought a peculiar narrative in defining *ubuntu*; she says, *"Ubuntu is what was demonstrates where you come from"*. This link, between the individual and the community is yet another aspect of *ubuntu* that has populated academic discourse in 'African' philosophical debates, as Molefe confirms: "[O]ne of the outstanding debates in African philosophy involves accounting for the relationship between the individual and community" (2020: 41). For Comedia, *ubuntu* is indeed that which links the individual to the community, but she does not assign any hierarchy to the link as some academics allude to (Koenane & Olatunji, 2017; Mclean & Gyekye, 2010; Molefe, 2020). The respondents dwell on individual choices that are moulded by communal/kinship standards. Helen adds a Shona aphorism saying *ubuntu* demonstrates that one is "*Munhu akabva ku vanhu* [A person who comes from people]. This is a loaded aphorism. It speaks to value that is placed on kinship, that is, to be *"from people"*. Comedia, Helen, and Mukudzei's narratives can be critically interpreted to demonstrate *ubuntu* as ontologically constitutive, one 'becomes' a person. Moreover, it is also demonstrative of the social bond or kinship of a certain order. The issue of hierarchy is not evident from the narratives, but the pull between the communal and individual is clear.

All the teachers, in different ways, described *ubuntu* as a value system. Nandi, however, clarifies that the values are not *ubuntu* itself. For MaJoy, the value system is synonymous with cultural norms. She exclaims that *ubuntu* is "*chivanhu/isintu"* (cultural norms). For Magdalene and Mukudzei, *ubuntu* is demonstrated in deeds and not in speech only meaning that there are visible actions that coincide with *ubuntu*. Magdalene adds that *"You don't name it, you just do it. Yes, it has to be seen, it has to be tangible"*. These sentiments lead us to the next section, illustrations of *ubuntu*, where I asked the teachers to share experiences, moments in their teaching or personal lives where *ubuntu* was demonstrated.

[58] Note that Ramose hyphenates *ubuntu* into *ubu-ntu* to emphasise that the word is a conjunction of ontological and epistemological instances in the co-joining of a prefix (ubu-) and word (-ntu) stem. See (Ramose, 2002: 35)

5.6 ILLUSTRATIONS OF *UBUNTU*

In this section, I have pooled narratives around the examples the respondents gave me as instances where *ubuntu* is demonstrated.

Malaika

I think like what I've just been saying for those minority to be able to fit in to be able to know that they are not different from the AB [able bodied] *one it boils down to teachers. First and foremost, it should be the teachers who are able to teach especially the AB to respect and to appreciate somebody's disability. First, teach them disability is not chosen but sometimes through accidents or sometimes you're born with it. So, we really talk to them and impress on them that disability is not inability and that somebody with a disability is just as normal as you, but the only difference is I don't have an arm I don't have this, but at the end of the day I can reason like you. Just that it must be understood that disability does not mean that someone is not ok. Long back as you know, some of the parents would say I don't want my child to learn with someone who doesn't have a leg at times others they associated it with witchcraft. They don't understand that it's not contagious, but they treat it as if it's something that's contagious.*

But we as teachers, if we impress on these boys that there is nothing wrong with disability, it's something that would have happened. An accident can happen to anyone, it can happen to you anytime because we move with vehicles. So, talking with the boys and impressing on them to appreciate somebody's disability. Also, we impress on them not to offer sympathy because that's the worst that they can do. You can help, yes of course, but don't treat them in a special way that they feel we are different but let them live their lives, let them be independent.

I think they can do it the boys [demonstrate *ubuntu*] *when they are taught. Taught that, that one needs help yes, but not every time. That you don't have to skate around them because of the disability. That can also hurt those with disabilities because they say they think we cannot do anything on our own. So, I think in learning and teaching at this level they can really appreciate that.*

Helen

Yes, like I said I actually grew up in the rural areas so you can also imagine how these values were imparted. So, in ubuntu, we are talking of the values of what is life.

Yes, this is a private school people look at it and may think that students who come here have a lot of money, but that's not the reality. We also have kids that we take on merit and at the same time money is not all that they need. They might have money but lacking in love. That is

where this [*ubuntu*] *comes in. Because some of them you will find that they are in child-headed families, the parents are abroad and they are just dishing out money s' for them they don't know how to share, they don't know how to respect other people because these are things that are not taught at home. But, when they come to school, that's when you find in a classroom set up you also have to teach one to say no, you have to learn to share. You have to learn to respect the other person. And respect in terms of this is not mine I cannot touch until and unless I say, "may I please use this". And then the respect to say I might have a lot but I'm not an island.*

What makes a woman a woman? Then there might be one in a class who may not be that well up but who knows or who has what makes a woman a woman. So, in that case, there is sharing of ideas, sharing of ideas, and even challenging of cultures the sort of things that we value, which are so life-giving as a community.

And then this is also whereby I ask them, or they come up with ideas of saying this is how we need our duties [class chores] *to be. So, it's imparting some responsibilities to them and also at the same time giving them the lesson to say you have to respect the person you are dealing with. Whether they are younger than you, but they also have the right to say out their views.*

Another thing is hospitality. So, say you're eating even though you know that I'm very hungry and you have one bun if there's someone next to you then you have to share even though deep within you really you know this is not going to be nice.

MaJoy

[when I spoke of the compensation[59] that is due to her should she incur any transport costs in getting to the interview venue] *Let me help you, my child. Now if you want to bring money into it, it means you are paying me and that no longer has ubuntu. You are here because you need my assistance* [participation in my study] *then let me help you. Are you not the one writing about ubuntu? Now if you talk compensation, there is no longer ubuntu in it. If you want to thank me after you can do that but let us not talk about compensation. We never talked about money (salaries) there is no money* [salaries], *but we are here* [still teaching]. *This is what I always tell my parents* [parents of her students].

[59] Note that Stellenbosch University Research ethics standards require that research participants should not incur undue costs by participating in a study. Where a participant does incur a cost such as transportation to get to a venue, the researcher is mandated to reimburse the participant. It is this clause of the research agreement that MaJoy refuted.

And when you're talking about ubuntu when it comes to school children, my policy when I first take a class I don't teach, I should know them. This is what I do when I get a new class, I have an induction with the parents. If I know it's a grandmother who is taking care of you [student] *when I am addressing you, you're not a grandmother, you're not just any grandparent you're also my grandmother. And so, I will say "hello gogo, how are you? Thank you what you have done for us* [bringing the child to school]". *I see the parent of a child, and I will say "how are you baba, ah thank you for all the good you are doing* [in raising the child] *you are good to us*" *I will be meaning for the child and I. So, that is what I see as ubuntu. I don't isolate myself from the children that I teach or their parents. I should also know that when one of my learners' siblings come, I can speak to them to say "hey, little man how's it? What's going on?"* [speaking in young people's colloquial lingo]. *I do that because that is the age group is it not? Once you do that you are able to fit in.*

My standard is when they come here [at the start of class]*, they should say "good morning ma'am" because I would not have come from the same home as them. When I get into class, I greet them too, "good morning, boys". They also know when you're not well you don't cry you share, "ma'am today I'm not feeling well". Why? So that I can keep an eye on them. If I have to phone home, I must phone home. This is our standard. There are these two little boys in our school, I teach their older brother. They will come up to me to say, because they know me by name, "why is it that you came into our class, but you did not greet us? But you greeted so and so only". The little boys know the lesson of greeting that I have in my class, their brother's class, so they expected me to abide by my own standards (laughs). Imagine, it's a young child who is recognizing you, who wishes that when you get into their class, you greet them because that is what you teach to their brother.*

When I get around elderly women, grandmothers say at our rural home, I look for a zambia[60] *as well. I usually hear people speaking behind my back to say "is she not the professional teacher? What is she doing cooking over the fire, like the rest of us?".*

These young souls they don't judge, they don't, and they don't know discrimination to say this one is Shona or Ndebele or Suthu, no! These boys, all they know is "this is my friend". And that is how it should be.

Nandi

[60] A cloth that women tie around their waists when doing manual labour, like one would wear a work suit.

[When asked of examples of *ubuntu* from her experiences] *It's just that these things are now so ingrained that we forget how they came to be. Let me see, yes, I remember my grandmother would not allow me to enter a place with elders without greeting them. That's one* [example of *ubuntu*].

Samantha

We all come from different backgrounds; Uhm, I might be brought up in Mashonaland [a region in northern Zimbabwe], *but I'm here* [Bulawayo, Southern part of Zimbabwe] *teaching and working here. Cultures differ, but I have to merge them, and if I merge them, there is a whole dynamic thing that you can learn out of that. And here you can experience a vast experience of two different cultures even more. If you look at this institution* [her school], *you have people from all over Zimbabwe, and that means people of different cultures being merged into one. And we call ourselves a family.*

Culture also plays a part. Having that culture that has been instilled in me, it's easy for me to fit into society. I can't just go flying around you know when there are elders around, or there are people that I must respect or give enough respect you know, but that already has been taught here by elders. That's [ubuntu] *something that I value. It's something that I take with me when I go out. And it really helps me to communicate to fit in to participate or even to ask questions. I still hold on to those values, and now I use them in my work.*

Magdalene

So, these values are so important, things like respect, how you carry yourself, when you meet someone what do you do. And you need to have a positive attitude all the time, and you also need to know God. You should be someone who, when you meet someone, you should also be the agent of transforming everyone you meet in your life in our daily activities.

One of my students is the one who prayed in form 1 [grade 8] *assembly. As a drama club, they presented something; they were the ones leading the assembly. When she prayed, and she finished, I remembered when she first started school, she was not like that, seeing her carrying herself in a respectful manner and praying in a dignified manner. I clapped hands and said that's my child. With us nuns, our call is to share love to everyone. We are not possessed by anyone; I am possessed by everyone, and that is my calling in religious life. Not to be possessed by anyone but to share the love* [of God] *to everyone who needs it. So, when I saw that child, I said that's my child, and then I clapped hands.*

Mukudzei

[Describing how she managed to enrol at a teachers' college, a notoriously difficult task in Zimbabwe]. *I remember I got there; the place looked deserted. I just walked into the principal's office with my baby on my back. I told him my desire to teach. He called the registrar, and I began my application. You know how things work in Zimbabwe* [as in, one often has to bribe authorities to enrol] *but I did not pay out any money that went into a private pocket. That man* [the principal] *just saw me, heard my story, and had compassion for me.*

5.7 REFLECTIONS ON ILLUSTRATIONS OF *UBUNTU*

All the respondents, except for Malaika, spoke of what to do when in the company of elders. In the plot of the narratives, it becomes apparent that elders are symbolic of community, that which is greater than oneself and not necessarily older persons in society. The illustrations of *ubuntu* accentuate the conceptions forwarded in the last section. From the teachers' narratives, *ubuntu* is illustrated in key values. For Magdalene, these values include the love of God – an extension of her Christian faith. While there are some scholars (Metz, 2014a; Molefe & Magam, 2019; Shutte, 2001; Tutu, 2013) who view *ubuntu* as a part of or a foundation for 'African' moral theory, the teachers in this cohort do not allude to this. Instead, as specified by Nandi, *ubuntu* exemplifies itself in action, but it is not reducible to the morality of an act.

Respect is the most highlighted illustration of *ubuntu*. For Malaika, respect must be accorded to people with different abilities; however, this is not synonymous with sympathy. The respect she mentions seems to be reflexive, that is, being ready to assist people with disabilities while at the same time, affording them the space to go about their lives. For Helen, this respect must be for oneself, other people's property and the environment. As she says, *"munhu akabva ku vanhu* [A person who comes from a grounded community] *does not throw trash all over".* Helen further notes that to show respect is to place a premium on the human, which is precious without conditions of the financial wealth of academic astuteness, *"if I am a person, I am a human being – we all deserve due respect"*. MaJoy emphasised this point in my interaction with her. She noted that there is no compensation tied to acts of *ubuntu*, once any form of compensation is tied to an encounter, it becomes a transaction, not *ubuntu*.

As the teachers shared stories around examples of *ubuntu*, I noticed, as is evidenced in the narratives in this chapter, that their stories were not abstract, they were personal experiences. The illustrations shared above are values that each teacher teaches in their class or values they have been raised on or encounters that they have had in their own lives. In this way, *ubuntu* is part of a lived experience which affects how each teacher approaches their practice. Teaching

as an *ubuntu*-mediated relational practice, therefore, emerged as a theme in the analysis process.

5.8 TEACHING AS AN *UBUNTU*-MEDIATED RELATIONAL PRACTICE

Waghid avers that "teachers ought to engender in learners a spirit of democratic citizenry that can imbue in them the virtues of dialogical engagement, connecting caringly with the other, and responsibly performing their tasks – that is, through practices of *ubuntu*" (2014: 80). In this section, I pool narratives around how each teacher extends *ubuntu* in their classroom. At this instance, I was keen to understand how *ubuntu* is extended to learners in a classroom set up. Whether *ubuntu* is part of an explicitly coded syllabus as an extension of national policy or draws from the teacher's own negotiations to make *ubuntu* visible.

Malaika

My passion is with children mostly. I do not approach them with harshness. I try to go down to their level. I try to be their friend first before I am tough that way they open up. Because if I come down heavy on them that I am the teacher and there is a boundary there, they don't open up to you and they don't say some of those things that are troubling them. And you'll find that you might find someone seated there he is just quiet he is not communicating, and it's not something to do with bullying from the class, but it is coming from home. So, if you remove some of those boundaries and let them be themselves and be able to know that I can approach the teacher and talk to her about anything it helps.

Helen

I am someone who is also passionate about working with the young ones. So, I remember even when I went to look for a place at MSU [A state university in Zimbabwe], *it was very difficult. They were refusing, saying why are you doing teaching with so many points* [Distinctions at Advanced Level of high school]. *Some were saying you can study surveying; some were saying you can do geography or environmental study; some were saying you can study law. But I was convinced about my decision to go into teaching, and that's where I am till now.*

Teaching marries well with my calling as a Christian sister because the thing is, we are here to serve, and teaching is one of the professions that you actually serve. Because with teaching, it's not that you only teach students the given curriculum, we also have what we call the hidden curriculum whereby you can impart certain values. I also believe that as a teacher one is a role model so that proclaiming of the gospel in the classroom is very vivid and real.

MaJoy

What keeps me in teaching, its children like that [with poor reading skills]. *When I think of children like that, I know I can make a difference. If he's not gifted academically let me teach this young man so that he can be able to sell airtime so that he can be read to work in the garden. Because children who are not gifted academically sometimes, they are very good at practical subjects. I must aim that each child should read if nothing else but just to be able to read. He can come out of primary school, knowing that this child is a slow learner, but he can read.*

When you're here, I am your mother. I tell my boys [students] o*ut there you defend each other because you're from one mother me! When we have differences, we solve them within these four walls (gestures to the classroom) when we go out there, you protect your brother because you're your brothers' keeper. Here (gestures to the classroom) they know that they are their brother's keepers. At this age, they now know they are brothers' keepers; they should take care of each other.*

Teaching it's not about what comes out of it [in terms of financial gain]. *For me, it is when I see my finished product* [student] *who comes back to me and says, "Ma'am, do you remember me? you taught me 5yrs ago". That is what it is about.*

Nandi

[When asked if the teachers at her school approach their profession with *ubuntu*] *Oh there is a problem right there. We have been very lucky that most of the people that we work with they love their work, but you know that people are not all the same. We do not all value the same things. We have issues of teachers drinking with their students over the weekend. So, to say the person who was drinking with students over the weekend will have to teach the same cohort how to behave accordingly, that does not add up. But we know that in our profession that is what is required of us, that we need to demonstrate those* [*ubuntu*] *values.*

Samantha

What brought me here [the school] *was the passion for children, quality education for children with disabilities. My approach is passion, native user and you are being in the same shoes with that person; it makes a very big difference.*

So, I thought ok I love computers I can do anything with my computer right. What about a child with a severe disability they should be able to write for themselves command the computer to do that for themself and get quality education than always depending on somebody to have

something written down for them. So, I am a teacher for computers I teach at HEXCO [Higher education examination council in Zimbabwe] *level at a national foundation level, higher tertiary foundation level. I teach children with physical disabilities or who are deaf. Sometimes you get to meet children with different disabilities or even with difficult disabilities but during that time that you are teaching them something has to come out. It can be very challenging, but there is always a way around. And it's always good to see a child with a smile on their face look I'm independent, I am able to learn and do this and that on my own.*

You know making a difference in a child's life putting a smile in a child's face it really makes me feel that I have done something. Yes, everyone wants money, but you know that feeling it really means a lot. If someone took their time to really teach me and say no this is the way the direction you should take, then I should do the same. So, having a child smiling and having a child say thank you it means a lot, it really means a lot to me.

I was telling you I was in the Western Cape, in Cape Town some time ago. I stayed there for three months. It was more of the adults, adults, adults. The parents, yes, I encountered. But I do not want to work with the parents. I felt that I didn't do enough because the child who should benefit is not here. They have a totally different system from what we have here [at her school]. *I said you guys it's not enough, bring the child here. Just giving a child a wheelchair then what. Putting them in the mainstream class ok fine you are saying inclusive education but are you doing a follow-up. It was not enough for me. And we are saying we want to build the child from as little to them being an adult to them knowing that it is not about me only but about the other guys.*

[Asked if this approach would be deemed *ubuntu*] *Yeah, I think so. Maybe. We look at it from different angles. Well, now that you are saying it you made me realise oh ok this is ubuntu. But in general, that is the approach I usually take in my teaching.*

Magdalene

Now moving on from the expectations, there are certain things like values that I need to embrace as a professional teacher. So, I am bound to be polite. I am also bound that everything is done all the objectives are achieved, and I am also called to be firm and to be independent. But without distorting my own nature of being a religious person, yes. My passion as a nun without talking about my profession, my passion is to change the world, to transform a girl child into someone who is accepted in society someone who has dignity someone whom everyone can accept so easily in the society.

And what I usually do with such kids [with behaviour challenges] *I try one, two, three things. Those are steps that I follow when I plan my objective then at the end of the day I evaluate; sometimes, I can see that I have failed in terms of behaviour goals. I change the strategy; usually, I befriend. When I befriend them, we walk together, and when we are walking together, I don't need now to force them. Now they have to walk behind me* [meaning she demonstrates the desired behaviour], *they have to walk behind me, we have to walk. Students still need someone who will journey with them, but in a different way, we use a different strategy. But I always believe that even if these are students, I'm talking about right now I actually know them even if their behaviour is a bit extraordinary, but they are not the worst. You actually see them trying.*

I always embrace the values of passion. I told myself I don't need to give up on them as what we see some of the parents at home do. So, I think us as teachers we are not called to give up. We do not need to lose hope. We do our best to kind of integrate the ubuntu aspect with the educational aspect. These two need to be blended well.

You know when you do these things [ubuntu] *sometimes you don't take time to reflect, what have I done, why did I do that. Of course, sometimes I live it, and since I'm living it becomes so normal that I do not ask what I am doing, really what am I doing. So, now when I go back, I probably need to do more reflecting and maybe the aspect of ubuntu I have been doing it, but I never named it. I learnt about it formally at college, and I left it there, but here I am doing it in my own way. Maybe I'm actually doing it daily, but I have never named it so that I revisit it and say where is the standard of my Ubuntu or my own desire to promote that Ubuntu to the students, yes.*

Comedia

[When asked how she approaches her class] *I say my name is Comedia, I am a teacher. That's who I am, the disability does not, in fact, matter to me. At times I do not know what to say if whether* [teaching] *is a calling or what.*

The way I treat those kids, I understand I disability much better than before because I know how they feel. The way they feel is almost the same way I feel.

So, you must have a good relationship with students. For the older students, they can speak up and tell you their issues, your job [as a teacher] *is to listen.*

5.9 REFLECTIONS ON TEACHING AS AN *UBUNTU*-MEDIATED RELATIONAL PRACTICE

This section was probably the most revelatory in the data collection and analysis process. My interest in this theme was sparked by how the teachers navigated the profession, applied their values, and related to their learners. This theme ties directly to the aspect of citizenship education the third pillar in this study (the other two being feminism and *ubuntu*). As already expanded in chapter 4, the understanding of CE taken in this study is one of CE as a pedagogical encounter. Therefore, I was keen to learn from the narratives what role (if at all) *ubuntu* plays in the pedagogical encounter within the context of the classroom.

In the interview transcribing and translation process, there was a word that was difficult to render into English. Not because it is dense, but because the teachers used it in different ways. The word is *abantwana/vana*/children (Ndebele/Shona/English). Helen, Mukudzei and Comedia used it abstractly such that I could easily translate the word to 'learners' in their transcripts, even though the literal translation means children. The other teachers Malaika, Nandi, Samantha, MaJoy and Magdalene used it in a familial context. MaJoy, for example, noted that she tells her class, *"when you're here I am your mother"*. A key difference is that the first three teachers are the youngest and have the least number of years of teaching experience, while the second group are the oldest with over seventy years of teaching experience between them. This difference in approach to the relationship with the learner is quite telling. For the older teachers, teaching is an extension of the familial space, and *ubuntu* pedagogies are well-defined among this group. For the younger teachers, this is not the case. Mukudzei notes that *"we teach the basics of ubuntu"* while lamenting the limited reach of class contact to extending *ubuntu*.

A common word used by the teachers to explain their approach to the teaching craft was espoused in the word 'passion'. Magdalene notes that when it comes to her work, she *"embraces the values of passion"* and this value is tied to the portfolio of values she associates with *ubuntu*. For Malaika, this passion is for children. For MaJoy, the passion is to ensure the learner leaves with an ability to read. For Comedia, teaching is a calling. For Samantha, her passion for the profession is fuelled by the need to pass on skills that allow disabled children to become independent. In pursuing their passion, the teachers negotiate their teaching through *ubuntu*-mediated strategies. Magdalene sees the relationship with learners as a metaphoric journey. She emphasises that while there is knowledge that she learned as a teacher in training, at some point, she had to do it her *"own way"*. The narratives show that each teacher has a

way of relating to their class, be it a teacher–learner or mother–child relation. The relation determines the extent of the teacher' professional and moral duty to their class.

5.10 TEACHING *UBUNTU* IN THE CLASSROOM

I asked each teacher explicit examples of how they teach *ubuntu* to their learners. The following narratives are parts of the responses to that interview prompt.

Malaika

So, we are really trying to build someone who is going to be a man[61] *with integrity in the future, who is going to know that I am a citizen of Zimbabwe I am expected to do this. We are teaching them life skills. So, we groom them beforehand these grade 7s will be going to form 1* [Grade 8 in South Africa]*, we say "behaviour wise do this, this, this". The way you talk the way you interact with everything, we tell them. So, I think we are really grooming boys who can be better citizens in the future. We are really trying to build someone who is going to be a man with integrity in the future, who is going to know that I am a citizen of Zimbabwe – I am expected to do this - we are really trying.*

Ubuntu in the classroom, basically since we are a class, its mostly theory. We bring it in by talking about it, by talking about expectations what we expect from the boys, how to behave, how to be mindful of the next boy's feelings. And usually through the Religious and Moral Education (RME) part of the syllabus helps. Because in every topic there is some element of ubuntu in it. So, it really brings ubuntu *out of them so that when you teach about certain aspects that you expect them to have when they deviate from it, you remind them, "boys we learnt about this, let's remember, let's carry ourselves this way, let's do it this way". For instance, we've got topics on sins of commission and sins of omission they learn ubuntu through that as well.*

So, there are many aspects in the classroom. They can learn ubuntu and walk out of that door with the ubuntu that we really require. As long as we are supported at home because we can teach here, they can go home maybe they are in a different environment where there is fighting then it erases what we have imparted on them. So, there has to be a balance between the classroom, the environment outside and the family structure. So, you might find we teach them something they go home, and it clashes with what they are seeing at home. So, maybe if we can have that smooth flow from the classroom, to outside of the classroom, right up to the home.

[61] Note that Malaika teaches at an all-boys school.

Then you know that, yes! Umuntu [the person] *is being hammered. Then you know you have a complete citizen.*

MaJoy

And when you're talking to ubuntu when it comes to students, my policy when I first take a class I don't teach, I should know them. I cannot teach someone that I don't know. We get to know each other. I say "I am MaJoy I live at such a place, I have so many children and grandchildren". I tell them so that they know me, I tell them the basics about myself and then ask "what about you?". The students will tell you "I am so and so, I am like this and t'is". Then I will ask, "you're coming to school, why? What's your goal, what do you want to get out of schooling? Do you even know?". So, it's like I'm trying to make that person into a human being to mould the child. Because children [students] *sometimes say "I have just been told to go to school" is that not it? But the question is why? They will usually respond, saying "I have just been told that I should go to school because I am still young". At this point, I tell them that's not the 'eason to go to school. You're moulding your li'e your future yourself, it's about you now. Where do you see yourself in ten years' time, twenty years' time and at the same time again, after this point* [as a teacher] *you can go ahead and teach your students respect.*

[What she teaches her students as *ubuntu*' *If your parents say no it's not. You do not say how come next door, they do this or that. If you live with your grandparents an adult is an adult, you have to respect.*

These children are still young; one of the things we are also teach is that they should socialise; they cannot be islands. Imagine if they come in here and they dive into their books, when they leave here, they are buried in their books. That person will not even greet or recognize you. If they learn to socialise, then they have been educated.

Helen

[When asked if we can teach *ubuntu*] Yes, *we can. We can do that. In the curriculum as long as we teach, as long as we teach the given curriculum, we can also include the hidden curriculum. And then even though ubuntu is not stressed in the syllabus, we can stress that. And these are actually the things that can stress ubuntu. And as I have told you that I tell my students that respect is not demanded its earned. With teaching, it's not that you only teach them* [students] *the given curriculum. I also believe that as a teacher, one is a role model so that proclaiming of the gospel in the classroom is very vivid and real. Because like I said, it's not only teaching what is only in the syllabus.*

This [*ubuntu*] *is also the thing that helps us in a classroom where we have different backgrounds, it's not about what you have, it's not about the kind of knowledge that you have. So, I brought in the importance of challenging someone but the way that you challenge someone is not always scolding, it's not always about giving punishment. It's also about affirming the good behaviour.*

With my geography lessons, for example, we talk about the issue of global warming and the way in which people are destroying trees and vegetation all over the world. That we complain about how people disturb the environment, but we are also contributing when we are travelling, we are eating something, and then we just throw [the trash] *through the window. What are you saying? So, in other words, I am teaching geography, but at the same time, I am imparting ubuntu. Munhu akabva ku vanhu* [A person who comes from a grounded community] *does not throw trash all over. So, after I said it, I would say "ladies this does not apply only in geography even in life". So, one knows when they are supposed to eat, and they know where the rubbish is supposed to be. So, in that way, I am also teaching ubuntu.*

I also teach them [students] *to say you have to respect life and you have to be an example of saying how can you preserve the environment. So, already you are teaching ubuntu, but you are also teaching your own side* [subject]. *I just want to stress on the point where I am saying "it's not all about academics, academics". We are teaching sharing, and then I think those even in our maths or whatever subjects we are teaching – we should try to bring reality to whatever we are teaching the learners. Because I believe all the subjects have something to do with ubuntu. Even within mathematics, you can actually come up with things that can bring in issues to do with ubuntu. Even with subjects like accounting. We have to come up with something that can bring ubuntu. Because we don't want to deprive others, yes. Even if it's accounting, my ledger books have to be balanced, I have to be accountable, even in life you have to be accountable with life with also the things that are given to you. To take full responsibility for the things that I am given. Yes. So, you can also impart ubuntu* [in class]. *We are trying to give a holistic education whereby even if you pass through this school and you do not get grades that you need at least you are a responsible citizen out there.*

Nandi

I try to teach our students the value of ubuntu, but they [learners] *do not always see it. Children! They are carried away by the glory of the things they see* [in media] *these days. Well,* [in the class] *we talk about it. We try to show our children that they need to take pride in who they*

are, pride in being black people and that a way of doing that is conducting themselves according to cultural customs. other times I have to demonstrate the values that I want to pass on to our learners.

But we can see that the family structure that was meant to teach our students these things is no longer there, so the school has to deal with it [teaching *ubuntu*] *a lot. If we miss teaching the students here, then I don't know what our children will become out there* [in society].

Samantha

We all come from different backgrounds, and you will find that some children don't have or are not brought up with that culture instilled in them. So, when they come here, it becomes a challenge for them to really fit in. But for us who have already been here [at the school], *we can tell oh this child is like that we need to build them; we need to nurture them, we need to instil that* [sense of community].

Magdalene

So, in class, when I meet the pupils; there are pupils who are gifted academically, and there are also pupils who are not gifted academically but behaviour wise they are excellent. And then there are pupils who are gifted academically but behaviour wise hey! They will make you regret [the encounter]. *So, my call as a nun is that I need to reach out to every student in my class. Before I even talk about the achievements in academics I say, "you might know how to calculate all the mathematical problems, and in chemistry or physics you might be the best student, but when you're a thief, you are actually nothing in the society. You are not going anywhere". So, this is what I always advertise to the students to the pupils to say when you're in the society before we start talking about your careers your education your achievements let people see your appearance or the first personality that you're portraying to the people, it should say something that is great before you say something. Let people find something let your behaviour or your personality just by appearance without you saying something they should be able to pick something from you and then everything else should come after. Show them now that you know how to calculate your mathematical problems, show them that you can present, show them now that you can do this. So, for me the first thing, the first priority is ubuntu.*

Right now, the class that I have in form 1 when you look at them you think they are born by one mother. Yes! It's because of the way I have tried to emphasise what is expected to emphasise the values of what is actually important in real life.

[When asked how she deals with learners of a different faith persuasion than hers] *The first thing I present myself to them, especially to those who are from a different religious group. I then accept them, yes. And I respect their religion, for example, I have a Muslim student in my class. So that the person grows maturing and achieves what they need to. Coming back to their own religion, usually, what I do, I make them share about their own faith, like the Muslim in my class. So, once I accommodate them and allow them to share with us what they do at their own places of worship, they feel honoured and respected. When they see that I'm also willing to learn about their religion, and when they share about their religion, I see their joy and other pupils pay attention. So, this is what you do I ask, "so what about this? Whom do you pray to? Why do you use the Quran, what does it mean?". To the extent that when they sit down, they are beaming with joy because they would have shared parts of their faith. And when you learn about their faith, you get to know someone's religion and somehow somewhere when there is need to respond accordingly to them according to the way they do their things I have to do it so that I can accommodate the person in the class. So, giving that platform for everyone to be happy and share about their own religion but at the same time, we have to go and meet somewhere at the centre.*

Mukudzei

Yes! As we teach, it is our duty to also impart life skills so that our children can be abantu [real people] *out there. We teach them respect, honour, trustworthiness things like that because what would we become without those values. These are values that should be taught at home, but there are other learners where the home is in shambles. Maybe they are being cared for by a grandmother or relatives, or they are caring for themselves – I am speaking of child-headed homes here. So, we need to teach them these things* [values]. *Of course, there is RME* [Religious and Moral Education – a subject at primary school level], *but as I interact with them, I need to be a good example for my children so that they know ubuntu.*

As the learners see me act, they also follow suit and know that the teacher likes this, or the teacher does not like that. They end up knowing what is acceptable or not. When a student comes wearing their uniform neatly, I will make them stand in front of the class, and we all appreciate them that way, they know that one needs to be smart. Things like that, there are many ways to teach Ubuntu. [Is *ubuntu* important in modern-day society or schools?] *Yes! It is. But also, we must remember that there are things that are best suited for the home. As a teacher, there is a point where I cannot go beyond, and the home* [environment] *has to take over. Also, cultures differ so we can't cover everything.*

Comedia

If I have to teach my kids about ubuntu (pause). I'll teach them how to… (pause). I'll teach them so that they can have… (pause). What can I say? That they need to behave in society because society comprises of different uhm - what do you call it? – different systems. No, I mean different people. That's what I would teach them.

5.11 REFLECTIONS ON THE WAYS *UBUNTU* IS TAUGHT IN THE CLASSROOM

Narratives around the teachers' classroom practice point to the finding that *ubuntu*, while explicit in the national educational policy, it is not explicitly coded into the syllabus. The teachers, however, are each finding ways of inculcating *ubuntu* into their classrooms. For MaJoy, it is part of the class orientation procedure. Helen who teaches geography and accounting at high school level attaches *ubuntu* nuggets onto aspects of her subject teaching such as on conservation, environment, global warming and accountability. Nandi, Mukudzei and Magdalene find it necessary to demonstrate *ubuntu* through their actions before the learners as a way of bringing *ubuntu* into the classroom. The degree to which *ubuntu* is presented in a classroom depends on the will and motivation of each teacher. The seasoned teachers have explicit systems in place to do this as shown by MaJoy's lessons on greeting that are known even by learners in other classes. For Comedia who is still undergoing teacher training, however, teaching *ubuntu* is not yet clear. She stumbles through an explanation of how she would bring *ubuntu* into her classroom. Teaching *ubuntu*, therefore, is not only an issue of having *ubuntu* as a lived personal reality, exemplifying *ubuntu* in the classroom is pedagogical practice dependent on experience. The experienced teachers in the cohort have clear pathways on how to teach *ubuntu* even in the face of the syllabus that is silent on *ubuntu*.

5.12 *UBUNTU* AND EDUCATION POLICY

I asked the teachers a series of questions concerning the national education policy. Such as whether they knew the changes that had been proposed in the new curriculum framework and if it was helping them extend *ubuntu* ideals to their school or class. Only three of the teachers responded directly to these prompts.

MaJoy

Yes, we can talk about inclusive education, but does our infrastructure allow that? So, it has to be that they [government] *have to restructure their schools if they are serious about inclusive* [education]. *Train more teachers! Do they* [government] *have the money to train more teachers? Because what it means is that we must have assistant teachers who are going to*

assist us to handle those children who need extra care. I have a class of 47 right now. If I have a child who has a problem then it means I have to pause teaching the 47 to attend to the one, we need assistants for that.

It has to do with infrastructure because they [government] *have to go back to the drawing board. Yes, they can force schools to take learners with disabilities but are we trained to assist? Or else it becomes a case of schools taking on learners so that they can come to spend the day at a school with no progress or learning. Whereas, if they go to King George* [a school for children with disabilities in Bulawayo] *then they are taught by qualified staff where a child will make progress. If you give me special needs children, I will just make sure the child is socialising, but I don't know about motor skills or how to go about it. I am not doing anything to that child, I am not helping that child in any way, but unless if they're going to say they are going to bring specialised teachers.*

Samantha

I have been looking at some of these new curriculum books. I said ok, I did not learn this [ubuntu] *when I was in school; it's something that was said to me by my parents. But it's good that the kids are now actively learning because now we are living in a different generation. The kids of today don't have enough time with their parents. Its either parents are working long hours, or they are in the diaspora – so many kids are living with their aunt or grandmother. Now I understand the value of what we got. So, if it's* [ubuntu] *taught at school, a child has a lot of benefits, and a child will hold that. But if it's not taught eish you end up having difficulties. You end up having kids who cannot even recognise who they really are, who don't know which direction to take? So, this is a good initiative to teach these things through the curriculum.*

[When asked if people with disabilities are accorded the dignity they deserve] *So, it's only a wakeup call now in Zimbabwe, but I'm happy you know. Things are being done. At least we are being recognised it started off a year or two ago with voter registration. So, that inclusivity part is being shown now. It will take time. It's something that we've been advocating for. It's now that people are having a wakeup call to say oh, we need to, not necessarily do something for people with disabilities but also let them be part of the decision making. Let them be involved and let them be in the forefront of things that need to be done for them. It's a pity that we are only getting this wakeup call now through documentation* [the constitution and the UN

charter]. *But it's a document that we signed to Zimbabwe as a nation in September 2013 and six-seven years down the line that is when things are starting to move (laughs).*

Magdalene

The burden only comes from the fact that these days they talk about child protection, child safeguarding and that one yes, it's a bit heavy. I really need to stick to that, and when it comes to child protection and safeguarding, I have to stick to what the policy says. So, to blend that one with my own values, my ubuntu, it's difficult. Sometimes, pupils, they come to you tell you something about what is going on and afterwards when they cry, and they look at you, they are looking at a sister who is holy who is to them the perfect idea of a person that they want to meet in their lives. They ask you I need a hug; I just want to be embraced. Can you see now where the challenge is? I have to stick to my policy. Child safeguarding, there are certain things that you cannot do. You cannot hug a child anyhow and the body contact really you don't need to, we are not allowed to be in touch with the children. She looks at you and says ma'am can you please just give me a hug, and you see that this is genuine and now you come back to the education system these days with issues of child protection policies it's very crucial. So, I think only in terms of these other policies that limit us because even if I say no, I can't give you a hug, and probably you feel it in the heart the child is bleeding. You know – fear of the unknown, you also want to embrace the child, but you respect the etiquette and code of conduct of the education policy of the system. If I was in a different environment, I would act differently, but this environment does not allow that. The code of conduct has to be followed.

5.13 REFLECTIONS ON THE CONNECTION BETWEEN *UBUNTU AND EDUCATION POLICY*

MaJoy suggests, with regards to education policy, that if more broad, inclusive education, which she sees as an extension of *ubuntu*, was to be implemented as a school-wide strategy, then the government needs to make infrastructural and human resource decisions to ensure this happens. She notes that although she is ready and willing to teach all children, she is incapacitated by a lack of skills. Samantha, a disability activist, feels that key policies in line with the dignity of people with disabilities are taking long to be implemented but still feels steps are being taken to effect the necessary changes. Magdalene, a nun who ties her sense of *ubuntu* to her faith, sees child protection policies that came in effect with the new curriculum in Zimbabwe as being inhibitive. The child protection policies create a dilemma between a teacher's ethical requirements and her calling to show love to everyone.

5.14 CHALLENGES OF *UBUNTU*

In this section, I pooled narratives of when *ubuntu* was not exemplified or when aspects of *ubuntu* worked against what the respondent considers good.

Malaika

We also tell them that you are growing up you're going to have your family and your name is going to carry on, so, you really have to have certain standards that you carry into life. Long back as you know, some of the parents would say I don't want my child to learn with someone who doesn't have a leg at times others they associated it with witchcraft sometimes they say ah they don't understand that it's not contagious, but sometimes parents treat disability as if it's something that's contagious.

MaJoy

My passion as a girl was to be a policewoman; I am serious! But back then the way policewomen were perceived, especially if you grew up with elderly relatives, they used to say policewomen are prostitutes. Then, that's what they used to say. They would try by all means to discourage you so that you cannot be a policewoman. They would say "have you not heard what policewomen do with their bosses?". I don't know where they heard that from. At the end, I ended up in the teaching field. But my passion, even as a schoolgirl was to do something that involved the law.

That's where the departure point is, our culture. If you look at people with disabilities, for example, we are not sufficiently extending the arm of ubuntu to those people. Say I have a relative who is blind, we don't talk about that, we do not go outside with them [to be seen by others] *that often. There is still a serious stigma around disability, for example, a stigma that is beyond that of AIDS. Why? Maybe because in our culture, we tend to believe issues of witchcraft to explain when things turn out in unexpected ways. And because our understanding is led by issues of witchcraft, we become embarrassed because we associate those people with bad omens, some may say in that home there is a ngozi* [a bad, avenging spirit]. *Say, maybe in that home there is someone who murdered someone, and that is why they now have an avenging spirit after them hence they have a blind child. So, maybe it is because from long ago a person who is different was seen as abnormal. Remember long ago we killed twins because they were deemed a wonder, an abomination, something that is not supposed to happen. So, it's likely that it came from there, which affects children like those with disabilities or those children who are gay. I had one in my class* [a gay student], *I am convinced they* [gay children] *do not do*

that deliberately, they are born that way even if we say, "law what, what", they are born that way. I have seen it with my eyes. So, going back to the issue of culture, these things have a long history. That is why you will find that even today, some parents with a disabled child will not even enrol that child into school, the child is not even allowed outside to play with other children. Chivanhu [*Isintu*, cultural norms] *still link to our past and how we used to handle these issues.*

Magdalene

I associated that to my experiences when my grandmother would just look at me in public maybe I'm not sitting properly, or I'm talking anyhow. Her eyes would say "is that ubuntu?" then I would put myself in the right position or start acting right. In the same way, if I see a student doing something wrong, then I just turn and look at that child, and the child quickly changes the behaviour immediately then you know you're an agent of ubuntu within the society. It's [*ubuntu*] *all about what is expected in the society.*

Mukudzei

The hardest time came when my aunt had to go to Harare to go and order stocks. She had a business selling clothes. She would go to Harare for two to three days every other month to order new clothes. In her absence, I would remain with my uncle. He often said, "a niece is a wife"[62] *and called me* mainini[63]*. I am not sure; maybe I did not understand what he was saying the whole time because Shona is not my first language. I didn't know what he meant the whole time until the second or third time my aunt was away. He came into my room and tried to sleep with me. I screamed, and he closed my mouth and said: "*Mainini, *why are you crying? A niece is a wife as I often say". I do not know where I got the energy, but I pushed him off and ran away.*

[When asked if *ubuntu* plays out differently for women than men] *Well, I am not sure. Respect is respect, right? But I can say if you are a woman, there are a lot of expectations of you in society. As a woman, you have to handle yourself in a different way. Even in sitting down, you cannot just sit anyhow (laughs) you have to collect yourself as a woman. When I consider*

[62] A Shona aphorism, that describes the kinship network of old where in-laws could marry. As in the case of the young sister of your wife or in some cases her niece. The interviewee's primary language is Ndebele as such this aphorism was new to her and vague.

[63] *Mainini* is a Shona word that literally translates to small mother. It can refer to the young sister of one's wife. It can refer to the younger wife in the case of polygamous marriage. The word is interchangeable here because culturally it is acceptable to marry one's wife's young sister under certain conditions.

where I am teaching, we are all professionals at the school, but uMiss [the female teacher] *is a position that is revered*[64] *in the community. I work with male teachers and every Friday the tradition is they go to the growth point and drink, sometimes well into the Saturday. Most of these guys are my age, but I would never go there. Firstly, because when people drink they become difficult and secondly because if I am seen there, drinking they will say "a whole Mistress* [colloquial term for a female teacher] *what is she doing sitting around at a beerhall". There are double standards, but that is what is there. People want to know that the person teaching their children is a solid character. Especially when the teacher is female and even more so in the rural communities like where I teach. So, the male teachers can drink till morning but for me no! That cannot happen. It will not take away my job because I work for the government, but in the community, I will lose face. There are a lot of things that we depend on from the community as rural teachers so you cannot work as if you are not in the community.*

[When asked what would happen if the community and working staff found out that she was a lesbian] *Mayeee!*[65] *I don't know. I don't even like to think about it; it's too scary to imagine. People here do not even accept a female teacher who drinks what more… Ehe!* [Claps hands] *someone would die. I think I would even be featured in the B-Metro* [A national gossip tabloid]. *Straight people* [colloquial for heterosexual people] *think sexuality can be transmitted like a disease. They think people like me can pass it on to their children when, in fact, I am just living my life and doing what gives me joy. Zimbabwe is still far from being accepting of people like us. Even if a law was to be passed tomorrow* [legalising homosexuality], *people will continue to treat gay people as if the law does not exist.*

To be honest, when I am at school, I completely forget that I am a lesbian. At school, I am Miss Mukudzei. It is as if I am living two lives, one where I am the upright children's teacher and another where I am a mother and wife to my partner (covers her face and laughs). I don't think I am a lesbian teacher; I am just a teacher. I become that [lesbian] *when I am at home with my partner. When we are inside the house, we live a different life. I am her wife; I cook for her, I wash for her (covers her face and laughs), all that. But once we leave the house all that is gone.*

"Would you be a different teacher if you were allowed to be yourself, fully?

[When asked a hypothetical question if she would prefer to teach in an environment where her sexuality was accepted] *I don't know. I don't even know what that would look like.*

---

[64] The word translated into revered here also means valorised, as in placed on a pedestal.
[65] An exclamation of pain

Comedia

Sometimes it is tiring how people treat you, even other professionals at work because of your disability. You know that at work, one meets different characters; some understand what it means to have a disability, and yet others are oblivious to it, which affects how they treat you. Sometimes you become side-lined because when people a person with a disability they presume that the person cannot do anything. So, there are challenges of being side-lined. Starting from the family and going up to society you come last. Sometimes people do not even ask you for help because they think you are so helpless. And then at the end of the day even if you have the knowledge or ability to assist it becomes difficult to offer help because you are always ignored. It even happens at work or at school, they think "what can a person with a disability know". At one time, a lady in my class came asking for help with a statistics problem. She asked everyone and jumped me. She did not know that I had a distinction in statistics, and I could have assisted easily, but she skipped me, side-lined me as if to invalidate what I know without even asking.

In a way, society has failed us, people with disabilities. Because we have to respect each other, and we have to appreciate each other, but that is not always my experience. My attitude now is if I notice that you don't appreciate me, I immediately lose that respect with you. But it doesn't have to be the case all the time.

5.15 REFLECTIONS ON THE OTHER SIDE OF *UBUNTU*

When we settled into the conversations, I asked each respondent to narrate a moment or instance where they felt *ubuntu* had not been exemplified. The narratives above demonstrate what I have termed the dark side of *ubuntu*. MaJoy narrates that she had to make career aspiration changes after her community of elders showed distrust in policing, which was her first choice. A career decision to get into policing became a moral dilemma because the elders/community perceived the field to be inappropriate for a woman. This story is significant in the study of *ubuntu* because, in that instance, MaJoy subordinated her choices to that of the elders – symbolic of community. We seek the workings of tension between individual autonomy and community norms, a lively debate in academic scholarship around *ubuntu*. MaJoy's narrative, however, adds complexity to the argument while also empirically supporting the assertion that community holds influence over the moral becoming of a person in 'African' communities.

Mukudzei tells a story of how she was sexually assaulted by her uncle, being shrouded under the pretext of a cultural practice of kin-based sexual dalliance (called *chiramu* in Shona). This sexual 'play' is acceptable in culture, but as demonstrated in the multi-country study by Izumi & Baago Rasmussen (2018), it is a contributor to sexual violence in adolescences. Mukudzei's harrowing narrative is an instance of where a morally permissible act directly leads to violation. She also adds a narrative from her current rural teaching position where the community has gendered moral standards for her and her male colleagues.

Molefe and Magam state that "*ubuntu* tends to be invoked in many discourses because it is believed to be morally capacious to deliver a robust conception of a society" (2019: 311) but what the narratives above indicate is that this conception is not wholly propitious in the moral sense of a public good. It seems that because *ubuntu* is expressed via cultural norms, which themselves are fraught of skewed histories and customs, then the expression of *ubuntu* is also skewed. Comedia, explains that *ubuntu* is a concept that they know, appreciate and use. However, she also laments that *"in a way, society has failed us, people with disabilities"*. MaJoy reiterates *"if you look at people with disabilities, for example, we are not sufficiently extending the arm of ubuntu to those people"*. While all the teachers in this study acknowledge that *ubuntu* is a public good, the section above highlights that there is another side to *ubuntu* that can be biased, prejudicial and violent. MaJoy, who define *ubuntu* as *chivanhu*/cultural norms, explains that some of the violent histories tied to culture have left residues of prejudice such that *ubuntu* is not fully expressed in the manner that is should.

5.16 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, I presented the findings from interviews conducted with eight female teachers from Bulawayo. The chapter speaks to the first research question of the study which seeks to have a multi-focal understanding of *ubuntu*. While the interviews with the teachers took unique twists and turns with the questions acting as prompts, it was necessary to analyse the data in the form of narratives built around common themes. This allowed excerpts from the interviews to be pooled to speak to a single issue making the final presentation coherent not only to a reader but to the research questions posed in the study.

The teachers shared excerpts from their lives and their classrooms to give the study an understanding of *ubuntu* from the situated position of women – their lived reality. The narratives gave a view of *ubuntu*, which at some points is in tandem with what already populates the academy around *ubuntu* but at times they challenged academic viewpoints. This

is not to say that all the respondents spoke with one voice; it seemed that identity, language and teaching experience permeated everything that was said. The findings show that *ubuntu* is indeed difficult to define and yet, is a well-recognisable value system that expresses itself through certain norms and identity markers peculiar to each teacher. The disability activist defined *ubuntu* in terms of self-reliance and independence while the nun defined *ubuntu* in terms of gospel values and love for all, for example.

The narratives presented in the chapter indicate that *ubuntu* is a concept that each teacher strives to bring into their class. Because it is not explicitly encoded into the syllabus, each teacher has unique ways of extending *ubuntu* values in their class. This process is mediated by each teacher's approach or relational practice, which makes *ubuntu* classroom practice range from clearly defined classroom activities to passive role modelling. Part of the reason can be inferred from each teacher's experience and the lack of an explicit syllabus to direct how *ubuntu* is to be brought into the classroom.

Finally, the narratives showed that while *ubuntu* is a closely held value system, there is a dark side to it. *Ubuntu* is often expressed through culturally defined norms, which themselves have a prejudicial bias. Comedia's statement that *"society has failed us"* or Mukudzei's sexual assault indicate that the skewed expression of *ubuntu* can be exclusionary and violent. In the next chapter, I pick up on many of the issues raised by the teachers' stories as I critique *ubuntu* using a decolonial feminist lens.

CHAPTER 6:
A DECOLONIAL-FEMINIST CRITIQUE OF UBUNTU

6.1 CHAPTER INTRODUCTION

As I begin with this chapter, the penultimate and simultaneously the central chapter of my thesis, I am reminded of a scene from my childhood. It is set in our rural home in Shurugwi, in my grandmother, *Mai Saddiq* (mother of Saddiq) Rungisa Zimba's mud hut kitchen. The structure of the mud hut, like all mud huts in that part of the country, is circular in structure with thatched roofing. The inside of the hut has blackened from years of soot coating from the fire that always sits in the centre of the hut in a dug-out fire pit. Half of the inner circum-structure has a polished concrete block that runs along the curvature of the wall and serves as a bench. The other side of the room has a mattress and some mats. At this moment, my grandmother sits on her floor mattress, with her only daughter (the youngest of her children) next to her and across from her six sons – burly men on the concrete bench. The reverend son is wearing his reverential collar, the banker is wearing a shiny shirt, the soldier son is wearing army-issued boots with his civilian clothing, the eldest son sits nearest to the door and the two youngest sons sit at the inner end of the bench.

I share the story above to underscore the importance of perspective and context in social analysis as I delve into the decolonial feminist critique of *ubuntu*. Being accommodative of context gives way to an appreciation that what is at the surface may not be the full story. In the memory that I shared; we could read the 'big' men with their professional positionalities on the bench as having the locus of power. However, the scene is a *dare* (Shona word meaning a tribunal), after months of discussing among themselves, the men have come to receive wisdom and direction from their mother. She speaks softly and slowly, and all the burly men lean in to listen as her word is often final. The locus of power is on the mat with the grandmother and her daughter. The Shona people of Zimbabwe are not particularly a matriarchal or matrilineal nation, so the scene calls for careful reading. This is the same sense that I carry into the decolonial feminist critique of *ubuntu*. I am mindful of context.

6.2 CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

> "For one, it remains unclear how the *Ubuntu* framework can be 'cleansed' of its patriarchal baggage" Magadla & Chitando (2014: 187)

I began this thesis with a central question:

> ***What is the feminist critique of ubuntu, and what are the implications of this critical assessment for citizenship education in Zimbabwe?***

The question is supported by four research objectives that are stepping-stones towards answering the central question. The research objectives of the thesis are:

1. To get to an expanded understanding of *ubuntu*, one that speaks to the lived realities of progenitor communities of *ubuntu* and education in Zimbabwe.
2. To unpack the strand of feminism to bring into conversation with *ubuntu.*
3. To critique *ubuntu* from a feminist standpoint.
4. To understand what the implications of a feminism–*ubuntu* intersection hold for citizenship education in Zimbabwe.

In this chapter, I bring the conceptual and empirical work into conversation. In the study so far, I have engaged critically with *ubuntu*, expanded on the feminist vehicle of critique, reflected on citizenship education in contemporary Zimbabwe and presented stories around the lived realities of *ubuntu*. I have also advanced another perspective of *ubuntu*, one that conceptualises the 'African' notion as a framework of encounter. As Metz rightly claims: "[T]hese are rich times for scholarship on ubuntu… There are a variety of different academic approaches to ubuntu in 21st-century academe in South Africa and neighbouring countries" (2014a: 447), and this study is one such approach.

I advance another understanding of *ubuntu* knowing, as Judge Mokgoro (1998: 1) avers, that because *ubuntu* "is not easily and neatly categorized and defined" any such endeavour would only be "a simplification of a more expansive, flexible and philosophically accommodative idea". In this study I have proffered a new interpretation of *ubuntu* which I have taken as the working interpretation used throughout the study. Yet, for the reason raised by Judge Mokgoro, I continue to deal with *ubuntu* from its multiple meanings – that is, *ubuntu* as humaneness/humanness, *ubuntu* as a philosophy of interrelatedness, and *ubuntu* as a framework of encounter. At every turn, we will see that how *ubuntu* has been circumscribed affects the terms along which the conversation or critique with feminist unfolds. I bring the different understandings of *ubuntu* into conversation with feminism and project how they play out in education. The stated chapters have addressed research objectives 1 and 2 while setting the stage for objective 3 to be realised. With an expanded understanding of *ubuntu* and a feminism strand in hand, I will proceed to address the first part of the central research question: what is the feminist critique of *ubuntu*?

6.3 A BRIEF NOTE ON CRITIQUE

The importance of social critique, especially a feminist critique of *ubuntu*, lies in the realisation advanced by Spender (1980: 3) that it is possible that a "faculty that helps create our world also works to constrain our world". The feminist academic Nomboniso Gasa similarly avers that "as society develops, we have to interrogate what is emancipatory and what hinders self-realisation" (2011: 25). This can be taken to mean that the progression of society is tied to our capacity to critique it, a nod to the Aristotelian maxim on the unexamined life. These are all assertions that I reflect on in this study, and at this juncture where on the one hand we are celebrating a much-awaited philosophic turn in Zimbabwe's education and on the other, I begin to question what that turn means. Critique, therefore, involves an inquiry into actions and the forces that drive them. Budd (2008: 175) notes, that critique is an examination into "both what is done and why it is done. In application, it is the use of dialectic, reason, and ethics as a means to study the conditions under which people live".

The decolonial feminist turn in *ubuntu* scholarship presented in this chapter hinges on two foundational pillars. The first described by Schiwy (2007) as a caution that in the process of theorising the lives of formerly colonised people, scholars must desist from the *subalternisation* of their lived experiences and knowledge embedded in their socio-cultural artefacts. As such narrative from lived experiences is at the centre of the critique. The second pillar is cemented in the work of Maldonado-Torres where he says "'science' (knowledge and wisdom) cannot be detached from language; languages are not just 'cultural' phenomena in which people find their 'identity'; they are also the location where knowledge is inscribed" (2007: 242). It is there, then, in that fractured social epoch of *ubuntu*, as embedded in its lived socio-cultural context informed by language, that conversation occurs. It is there that we can engage with *ubuntu*, warts and all, to consider new pathways of enactment and reason that are delinked from toxic tendencies, narratives, and historical residues. Taking *ubuntu* out of this fractured epoch is akin to taking a fish out of the water and frantically working to keep it alive. The following critique leans on the two pillars often, of lived experience and language as a way of centring the objective of the chapter (which engages with *ubuntu* in multiple interpretations) back to its socio-cultural context. This approach makes the critique complex, but it is a necessary step in bringing feminism and *ubuntu* into a fair conversation. Now, I attend to the central tenet of this thesis: what is the feminist critique of *ubuntu*?

6.4 A FEMINIST CRITIQUE OF UBUNTU AS HUMANENESS/HUMANNESS

Bhengu (1996: 5) writes of *ubuntu* as a "humanistic experience of treating all people with respect, granting them their human dignity". This, as has been well-expanded in chapter two of this thesis, is the cornerstone of views of *ubuntu* as a humaneness/humanness. These popular views see *ubuntu* as an observable trait that is synonymous with what constitutes a humane or harmonious society. The view circumscribes *ubuntu* in terms of the actions that demonstrate humaneness/humanness, an acceptable moral ethic. It is, therefore, prudent to note that to conceptualise *ubuntu* as humaneness/humanness is also to accept *ubuntu* as a form and foundation of normative morality.

'Africa' has been home to some heinous phenomena in modern history. Wars (civil, ethnic and international), poverty, inequality, and gender-based violence at magnanimous proportions have all left indelible scars on the social fabric of the continent and raised deep questions about the viability of axiomatic orientations that claim harmony, peace and togetherness as their hallmarks. *Ubuntu* has been brought to question in the face of such phenomena. Waghid (2018; 2014), however, counters that it is precisely the existence of these dark markers that the need to reconstitute the place of *ubuntu* (in education) on the 'African' continent is accentuated.

The propagators of *ubuntu* as humaneness/humanness envision social markers such as respect, hospitality, and kindness (to name a few) as ideals that should be cultivated in society, through the reproductive arm of education, for example. In this construal of *ubuntu*, it is a moral ideal that persons should aspire for the sake of the harmonious community. Bewaji notes that "one can boldly affirm that the wellspring of morality and ethics in African societies is the pursuit of a balance of individual, with communal, well-being" (in Wiredu, 2004: 396). In this *ubuntu* ideal, there is indeed an opportunity for re-writing the social code and determining an order that is less autocratic, less male-centred, less sexist, less homo/trans/xenophobic or less violent than the one that presently exists. Magadla and Chitando, for example, contend that scholarship around *ubuntu* prompts "questions about how to (re)imagine what it means to be a man and woman in the postcolonial moment and how we should 'do' the relations between men and women" (in Praeg & Magadla, 2014: 177). The authors (Magadla & Chitando in Praeg & Magadla, 2014) posit that *ubuntu* presents yet another opportunity for the attainment of feminist ideals:

> The assumption is that appropriating *Ubuntu* to challenge sexual and gender-based violence provides the African gender activist with an indigenous resource, thereby

> mitigating the accusation that they are using foreign concepts to address African existential issues. The cultural ideology that projects men as the defenders of African culture suggests that men would be more inclined to endorse the struggle against sexual and gender-based violence if it is couched in vernacular idiom and values. In short, men are more likely to embrace the quest for gender justice if it can be demonstrated that their own value system leads to gender justice. (Magadla & Chitando in Praeg & Magadla, 2014:184)

The view of *ubuntu* as humaneness/humanness, however, overlooks some critical points of exchange that shadow some of the transformative opportunities that Magadla and Chitando (2014) envision. *Ubuntu* as humaneness/humanness focuses almost exclusively on the action that demonstrates *ubuntu* and too little on the contexts that make those actions permissible. This narrow view assumes that *ubuntu* is ahistorical, acontextual and without bias as these are factors that precede the moral 'act' of *ubuntu*. Whereas indications from the literature reviewed and confirmed by the assertions stated by the cohort in this study, all point to the contrary. The rupture moment of encounter where the observable markers of *ubuntu* are presented is not a neutral, ahistorical, a-gendered moment. Quite the opposite, as the critique that follows, will demonstrate.

When we think of *ubuntu,* there is historicity that needs to be unmasked, a social context that deserves attention and bias that must be contended with. Lugones (2010), for example, in her thesis on the coloniality of gender, notes how modernity introduced a hierarchical sexed dichotomy that pervades the reasoning and structuring of the colonised to this day. Therefore, as we contend with aspects of the post-colony, we have to consider the colonial/historical residues, for example, as these have a skewing effect in the post-colonial condition (Oyěwùmí, 1997).

Social systems that reinforce the gender binary, therefore, enhance coloniality; any transformative scholarship must be aware of these colonial residues. Bailey and Cuomo (2008) underline this argument in that morality cannot be delinked from materiality, social histories and human continencies. From the narratives of the teacher cohort in this study, while all the respondents hold *ubuntu* at various levels of esteem, Mukudzei still notes that "*respect is respect right? But I can say if you are a woman, there are a lot of expectations of you in society. As a woman, you have to handle yourself in a different way. Even in sitting down, you cannot just sit anyhow (laughs) you have to collect yourself as a woman. When I consider where I am*

teaching, we are all professionals at the school but uMiss yinto esabekayo emphakathini [the female teacher is a revered object/thing in the community].

What the above assertions are introducing to the humaneness/humanness discourse is there is historicity to contend with – one of which is gender. The critique is that there are gendered hierarchies of power in how morality (the 'act' of *ubuntu*) is exercised. If morality is what connects individual agency to the social or community expectations, then Mukudzei's experiences indicate that this is not a neutral undertaking. While there are universal virtues that one must aspire to (for example, Mukudzei says *"respect is respect"*) the pathways to actualising these virtues, however, are shrouded in gender-skewed and culturally specific dynamics. Butler notes that gender in itself is a "locus of agency from which various acts proceed… it is an identity tenuously constituted in time – an identity instituted through a stylized repetition of acts" (1988: 519). If morality is a discursive analysis of what one *ought to do*, the critique here is that moral norms such as humaneness/humanness then become the acts (sometimes violent) that panel beat the body (Butler, 2007) into what it means to be a woman or a man or a non-binary body within a given society. Experiences from the female teacher cohort (see Mukudzei's and Magdalene's narratives in the previous chapter) indicate that the *ubuntu* normative lays a heavy hand on what it means to be moral and female. It is, therefore, insufficient to tailor an education around desirable virtues as if these are acontextual. It is necessary to think through the skewed ways those virtues are enacted as well as their en-gendering nature. There is a need to acknowledge the gendered nature of moral norms, especially when they become a subject framing normativity.

It is evident, from the narratives, that the enactment of humaneness/humanness is done through a differentiated yardstick of what counts as moral. MaJoy, for example, relates how she was discouraged from enrolling into the police force as policewomen were seen by her elders/community as people of loose morals. Mukudzei relates how an uncle sexually assaulted her off the logic of accepted kinship dalliance. In practice, what is humane/human is strewn across a gendered hierarchy of what is acceptable, often reinforcing binary and gendered subjectivities. Not only is the enactment of moral virtue tied to a dichotomous gendering process, but the scholarship of Oyěwùmí (1997, 2002) also points us to the understanding that the gendering itself is in part a colonial imposition, which Lugones (2010) terms the coloniality of gender. In part because, as has been established in previous chapters, Zimbabwean society has always exhibited traces of gross male centricity and patrilineality which made the colonial

gendering process swift. Mukudzei's narrative then evidences a deeper quandary when she says *"uMiss yinto esabekayo emphakathini* [the female teacher is a revered object/thing in the community]*"*. In the rural setting which she teaches with deeply traditional values, the female teacher is simultaneously ornamentalised and dehumanised – that is, she is revered and yet is an object in the community. In the simple decision of whether to drink or not drink on a Friday afternoon, Mukudzei's decision is silenced by the fact that in the public sphere of the community, she has no ontological positionality, she is an ornamental object. The female/male binary is reinforced by a moral standard that accords those in the category, male, the free will to engage in an activity that is viewed as debased (drinking at a bar) without any recourse to their social standing while *uMiss* (the female teacher) does not have the free play to make that decision without recourse.

While, a priori, *ubuntu* as a concept can be seen as a moral 'ideal' (Venter, 2004: 149; Metz, 2011), the narratives presented in this study, however, point to a reality that in practice, *ubuntu* is sometimes tied to skewed sociocultural norms. MaJoy notes that for her, *ubuntu* is synonymous *chivanhu* or *isintu,* which is Shona and Ndebele for cultural norm. She later adds that the histories embedded in *chivanhu* or *isintu* have prejudicial residues that delimit *ubuntu* in some scenarios, for example, in the treatment of people with disabilities. It seems, within the context of a progenitor society such as in the research site of Bulawayo, *ubuntu* does not operate alone. *Ubuntu* is couched with a sociocultural context of *isintu* or *chivanhu,* and they work in tandem in the framing of *umuntu* [a person]. Feminist scholars who write on *ubuntu* ascribe this problem to *ubuntu* itself (see Manyonganise, 2015; Viviers & Mzondi, 2016; Chisale, 2018). The contribution from the interpretation of *ubuntu* presented in this study acknowledges the dark side of *ubuntu* but further highlights that this is from the connection of *ubuntu* and the social context that informs it (this logic is developed further in section 7.6). *Isintu* [cultural norms] therefore, give context to the degrees of acceptability of what is seen in action as *ubuntu* (note that I present these arguments within the logic of *ubuntu* as humaneness/humanness). The *isintu–ubuntu* link cannot be overlooked; especially where they create gendered and prejudicial yardsticks of acceptable action. The oversight of gendered patterns of moral enactment creates a gashing lacuna in the interpretation of *ubuntu* as humaneness/humanness with far-reaching consequences, as will be demonstrated in the next paragraphs.

6.5 THE MORAL IN MORAL EDUCATION

Within the domain of education, *ubuntu* as humaneness/humanness takes the form of moral education. The critique presented so far has been a feminist discussion of *ubuntu* as a moral normative. I now turn to the issue of moral education as a response to the move by MoPSE to centre the philosophy of education of Zimbabwe on *ubuntu*. The PCIET, which is the forerunner and major informer of the CF 2015–2022, states that "*ubuntu* should be introduced, developed and be the torchlight of our moral education" (1999:69). Noddings avers that "education seeks multiple aims… An education worthy of its name will help its students to develop as persons, to be thoughtful citizens, competent parents, faithful friends, capable workers, generous neighbours and lifelong learners. It will try, too, to develop aesthetic, ethical and spiritual sensitivity" (2006: 339). Elsewhere, Noddings (2013) adds that the moral upbringing of learners cannot be abrogated to the home and religious institutions only, education has a role to play in this also. Waghid (2014:66) asserts, in the same vein, that educational institutions have a "social responsibility to cultivate moral beings". The understanding that there is a moral dimension and responsibility to education opens an opportunity to foreground *ubuntu* as humaneness/humanness ideology in education.

The critical feminist contribution here echoes what can be dubbed the "women question of moral philosophy" (see Benhabib in Bailey & Cuomo, 2008), which itself is an echo to Gilligan's (1993) challenge to the totalising moral development ideology of Kohlberg (1984). In his treatise on moral development, Kohlberg (1984) sees morality as couched in the exercise of the attainment of justice, hence individual agency. The initial challenge to the Kohlberg's studies rests on methodology – that is, the sex of the respondents in the study. The methodological problem reveals the issue of standpoint when Gilligan (1993) later conducts studies on the moral dilemma of abortion. Gilligan (in Bailey & Cuomo, 2008) establishes moral development not only within a justice framework but also as caught up in issues of care – that is, social relations. The Gilligan–Kohlberg debate is a long-standing one in the academy, and I bring it up here to question why, in the face of such reasonable debates, scholarship on moral efficacy of *ubuntu* continue along universalist lines. The feminist standpoint issues a challenge to the universalism of normative morality and by extension, moral education. This is not an indictment of moral education or *ubuntu* as an 'African' vehicle towards moral education. It is an indictment on universalist and myopic ideas of what counts as moral in moral education.

To speak of *ubuntu* as humaneness/humanness, largely circumscribed as an observable action, therefore, is limiting in that it is blind to the politics of the social edge of morality. While *ubuntu* as humaneness/humanness has a potential to challenge actions that work against differently gendered bodies (Magadla & Chitando, 2014) to overlook the embedded gendered skewness and histories in the enactment of morality – the how of moral normative – detracts from the potentiality of such a moral normative. The construction of a Southern 'African' moral theory (Mungwini, 2011; Mangena, 2012; Metz, 2014b; Molefe & Magam, 2019) informed by *ubuntu* or pedagogies of *ubuntu*-mediated encounters (Waghid, 2019b; Waghid & Davids, 2018) is a welcome project, especially at the level of epistemic justice. However, what this study highlights is the need for a wider lens to be used in the understanding of *ubuntu* as an informing concept. This critique, therefore, is not an indictment of *ubuntu*, rather of a view of ubuntu that is defined mostly in terms of observable action – humaneness/humanness. *Ubuntu* remains an ideal, as Venter (2004:149) notes, that is "often flawed in interpretation [and] in practice". It is the disconnection of *ubuntu* from its social embeddedness and histories that leads to a blindness to the gendered hierarchies of what counts as moral. And in the case of education, becomes limiting to the potentiality of transformative educational practices able to speak to a male-centred society; sexist tendencies; and violent, exclusionary and prejudicial actions.

6.6 A FEMINIST CRITIQUE OF UBUNTU AS A PHILOSOPHY OF INTERRELATEDNESS

> "[T]he best type of human life, that in which the tradition of the virtues is most adequately embodied, is lived by those engaged in constructing and sustaining forms of community directed towards the shared achievement of those common goods without which the ultimate human good cannot be achieved" (McIntyre, 2007: xiv).

The propagators of *ubuntu* as a philosophy of interrelatedness such as 'African' communitarianism (see Eze, 2008; Molefe, 2-17; Chemhuru, 2019), 'African' communalism (Kimmerle, 2006, Mabovula, 2011; Etta *et al*., 2016; Nsengiyumva, Muhenda, Njuguna & Nyabul, 2019), 'African' humanism (Chikanda, 1990; Makhudu, 1993; Prinsloo, 2004), 'African' renaissance (Mbeki, 1998) or critical humanism (Praeg & Magadla, 2014)[66] see *ubuntu* as a philosophy that links the self (either metaphysical or moral) to imagined spaces or

[66] Note that I do not purport that 'African' communitarianism, 'African' communalism, 'African' humanism, 'African' renaissance, or critical humanism are all reducible to each other – they are not. I group them here on the mere principle of the assumption of the socially constructed nature of the self and the social contexts within which the self emerges from.

shared memory or a shared commitment to normative principles or community. Conceptions of interrelatedness accede that the self does not appear in history without context. Gouws and Van Zyl (2015: 173), for example, note that a communitarian conception of the self-differs from a liberal conception in that it, "stands in stark contrast to the Hobbesian conception of self as a person who springs fully formed from nature as a rational, independent, self-determining individual". Propagators of *ubuntu* as interrelatedness accept, albeit through different processes, that personhood is a social-relational state. In this way, *ubuntu* as a philosophy of interrelatedness escapes the bind of humaneness/humanness that envisions *ubuntu* as an a-contextual moral normative. *Ubuntu* as interrelatedness sees community (however imagined – as nation, village, space, or interpersonal interface) as the context within which *ubuntu* finds expression, and the person becomes.

Menkiti in his treatise on the notion of person in 'African' cosmology notes that "group solidarity is often cited as key, perhaps the defining feature of African traditional societies" (in Wiredu, 2004: 324). On this point *ubuntu* as a philosophy of interrelatedness rhymes with solidarity, a feminist ideal. Solidarity has long been a feature of feminist organising from the notion of the women at the well, a motif of traditional 'African' women gathering to consciousness-raising groups in Western feminisms. Solidarity within the feminist movement is synonymous with the amplification of voice, creation of space for women to exercise their agency, and self-determination, it is the politicisation of community. Writing on the decolonial turn in feminist praxis, Lugones (2010: 754) notes that "one does not resist the coloniality of gender alone. One resists it from within a way of understanding the world and living in it that is shared, and that can understand one's actions, thus providing recognition. Communities rather than individuals enable the doing; one does with someone else, not in individualist isolation." To speak of *ubuntu* as a relational practice opens up space for this feminist tradition to be aligned to *ubuntu* both in the sense of discourse and cultural practice.

McIntyre cautions, however, that "many types of community are nastily oppressive" (2007: xiv). To evoke community in many ways requires the creation of a qualifier that sifts who stands inside from those who stand outside the community. While the imagined community can indeed be a space for positive engagement, the actualisation of agency and self-determination, community can also be repressible, as McIntyre (2007) warns. The rhetoric of nationalism packaged as 'African' renaissance or Pan-Africanism, for example, is worthy to note at this point. Firstly, *ubuntu* popularity grew in the 1980s and 1990s on the back of

nationalist rhetoric, otherwise termed "narratives of return" (Gade, 2011). Secondly, the education policy that instituted *ubuntu* as a philosophy of education in Zimbabwe and in part sparked the commencement of this study, was birthed at the height of Mugabeism (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009). The political rhetoric of *ubuntu* sought to remedy the colonial condition by instituting a new identity. This new identity tied post-colonial hopes to a valorised pre-colonial image of what it meant to be black, in the political sense of the word (Mbembe, 2001; Tembo & Gerber, 2020). While the political movements associated with this ideology were successful in dethroning white minority governments, they then became caught in male-centred, patriarchal, sexist, violent regimes of power that further repressed than liberated the communities they claimed to represent. Zimbabwe post-independence is one such case in point.

The degeneration and subsequent toxicity of nationalist rhetoric can be exemplified in the anti-gay rhetoric of Mugabe. In 2015 on a United Nations General Assembly podium, Robert Mugabe, then still president of Zimbabwe, boldly asserted that "we are not gays!" (Buchanan, 2015). In another instance, Mugabe claimed that to be homosexual is "worse than dogs and pigs" (Al Jazeera, 2019). In a few sentences, Mugabe constituted an identity and space, a 'we' and that spatial identity and political imaginary of nationhood were not homosexual. To be homosexual in Zimbabwe then becomes a human nullity that takes one out of the access of being part of the 'we'. The same can be said of xenophobia, that the coincidence of birth creates a 'we' in the contest of legitimated presence which gives way to 'we South Africans', 'we Americans' – for example. Hence those outside of the 'we' have a demoted condition and any action against them does not detract from the perpetrators' humanity.

It must be re-iterated here that in Southern 'African' Nguni languages, personhood in language carries a particular prefix (*um-* in Nguni languages and *mu-* in Shona dialects) and denoting one as human. When Mugabe branded being gay as being worse than an animal in language, he took them from the category of being human/subject to object. What the former president did through rhetoric went beyond a presidential stamp on homophobia. He created a sense of nationhood or community ('we') and in the same stroke created a determiner of who is politically qualified (in the sense of civic liberties) as a well as who is humanly qualified (in the sense of deserving humaneness/humanness). He created a strictly heteronormative imaginary of community, of nationhood.

While *ubuntu* remains an ideal that demands a welcoming disposition, what nationalist rhetoric, of Mugabe for example, has done is to create a condition of distinction between human/in-

human that allows for the thriving of homophobia. Those privileged enough to be inside the community can openly be homophobic without detracting from their *ubuntu* disposition as the gay is, after all, not human and, therefore, beyond the reach of humaneness/humanness. Homophobia is only used as an example of an instance when the community (relational practice) can lead to prejudice that defeats feminist canons. Msibi (2011) notes that homophobic rhetoric by 'African' leaders has grown in part as a tool to reinstate the hegemony of male leadership and consolidate the colonial male-centred gender order in 'Africa'. Although Mugabe did not use the term *hunhu*/*ubuntu* explicitly in his remaking of nationhood, the idea of reframing the person in a limited sense of community stands as a caution to the politicisation of a relational or communitarian notion of *ubuntu*.

The feminist critique, however, is not all doom and gloom. *Ubuntu* as interrelatedness, in some way, does create pockets that allow the extension of feminist ideals. Benhabib (in Bailey & Cuomo, 2008) notes that one of the key advancements of Gilligan's (1993) challenge to Kohlberg's (1984) universal ethics (and many ways Kantian liberal ethics) is the realisation of the embeddedness of the moral self in social conditions (communitarianism). Gilligan (in Bailey & Cuomo, 2008: 471) adds that "care is grounded in the assumption that self and other are interdependent, an assumption reflected in view of action [moral action] as responsive…seen as responsive, the self, is by definition connected to others…and governed by the organising tendencies of human interaction and human language'. This position opens the relational discourse to feminist ethics of care. Gouws and Van Zyl (in Engster & Hamington, 2015: 166) see positive parallels between the notion of *ubuntu* and feminist ethics of care where they state that "care therefore becomes the symbol for communal relationships representing reciprocal responsibilities as well as a source of dignity and equality… the synthesis of principles from a feminist ethics of care, together with *ubuntu*, can contribute to substantive gender equality". The scholars here point to the emancipatory potential in interrelatedness that is developed in line with precepts of care.

6.7 FEMINIST NOTES ON A RELATIONAL PEDAGOGICAL PRACTICE

I now turn to views of interrelatedness in education. Waghid (2014:21) avers that "an African philosophy of education that is communitarian has in mind two practices; first, that what people do is as a result of engagement and not just participating communally… Second, to engage with one another in a communitarian spirit requires that one actually recognises the other persons with whom one engages to have a legitimate voice". For Waghid (2014), a

communitarian view of education rests on open encounters and freedom for deliberative engagement. This stance aligns positively with the liberal communitarian perspectives of contemporaries such as Mclean and Gyekye (2010).

To the two practices advanced by Waghid (2014) of open encounters and deliberative engagement, I would add another practice of an ethics of care. In the previous chapter, I highlighted that the teachers in this study's narratives around their approach to the classroom space revealed a high degree of relational practice. All the teachers used the words *vana/abantwana/children* to refer to their students and not *vadzidzi/abafundi/learners*. MaJoy, for example, stated:

> *When you're here, I am your mother. I tell my boys [students] out there, you defend each other because you're from one mother – me! When we have differences, we solve them within these four walls (gestures to the classroom); when we go out there you protect your brother because you're your brothers' keeper. Here (gestures to the classroom) they know that they are their brother's keepers. At this age, they now know they are brothers' keepers, they should take care of each other.*

From this narrative, we can see that MaJoy extends the familial affect to her classroom, which creates a sense of community and protection. This is not an essentialised motherhood that she projects to her class but is also a shared sense of affect: *"[O]ut there you defend each other…"*. MaJoy not only represents motherly affect, but she also passes it on as a standard of practice to the boys in instances she is not there. This rings of Oyěwùmí's (2003:13) politicisation of motherhood, a concept she calls *mothernity*, where she says that in 'African' communities, "motherhood is the most important source and model of solidarity". It is important to note that MaJoy teaches an all-boys class. Interestingly, Clarke and Nyathi (2011), in their histography of Queen Lozikeyi of amaNdebele, note that during the reign of King Lobengula, queens were disbursed across the kingdom as regents of cities. These queen regents were called *amanina*; the word literally translated means mothers. This is to say Oyěwùmí's politicisation of motherhood and MaJoy's demonstration of it within the classroom has a historico-cultural precedence and not a mere extension of an essentialised role of women.

Samantha, who is a disability activist, recounts a time she taught at an institution in South Africa. She bemoans how the system prioritised engagement with parents over the learners. She says:

> *I was in the Western Cape, in Cape Town some time ago. I stayed there for three months. It was more of the adults, adults, adults. The parents, yes, I encountered. But I do not want to work with the parents. I felt that I didn't do enough because the child who should benefit is not here. They have a totally different system from what we have here* [at her school in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe]. *I said: 'You guys, it's not enough, bring the child here… It was not enough for me. And we are saying we want to build the child from as little* [child], *to them being an adult, to them knowing that it is not about me only but about the other guys*. [When asked whether this approach would be deemed *ubuntu*] *Yeah, I think so. Maybe. We look at it from different angles. Well, now that you are saying it you made me realise, oh ok, this is ubuntu*.

For Samantha, her relational practice must be learner-centred. Upon questioning and reflection on the questions posed, she adds that this direct engagement is indeed a practice of *ubuntu*.

The issue of interrelatedness within the *ubuntu* praxis certainly is not without its own problems. Politics and historical prejudicial social residues have certainly tainted the aspect of community within the notion of *ubuntu*. There are deep concerns of subjugation and exploitation that have to be contended with when relationality culminates in regimes of exclusion, oppression and violence. So far, the feminist critique has demonstrated that it is not *ubuntu* itself that is in check but the conditions under which it is employed or the knowledge schemata that support it that have skewed the potential of an *ubuntu* praxis. Yet, even in the face of deep concerns, the ideal of *ubuntu* is still one that deserves a second look even by the staunchest feminist critic. Interrelatedness opens the conversation to feminist ethics of care that can be (given the experiences of MaJoy and Samantha) translated into transformative relational pedagogies.

6.8 FEMINIST CONSIDERATIONS OF UBUNTU AS A FRAMEWORK OF ENCOUNTER

Mbembe (2015) notes that the decolonial project has two sides: one being the dismantling of Eurocentric reasoning or patterns of knowledge production and the second being an imaginary of what an alternative the pervasive Eurocentric model can look like. Mamndani (2017) in the T.B Davie Memorial lecture at the University of Cape Town also notes that to be decolonial is to provide a different narrative. In chapter 2 of this study, I provided a critical reading of the different interpretations of *ubuntu*. I also advanced another interpretation, one that unpacks *ubuntu* from the point of the encounter. *Ubuntu* as a framework of encounter draws extensively from artefacts of progenitor cultures (language, reason, and culture). It is not a direct solution to the feminist concerns already raised in this study on the conceptualisation of *ubuntu*. Instead,

the conceptualisation of *ubuntu* as a framework of encounter is intended as an apparatus for a feminist re-reading of *ubuntu*; what Lugones (2010) calls the decolonial work of seeing the world anew. A re-reading that not only highlights what *ubuntu* does but the social context within which *ubuntu* is enacted with a particularistic view on the conditions that allow *ubuntu*.

This study has demonstrated that there are many ways of seeing *ubuntu* just as one of the respondents, Malaika, in the study states that *"it is difficult. Ha! It is really difficult to define* ubuntu *because when you talk of* ubuntu, *there are so many things that come. You cannot have one single definition"*. My reading of these different interpretations has not been from a positionality of right or wrong nor of degrees of acceptability as each interpretation has its own disciplinary profit. In chapter 2, I demonstrated using a narrative borrowed from Samkange and Samkange (1980), another perspective of *ubuntu*; one of *ubuntu* as demonstrated within an encounter. My proposed interpretation of *ubuntu* sees it as a social framework of encounter the goal being to create a plane for the establishment of relationship/*ukama/ubuhlobo*. As this is a working interpretation of *ubuntu* advanced in this study, what follows are considerations rather than a critique in the strictest sense of what this understanding presents for feminist praxis (in education). *Ubuntu* as a framework of encounter, therefore, is a tool that analyses the different elements and conditions that necessitate an *ubuntu* encounter. Understanding *ubuntu* from the context of the encounter allows for different elements that make *ubuntu* possible to be interrogated as follows.

6.8.1 Power and/within the encounter

The notion of power within the *ubuntu* encounter schema is one that deserves attention. Although much of the scholarship so far is pooled around the performative aspects of *ubuntu*, there is no denying that *ubuntu* within the communities that it is practised or the political rhetoric that employs it, affects human agency. I present a reasonable argument on how power is generated within the *ubuntu* framework. A critical framework, a feminist critique at that, cannot be complete without a discussion on power. As Sardenberg (2016) points that central to liberatory acts within feminism, we must consider power as it the defining element in what is merely liberal or liberating in feminism.

In a 1983 journal article titled "*The subject and power*" (Foucault, 1982) begins by asking why study power? Foucault, in the article, notes that his interest in the study of power is the processes that create subjectivity, stating that "while the human subject is placed in relations of production and of signification, he is equally placed in power relations which are very

complex" (1982:778). The *ubuntu* framework of encounter or schema, as envisioned in this study, is an interpersonal phenomenon; hence I consider the workings of power in two ways: power as generated by social order (Haugaard, 2003) and power as lying at the junction of a power–knowledge intersection (Foucault, 2005).

In the Samkangean encounter presented in full in chapter 2, the old man 'recognises' Samkange and then greets him with the clapping of hands (a show of respect in Zimbabwean cultures) and then proceeds to call him "father". Soon after he turns to the boys who had arrived first to assist Samkange and call them "children". If it is to be believed that Southern 'African' indigenous cultures are purely gerontocratic, then the above encounter would be an anomaly, of which it is not. What does this interaction demonstrate about power in the *ubuntu* schema? More than age, it is kinship and positionality that form the basis of the flow of power. And power here is a social hierarchy with agency implications. It must be noted that positionality within the spectrum of kinship is not fixed.

I revert to the story at the beginning of this chapter. The memory I posted of my father and uncles entreating my grandmother as a sage to weigh in on a family matter. One can look at the sitting arrangement in the room and think, surely power rests with those seated further up from the ground on the bench. The sitting arrangement might point to traces of male privilege but not power (in the sense of effect on agency). In fact, power is on the mattress with the matriarch supported by her daughter, the patrilineal aunt. Another example is the narrative from MaJoy, who states:

> *This is what I do when I get a new class. I have an induction with the parents. If I know it's a grandmother who is taking care of you* [student] *when I am addressing you, you're not a grandmother, you're not just any grandparent you're also my grandmother. And so, I will say "hello gogo, how are you? Thank you for what you have done for us* [bringing the child to school]*". I see the parent of a child, and I will say "how are you baba, ah thank you for all the good you are doing [in raising the child] you are good to us" I will be meaning for the child and I. So, that is what I see as* ubuntu.

I must add here that MaJoy teaches grade 7 learners; most of students' parents are younger than her in age. Yet, she positions herself on a lower echelon of the encounter with the learners' guardians. I have noted above that when she engages with her learners, she states unequivocally, *"when you're here I am your mother"*. I posit these two scenarios as a prompt for the need to understand the context within which *ubuntu* is enacted and the fluidity (Ramose

(2002) talks of everything in flux, of how power flows between encountering parties in an *ubuntu*-mediated encounter. MaJoy's position shifts situationally and at every instance of encounter the flow of power changes. Power is then determined by the social order that is created and accepted in the schema; it is made legitimate by the knowledge script or *isintu* and reinforced through performative acts. The knowledge script informs what is commensurate or acceptable in terms of the flow of power, hence the presence of a power–knowledge dyad.

6.8.2 The knowledge script – *isintu*

The issue of social membership is one that runs foundationally in many Southern 'African' nations, including Zimbabwe. In defining *ubuntu,* one of the respondents notes that it is what shows that one is *"munhu akabva ku vanhu*[67] [A person who comes from people]*"*. To have *ubuntu* is not only a demonstration of humaneness but a pointer of cultural membership – a reified ethic in the constituion on *umuntu* (a person). If we consider the maxim tendered by Helen above or the Nguni *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* [a person becomes a real person by the way they treat other people] or Mbiti's translation (1970).

Beyond passing on a sense of community, social membership passes on a knowledge script. It is this script that draws the lines upon which kinship is rung and is the reasoning behind how power is transmitted. In the Samkangean narrative, the old man claps his hands, and Samkange reciprocates. There is an agreement in what is commensurate for them in the encounter. One can reasonably assume a deliberative process in which the stranger, Samkange, makes himself known to the village (of which the old man is a part of). This process establishes their positionality within the frame of encounter. The boys who first come to assist Samkange, do not engage this framework, but the old man does, which changes the dynamics of power in the encounter. Through MaJoy's narrative of how she engages with the parents of her learners and Samkange's narrative, we can triangulate towards a common understanding; which is that bodies within the *ubuntu* frame obtain power through lines of kinship defined by a social script. *Isintu* becomes the collective social rules that justify the performative aspects of the encounter. In the same way, the prefix of the leading noun in a Ndebele sentence determines the concordial agreement in a sentence:

[67] This is a Shona aphorism that means that a person who is connected to a community (a people) is well taught in the fundamentals of *ubuntu* and they carry these fundamentals with them as markers of the grounded-ness of the community or family one comes from. Hence when one acts in a respectable manner the behaviour is attributed to the *ubuntu* of the people/community/family you come from. To be a real person (*umuntu*) is to have *ubuntu* and to demonstrate *ubuntu* is to pay homage to the community or family that raised you.

I**zi**nja **za**kho e**zi**mnyama **zi**ya khonkotha (Your black dogs are barking)

The *-zi/-za* morphemes are present in the sentence to give the sentence concordial agreement to the leading noun *izinja*/dogs. The knowledge script, in the same way, plays the role of the founding noun in the encounter, of defining the performative. Mukudzei tells how her uncle sexually assaulted her. He stated *"muzukuru mukadzi (a niece is a wife)"*. Her uncle, in essence, set a relational positionality supported by a knowledge system that justified sexual dalliance and made his violent solicitation for sex licit. The knowledge script is an important rallying point for feminist organising for it is there that histories and their biases are stored. The knowledge script has influennce over how power is accumlated in the encounter, it also commensurates the actions of the encounter. This maens the knowledge script a key site in the work of feminist resitance, resignification and responsiveness en route to liberation in the *ubuntu* encounter.

Contending with a knowledge script is what situates *ubuntu,* and I reckon, creates dialectical differences between different progenitor cultures of *aBantu*, even though they may all use *ubuntu* in the becoming of *umuntu*. It is the knowledge script that defines the *locus* of power, how encountering bodies are positioned within the encounter, what performative aspects of the encounter are commensurate with the encounter. In short, the knowledge script gives *ubuntu* its distinctive situatedness. Without it, *ubuntu* is depoliticised in the sense that there is no conception of power and the performative become purely symbolic – that is, being nice.

I reiterate Ramose's statement here that, "ubuntu is not only a word or a concept. It is not a philosophical abstraction in the fashion of Plato's Ideas or Forms. On the contrary, *ubuntu* is a lived and living philosophy of the Bantu-speaking peoples of Africa. It is a philosophy with a past, a present and a project in the future." (in Praeg & Magadla, 2014:121). *Ubuntu* is both lived and living, it has historical residues – both good and bad – and it has a contemporary presence. All of which form an archive that is telling of what *ubuntu* is.

6.8.3 The performance of the encounter

The performative element of the encounter is one that has captured the imaginary of scores of scholars of *ubuntu* as the act itself has been interpreted as wholly *ubuntu*. *Ubuntu* as a framework of encounter helps us to understand the centrality of the 'doing' but not to obscure the entire encounter with the performance. It is intrinsically connected to the positionalities of the encountering parties, mediated by the directional flow of power, informed by a knowledge script, and geared towards the formation of relationship/*ukama/ubuhlobo* (however temporal).

Therefore, despite the Nietzchean supposition that doing itself is everything, in the *ubuntu* frame doing itself is an expression of everything. As a standalone, performance in the encounter does not let on much about the encounter itself. However, given one understanding of the development of gender as tied to ritualised acts upon the body (Butler, 2007), then it is important to spotlight this aspect of the encounter. In the Samkange and Samkange (1980) narrative, when the old man arrived on the scene when Samkange was engaging with the boys, he clapped his hands a non-verbal cue symbolic of greeting. The significance of the clapping of hands cannot be fully appreciated in itself. However, when in context of the Shona culture, then the semiotic aspects of the action become apparent, the clapping of hands is not just a communicative cue but a demarcation of positionality and transference of power.

The notion of *ubuntu* as a framework of encounter posits *ubuntu* squarely between the realm of practice and ideology. In this view, the practice of *ubuntu* and the scholarly inquiry work have to be in tandem. For this reason, the delinking of *ubuntu* versus *Ubuntu* (see Praeg & Magadla, 2014) is tangential to this study even though it is an academically significant shift in *ubuntu* scholarship in the Kuhnian sense. To delink *ubuntu* from the lived realities in the absence of a long textual history within the progenitor cultures of *ubuntu,* creates a problem of archive (see critique by Molefe (2014)), where to think of *ubuntu* will be dependent on schools of thought that draw predominantly from occidental practice and which may not be what *ubuntu* is concerned with in the first place. In a previous chapter, I termed this the fate of *uxakuxaku*[68]. I state this point, not as a vote towards intellectual isolation. The argument is that artefacts from the lived realities of the progenitors of *ubuntu* (language, history, aesthetics, performative phenomena) are a robust archive to draw from in *ubuntu* scholarship that cannot be side-lined, even in the face of the challenges to ethno-philosophy (Dladla, 2017; Wiredu, 2004). Takyi-Amoako and Assie-Lumumba tackled the issue of poor education outcomes in 'Africa'. It is their contention that there is a need for "fresh paths for education in Africa" and they suggest this can be achieved by "theoretically and practically interrogating and re-visioning education within the African cultural and philosophical concept of Ubuntu" (2018: 4). The value of *ubuntu* lies at the confluence of its practice and theorising and the two are not mutually exclusive activities.

[68] *Uxakuxaku* is a fruit that grows in the dry savanna forests of Zimbabwe. The word is a tongue twister. The fate of *xakuxaku* is that because it such a difficult word to pronounce it is often called the African chewing gum which in some respects in an evasion from engaging with a difficult word.

6.8.4 Relationality – *ukama/ubuhlobo*

In the chapter on *ubuntu* (chapter 2), I demonstrated through the critical vehicle of language that in the *ubuntu* as a framework of encounter schema, relationality or more aptly kinship, is the *raison d'etre* of an encounter. For this reason, the concept of relationality/*ukama*/*ubuhlobo* cannot be taken out of the context of its connection to *ubuntu*. When thinking of relationality within the *ubuntu* schema the in-vogue aphorism, "I am because we are" springs to mind. The aphorism, in one way, can be interpreted as kinship as being definitive to one's humanity (see Praeg's interpretation of Chabal 2012). However, Nandi's narrative prompts me to think the aphorism and indeed relationality need deeper reflection. She says:

> *"ah ubuntu (*she leans back as if to stretch) *I am because we are, you are because I am* (she says it as if reciting a rhyme). *Well, that's what they say* (pauses, then smiles) *of course we know it means so much more, don't we?".*

Nandi points us to the understanding that the aphorism is a "they say" and not entirely what *ubuntu* "is". Helen repeats a Shona aphorism "*munhu munhu"*, which literally means a person is a person and contextually, a person is a person without condition, which is a short-hand reading of the aphorism *munhu munhu nevanhu/umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*. It must be noted that as the decision by ZANU PF to take a cultural artefact represents a conceptual trans-formation of an artefact into a political asset. Similarly significant is Mudimbe's (1997) retrodiction whereby a lived/cultural artefact is re-invented into a theoretical asset in the hands of scholars. It is at this second moment that *ubuntu* becomes *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* which is then re-invented into 'I am because you are, you are because I am'. This moment, this trans-formation does not connect with Nanndi for example who seems to mock it as inadequate. I mention it here because it is a point of reflection on what is lost in the these processes in the metamorphisis of *ubuntu.*

Murove, writing from a Shona positionality, notes that, "*Ukama* [*ubuhlobo*] is based on the idea that a human being is ontologically and cosmologically a relational being. In other words, ontologically it means seeing other people as one's own relatives; cosmologically it also implies a conceptualisation of reality as basically related and interrelated" (2007: 185) (translation in parenthesis my own).I turn back to the narrative of Samkange's encounter with the old man and the boys here. When Samkange went into the village and before he entered the encounters with *ubuntu* schema, he was still a person and deserving of help even as a stranger. The villagers sent the two boys to help him, a gesture of hospitality even though they had not

engaged with an *ubuntu* frame. It is only when the old man arrives on the scene that the schema of the encounter is switched to *ubuntu*. Linguistically this is commensurate too; all persons that are biologically constituted and carrying the prefix *um-* and this points to their humanity (*umlungu* – a caucasian, *umfazi* – woman, *umlisa* – man, *umntawana* – child, *umNdiya* – Indian person). This nullifies the statement posed by some (Chigumadzi, 2017; Dladla, 2017) to say *umlungu kayisi muntu* (the caucasian is not a person). The literal translation there would be "the white person is not a person" which is an implausible contradiction. I make this winding argument to arrive at this assertion: while rationalist is a quintessential element of a person with *ubuntu*, it does not impute humanity onto a biologically constituted body.

A person in the biological sense is deserving of humaneness whether or not they employ an *ubuntu* schema in their encounters or not. The potency of this principle in an *ubuntu* schema is that in order to be inhumane towards a biologically constituted being, person, one first has to take them out of the category of persons (the *um-* dimension) to the category of objects (the *i-/li* dimension) to make the performance within that schema of reasoning commensurate with *ubuntu*. However, fundamentally and ideally, it must be acknowledged that within the *ubuntu* framework of encounter, a person is a person without condition and deserving of humaneness. This is a radical position, especially in a world system that operates on hierarchies of acceptability with countless constructed conditions imposed to justify differential access to humanness such as race, citizenship, locality, wealth, education etcetera. It must be acknowledged that there is a becoming that associated with having *ubuntu*. One ceases to be *umuntu nje* [a regular person] and becomes *umuntu olesithunzi* [a person with recognisable social standing] or what Helen calls *munhu anobva kuvanhu* [a person who comes from a people]. Murove concurs saying *ubuntu* expediency "lies on the primacy that is given to relational rationality" (2012: 39).

Admittedly there are many moving parts within the *ubuntu* schema presented here, which counts whether the encounter is temporal or affiliative. However, it is necessary work in thinking about *ubuntu* as it opens opportunities of resistance, resignification and responsiveness in liberatory (educational) encounters. The intricacy of *ubuntu* as a framework of encounter schema assists us to tussle with the complexities of encounter at a moral, metaphysical, relational and power level.

6.8.5 The framework of encounter in education

In the narrative Samkange and Samkange (1980) narrative shared in chapter 2 and expanded on in this chapter, there is an issue that points to what I have termed the dark side of *ubuntu*. Before the old man arrives on the scene, Samkange is ready to pay the two boys that have showed up with spanned cattle to assist him for a *bonsella*. I have demonstrated that in an encounter not governed by *ubuntu,* the payment of a *bonsella* would have been licit as it was after all a transaction – the boys help Samkange, and he pays them a gratuity, value for value. Inevitably, the boys were silenced, and the anticipated gratuity defaulted. Their positionality shifted when the *ubuntu* framework was engaged, and their voice was taken out of frame. This is one way of thinking about the dark side of *ubuntu*. Examples include MaJoy when she was denied the opportunity to pursue her dream career or the more grotesque encounter when Mukudzei was sexually assaulted. The findings in the study indicate that questionable and commendable aspects of *ubuntu* do exist alongside each other. The existence of the dark however does not invalidate the public good of *ubuntu*. Magadla & Chitando (2014) note that there is a need to separate *ubuntu* from its patriarchal baggage because the good aspects of ubuntu present an opportunity to institute transformation. The possibility for transformation via *ubuntu* is in a number of domains, for Magadla & Chitando (2014) it is in the domain of gender-based violence; for Chisale (2018) in the domain of care and for this study it is in the domain of education. Therefore, I call for a nuanced reading of *ubuntu* because there-in we are able to critically subvert the bad and harness the good. How does the framework aide in navigating soured encounters and what value does that bring in education?

6.8.5.1 Harnessing the good

While *ubuntu* indeed has a dark side, we would be remiss in forgetting the copious good that it renders. One of which is the premium it places on the human. As Helen says *"munhu munhu"* (a person is a person, without condition). This is perhaps one of the most fundamental aspects of *ubuntu* and should be taken as irrefutable. Inconsistencies arise when conditions to being human are introduced, therein prejudice, exclusion and violence ensue. The principle of a person without condition radically transforms each encounter as each encountering body has right standing (deserving acknowledgement, dignity) in the encounter. Therefore, the good of *ubuntu* deserves to be harnessed.

6.8.5.2 Resisting toxic scripts

Toxics scripts that inform *ubuntu* can exist at the interpersonal and the political – as demonstrated when Malaika states that:

> *I think like what I've just been saying for those minority to be able to fit in to be able to know that they are not different from the AB [able bodied] one it boils down to teachers. First and foremost, it should be the teachers who are able to teach especially the AB to respect and to appreciate somebody's disability. First, teach them disability is not chosen but sometimes through accidents or sometimes you're born with it. So, we really talk to them and impress on them that disability is not inability and that somebody with a disability is just as normal as you, but the only difference is I don't have an arm I don't have this, but at the end of the day I can reason like you. Just that it must be understood that disability does not mean that someone is not ok. Long back as you know, some of the parents would say I don't want my child to learn with someone who doesn't have a leg at times others they associated it with witchcraft. They don't understand that it's not contagious, but they treat it as if it's something that's contagious. But we as teachers if we impress on these boys that there is nothing wrong with disability – it's something that would have happened.*

Malaika recognises that there is a script that dehumanises people with disabilities. She sees the gap as an opportunity for the teacher to challenge the script directly and teach an alternative. As she says, *"it boils down to teachers"*. Toxic scripts exist as has been demonstrated in the challenges to *ubuntu* section; however, the teacher is not passive but can be an active interlocutor of an alternative script. Malaika demonstrates an awareness of the historical residues in culture, becoming a social script informing how families engage with say the disabled. This awareness makes her alert to her role to challenge and offer an alternative as she says, *"so we talk to them and impress on them"*. In the face of dehumanising and homophobic rhetoric such as issue by Mugabe, Sibanda (2020:146) issues a resistant stand in the form of poetry aptly titled 'You are my mother Africa!'. In it she counters exclusionary homophobia by stating:

> I do not remember you being a dog Africa
> Nor do I remember you to be a pig
> Therefore I can never be a dog
>
> How then do I become Alien? You are the
> Blood that runs through my veins Africa
> I was born of your seed
> And I bear your name Africa.

My name is queer
My surname is Africa! (Sibanda, 2020:146).

It has been demonstrated that the Zimbabwean situation is one where the state has become a rogue civic partner, acting in bad faith, with a monopoly on violence, which it dispenses rampantly and a tendency of dehumanising opposing sections of its citizenry. The Zimbabwean state, as a signatory to many international conventions on human rights and dignity, has defaulted on its duty. Hence, viewing citizenship education as the relationship of the individual to such a state in untenable in this situation.

This study advocates for citizenship education as a pedagogical encounter, a view that goes beyond the citizen–state binary. The framework of *ubuntu* is merely anecdotal to the macro politics of the country. But it is useful in infusing the primacy of the human at a local level, at the level of encounter with the other. Even in a situation where a state spews dehumanising rhetoric at the local, there are opportunities for resistance. MaJoy notes *"I had one in my class* [a gay student]*, I am convinced they* [gay children] *do not do that deliberately, they are born that way even if we say, "law what, what", they are born that way"*. She resisted the toxic script that would have dehumanised one of her learners.

6.8.5.3 Re-signifying the performative

Ubuntu as a framework of encounter exposes the intricate details of an encounter. What is a complex action, or the performative can be appreciated through what enables it? Not only that, but the performative can also be reimagined in ways that invigorate learning. This is perhaps an indictment of the political rhetoric built around narratives of return. *Ubuntu*, like any other social system, must be allowed dynamism without accusations of losing *ubuntu*-ness.

MaJoy extends the familial to her class and her learners' parents. To her learners, she is a mother creating an environment of solidarity (she says, *"out there you protect each other"*). To the parents, she is one of the learners and exercises humility in appreciating of the parents' role in their children's learning. In section 6.6.5.2 above, I highlighted the need to challenge toxic scripts that inform *ubuntu*. However, reasonably, we can deduce that not all scripts can be challenged, and the influence of individual interlocutors has its limits. I suggest in this case that some archaic performative aspects of *ubuntu* can be re-signified. MaJoy extends conditions of learning that are common within the Zimbabwean and indeed 'African' private/familial

space into the classroom, and redefines the space according to what her learning, in most probability, recognises.

What is clear from the synthesis above is the multi-modal role of the teacher beyond facilitating the passing on of curricula. The study evidences that a social awareness on the part of the teacher, an ability to harness the good, resist the toxic and re-signify the private. Cumulatively this is what I call a pedagogy of resistance and resignification.

6.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The critique in this chapter has touched on a few themes in the conceptualisation of *ubuntu*. These themes include the universality of moral normative, the gendering aspects of morality, the significance of solidarity in feminist praxis, the possible toxicity of 'community', the significance of an ethic of care and the opportunity of nuance in ubuntu as a framework of encounter. Two vehicles of critique alluded to chapters 2 and 3, respectively, which are language and the lived experiences of women. The two vehicles were important cornerstones of the decolonial feminist critique presented in this chapter as they are part of an important archive of reasoning in the chapter.

Ubuntu is a notion whose practice can be (and has been) interpreted from different standpoints. Each standpoint, with its own disciplinary affiliations, opens different critiques and opportunities for challenging the male-centred gender order of society. What the study has demonstrated so far is the complexity in the interpretation of *ubuntu*. There are many sides to the concept, competing interpretations and vexing applications. However, such is the nature of a concept that is as encompassing to the lifeworld of multiple progenitor nations such as *ubuntu*. This has meant that to critique such a notion, one must do so from fractured definitional positionalities. It is tempting from the critique to take up the conclusion given by Enslin and Horsthemke (2016), which is to invalidate *ubuntu* as a viable philosophy (of education) within the 'African' (Zimbabwean) context. I believe such a conclusion is tantamount to throwing out the baby with the bathwater. The view of *ubuntu* as a framework of encounter demonstrates that a contextually situated view of *ubuntu* allows for a nuanced understanding of the rupture moment of the encounter. In the view, there are opportunities to resist, re-signify and respond to the toxic elements of social encounters. The finding of the critique is that *ubuntu* scholarship so far has either been silent or not sufficiently critical of how *ubuntu* in some ways resists colonial heteronormative standards and yet in other ways *ubuntu* has been interpreted in engendering ways.

Ubuntu as humaneness/humanness presents an opportunity, as articulated by Magadla and Chitando (2014), to create non-violent, gender transformative norms that are palatable to the progenitor cultures of *ubuntu* as they will be packaged in a language and practice familiar to the known disposition and moral practice of *ubuntu*. I argued here that universalist conceptions of what counts as moral do, however, pose a challenge to feminist ideals. Universalist moral normative can overlook gender skewed and toxic historical residues in that which counts as moral, which often work against othered persons, especially women. *Ubuntu* as humaneness/humanness also posits *ubuntu* a-contextually delinking the practice of *ubuntu* from the social conditions that necessitate it. In short, it misses the *ubuntu-isintu* dyad, of which the respondents in the study noted the inseparability of *ubuntu* and *isintu*.

Ubuntu, as a philosophy of interrelatedness, accommodates the social context of *ubuntu*. Communitarian perspectives, for example, accede that personhood, in the 'African' context, is tied to the degree that one connects to the community. There are opportunities in solidarity that can foster feminist organising. However, as McIntyre (2007) cautions and challenged by Young-Jahangeer & Sibanda (2018), notions of community are prone to toxicity too, as demonstrated in the anti-gay rhetoric of Robert Mugabe.

Lastly, the chapter interrogated the notion of *ubuntu* as a framework of encounter. The findings here was that this interpretation of *ubuntu* is not only descriptive of *ubuntu* but doubles as a tool of inquiry into *ubuntu* mediated encounters. In this frame, it can be seen that what counts as *ubuntu* is the product of the interlocution of various elements; power, positionality, the workings of a knowledge script which culminate in a performance that is geared towards relationality. This perspective of *ubuntu* allows a particularistic view into the inner workings of *ubuntu* or the conditions that necessitate *ubuntu*. The contribution to a feminist agenda here is not only in creating tools to challenge a male-centred society built around a gender hierarchy. The contribution, also, is that a nuanced understanding of *ubuntu* gives feminist scholarship ways to interrogate and resist toxic elements of *ubuntu* beyond the surface of performative acts by touching on the conditions that sustain and produce them. In the next chapter, I bring this critique to bear on education in Zimbabwe in general, particularly citizen education in contemporary Zimbabwe.

CONCLUSION

I INTRODUCTION

> "What, then, shall we say in response to these things?" Romans 8:31 (*Holy Bible: New International Version,* 2011)

As I begin this conclusion of my thesis, I start with a reflection on how the study has moved through the research objectives so far. In addressing the objectives, I have critically gone through various construal interpretations of *ubuntu,* demonstrating how each works to give an understanding of *ubuntu*. The critical edge in that reading also points out where an interpretation falls short becomes distant from the lived aspect of the notion of *ubuntu*. I then advanced a new interpretation of *ubuntu*, by new I mean the interpretation is a re-reading of the seminal work of Samkange and Samkange (1980) to arrive at an interpretation of *ubuntu* as a framework of encounter geared towards the creation of relationship/*ubuhlobo/ukama*.

In chapter 2, I unpacked feminism as the sum of its parts. I presented a decolonial feminist reading of the key tenets of feminist epistemology such as the subject, subjectivity, patriarchy, and gender. I established that the feminist strand to be brought into conversation with *ubuntu* is decolonial in orientation informed largely by 'African' scholarship and aesthetics. I laid out the methodology and methods of the feminist critique in chapter 4. In chapter 5, I presented stories and narratives from the female teacher cohort. These served to augment the interpretation of *ubuntu* by adding a lived and female dimension onto the various interpretations of *ubuntu*.

II OBJECTIVES

My study was guided by a double-barrelled research question:

> ***What is the feminist critique of ubuntu, and what are the implications of this critical assessment for citizenship education in Zimbabwe?***

The first part of the question is a feminist critique of *ubuntu,* and the second part interrogates the implications that the critique has on citizen education in Zimbabwe. In the previous chapter, I demonstrated how the study had addressed three of the four research objectives that support the central question. The research objectives of the thesis are:

1. To get to an expanded understanding of *ubuntu*, one that speaks to the lived realities of progenitor communities of *ubuntu* and education in Zimbabwe.
2. To unpack the strand of feminism to bring into conversation with *ubuntu.*
3. To critique *ubuntu* from a feminist standpoint.
4. To understand what the implications of a feminism-*ubuntu* intersection hold for citizenship education in Zimbabwe.

Objectives one through to three have been addressed. What remains is the answering the second part of the central question by actioning research objective four. This section provides a conclusion for the study, simultaneously answering the last part of the research question.

III SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS

The key learning points emerging from the narratives informing the study are:

Ubuntu is conceptualised in a myriad of ways. As one educator states *"you cannot have a single definition".* The study established that *ubuntu* is expressed through markers of self-identity. For the disability activist *ubuntu* is associated with freedom, for the long-serving teacher, *ubuntu* is inculcated in professional teaching standards.

Conceptualising *ubuntu* narrowly as a humaneness/humanness translates to *ubuntu* as an ethic for moral education. The study demonstrated that moral enactment is filtered through social dimensions such as culture or gender, which themselves carry burdens of historical residues that then skew what is deemed moral. The finding here is that *ubuntu* as a foundation of moral education is often presented with a universal outlook, whereas the universal is blind to the gendered lines along which the moral is expressed. This oversight re-enforces an already sexist, homo/trans/xenophobic, and male-centred society.

Conceptualising *ubuntu* as interrelatedness accommodates the social dimension of *ubuntu*. That is, *ubuntu* has a history and a context, as the community is the context within which the *ubuntu* finds expression, and the person becomes. The study demonstrated that care is a motif of and synonymous with community. This realisation opens the discussion of *ubuntu* as interrelatedness (in education) to relational pedagogies couched in feminist ethics of care.

The interpretation of *ubuntu* advanced in the study is that of *ubuntu* as a framework of encounter. The study found the interpretation to be useful as a tool for inquiry of *ubuntu* mediated encounters as well as a nuanced way to think through alternatives to the question of citizenship education in the Zimbabwean context. Mamndani (2017) highlights that the work

of decolonisation in this era is to raise alternatives to the reigning streams of thought that occupy the modern space. The alternatives presented in this study are:

- Harnessing the good of *ubuntu*; placing a premium on condition human. Quite an obvious assertion but rather radical given the state of global affairs where belonging and citizenship have become potent and visceral weapons of exclusion/inclusion.
- Resisting toxic social scripts; whether at the local (private domain) or political (the public domain.
- Re-signifying the performative to allow for social dynamism.

IV WHAT DID THE STUDY ACHIEVE?

The study brought together three areas of study viz, *ubuntu*, feminism and citizenship education. Each is broad in itself; I began by unpacking each area to clarify and delimit the issues of concern within each area. In *ubuntu* scholarship, I read through the morass of interpretations to arrive at one that speaks to the tenets of the study as closely the schism between academic theorising and lived realities of *ubuntu*. Chapter 1, however, does not rest on interpretation alone; it ends on *ubuntu* as an 'African' philosophy of education.

One of the prompts for the commencement of this study was MoPSE setting *ubuntu* as a philosophy of education in Zimbabwe. The chapter ends by contemplating what a philosophy of education is supposed to do and what *ubuntu* philosophy brings to the table of education. It is my determination that while many interpretations of *ubuntu* as a philosophy of education exist to think of *ubuntu* in education through the framework of encounter is expedient to the degree that it allows for a nuanced understanding of the pedagogical encounter. The encounter can be understood beyond skills transfer, beyond the teacher/leaner dyad but through notions of power, positionality, pedagogical codes (or scripts) geared towards establishing *ukama/ubuhlobo*/kinship in the classroom context.

In feminist scholarship, the study reads feminism as a sum of its parts. The study ruminates over the subject of feminism, its subjectivity, the antagonist in feminist theorising and gender – the august theory of feminist epistemology. In each part I started with the themes that fill mainstream feminism and veered off to engage with emerging voices at the margins that speak against the hegemony of the centre, being the universalist essentialising occidental traditions of knowledge.

The study gave a reading of education in Zimbabwe. Starting with the PCIET policy document, which was the forerunner of the CF 2015–2022 and reflecting on the country's history with commission-based policies, I landed on contemporary Zimbabwe, the degradation, the violence and resistance of the education sector in the face of such totalising forces. The condition of contemporary Zimbabwe (economic, social, political) valorises the need for citizenship education. I then engaged with citizenship education critically: as a sum of its parts – that is educating the citizen, as a human rights agenda. In other words, it means inculcating a human rights orientation in education. Lastly, I engaged with the concept as a pedagogical encounter. I also reflect on the atomisation and weaponisation of the notion of 'citizen' in contemporary Zimbabwe and globally.

V WHY DOES THIS STUDY MATTER?

V.1 Contributions to *ubuntu* scholarship

One of the original contributions that my thesis makes to knowledge is via the advancement of a new interpretation of *ubuntu*. In this study, I used language as a critical vehicle to arrive at an interpretation of *ubuntu* as a social framework of encounter employed to navigate the interface with the *other*, whose praxis involves the creation of a social structure that permits the currency of power between the bodies in the interface; the goal being to create a plane for the establishment of relationship – *ukama/ubuhlobo*. It is the finding of the study that there are, indeed, many interpretations of *ubuntu*. Within the academy, each interpretation is useful within the discipline that it is most employed. It is the advancement of this study that the expanded understanding of *ubuntu* presented herein is gainful in that it brings the conceptualisation of *ubuntu* closer to its lived reality.

This interpretation allows for an interrogation into the conditions that make *ubuntu* possible. *Ubuntu* as a framework of encounter looks at *ubuntu* in the rupture moment of the encounter to understand what gives the performative exigency. The study advanced that power, positionality, social membership, a knowledge script (or pedagogical code in the context of education) and the performative are all aspects of the encounter that we can collectively call the *ubuntu* moment. This interpretation of *ubuntu* is useful to the extent that it demonstrates how bodies in an *ubuntu* encounter, gain or cede power; it also sheds light on the structures that make the performative aspect (which much of the in-vogue scholarship of *ubuntu* is concerned with) of *ubuntu* possible. It is the study's contribution that understanding the performative – the ethic – of *ubuntu* is insufficient as it lacks nuance into what makes the

performative possible. It is also the contribution of the study that to unpack *ubuntu* from a lens of occidental philosophies is expansive only to a point. It runs into the problem of the archive, where to understand *ubuntu* based on say, communitarianism, is to bring it into a debate on the distribution of capital with which *ubuntu* may not necessarily be concerned. *Ubuntu* as a framework of encounter gives nuance while drawing from language and lived realities to inform our understanding of *ubuntu*.

The contributions of the study shift scholarship in two ways: first by moving the focus from the performative aspect of *ubuntu* to that which is below the surface, that is, the conditions that make the performative concordial. Second, the study uses language and stories as excavation sites and archives to inform the critical reading of the concepts, especially *ubuntu*. This stands as an invitation to *ubuntu* scholars to consider 'South'-facing citation practices and engaging with lived artefacts of *aBantu* in our reading of *ubuntu*.

V.2 Contributions to feminism

The study's reading of feminism, particularly 'African' feminism, pointed to the differentiation of subject and its subjectivity. This prompted a search for a depolarised and situated 'African' ontology to better articulate the central subject in 'African' feminism. Using aesthetics, the study demonstrated that a third space of gender is possible beyond the constricting conceptualisation of gender binaries. To insist on a decentred subject, however, does not depoliticise the agenda of feminism; the acknowledgement of the diversity of experience is an agenda for the movement. *Pluriversal* subjectivity represents a decolonial turn in feminist epistemology. The study drew from Zimbabwean sociology to demonstrate that identity is not fixed; an issue like mothering, for example, is detached from the corporeality of childbirth or gender for that matter. Identity is demarcated by the consanguinity of the encounter; it is the kinship lines in the encounter that define the markers of the subject. Hence, gender cannot be singularly an embodied subjectivity; 'African' lived realities demand theorising beyond the body.

The original contribution that I make to feminist epistemology is in how the study carves a third space for theorising the 'African' subject(ivity) and the body. Western feminist scholarship politicises the female body as a site for struggle. 'African' scholarship, in the works of Oyěwùmí, is critical of this as a form of bio-logic. The study draws a tangent between corporeality of Western theorising and the consanguinity in 'African' scholarship to arrive at an extended understanding of the body. Using the work of Mntambo, for example, the study

dwells on the in-between through her cowhide series where she moulds the hide on her body and presents a final installation that is part framed and part hollow. Our imaginations fill the hollow to complete the installations as female even when the artist has not deemed them so. In that, Mntambo implicates our collective memory surrounding the body as that interstice that deserves attention in theorising ('African') subject(ivity). In a collaborated article Simba & Davids (2020:92), the scholars comment on Mntambo's contribution to feminist theorising saying, "Mntambo's work comes in the fashion of Anzaldúa's Borderlands or Third Space thinking to remind us that the 'in-between' is the zone of rupture. In this space of 'the beyond' subjectivity is a porous process drawing from binary elements. In this space, to be 'African' is not a unitary subjective enterprise tied to a single equally 'African' archive of histories."

V.3 Contributions to education

The decolonial ('African') feminist critique of *ubuntu* represents an original contribution to feminist and education scholarship. The critique notes that a narrow view of *ubuntu* as humaneness/humanness overlooks the context within which the moral as well as being myopic to the engendering nature of moral norms, in some contexts. *Ubuntu* viewed in this way has limited transformative potential within educational practices to challenge a male-centred society, sexist tendencies, violent, exclusionary, or prejudicial actions. *Ubuntu*, as a philosophy of interrelatedness, offers fertile ground for feminist solidarity. The critique revealed how solidarity opens to feminist relational pedagogies of care with all the related benefits encoded in an ethic of care in educational practice. The feminist critique also issued a caveat to the potential toxicity of 'community'.

V.4 Implications of the study for citizenship education in Zimbabwe

The feminist critique of *ubuntu* demonstrated that there is a challenge in dislodging male-centred tendencies and privileges when *ubuntu* is prescribed narrowly as a series of observable ethics. An expanded understanding of *ubuntu* allows us to see what comes before the observable action, the cause and as argued in the previous chapter what should be the site for resistance. The critique evidenced the point that the moral is often enacted along gendered and engendering lines, hence reinforcing set binaries rather than challenging them. This represents a deep indictment on transformative bankruptcy of moral education. Arnot and Dillabough suggest that "the task, then, for feminists is to consider how, and in what contexts, schooling shapes processes of gender identification and citizenship identification in the broadest sense" (2000: 2). What the feminist critique of *ubuntu* demonstrates is how the moral can become inhibitive when enacted in restricted ways. I– is all good that CF 2015-2022 has a set of exit-

level values; however, there is a need to acknowledge the limited transformative capacity these hold in a context of a gendered, hierarchised and male-centred social order (Simba, 2014). Untehalter (in Arnot & Dillabough, 2000) challenges the passivity of CE policy texts as essentialising and relegating to the role of women and other bodies.

The feminist critique of *ubuntu* recognises an opportunity in relational pedagogies that are couched in a feminist ethics of care. Indeed, Noddings avers that "care ethicists start discussion with neither the individual nor the collective, but with the relation. In an encounter or sequence of encounters that can appropriately be called caring, one party acts as carer and the other as cared-for. Over time, in equal relations, the parties regularly exchange positions" (2012: 772). So, it is the undertaking of this study that at the intersection of *ubuntu* and feminism lie relational pedagogies. What these bring to CE, especially CE in the sense of a pedagogical encounter is mutuality.

An implication that speaks directly to CE in Zimbabwe in its current state of affairs (as expanded in chapter 3) comes as pedagogies of resistance. *Ubuntu*, as a framework of encounter, offers a particularistic view of the encounter and the elements that prop up its existence. An understanding of the inner workings of a knowledge script or how power is gained and ceded within the *ubuntu* encounter enriches the practice of CE as a pedagogical encounter. I have demonstrated through the narratives of MaJoy, Malaika and Samantha how pedagogies of resistance seek to harness the good, to interrogate the complex, resist the toxic and re-signify the private elements of *ubuntu*. This holds implications for professional teacher standards and training as teachers become social actors with a mandate to re-signify learning to gear it towards mutuality and listening (Noddings, 2012), humanity and responsibility (Waghid, 2014).

V.5 Methodological contributions

The study employs a decolonial-feminist research paradigm. The paradigm primarily draws from how feminism has been understood in the study. As an ideology framing the research, the paradigm had implications on citation practice, the choice of respondents and accommodated the extensive use of stories in the write-up process. The paradigm mandates knowledge that is coextensive with the lived realities of the research's subject, drawing from a decentred archive and foregrounding the voice of women. The paradigm dictated in part the manner in which the study was conducted, and the thesis written up. Nguni languages and stories are used extensively to inform the study.

VI EXTENDIBILITY - RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

A key finding in the empirical portion of the study was that each teacher had an individual understanding of *ubuntu*, which they translated into their classroom even without an awareness of a policy founded on *ubuntu*. A key study junction is to research the compatibility of *ubuntu*, as defined in CF 2015–2022, and *ubuntu* as appropriated by different teachers. At the time of writing this thesis, the CF 2015–2022 is in its final phase of implementation. The policy is ripe for a broad-based as well as particularistic evaluation. A broad-based evaluation would be on the systematic implementation issues, and a particularistic one will be based on how *ubuntu* is taught and assimilated in diverse classroom contexts across Zimbabwe.

Further research needs to drill down to understand how various aspects of the policy were operationalised and enacted. Of particular interest would be how *ubuntu* has been encoded into professional teaching standards as well as student syllabi. It will be useful for future policies to understand how policy is translated by different institutional and individual actors, as well as the transformation policy, undergoes from authorship to enactment.

The potentiality of feminist pedagogies of care deserves further study as an agenda for extending feminist ideals via the arm of education. In the implications section above, I mention the issue of pedagogies of resistance demonstrated in the practice of MaJoy and Samantha. These needs point to a gap of intervention-based research to find ways to extend and develop them as a professional teaching standard (in Zimbabwe).

It is my submission that the notion of power in *ubuntu* encounters is an area that deserves further conceptual development. The pervasiveness of power warrants focused research on how power is generated, transformed, or even corrupted by different encountering bodies and in different social contexts. This opens a conversation on the situated, which may very well be considered as ‘African’, conceptions of power.

VII CONCLUDING REMARKS - REFLECTIONS OF A DOCTORAL JOURNEY

In the introduction of this study, I mentioned the tri-factors that prompted the commencement of this study as a desire to extend the scholarship started in my Master's dissertation, a desire to find the middle-ground between my feminism and the realities of the communities I worked with, and a desire to make sense of the national policy developments.

In bringing *ubuntu* into conversation with feminism, many turns were taken, each helpful to the understanding of *ubuntu* and feminism. The study was indeed a rite of passage, a becoming

process not only for the thesis content but for me as a researcher. The decision to switch from intersectionality to critical theory as a theoretical framework was defining for the level of criticality demonstrated throughout the study.

The outbreak of Covid-19 at the beginning of this year (2020) saw many countries close their borders, including Zimbabwe and South Africa. In the proposal of the study, I had the intention to have a group session with the eight female educators to reflect as a group on their *ubuntu* experiences. Given the opportunity, the study would have benefitted from co-creative data; however, the interviews provided enough depth to sufficiently inform the study. That said, I contemplate the nuance that would have come from additional data constructed a group session with the educators.

As I write up the last section of the study, I can reasonably say the study was about the broad areas of study, the contextual issues as well as my development as a researcher. Beyond the personal, it is my conviction that this study raises pioneering arguments in the scholarship of *ubuntu* and feminism as well as the implications their intersection has for citizenship education (in Zimbabwe). The study adds value to the academy around the three areas of concern while simultaneously opening avenues to extend their scholarship in new and exciting ways.

“Nehanda sees the future clearly and distinctly, and is fulfilled” (Vera, 2007: 94).

REFERENCES

Abdi, A.A. 2018. The humanist African philosophy of Ubuntu: Anti-colonial historical and educational analyses in E. J. Takyi-Amoako & N. T. Assie-Lumumba (eds). *Re-Visioning Education in Africa: Ubuntu-Inspired Education for Humanity*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan. 19-34.

Adichie, C.N. 2009. *The danger of a single story* [Online]. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D9Ihs241zeg [2019, September 13].

Agamben, G. 2000. *Means without end: Notes on politics.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Agamben, G. 2003. *State of exception*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Aidoo, A.A. 1994. *Our sister Killjoy, or, Reflections from a black-eyed squint*. Harlow, Essex: Longman.

Aidoo, A.A. 2002. *The girl who can and other stories*. Revised edition. Oxford: Heinemann.

Aidoo, A.A. 2006. *African love stories : an anthology*. Banbury: Ayebia Clarke.

Al Jazeera. 2019. Robert Mugabe's most famous quotes. 6 September [Online], Available: https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/11/robert-mugabe-famous-quotes-171115094122605.html [2020, September 05].

Armstrong, E. 2020. "Marxist and Socialist Feminism" . Study of Women and Gender. Northampton: Smith College Faculty Publications. https://scholarworks.smith.edu/swg_facpubs/15 [2020, December 30].

Arthur, J., Davies, I. & Hahn, C. eds., 2008. *Sage handbook of education for citizenship and democracy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Amadiume, I. 1987. *Male daughters, female husbands : gender and sex in an African society*. London: Zed.

Anfara, V.A. & Mertz, N.T. (eds.). 2006. *Theoretical frameworks in qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Ansell, N. 2002. Secondary education reform in Lesotho and Zimbabwe and the needs of rural

girls: Pronouncements, policy and practice. *Comparative Education,* 38 (1): 91-112.

Ansell, A.E. 2004. Two nations of discourse: mapping racial ideologies in post-apartheid South Africa. *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies,* 31(1):3-26.

Anshen, F. & Aronoff, M. 1999. Using dictionaries to study the mental lexicon. *Brain and Language,* 68(1-20):16-26.

Arnot, M. & Dillabough, J.A. 1999. Feminist politics and democratic values in education. *Curriculum Inquiry,* 29(2): 159-189.

Arnot, M. & Dillabough, J.A. (eds.). 2000. *Challenging democracy: International perspectives on gender, education and citizenship*. London: Routledge Falmer.

Assié -Lumumba, N (ed.). 2007. *Women and higher education in Africa: Reconceptualising gender based human capabilities and upgrading human rights to knowledge*. Abidjan: CEPARRED.

Assié-Lumumba, N.T. 2016. Evolving African attitudes to European education: Resistance, pervert effects of the single system paradox, and the ubuntu framework for renewal. *International Review of Education,* 62:11-27.

Assié-Lumumba, N.T. 2018. Conceptualizing gender and education in Africa from an Ubuntu frame in E. J. Takyi-Amoako & N. T. Assie-Lumumba (eds). *Re-Visioning Education in Africa: Ubuntu-Inspired Education for Humanity*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan. 67-84.

Babs Fafunwa, A. & Aisiku, J. (eds.). 1982. *Education in Africa : a comparative survey*. London: Allen & Unwin.

Bailey, A. & Cuomo, C. (eds.). 2008. *The feminist philosophy reader*. New York: McGraw-Hill Publishers.

Bakker, I. 2007. Social reproduction and the constitution of a gendered political economy. *New Political Economy,* 12 (4): 541-556.

Balibar, E. 2001. Outlines of a topography of cruelty: Citizenship and civility in the era of global violence. *Constellations, 8*(1):15-29.

Barrow, R. 1981. *The philosophy of schooling*. Brighton, Sussex: Wheatsheaf.

Becker, M. 1999. Patriarchy and Inequality: Towards a Substantive Feminism. *University of*

Chicago Legal Forum. 1999(1):3.

Benhabib, S. 1986. *Critique, norm and utopia : A study of the foundation of critical theory*. New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Press.

Benhabib, S. 2013. *Dignity in adversity: Human rights in troubled times*. John Wiley & Sons.

Berktay, A. 2010. Negritude and African socialism: Rhetorical devices for overcoming social divides. *Third text,* 24(2):205-214.

Bernstein, B. 1971. *Class, codes and control*, vol. 1: Primary socialization, language and education. London: Routledge.

Bhabha, H.K. 2004. *The location of culture,* Routledge classics. London: Psychology Press.

Bhengu, M.J. 1996. *Ubuntu: The essence of democracy*. Forest Row: Rudolph Steiner Press.

Biko, S. 1975. *I write what I like*. Johannesburg: Picador Africa.

Biney, A. 2014. The historical discourse on African humanism, in L. Praeg & S. Magadla (eds.). *Ubuntu: Curating the archive*. Durban: University of Kwazulu-Natal Press. 27–53.

Van Binsbergen, W.M.J. 2001. Ubuntu and the globalisation of Southern African thought and society. *Quest: An African Journal of Philosophy,* 15(1/2):53-89.

Bhabha, H. 2004. *The location of culture*. London: Routledge.

Blaikie, N. 2018. Confounding issues related to determining sample size in qualitative research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 21(5):1-7.

Bongmba, E.K. 2016. Homosexuality, ubuntu, and otherness in the African Church. *Journal of Religion and Violence,* 4(1):15-37.

Bourdieu, P., Passeron, J. & Nice, R. 1977. *Reproduction in education, society and culture.* London: Sage Publications.

Broodryk, J. 1997. *Ubuntuism as a worldview to order society*. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Broodryk, J. 2002. *Ubuntu: life lessons from Africa*. Waterkloof: Ubuntu School of Philosophy.

Bruns, B. & Schneider, B.R. 2016. Managing the Politics of Quality Reforms in Education: Policy lessons from global experience. *The Learning Generation Background Paper*. New

York: The Education Commission.

Buchanan, R.T. 2015. *Robert Mugabe tells UN General Assembly: "We are not gays!" The Independent* [Online]. Available: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/robert-mugabe-tells-un-general-assembly-we-are-not-gays-a6671316.html [2020, August 16].

Budd, J.M. 2008. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Butler, J. 1986. Sex and gender in Simone de Beauvoir's second sex. *Yale French studies*, (72):35-49.

Butler, J. 1988. Performative acts and gender constitution: An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory. *Theatre Journal*, 40(4):519.

Butler, J. 2007. *Gender trouble : Feminism and the subversion of identity*, Routledge classics. New York: Routledge.

Chemhuru, M. 2019. Interpreting Ecofeminist Environmentalism in African Communitarian Philosophy and Ubuntu: An Alternative to Anthropocentrism. *Philosophical Papers*, 48 (2): 241-264.

Chigumadzi, P. 2017. *Ubuntu as a solution to the crisis of the Western imagination* [Online]. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GdX4ACE0cM0 [2020, August 17].

Chikanda, N.E. 1990. Shared values and ubuntu, in *Kontak Conference.* Pretoria: HSRC.

Chisale, S.S. 2018. Ubuntu as care: Deconstructing the gendered Ubuntu. *Verbum et Ecclesia*, 39 (1):1-8.

Clandinin, D.J. 2006. Narrative inquiry: A methodology for studying lived experience. *Research studies in music education*, 27(1):44-54.

Clarke, M. & Nyathi, P. 2011. *Lozikeyi Dlodlo : queen of the Ndebele : "A very dangerous and intriguing woman".* 2nd edition. Bulawayo, Zimbabwe: Amagugu Publishers.

Code, L. 1991. *What can she know? Feminist theory and the construction of knowledge*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Coetzee, P. & Roux, A.P. (eds.). 2003. *The African philosophy reader: a text with readings*. 2nd edition. Oxfordshire: Routledge.

Coetzee, A.A. 2017. African feminism as decolonising force: A philosophical exploration of the work of Oyeronke Oyěwùmí. Unpublished PhD dissertation. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University [Online]. Available: https://scholar.sun.ac.za/handle/10019.1/102695 [2020, October 5]

Colenso, J.W. 1860. *Three native accounts of the visit of the Bishop of Natal in September and October, 1859, to Umpande, King of the Zulus, with explanatory notes and a literal translation, and a glossary of all the Zulu words employed in the same : designed for the use of* . Pietermaritzburg: May & Davis.

Connell, R. 2014. Margin becoming centre: For a world-centred rethinking of masculinities. *Norma*, 9(4):217-231.

Connell, R.W. & Messerschmidt, J.W. 2005. Hegemonic masculinity rethinking the concept. *Gender and Society*, 19(6):829-859.

Cornell, D. & Van Marle, K. 2015. Ubuntu feminism: Tentative reflections. *Verbum et Ecclesia*, *36*(2), pp.1-8.

Cornwall, A., Harrison, E. & Whitehead, A. 2007. *Feminisms in development : Contradictions, contestations and challenges*. London: Zed Books.

Cowden, E. & Masarirabi, C. 1999. *Review of education sector analysis in Zimbabwe 1990-1996*. Paris: Working Group on Education Sector Analysis, UNESCO.

Creswell, J.W. & Poth, C.N. 2017. *Qualitative inquiry & research design : choosing amon*^{g} *five approaches*. 4th edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Crisis Group. 2005. *Zimbabwe's Operation Murambatsvina: The Tipping Point?* [Online]. Available: https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/southern-africa/zimbabwe/zimbabwes-operation-murambatsvina-tipping-point [2020, September 09].

Cunningham, J.W. & Fitzgerald, J. 1996. Epistemology and reading. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 31(1):36-60.

Dangarembga, T. 2004. *Nervous conditions*. Oxfordshire, UK: Ayebia Clarke Publishing.

Davids, N. 2012 Exploring the(in)commensurability between the lived experiences of Muslim women and cosmopolitanism : Implications for democratic citizenship education and Islamic education. Unpublished PhD dissertation. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University [Online]. Available: https://scholar.sun.ac.za/handle/10019.1/71662 [2020, October 11]

Davis, R.C. & Schleifer, R. 1991. *Criticism and culture : The role of critique in modern literary theory*. Harlow, Essex: Longman.

De Beauvoir, S. 1952. *The second sex*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd.

Demir, N. 2015. Alan Kurdi - 100 photographs: The most influential images

Dent, G.R. & Nyembezi, C.L.S. 1964. *Compact Zulu dictionary : English-Zulu, Zulu-English.* 3rd edition. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.

Dladla, N. 2017. Towards an African critical philosophy of race: Ubuntu as a philo-praxis of liberation. *Filosofia Theoretica: Journal of African Philosophy, Culture and Religions,* 6(1):39-68.

Doke, C.M. 1961. *Contributions to the history of Bantu linguistics*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Duvenage, A. 2020. Patriarchal forms of national community in post-apartheid literature: Re-examining ubuntu and gender in Sindiwe Magona's Mother to Mother (1998) and Zakes Mda's The Heart of Redness (2000). *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature*. 1-12

du Plessis, G.E. 2019. Gendered human (in) security in South Africa: what can ubuntu feminism offer? *Acta Academica*, *51* (2): 41-63.

Edström, J., Das, A. & Dolan, C. 2014. Introduction: Undressing patriarchy and masculinities to re-politicise gender. *IDS Bulletin*, 45(1):1-10.

Edström, J. 2014. The male order development encounter. *IDS Bulletin*, 45(1):111-123.

Eisenstein, Z.R.. 1979. A black feminist statement. *Capitalist patriarchy and the case for socialist feminism*. New York: Monthly Review Press. 362-372.

Elliott, K. 2018. Challenging toxic masculinity in schools and society. *On the Horizon,* 26(1):17-22.

Engster, D. & Hamington, M. 2015. *Care ethics and political theory*. Cape Town: OUP Oxford.

Enslin, P. & Horsthemke, K. 2004. Can ubuntu provide a model for citizenship education in African democracies? *Comparative Education*, 40(4):545-558.

Enslin, P. & Horsthemke, K. 2016. Philosophy of Education: Becoming Less Western, More

African? *Journal of Philosophy of Education,* 50(2).

Enslin, P., Pendlebury, S. & Tjiattas, M. 2001. Deliberative democracy, diversity and the challenges of citizenship education. *Journal of Philosophy of Education,* 35(1):115-130.

Etta, E.E., Esowe, D.D. & Asukwo, O.O. 2016. African communalism and globalization. *African Research Review,* 10 (3): 302-316.

Esau, H. & Mpofu, J. 2017. The preparedness of primary schools to implement the grade 3 new currculum in Zimbabwe: A case study of Bulawayo Metropolitan Pronvince schools. *European Journal of Social Sciences Studies,* 2 (4): 104-116

Eze, M.O. 2008. What is African communitarianism? Against consensus as a regulative ideal. *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 27 (4): 386-399.

Fataar, A. 2012. Pedagogical justice and student engagement in South African schooling: Working with the cultural capital of disadvantaged students. *Perspectives in Education,* 30(4): 52-75

Fassie, B. 1988. *Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*. South Africa: EMI South Africa.

Ford, M. 2007. Situating knowledges as coalition work. *Educational Theory,* 57(3):307-324.

Forster, D. 2007. 'Identity in relationship: The ethics of ubuntu as an answerto the impasse of individual consciousness. In C. du Toit (ed.). *The impact of knowledge systems on human development in Africa.* Pretoria: Research Institute for Theology and Religion, University of South Africa. 245–289.

Foucault, M. 1980. *Power-knowledge : selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*. Brighton, Sussex: Harvester.

Foucault, M. 1982. The subject and power. *Critical inquiry,* 8(4):777-795.

Foucault, M. 2005. *The order of things*. Oxfordshire: Routledge.

Frey, B.B. (ed). 2018. *The SAGE encyclopedia of educational research, measurement, and evaluation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.Friedman, A. 2006. Unintended consequences of the feminist sex/gender distinction. *Genders,* 43.

Gade, C.B. 2011. The historical development of the written discourses on ubuntu. *South African Journal of Philosophy,* 30(3):303-329.

Gasa, N. 2011. The traditional courts bill: A silent coup? *South African Crime Quarterly,* 35:23-29.

Gibran, K. 1926. *The prophet*. London: Heinemann.

Gilligan, C. 1993. *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Ging, D. 2017. Alphas, Betas, and Incels: Theorizing the masculinities of the manosphere. *Men and Masculinities,* 22(4):638-657 .

Given, L.M. (ed). 2008. *The Sage encyclopedia of qualitative research methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage publications.

Gouws, A. & Van Zyl, M. 2015. Towards a feminist ethics of ubuntu, in D. Engster & M. Hamington (eds.). *Care ethics and political theory.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. 165–186.

Government of Zimbabwe. 2014. *Narrative report 2014-2015*. Harare [Online]. Available: http://mopse.co.zw/sites/default/files/public/downloads/Zim%20Curriculum%20Narrative%20Report%202015.pdf [2020,October 11].

Government of Zimbabwe. 2015. *Zimbabwe Education Blueprint 2015–2022: Curriculum Framework for primary and secondary education*. Harare, Zimbabwe: Government of Zimbabwe.

Government of Zimbabwe. 2020. *Understanding The New Competence-Based Curriculum* [Online]. Available: http://mopse.co.zw/infographic/understanding-new-competence-based-curriculum [2020, September 09].

Gqola, P.D. 2011. Ufanele uqavile: Blackwomen, feminisms and postcoloniality in Africa. *Agenda,* (50):11-22.

Gräbner, C. 2014. "But how to speak of such things?": decolonial love, the coloniality of gender, and political struggle in Francisco Goldman's The Long Nightof White Chickens (1992) and Jennifer Harbury's Bridge of Courage (1994) and Searchingfor Everardo (1997). *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies,* 20 (1): 51-74.

Gwimbi, E. & Monk, M. 2003. The Reproduction of social stratification in Zimbabwe: A Study of the attitudes and practices of A-Level biology teachers in Harare. *British Journal of*

Sociology of Education, 24 (1): 21–38.

Griffin, R.A. 2018. Black women's intellectualism and deconstructing Donald Trump's toxic white masculinity, in D.M.D. McIntosh, D.G. Moon & T.K. Nakayama (eds), *Interrogating the Communicative Power of Whiteness*. New York: Routledge

Gyekye, K. 1987. *The unexamined life: Philosophy and the African experience* [Online]. Available: https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/handle/123456789/9909 [2020, October 5].

Hamilton, C., Harris, V., Pickover, M., Reid, G., Taylor, J. & Saleh, R. (eds.). 2002. *Refiguring the archive*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Haraway, D. 1988. Situated knowledges: The science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective. *Feminist Studies,* 14(3):575-599.

Haraway, D. 2015. Anthropocene, capitalocene, plantationocene, chthulucene: Making kin. *Environmental humanities,* 6(1):159-165.

Haugaard, M. 2003. Reflections on seven ways of creating power [Online]. Available: http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1368431003006001562 [2018, July 21].

Henderson, S.v.P. 1947. *Introduction to philosophy of education*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.

Heyting, F., Lenzen, D. & White, J.P. (eds.). 2001. *Methods in philosophy of education*. London: Routledge.

Hill-Collins, P. 1986. Learning from the outsider within: The sociological significance of black feminist thought. *Social Problems: Special Theory Issue*, 33(6):S14-S42.

Holy Bible (New Inte^{rn}*ational Version)*. 2011. 4th edition. Michigan: Zondervan.

hooks, B. 1981. *Ain't I a woman : Black women and feminism*. Boston, MA: South End Press.

hooks, B. 1992. *Black looks : Race and representation*. Boston, MA: South End Press.

hooks, B. 2000. *Feminism is for everybody: Passionate politics*. London: Pluto Press.

Hopfl, H.M. 1983. Isms. *British Journal of Political Science,* 13(1):1-17.

Horsthemke, K. & Enslin, P. 2009. African Philosophy of Education: The Price of Unchallengeability. *Studies in philosophy and Education,* 28(3):209-222.

Hountondji, P.J. 2002. *The struggle for meaning : Reflections on philosophy, culture, and democracy in Africa, Research in international studies, Africa series no 78*. Athens, OH: University Center for International Studies.

Hung, R. 2012. Being human or being a citizen? Rethinking human rights and citizenship education in the light of Agamben and Merleau-Ponty. *Cambridge Journal of Education, 42*(1):37-51.

Ikuenobe, P. 2018. Human rights, personhood, dignity, and African communalism. *Journal of Human Rights,* 17 (5): 589-604.

Izumi, N. & Baago Rasmussen, L. 2018. The multi-country study on the drivers of violence affecting children in Zimbabwe: Using a mixed methods, multi-stakeholder approach to discover what drives violence. *Vulnerable Children and Youth Studies,* 13(sup1):65-74.

Jaeger, M.M. & Breen, R. 2016. A dynamic model of cultural cultural reproduction. *American Journal of Sociology,* 121 (4): 1079-1115.

Johnson, A.G. 2004. Patriarchy, the system. *Women's lives: Multicultural perspectives*. 5th edition. New York: McGraw-Hill Education. 25–32.

Johnson, A.G. 2005. *The gender knot : unraveling our patriarchal legacy*. Revised edition. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Kalua, F. 2009. Homi Bhabha's third space and African identity. *Journal of African Cultural Studies,* 21(1):23-32.

Karioris, F.G. 2014. Towards an intersectional approach to patriarchy: Male homosociality in an American context. *IDS Bulletin,* 45(1):104-110.

Karp, I. & Masolo, D. (eds.).2000. *African Philosophy as Cultural Inquiry*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University press.

Keller, E. F. 1982. Feminism and science. *Signs,* 7(3):589–602.

Kemmis, S., McTaggart, R. & Nixon, R. 2015. 2014. *The action research planner: doing critical participatory action research*. Singapore: Springer

Kemp, S. & Squires, J. (eds.). 1997. *Feminisms*. (Oxford readers). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Khoza, M.B. 2017. *Uzalo: IsiZulu grammar textbook*. Cape Town: Academic Press.

Khoza, R.J. 1994. Managing the ubuntu way. *Enterprise Magazine,* 10:4-9.

Khumalo, L. 2016. Disrupting language hegemony: Intellectualizing African languages in M. A. Samuel, R. Dhunpath & N. Amin (eds). *Disrupting higher education curriculum: Undoing cognitive damage.* California: Sense Publishers. 247-264

Kim, J.-H. 2016. *Understanding narrative inquiry : the crafting and analysis of stories as research*. London: SAGE Research Methods.

Kimmel, M. & Wade, L. 2018. Ask a feminist: Michael Kimmel and Lisa Wade discuss toxic masculinity. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society,* 44(1):233-254.

Kimmerle, H. 2006. Ubuntu and communalism in African philosophy and art in H. van den Heuvel, M. Mangaliso & L. van de Bunt (eds.). *Prophecies and protest-Ubuntu in glocal management.* Amsterdam: Rosenberg Publishers - Unisa Press. 79-91.

Kiwan, D. 2005. Human rights and citizenship: An unjustifiable conflation? *Journal of philosophy of education*, *39*(1):37-50.

Kleinman, S. 2007. Feminist fieldwork analysis. *Qualitative research methods*, vol. 51. London: SAGE.

Koenane, M.L.J. & Olatunji, C.M.P. 2017. Is it the end or just the beginning of ubuntu? Response to Matolino and Kwindingwi in view of Metz's rebuttal. *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 36(2):263-277.

Kohlberg, L. (1984). *The psychology of moral development.* San Francisco, CA.: Harper &

Row Publishers, Inc.

Krog, A. 2008. "...if it mIs he gets his humanity back...":The Worldview undepinning the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses,* 3(3):204-220.

Kuzwayo, E. 2004. *Call me woman*. Johannesburg: Picador Africa.

Kymlicka, W. & Norman, W. 1994. Return of the citizen: A survey of recent work on citizenship theory. *Ethics*, 104(2):352-381.

Lamb, R. 1994. Feminism as critique in philosophy of music education. *Philosophy of music education review,* 2(2):59-74.

Le Grange, L. & Aikenhead, G. 2017. Rethinking the 'Western tradition': A response to Enslin and Horsthemke. *Educational Philosophy and Theory,* 49(1):31-37.

Le Grange, L. 2018. The notion of Ubuntu and the (post) humanist condition in J.E. Petrovic & R.M. Mitchell (eds.). *Indigenous philosophies of education around the world.* London: Routledge. 40-60.

Letseka, M. 2000. African philosophy and educational discourse. In P. Higgs, N.C.G. Vakalisa, T.V. Mda & N. T Assie-Lumumba (eds). *African voices in education.* Cape Town: Juta. 179-193

Letseka, M. 2012. In defence of ubuntu. *Studies in Philosophy and Education,* 31(1):47-60.

Lincoln, Y.S. & Guba, E.G. 1985. *Naturalistic inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA.: Sage.

Logan, B.I. & Tevera, D. 2007. Neoliberalism, regime survival, and the environment: Economic reform and agricultural transformation in Zimbabwe in the 1990s. *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines,* 35(1):99.

Lugones, M. 2008. Coloniality and gender. *Tabula Rasa,* (9):73-102.

Lugones, M. 2010. Toward a decolonial feminism. *Hypatia: A Journal of feminist philosophy,* 25(4):742-759.

Lumumba, N.A., Higgs, P., Mda, T. & Vakalisa, N. (eds.). 2000. *African voices in education*. Cape Town: Juta.

Mabovula, N.N. 2011. The erosion of African communal values: a reappraisal of the African Ubuntu philosophy. *Inkanyiso: Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences,* 3 (1): 38-47.

Magadla, S. & Chitando, E. 2014. The self become God: Ubuntu and the 'scandal of manhood'. In L. Praeg & S. Magadla (eds.). *Ubuntu: Curating the Archive*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Makhudu, N. 1993. Cultivating a climate of co-operation through ubuntu. *Enterprise Magazine,* 48:40-42.

Maldonado-Torres, N. 2007. On the coloniality of being: Contributions to the development of a concept. *Cultural Studies,* 21(2–3):240-270.

Mama, A. 2003. Restore, reform but do not transform: The gender politics of higher education in Africa. *Journal of Higher Education in Africa/Revue de l'enseignement supérieur en*

Afrique, 1 (1): 101-125.

Mamndani, M. 2017. *Mamdani delivers rousing TB Davie memorial lecture* [Online]. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vKFAYXf05N0 [2020, September 12].

Mangena, F. 2009. The search for an African feminist ethic: A Zimbabwean perspective. *Journal of international women's studies,* 11(2):18-30.

Mangena, F. 2012. Towards a hunhu/ubuntu dialogical moral theory. *Phronimon,* 13(2): 1-17.

Manyonganise, M. 2015. Oppressive and liberative: A Zimbabwean woman's reflections on ubuntu. *Verbum et Ecclesia*, 36(2): 1-7.

Marawanyika, G. 2007. *Zim marks 10 years since "Black Friday"* [Online]. Available: https://mg.co.za/article/2007-11-11-zim-marks-10-years-since-black-friday [2019, June 07].

Matolino, B. 2015. A response to Metz's reply on the end of ubuntu. *South African Journal of Philosophy,* 34 (2): 214-225.

Matolino, B. & Kwindingwi, W. 2013. The end of ubuntu. *South African Journal of Philosophy,* 32 (2): 197-205.

May, T. (ed.). 2002. *Qualitative research in action*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Mbeki, T. 1998. *Mbeki speech – The African Renaissance, South Africa and the world* [Online]. Available: http://archive.unu.edu/unupress/mbeki.html [2018, July 21].

Mbembe, A. 2001. *On the postcolony,* vol. 41. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Mbembe, A. 2002. The Power of the Archive and its Limits, in C. Hamilton, V. Harris, J. Taylor, M. Pickover, G. Reid and R. Saleh (eds.), *Refiguring the archive*. New York: Springer. 19–27.

Mbembe, A. 2015. *Decolonizing knowledge and the question of the archive* [Online]. Available: https://africaisacountry.atavist.com/decolonizing-knowledge-and-the-question-of-the-archive [2020, October 5].

Mboti, N. 2015. May the real ubuntu please stand up? *Journal of Media Ethics,* 30(2):125-147.

McCarthy, T. 2001. Critical theory today: An interview with Thomas McCarthy. Conducted by Shane O'Neill and Nick Smith. *Pluralism and the pragmatic turn. The transformation*

of critical theory: Essays in honor of Thomas McCarthy. 413–429.

McIntyre, A. 2007. *After virtue*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

Mclean, G.F. & Gyekye, K. 2010. *Person and community, Ghanaian Philosophical Studies 1* [Online]. Available: http://www.crvp.org/publications/Series-II/1-Contents.pdf [2020, October 5].

Mekgwe, P. 2006. Iorising African feminism(s): The "colonial" question. *Matatu,* 35(1):165–-174.

Mekgwe, P. 2010. Post Africa (n) feminism?. *Third Text*, *24*(2): 189-194.

Merriam, S.B. & Tisdell, E.J. 2016. *Qualitative research : A guide t^{o} design and implementation*. 4th edition. San Franscisco: Jossey-Bass.

Messerschmidt, J.W. & Messner, M.A. 2018. Hegemonic, nonhegemonic, and "new" masculinities, in J.W. Messerschmidt, P.Y. Martin, M.A. Martin & R. Connell, *Gender reckonings: New social theory and research*. New York: NYU Press. 35–56.

Metz, T. 2011. Ubuntu as a moral theory and human rights in South Africa. *African Human Rights Law Journal,* 11(2): 532-559.

Metz, T. 2014a. Book review: Ubuntu – curating the archive. *Philosophical Papers*, 43(3):447-453.

Metz, T. 2014b. Ubuntu: The good life, in A.C. Michalos, *Encyclopedia of Quality of Life and Well-Being Research*. Heidelberg, Germany: Springer Netherlands. 6761-6765.

Mignolo, W. D. 2005. *The Idea of Latin America.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Mignolo, W.D. 2007. Introduction: Coloniality of power and de-colonial thinking. *Cultural Studies*, 21(2–3):155-167.

Mills, A., Durepos, G. & Wiebe, E.(eds). 2010. *Encyclopedia of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications

Mntambo, N. 2007. *Ingabisa*. (Catalogue (Michael Stevenson (Firm)) ; no. 29). Cape Town: Michael Stevenson Gallery.

Mntambo, N. 2009. *The encounter* [Online]. Available: http://archive.stevenson.info/exhibitions/mntambo/index2009.htm [2019, March 11].

Mntambo, N. 2014. *Sexuality, gender, and art* [Online]. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NxpHfeXHXM [2019, March 10].

Mntambo, N. 2015. *Metamorphoses* [Online]. Available: http://archive.stevenson.info/exhibitions/mntambo/index2015.html [2020, February 25].

Mntambo, N. 2018. *Material Value* [Online]. Available: https://zeitzmocaa.museum/exhibition/exhibitions/nandipha-mntambo-early-career-restrospective/ [2019, March 11].

Mohanty, C.T. 1988. Under Western eyes : Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses. *Feminist Review,* 30(30):61-88.

Mohanty, C.T., Russo, A. & Torres, L. 1991. *Third world women and the politics of feminism,* vol. 632. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Mokgoro, Y. 1998. Ubuntu and the law in South Africa. *Buffalo Human Rights Law Review,* (15):1-6.

Molefe, M. 2014. Review: A report on ubuntu by Leonhard Praeg. *Critical Views on Society, Culture and Politics,* 1:157-164.

Molefe, M. 2017. Critical comments on Afro-communitarianism: the community versus the individual. *Filosofia Theoretica: Journal of African Philosophy, Culture and Religions,* 6 (1): 1-22.

Molefe, M. 2020. Solving the conundrum of African philosophy through personhood: The individual or community? *The Journal of Value Inquiry,* 54(1):41-57.

Molefe, M. & Magam, N. 2019. What can ubuntu do? A reflection on African moral theory in light of post-colonial challenges. *Politikon,* 46(3):311-325.

Moraga, C. & Anzaldúa, G. (eds.). 2015. *This bridge called my back: Writings by radical women of colour*. 4th edition. New York, N.Y.: State University of New York Press.

Morgan, S. 2006. *The feminist history reader*. London: Routledge.

Morris, A. 2015. *A Practical Introduction to In-Depth Interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Morrison, T. 1988. *Beloved : A novel, Picador Series*. London: Pan.

Morrison, T. 1993. Nobel lecture by Toni Morrison. [Online] Available: https://www.nobelprize.org/mediaplayer/?id=1502 [2020, October 11]

Morrison, T. 2004. *Tar baby*. New York: Knopf.

Moyo, T. 2020. *Witness Zimbabwe: Human rights in time of torture and abduction* [Online]. Available: https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-03-18-witness-zimbabwe-human-rights-in-a-time-of-torture-and-abduction/ [2020, September 12].

Msibi, T. 2011. The lies we have been told: On (homo) sexuality in Africa. *Africa Today, 58*(1):55-77.

Mungazi, D.A. 1989. A strategy for power: Commissions of inquiry into education and government control in colonial Zimbabwe. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 22(2):267.

Mungwini, P. 2011. The challenges of revitalizing an indigenous and Afrocentric moral theory in postcolonial education in Zimbabwe. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 43 (7): 773-787.

Murithi, T. 2009. An African perspective on peace education: Ubuntu lessons in reconciliation. *International Review of Education*, 55:221-233.

Murove, M.F. 2007. The Shona ethic of Ukama with reference to the immortality of values. *Mankind Quarterly*, 48(2):179-189.

Murove, M.F. 2004. An African commitment to ecological conservation: The Shona concepts of Ukama and Ubuntu. *Mankind quarterly*, 45 (2): 195-215.

Murove, M.F. 2012. Ubuntu. *Diogenes*, 59(3-4): 36-47.

Naude, P. 2019. Decolonising knowledge: Can Ubuntu ethics save ss from coloniality? in J. Jansen (ed). *Decolonisation in universities: The politics of knowledge*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press. 217-238

Ndima, D.D. 2015. Reconceiving African jurisprudence in a post-imperial society: The role of ubuntu in constitutional adjudication. *The Comparative and International Law Journal of Southern Africa*, 48(3):395-380.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. 2017. Decolonising research methodology must include undoing its dirty history. *The Conversation* [Online]. https://theconversation.com/decolonising-research-

methodology-must-include-undoing-its-dirty-history-83912 [2019, June 19].

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J. 2009. Making sense of Mugabeism in local and global politics: "So Blair, keep your England and let me keep my Zimbabwe". *Third World Quarterly,* 30(6):1139-1158.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J. 2015. Decoloniality as the future of Africa. *History Compass,* 13(10):485-496.

Ndofirepi, A.P. & Shanyanana, R.N. 2016. Rethinking ukama in the context of 'Philosophy for Children' in Africa. *Research Papers in Education,* 31(4): 428-441. DOI: 10.1080/02671522.2015.1073773.

Ndou, D.L.M. 2012. *Too young to remember: the framing of collective memory in Zimbabwe's post-independent generation. of Sussex* [Online]. Available: https://s3.amazonaws.com/academia.edu.documents/30979779/Dissertation_-_Delta_Ndou_copy.pdf?response-content-disposition=inline%3B filename%3DToo_young_to_remember_The_framing_of_col.pdf&X-Amz-Algorithm=AWS4-HMAC-SHA256&X-Amz-Credential=AKIAIWOWYYGZ2Y53 [2019, June 07].

Ngwenya, V.C. 2020. Curriculum implementation challenges encountered by primary school teachers in Bulawayo Metropolitan Province, Zimbabwe. *Africa Education Review,* 17 (2): 158-176.

Nicolaides, A. 2015. Gender equity, ethics and feminism: Assumptions of an African Ubuntu oriented society. *Journal of Social Sciences,* 42 (3): 191-210.

Nicolaides, A. & Duho, K.C.T. 2019. Effective leadership in organizations: African ethics and corruption. *Modern Economy,* 10:1713-1743.

Nnaemeka, O. 1994. From orality to writing: African women writers and the (we)inscription of womanhood. *Research in African Literatures,* 25(4):137-157.

Nyathi, P. 2017. *Leadership as a cultural construct: Lessons from Queen Lozikeyi Dlodlo* [Online]. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xn795LO10_U&t=49s/ [2020, October 9].

Noddings, N. 1995. Care and moral education, in W. Kohli (ed.). *Critical conversations in philosophy of education.* New York: Routledge.

Noddings, N. 2006. Educational leaders as caring teachers. *School leadership and management*, 26(4):339-345.

Noddings, N. 2012. The caring relation in teaching. *Oxford review of education,* 38(6):771-781.

Noddings, N. 2013. *Caring: A relational approach to ethics and moral education*. 2nd edition. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Noddings, N. 2018. *Philosophy of education*. London: Routledge.

Nsengiyumva, J.C., Muhenda, J., Njuguna, S. and Nyabul, P.O.,2019. Ubuntu philosophy: A contemporary version of the traditional African communalism. *International journal of sciences and appled research,* 6 (9): 16 - 21.

Nzegwu, N. 1994. Gender equality in a dual-sex system: The case of Onitsha. *The Canadian Journal of Law and Jurisprudence,* 7 (1): 73-95.

Nzegwu, N. 1998. Review : Chasing shadows : The misplaced search for matriarchy reviewed work (s) - Reinventing Africa : Matriarchy, religion , culture by Ifi Amadiume. *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue Canadienne des Etudes Africaines,* 32(3):594-622.

Nzegwu, N. 2004. Nkiru Nzwengu on feminism and Africa; The effects and limitations of Western metaphysics of gender [Online]. Available: https://www.academia.edu/16208719/Nkiru_Nzwengu_on_Feminism_and_Africa_The_effects_and_limitations_of_Western_metaphysics_of_gender [2020, October 5]

Nzegwu, N. 2012. *Family matters: Feminist concepts in African philosophy of culture*. Albany: Suny Press.

Nziramasanga, C.T. 1999. *Report of the presidential commission of inquiry into education and training.* Harare: Government of Zimbabwe.

Ojo, O. & Ajayi, S. 1997. *Zimbabwe Economic Structural Adjustment Programme: Project Performance Evaluation Report (PPER)* [Online]. Available: https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Evaluation-Reports-_Shared-With-OPEV_/06050223-EN-ZIMBABWE-ECONOMIC-STRUCTURAL-ADJUSTMENT.PDF [2019, June 07].

Oruka, H. 1990. *Sage philosophy : indigenous thinkers and modern debate on African*

philosophy, vol. 4. Leiden: Brill.

Orwell, G. 2008. *Animal Farm.* London:Penguin Books

Osha, S. 2008. Philosophy and figures of the African female. *Quest: An African Journal of Philosophy / Revue Africaine de Philosophie*. XX(1-2):155–204.

Osha, S. 2008b. Introduction: African feminisms. *Quest: An African Journal of Philosophy / Revue Africaine de Philosophie*. XX(1-2): 5- 10.

Osler, A. 2005. Education for democratic citizenship: new challenges in a globalised world. *Citizenship and language learning: International perspectives*, 3-22.

Oyěwùmí, O. 1997. *The invention of women : Making an African sense of western gender discourses*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Oyěwùmí, O. 2002. Conceptualizing gender: The eurocentric foundations of feminist concepts and the challenge of African epistemologies. *Jenda: A Journal of Culture and African Woman Studies,* 2:1.

Oyěwùmí, O. (ed.). 2003. *African women and feminism : Reflecting on the politics of sisterhood*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Pateman, C. 1988. *The sexual contract*. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press.

Petrovic, J.E. & Mitchell, R.M. (eds.). 2018. *Indigenous philosophies of education around the world*. London: Routledge.

Phiri, V. 2010. *Highway queen*. Belvedere, Harare: Corals Services.

Poulos, G. & Msimang, C.T. 1998. *A linguistic analysis of Zulu*. 1st edition. Cape Town: Via Afrika.

Praeg, L. 2008. An answer to the question: What is [ubuntu]?'. *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 27(4):367-385.

Praeg, L. 2014. *A report on ubuntu*. Scottsville, South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Praeg, L. & Magadla, S. (eds.). 2014. *Ubuntu : Curating the archive*. Scottsville, South Africa: University of Kwazulu-Natal Press.

Prinsloo, E. 2004. Ubuntu culture and participatory management, in P.H. Coetzee & A.P.J.

Roux (eds.). *The African philosophy reader*. London: Routledge.

Putuma, K. 2017. *Collective amnesia*. Durban: Uhlanga Press.

Quijano, A. 2000. Coloniality of power and Eurocentrism in Latin America. *International Sociology*. 15(2):215-232. Ramazanoglu, C. & Holland, J. 2002. *Feminist methodology challenges and choices*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Ramose, M.B. 1999. *African philosophy through Ubuntu*. 1st edition. Harare: Mond Book Publishers.

Ramose, M.B. 2002. *The philosophy of ubuntu and ubuntu as a philosophy*. Harare, Zimbabwe: Mond Book Publishers.

Ramsamy, E. 2006. The World Bank & urban programmes in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal. *Review of African Political Economy,* 33(109):515-523.

Rhodesia. 1899. *Education Ordinance of 1899.* Salisbury: Government of Rhodesia

Ross, S.G. 2009. *The birth of feminism : Woman as intellect in Renaissance Italy and England*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Samkange, S.J.T. 1971. *African saga : A brief introduction to African history*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon.

Samkange, S.J.T. & Samkange, T.-M. 1980. *Hunhuism or Ubuntuism: A Zimbabwe indigenous political philosophy*. Salisbury, Rhodesia: Graham Publishers.

Sandoval, C. 2000. *Methodology of the oppressed*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Santos, B.d.S. & Ramose, M.B. 2016. *Conversations of The World - Mogobe B Ramose and Boaventura de Sousa Santos (Part 1)* [Online]. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UEDNoZg3G4Y [2020, February 25].

Santos, B.d.S. 2016. *Epistemologies of the South: Justice against epistemicide*. London: Routledge.

Sapir, E. 1956. *Culture, language and personality : selected essays*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Sardenberg, C. 2008. Liberal vs. liberating empowerment: A Latin American feminist

perspective on conceptualising women's empowerment. *IDS Bulletin,* 47(2).

Sarma, D. 2015. *Six reasons every Indian feminist should remember Savitribai Phule - The ladies finger* [Online]. Available: http://theladiesfinger.com/six-reasons-every-indian-feminist-should-remember-savitribai-phule/ [2019, February 26].

Schiwy, F. 2007. Decolonization and the question of subjectivity: Gender, race, and binary thinking. *Cultural Studies,* 21(2–3):271-294.

Shanyanana, R & Divala, J. 2017. African feminist perspectives and education, in P. Higgs & Y. Waghid (eds.). *A reader in philosophy of education.* Cape Town: Juta Publishing. 90-106.

Shorkend, D. 2015. Nandipha Mntambo's underworld grapples with duality. *The Cape Times* (Cape Town). 10 September [Online]. Available: http://archive.stevenson.info/artists/mntambo/articles/2015_danny_shorkend_capetimes_10_sept_2015.pdf [2020, October 5].

Shizha, E. and Kariwo, M.T. 2012. *Education and development in Zimbabwe: A social, political and economic analysis.* Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Shizha, E. and Makuvaza, N. (eds.). 2017. Re-thinking Postcolonial Education in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 21st Century: Post-Millennium Development Goals. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Shutte, A. 2001. *Ubuntu : An ethic for a new South Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.

Sibanda, P. 2014. The dimensions of 'Hunhu/ubuntu' (Humanism in the African sense): The Zimbabwean conception. *Dimensions,* 4 (01): 26-28.

Sibanda, P. 2020. You are my mother Africa!. *Agenda,* 34 (2): 146.

Sigauke, A.T. 2012. Young people, citizenship and citizenship education in Zimbabwe. *International Journal of Educational Development,* 32(2):214-223.

Simba, P. 2014. The resurrection of the Nziramasanga Commission Inquiry report in Zimbabwe:Implications for gender in education. Brighton: University of Sussex.

Simba, P. and Davids, N. 2020. Cultivating Third Space thinking in ('African') feminism through the works of Nandipha Mntambo. *Agenda,* 1-13

Smith, L.T. 1999. *Decolonising methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. Dunedin, New Zealand: Otago Univerity Press.

Spender, D. 1980. *Man made language*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Books.

Stoetzler, M. & Yuval-Davis, N. 2002. Standpoint theory, situated knowledge and the situated imagination. *Feminist Theory*, 3(3):315-333.

Stromquist, N.P. 1995. Romancing the state: Gender and power in education. *Comparative Education Review*, 39 (4): 423-454.

Takyi-Amoako, E.J. & Assié-Lumumba, N.T. (eds.). 2018. *Re-visioning education in Africa: Ubuntu-inspired education for humanity*. London: Palgrave Macmillan

Tamale, S. 2011. *African sexualities : A reader*. Oxford, UK: Pambazuka Press.

Tamale, S. 2020. *Decolonisation and Afro-Feminism*. Ottowa, ON: Daraja Publishing.

Tembo, J. & Gerber, S. 2020. Toward a Postcolonial Universal Ontology: Notes on the Thought of Achille Mbembe. *Handbook of African Philosophy of Difference*. New York: Springer.149–170.

The Orwell Foundation. 2020. *Why I write* [Online]. Available: https://www.**orwellfoundation**.com/the-orwell-foundation/orwell/essays-and-other-works/why-i-write/ [2020, September 06].

Thorpe, J. (ed.). 2018. *Feminism is : South Africans speak their truth*. Cape Town: Kwela Books.

Tomkins, L & Eatough, V. 2018. Hermeneutics: Interpretation, understanding and sense-making, in C. Cassel, A.L. Cunliffe & G. Grandy (eds.). *SAGE Handbook of Qualitative business and management research methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Tschaepe, M. 2013. A humanist ethic of ubuntu: understanding moral obligation and community. *Essays in the Philosophy of Humanism*, 21(2): 47-61.

Tutu, D. 2013. *Who we are: Human uniqueness and the African spirit of Ubuntu. Desmond Tutu, Templeton Prize 2013. YouTube* [Online]. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0wZtfqZ271w [2019, December 15].

Venter, E. 2004. The notion of ubuntu and communalism in African Educational Discourse. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 23:149-160.

Vera, Y. 1996. *Under the tongue*. Harare: Baobab.

Vera, Y. 2007. *Nehanda : a novel*. Toronto: TSAR Publications.

Viviers, H. & Mzondi, A.M.M. 2016. The end of essentialist gods and ubuntu: a feminist critical investigation. *Pharos Journal of Theology*, 97: 1-17.

Waghid, Y. 2014. *African philosophy of education reconsidered: On being human*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Waghid, Y. 2019a. *Towards a philosophy of caring in higher education : Pedagogy and nuances of care*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Waghid, Y. 2019b. Ubuntu caring: Cultivating moral, compassionate, and restorative justice in university education. *Towards a philosophy of caring in higher education*. New York: Springer. 89–96.

Waghid, Y. & Davids, N. 2013. *Citizenship, education and violence : On disrupted potentialities and becoming*, vol 62: Educational futures. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Waghid, Y. & Davids, N. (eds.). 2018. *African democratic citizenship education revisited*. Palgrave studies in global citizenship, education and democracy. New York: Palgrave.

Waghid, Y. & Van Wyk, B. 2005. *African(a) philosophy of education : Reconstructions and deconstructions*. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University.

Weed, E. & Schor, N. 1997. *Feminism meets queer theory*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Wendell, S. 1987. A (Qualified) defense of liberal feminism. *Hypatia,* 2 (2): 65-93.

Whittemore, R., Chase, S.K. & Mandle, C.L. 2001. Pearls, pith, and provocation validity in qualitative research [Online]. Available: http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/104973201129119299 [2018, July 15].

Wilson, R.A. 2002. The politics of culture in post-apartheid South Africa. *Anthropology beyond culture, Wenner-Gren International Symposium Series*. London: Routledge. 209–234.

Win, E.J. 2007. Not very poor, powerless or pregnant: The African woman forgotten by development, in A. Cornwall & A. Whitehead (eds.). *Feminisms in development: Contradictions, contestations and challenges*. London: Zed Books. 79–85.

Wiredu, K. 1980. *Philosophy and an African culture*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Wiredu, K. (ed.). 2004. *A companion to African philosophy*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Wittig, M. 1997. One is not born a woman, in S. Kemp & J. Squires (eds.). *Feminisms*. New York: Oxford University Press. 220-226.

Yin, R.K. 2014. *Case Study Research Design and Methods*. 5th edition. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Young-Jahangeer, M. & Sibanda, P. 2018. "This flag is mine too": Negotiating space for tanswomen in Zimbabwe through multimedia approaches. *Agenda*, 32(3): 39-52.

Yuval-Davis, N. 2011. *The politics of belonging : Intersectional contestations*. London: SAGE.

The Herald. 2013. *Zanu-PF 14th Annual Conference resolutions* [Online]. Available: https://www.herald.co.zw/zanu-pf-14th-annual-conference-resolutions/ [2019, June 07].

Zimbabwe Electoral Commission. 2013. *Executive summary of the July 2013 elections*. Harare. [Online], Available: file:///C:/Users/20594283/Downloads/EXECUTIVE SUMMARY 2013 HARMONISED ELECTIONS REPORT.pdf.

Zvobgo, R.J. 1994. *Colonialism and education in Zimbabwe, SARIPS education series*. Harare, Zimbabwe: SAPES Books.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Stellenbosch University Research Ethics Committee approval letter

NOTICE OF APPROVAL

REC: Social, Behavioural and Education Research (SBER) - Initial Application Form

10 March 2020

Project number:
8655

Project Title: P. Simba PhD proposal ethical

clearance Dear Ms Precious Simba

Your REC: Social, Behavioural and Education Research (SBER) - Initial Application Form submitted on 7 February 2020 was reviewed and approved by the REC: Humanities.

Please note the following for your approved submission:
Ethics approval period:

Protocol approval date (Humanities)	Protocol expiration date (Humanities)
10 March 2020	9 March 2023

GENERAL COMMENTS:

Please take note of the General Investigator Responsibilities attached to this letter. You may commence with your research after complying fully with these guidelines.
If the researcher deviates in any way from the proposal approved by the REC: Humanities, the researcher must notify the REC of these changes.

Please use your SU project number (8655) on any documents or correspondence with the REC concerning your project.

Please note that the REC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.
FOR CONTINUATION OF PROJECTS AFTER REC APPROVAL PERIOD

Please note that a progress report should be submitted to the Research Ethics Committee: Humanities before the approval period has expired if a continuation of ethics approval is required. The Committee will then consider the continuation of the project for a further year (if necessary)
Included Documents:

Document Type	File Name	Date	Version
Research Protocol/Proposal	P Simba PhD Proposal - 12.10.18	22/10/2018	1
Data collection tool	Educator Cohort Interview Script	08/10/2019	1
Informed Consent Form	INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH	08/10/2019	1
Informed Consent Form	INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH (verbal)	08/10/2019	1
Proof of permission	SKMBT_22319100814450	08/10/2019	1
Non-disclosure agreement	NON-DISCLOSURE AGREEMENT	23/01/2020	1
Default	Participatory Session Script	23/01/2020	1
Default	cohort 1 Mopse Script	23/01/2020	1
Default	P SIMBA RESPONSE LETTER	06/02/2020	1

If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the REC office at Sincerely,

Principal Investigator Responsibilities

Protection of Human Research Participants

As soon as Research Ethics Committee approval is confirmed by the REC, the principal investigator (PI) is responsible for the following:

Conducting the Research: The PI is responsible for making sure that the research is conducted according to the REC-approved research protocol. The PI is jointly responsible for the conduct of co-investigators and any research staff involved with this research. The PI must ensure that the research is conducted according to the recognised standards of their research field/discipline and according to the principles and standards of ethical research and responsible research conduct.

Participant Enrolment: The PI may not recruit or enrol participants unless the protocol for recruitment is approved by the REC. Recruitment and data collection activities must cease after the expiration date of REC approval. All recruitment materials must be approved by the REC prior to their use.

Informed Consent: The PI is responsible for obtaining and documenting affirmative informed consent using **only** the REC-approved consent documents/process, and for ensuring that no participants are involved in research prior to obtaining their affirmative informed consent. The PI must give all participants copies of the signed informed consent documents, where required. The PI must keep the originals in a secured, REC-approved location for at least five (5) years after the research is complete.

Continuing Review: The REC must review and approve all REC-approved research proposals at intervals appropriate to the degree of risk but not less than once per year. There is **no grace period.** Prior to the date on which the REC approval of the research expires, **it is the PI's responsibility to submit the progress report in a timely fashion to ensure a lapse in REC approval does not occur.** Once REC approval of your research lapses, all research activities must cease, and contact must be made with the REC immediately.

Amendments and Changes: Any planned changes to any aspect of the research (such as research design, procedures, participant population, informed consent document, instruments, surveys or recruiting material, etc.), must be submitted to the REC for review and approval before implementation. Amendments may not be initiated without first obtaining written REC approval. The **only exception** is when it is necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants and the REC should be immediately informed of this necessity.

Adverse or Unanticipated Events: Any serious adverse events, participant complaints, and all unanticipated problems that involve risks to participants or others, as well as any research-related injuries, occurring at this institution or at other performance sites must be reported to the REC within **five (5) days** of discovery of the incident. The PI must also report any instances of serious or continuing problems, or non-compliance with the RECs requirements for protecting human research participants.

Research Record Keeping: The PI must keep the following research-related records, at a minimum, in a secure location for a minimum of five years: the REC approved research proposal and all amendments; all informed consent documents; recruiting materials; continuing review reports; adverse or unanticipated events; and all correspondence and approvals from the REC.

Provision of Counselling or emergency support: When a dedicated counsellor or a psychologist provides support to a participant without prior REC review and approval, to the extent permitted by law, such activities will not be recognised as research nor the data used in support of research. Such cases should be indicated in the progress report or final report.

Final reports: When the research is completed (no further participant enrolment, interactions or interventions), the PI must submit a Final Report to the REC to close the study.

On-Site Evaluations, Inspections, or Audits: If the researcher is notified that the research will be reviewed

or audited by the sponsor or any other external agency or any internal group, the PI must inform the REC immediately of the impending audit/evaluation.

Appendix B: Zimbabwe Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education approval letter

All communications should be addressed to "The Secretary for Primary and Secondary Education
Telephone: 732006
Telegraphic address : "EDUCATION"
Fax: 794505

ZIMBABWE

Reference: C/426/3 BULAWAY
Ministry of Primary and
Secondary Education
P.O Box CY 121
Causeway
HARARE

09 Jan 2019

Precious Simba
4415 Gwabalanda
Bulawayo

Re: **PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT A DOCTORAL RESEARCH AT RANDOMLY SELECTED SCHOOLS IN BULAWAYO**

Reference is made to your application to carry out a Doctoral research at the above mentioned institution on the research title:

"A FEMINIST CRITIQUE OF UBUNTU: IMPLICATIONS FOR CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN ZIMBABWE."

Permission is hereby granted. However, you are required to liaise with Provincial Education Director Bulawayo Metropolitan, who is responsible for the schools which you want to involve in your research. You should ensure that your research work does not disrupt the normal operations of the schools. Where students are involved, parental consent is required.

You are also required to provide a copy of your final report to the Secretary for Primary and Secondary Education.

T. Thabela (Mrs.)
SECRETARY FOR PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

21 JAN 2019

Appendix C: Bulawayo Provincial Education Director approval letter

all communications should be addressed to
"The Provincial Education Director"
Telephone: 09-69511
Telegraphic: "SCHOLASTIC"
Telex: 50531 MPSEMN ZW
Fax: 09-77027

ZIMBABWE

Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education
Bulawayo Metropolitan Province
P O Box 555
Bulawayo
Zimbabwe

22 July 2019

Precious Simba
UNIVERSITEIT STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY

RE: PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT A RESEARCH ON: A FEMINIST CRITIQUE OF UBUNTU: IMPLICATIONS FOR CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN ZIMBABWE: MZILIKAZI, KHAMI, REIGATE, IMBIZO AND BULAWAYO CENTRAL AND MINISTRY OF EDUCATION OFFICERS: BULAWAYO METROPOLITAN PROVINCE

With reference to your application to carry out a research on the above mentioned topic in the Education Institutions under the jurisdiction of the Bulawayo Metropolitan Province, permission is hereby granted. However, you should liaise with the Head of the Institution/School for clearance before carrying out your research.

It will also be appreciated if you could supply the Bulawayo Metropolitan Province with a final copy of your research which may contain information useful to the development of education in the province.

S Makwati

S MAKWATI
For: PROVINCIAL EDUCATION DIRECTOR
BULAWAYO METROPOLITAN PROVINCE

Appendix D: Invitation to participate in the study

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Thank you for your willingness to participate in a research study conducted by myself as a student of the department of Education Policy Studies at Stellenbosch University, South Africa. The data collected from your responses will contribute towards a doctoral (PhD) thesis. You have been selected as a potential participant in the study because you are a female teacher in Bulawayo Metropolitan Province. The details of the study are as follows:

RESEARCH TITLE

A feminist critique of Ubuntu: Implications for citizenship education in Zimbabwe

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

To gain an in-depth understanding of the ground breaking and progressive Ubuntu/Hunhu inspired philosophy of education adopted in the new Curriculum Framework for Zimbabwe in 2015.

Your contribution will add to knowledge of how Ubuntu/Hunhu plays out in the classroom & influences you as a teacher.

PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in my study, you will be asked to:

- Read and familiarise yourself with the purpose of the study
- Avail yourself to respond to questions in person, writing or in a group session
- Answer the questions as honestly as you can.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Your responses will be treated as highly confidential and anonymity will be guaranteed in the reporting of the research. No potential risk, discomfort of inconvenience to yourselves is anticipated. Your responses will be completely anonymous and your name will not appear in the thesis. Any disclosure will occur with the full permission of the participant or as required by law.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

Your participation in this study will help to give an expanded understanding of Ubuntu/Hunhu in education. The gains of this understanding will shape a critical assessment of education policy framework in Zimbabwe in relation to citizenship education. Excepts of the research will be part of the doctoral thesis and possibly academic material output thereafter.

PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

There will be **NO PAYMENT** for your participation in this study as per Stellenbosch University research guidelines. There will be no personal benefit to you by participating in this study beyond personal reflection and the satisfaction that you have contributed to the potential enhancement of education policy in Zimbabwe.

PARTICIPANT RIGHTS AND WITHDRAWAL

The study is completely voluntary and the participant has the right to decline this invitation to participate without any recourse to you. You may withdraw your consent and/or participation in the study without any penalty. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant kindly contact the study supervisor:

Professor Nuraan Davids
Stellenbosch University
Department of Education Policy Studies
nur@sun.c.za

If you agree to the terms of this invitation, I will note your verbal agreement by drafting your name below.

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT FULL NAME:_____

VERBAL CONSENT: YES/NO

Thank you for your participation.

Precious Simba
PhD Candidate
Stellenbosch University
Student number 20594283
Department of Education Policy Studies
20594283@sun.ac.za
+263713 925 074

I,_____being a doctoral student at Stellenbosch University in the department of Education Policy studies do hereby confirm that the above details were provided and explained in full to the participant and verbal consent was given.

Appendix E: Interview guide

1. How did you get into the teaching profession?
2. What does ubuntu mean to you?
3. What are some instances or examples of ubuntu?
4. What is your relationship with ubuntu?
5. Is ubuntu something that your use in you teaching? If yes, how?
6. How do you pass on or teach ubuntu to your learners
7. Are you aware of the curriculum changes proposed by Zimbabwe Education Blueprint Curriculum Framework? What are your thoughts on it?
8. Are there any recommendations that you would forward in order to make the new policy more effective?
9. What would you say are the shortfalls of ubuntu?
10. Have you ever experienced these shortfalls? If so, please share you experiences?
11. Do you think as a female teacher you are at a disadvantage somehow?

Appendix F: Interview transcript - MaJoy

Transcript includes field notes

First impression:

When I first met MaJoy in the corridor of her school it was the week of schools closing. The school was bustling with activity as staff and faculty were preparing for end of term and parents where queuing nearby to make outstanding fees payments to ensure their children got reports at the end of term. She had been told about me and asked if she really had anything to offer and always smiling asked to tell her about my study.

From the outset she called me mwanangu - my child. After quickly going through my study and what I required from her I also added that for the focus group to be held in the CBD there would be no extra expense on her as I would reimburse all transport costs in foreign currency. I dangled this as a carrot, but she cut me off immediately and said "huh huh zvawave kutaura izvo hazviiti. Handiti wauya kwandiri uchida rubatsiro? Rega ndikubatsire mwanangu. Zvino kana wave kuda kundibhadara hazvisisina hunhu, handiti ndiwe urikunyora nezve hunhu? Kana uchida kuzonditenda unonditenda asi haunditaurire seunoda kundibhadara."

I was humbled.

[00:00:10.07] Interviewer: In my previous study and When I got to Stellenbosch there were no agreements on what Ubuntu is but for me it was simple…

[00:01:28.16] MaJoy: Ubuntu for me is simple, chivanhu!

[00:01:32.15] Interviewer: This why I am here to glean from people who live, or experience Ubuntu not just study it

[00:01:56.01] MaJoy: (interjects) In the books it's too abstract

[00:02:32.29] Interviewer: How did you come to teaching, what keeps you teaching to this day

[00:03:01.03] MaJoy: Do I even know how I came to be in the teaching? My passion was to be a police woman; I am serious! But back then the way policewomen were perceived ukakura nevanhu vechikuru ehe growing up they used to say mapurisa echikadzi mahure. Then, that's what they used to say. They would try by all means to discourage you kuti you can't be a police woman, zvavanoita nemaboss avo! kuti vanga vazviona kupi I don't know. At the end I ended up in the teaching field. But my passion, even ndiri kuchikoro zvima drama zvandaita had to do with the law. Even iyezvinezvi if I am watching a movie, I like zvinemutemo mutemo

mukati - laws courts, ma investigative what what what. I enjoy that. But still after ndajoiner teaching, I think maybe it was also a calling because kana ndakatarisa teaching its not about what comes out of it. its what I see my finish product comes back to me and says ma'am do you remember me? you taught me 5yrs ago

[00:04:28.26] Interrupted by a student sent by another teacher. she tells the student to tell the teaching that she has a visitor

[00:04:43.04] MaJoy: So when I see them these young souls (I take ma upper grades) ndikaita chance yekusangana nevana ma non-readers I'm in trouble, I feel pain kuti alright at the end of the day mwana uyu what type of person is he going to be, what type of life is he going to lead through; again i'll look at my background. Ndakakurira kumusha my father passed away when I was in grade 4, my mother struggled like your mother to send me & my brother to school. vachitengesa mbudzi vachikuuya dovi. By then waiyitengesa mbudzi mwana woyenda kuboarding. My brother akadzidza kuWadlove ini ndikadzidza kumusha grade 1-7. But there was a time paunenge uchiona kuti mai zvakavaomera. Of my brothers I had 2 in SA but they were not sending anything kuna maivangu so my mother had to take care of me and why im referring to that is vana ava vasingaverengi I had a real life experience yemuroora wangu. Hazvanzi yangu yakaroora mukadzi. Aroora mukadzi iye aigara kuSA, iye adzokera ku SA muroora ndobva atizira mumusha, amitiswa. First time murume ariku SA. Fortunately, or unfortunately ruoko rwake rwabva rwazvimba - right hand she couldn't write. Ndobva kwadedzwa babamdiki, babamdiki huyayi. Vopiwa tsamba, yonyorwa tsamba yoyenda kuSA. yodzoka voverenga babamnini isu hatisi kuzviziva handiti. Then babamnini vobva vaenda ku boarding, vatsvaga shamwari yavo, yazonyora manje tsamba kunehazvanzi yangu kuSouth, ichiudzwa marudo ese but at the end kwaku signer kuti ndini mai ningi ndanyora ndichinyorera mai ningi. That is how my brother discovered kuti muroora haaverengi haazive. Then after that again, ndopatakabva tazviziva tese. Taigara about 30kms away from town. Aenda atumirwa mari aenda ashopper ashopper ashopper. You know pineapple makomboona pineapple juice yekudara? do you know it? yainzi pineapple, kudara? You know zvakaita vana Olivine, colour ye Olivine? Yakaita ka yellowish. Atenga muroora wangu awuya kumba she is excited, nhasi ndawana cooking oil yaka cheaper. You can imagine! she has travelled 30km to go into town only to come back with a juice.

[00:07:40.18] Interviewer: oh shame

[00:07:40.18] MaJoy: So, you were asking about what keeps me maybe in teaching, its children like that. when I think of children like that kuti I can make a difference. If he's not gifted academically let me teach this young man so that he can be able to sell airtime so that he can be bale to work in the garden. Azive kuti ndoita ma row angu so so so because vana vasiri gifted academically sometimes they are very good at practical subjects so but asingaveringi even if he's good at that practical achano tenga wrong seed, achanotenga wrong fertiliser. As a result I must aim kuoona kuti averenge nothing else but ngaverenge, abude pa parimary achiti mwana wangu is a slow learner but can read. Imagine akaenda ega kurenkini achida kuenda kutsholotsho maybe ane pride yake mukomana akanakana okwira bhazi rinoenda kuHre. We are now talking about reality, real life. So, you can see kana uri muclass as a teacher, we are educating not for mwana achaita profession yakadai. We are educating a whole person kuti in the community how is that person going to survive, aite munhu pavanhu. My husband shared with me one day achiti do you know what kune mumwe mahobbho arikubasa kwedu mahobho uyu haana kuenda kuchikoro hozvake. Hanzi ndobva, vane mubanana pabasa, ndobva ahuya akawatarisa 'mdara ngati share ka ma banana' hanzi akati dont worry share. Zvikanzi ndinishare sei. That is grade 1, that is ECD - sharing handiti. Ndine orange iri pavana two asi ndine 1. Vana vochikutaurira kuti hayi we cut it in half. those basics, he doesnt know kuti ukaoiwa zvinhu 20 unoti chimwe apa chimwe apa ([00:09:46.05] demonstrates with gestures on the table) that's basic. So, you can see kuti educating individuals spills into the community ekuti kana uchiuuya kuchikoro - have you ever seen kuti tuvana kana tuchiuuya kuchoro tuma ECD they are very selfish. 'It's my toy, its mine!' hanti. But pavano huuya kuchikoro mukatanga nekuti we are a community, what is yours is mine what is mine is yours, lets share. Vachidzidziswa as simple as sharing. it doesn't have anything to do with number with maths but that's real life. So, maybe that's what is keeping me in the teaching field. You'll see tumwe tuvana - I teach mamwe ma brother acho muno, tudikidiki - they'll come to say and you'll be shocked because they know you by name 'how come you came to my class you did not greet me but you greeted so and so only'. imagine kuti it's a young child arikukurecogniser, loves you kuti when you come to my class talk to me also because you're teaching my brothers. These are innocent souls, they make me happy. Even if ndiri frustrated ndiri chichi when I get to work...if it's a Monday they'll ask you 'ma'am how was your weekend?' Maybe I had a very terrible weekend and then maybe I share lightly to say boys it was ZESA-less it was moneyless I was just home the whole weekend - ndiri kuto reliever that stress. At the end of the day when I go back home, I'm ok because these young souls they don't judge, they don't and they don't know kuti kune muShona, kune muNdebele kune muSuthu. At primary level the one that have

gone through all the years that I've been teaching - I started teaching in 1994. They don't know that. They know kuti 'lomngane wami'. It is up to us as teachers to maintain that spirit of oneness. You'll see that they associate very well. Tine ma coloureds, they associate very well. You'll never see them vachi callana naming by their back grounds. At this stage they are very innocent they have not been populated by the world. And when you meet these innocent souls you know that you'll have a very good day because vana ava hapana chavanoziva and hapana chavanokuudza that will affect you its only when you go out there paunonzwa kanti vele udingani la? You are in the wrong place, you should be somewhere else, but when you are at work with these ones, you enjoy. So, it keeps me in teaching. Every day when I wake up - I was telling their parents - kuti do u know kuti each and every child has a place in a teacher's heart. They are unique. Let's say do you know when one of these children doesn't come to school I will miss kuti umaz'bani was not her; kumbe its the goodness or the naughtiness or the quietness you know you can tell that this child is not here today - there is something about this child. So, it keeps me in teaching.

[00:13:23.00] Interviewer: Does Ubuntu mean anything to you personally and as a professional teacher?

[00:13:42.12] MaJoy: It really does mean something to me. Ubuntu to me is very broad. When I am talking about ubuntu in my own perspective I am looking at an individual level without the academic part of it. What makes you, what makes you tick. When I see you how do you communicate with people around you, how do you carry yourself where you're not known? Ungafika ebantwini nje, let's say ndasvika panda svika, it's a new environment kunana gogo nana sekuru do I look down upon them because I am a teacher? How do I approach them, how do I talk to different age groups? When I look at ubuntu, I should be able to communicate ne ka 1 year old, nemu 5year old, nemu 10 year old nemu 20year old nemu 80 year old differently. Ndika svika pana gogo how do I handle myself. Inini zvandinoita when I get my new class. Ndinoita induction nema parents, if I know it's a grandmother who is taking care of you, when I am addressing you you're not a grandmother you're not a grandparent you're also my grandmother. Ngithi 'salibonani gogo, linjani gogo, gogo ngiyabonga lisenzele lokhu lalokhu'. I see muridzi wemwana, maka dini ko baba, ah shuwa tinotenda baba murikutiitira zvakati meaning inini nemwana wavo. So that is what I see as ubuntu. I don't isolate myself from vana vandino teacher neva bereki vavo but I should know, pakahuya kamningina kake (we student yangu) ndoti 'yebo bhudaz, whats going on, z'khiphani' thats the age group hanti, ndiyo age group yacho iyoyo. Once you do that you are able to fit in. Kana ndasvika panana gogo

ndikasvika kumusha ndotsvaga yangu zambia wo handiti, ndotsvaga zambia. unozonzwa wega vave kukwenyana kuti ko havasi vayevaye mistress vari pama poto avo hanti. Ubuntu, when you go wherever you go, you don't carry your profession, your profession - my profession I leave here in class. When I leave my school, out there I am like anybody else. Handizoti ndasvika paline yehupfu dai mandipinza mberi inini I am a teacher ndinokudzidzisirai vana venyu. When I get there where there is a queue I also queue, you respect. Profession has nothing to do with ubuntu, ubuntu is how you carry yourself, the words that come out of your mouth, are you hurting someone, are you leaving a dent or a mark yekuti anosara achiti that is a person to talk to or the person anoti I wish I'd never met this type of a person, that's when we talk about ubuntu. And when you're talking to ubuntu when it comes to vana vechikoro, inini my policy when I first take a class I don't teach, I should know them. I cannot teach someone that I don't know. We get to know each other ' mina ngingu MaJoy ngihlala ngaphi ngaphi, ngila bazukulu abanje abanje. I tell them know, I tell them the basics about myself - what about you? Anokuudza inini ndini ningi ndakadaidai. Ndochivabvunza kuti ok - you're coming to school why? What's your goal, urikuurei kuchikoro. Do you even know? So, it's like I'm trying to make that person into a human being to mould the child. Because vana sometimes vangoti kuthwe ngibuye eskolo handiti, why? Hantsho vele I should go to school because I'm still young. That's not the reason to go to school. You're moulding your life your future yourself, its about you now. Where do you see yourself in 10yrs time 20yrs time and at the same time again, hochidzidzisa vana vako respect. We have to respect. Like here they know kuti they are their brother's keepers. Vakadai, they know they are brothers' keepers, they should take care of each other. Out there you defend each other because you're from one mother me! When you're here I am your mother out there you say good about yourself. When we have differences, we solve it within these four walls (gestures to the classroom) when we go out there you protect your brother because you're your brothers' keeper. Once you've done that vana unova tsanangurira kuti hakuna difference, muno kuna Ncube, kuna Mhlanga, kuna Maphosa those are just surnames they don't mean anything. When I am born, I'm just a person ndakazvarwa ndiri munhu. Handina chandakatakura, you're the one who is naming me. When God created me, he created an individual asina zita asina chii. Then we decided to name handiti? Saka when we get into a room like this ine vana vangu 44 they belong to 1 mother and surname yavo ndeyangu they are mine; they belong to me. So, if they belong to me so if they belong to me this means I should mould them so when people see them they should say ah anodzidza kuna ningi akadai. When they make a mistake people should be able to say 'that's not their behaviour those ones are unique'. They should be able to be identified out there because they are a

community. So, after waita izvozvo watsanangurira vana vako kuti you're coming to school to build a future then you ask them iwe what type of future do you want. You make it yourself; no one is going to do it for you. Once you do that you'll never have problems nevana vako because they know kuti ‘ah ah mina that car that house is mine.’ I tell them if you dont picture it you wont succeed. nxa ukuexam think about that car ukuti shuwa iphuma khona (she points at an open book) it comes from what im writing. handiti. and when you go back home there you respect your parents. if your parents say no its no. you dont say how come next door bayenza...if you live with your grand parents an adult is an adult, you have to respect. and once you do that obvious varipo ehe vaya vekuti they might come from a broken home so it maybe that they're a problem but usually it works very well.

[00:20:44.17] Interviewer:ok. very interesting. i find that in the teachers that ive interviewed so far who are teaching primary school the difference with the teachers that ive seen that ive interviewed who teaches high school when i get in their class there is a sense of a very stronghold mu class yavo. vana venge vakati ziii but when i come to ma primary school....

[00:21:16.09]at this point students start to admonish each other to turn down the noise with shhhh hisses without MaHoy's prompting

[00:21:16.09] Interviewer:...your students varikutamba varikutaura nyaya

[00:21:22.00] MaJoy: The classroom is like real life, we are talking of real life. kwenyu kumba chaiko munogara makti zii? So do you want to control children that way

[00:21:27.26] Interviewer:hmm hmm (no)

[00:21:27.26] MaJoy: Handiti ka. Thats why I’m saying kuti we are not academics, these children they share bhora...Monday especially kana kwanga kuene bhora rinonakidza muno fiwa....they discuss, they share music, they'll tell you about ma favourite musicians avo because vadiki vana ava tirikuvadzidzisa vana ava kuti they should socialise. Imagine kana akauya muno obata book achibuda muno obata book. That person wont even greet you, their whole life. Havana kuzvidzidza. When they come here they should say good morning ma’am ngoba angilalanga ngini. Mina ngifika I will say good morning boys but those who come after me they know that the first stop is the teachers table. Good morning ma’am I’m sorry I’m late. They also know when you're not well you don’t cry you share, 'maam today im not feeling well why so that i can keep an eye on them. if i have to phone home i must phone home but vana vedu lets be realistic we dont live in a quiet community toita kunge vana....we are at schools

not prisons. yes wen it comes now to teaching we get into teaching but like today vambo mira mira. they should be able to play becauase the are young kana vave vana baba ndovaye vamunonzwa kuti vaita ma small house because havana nguva yekutamba vavekunotamba ku wrong place saka let them play. all work and no play...

[00:23:05.19] Interviewer:makes Jake a dull boy

[00:23:05.19] MaJoy:yes! so they should be able to play vana. they should be able to socialise, to make friends. and vaka dai they are not friends here only, they have friends who dont learn in the same class. in the school anenge achikuudza kti ane frien yake irimu grade 4 they should make friends within the school not kuti you confound them kuti ndevangu. ndosaka ndanga ndichiti kamwana kandisinga zive unonzwa kachiti how are you maam, you cam eto my class and you didnt greet me. Thats how we are, we are a community, at this school we are a community. vana they belong to all of us. yes i have my class but when it comes even to discipline or whatever I see a child doing something wrong, I have to correct it I don't even have to look for the teacher. I correct because the children are ours.

[00:23:59.25] Interviewer:uhmm we are coming to the end of our conversation. i dont want to call it an interview because its more like a conversation. tiri kutaura zvedu nyaya. i want to push you a little bit panyaya yeUbuntu. One of the respondents, two of them actually vandashanda navo, they are teachers vane madisabilities. vakazvinzwa kuti...

[00:24:29.10]another interupption from one of the staff members MaJoy tellls her to come back later 'sister ngizakubiza later'

[00:24:29.10] Interviewer: like i was saying kuti 2 of them....because i wanted to get different stories different experiences from female teachers vaka siyana siyana...vamwe they are deeply religious...

[00:25:00.20]her son walks in and she introdcue him to me, he is her first born. She ask the class if they look alike, the class has met her other son. Its almost like a family introduction. She introduces me to him. the students have met her other son. the son who walks in works with one of her students fathers. the introduction sounds very familia to me. She then asks one of the students to bring her pruse from the cabinet of the far end of the room. She goes on to ask me to take a picture of her and her son in her class room.[00:27:50.18]she says this interlude is 'real life now'

[00:29:24.22]at this point another staff member walks in and asks if I have come with her son Majoy refers to me as her 'visitor'

[00:30:28.09] Interviewer:(I start to look for where the interview ad ended) Two teachers/respondents are teachers with disability and patatanga kutaura nyaya ye Ubuntu they raised a concern. we can talk about Ubuntu being about respect humility how we treating other people but ivo they feel society, especially ma society defined by Ubuntu we are short changing people with disabilities

[00:30:58.29] MaJoy: Yes we are!

[00:30:58.29] Interviewer:hatisi kunyatso svitsa nyaya yo Ubuntu kuvanhu ava

[00:31:05.03] MaJoy: (interjects) even ma class aya (pointing at where we are) as you go out can you say that they are user friendly to someone who has a wheel chair. we can say the policy...thats when you go back to the policy makers they are not putting that into consideration because there was a time pavanga vakuzoti isayi zvima ramp uko kuzasi kwemaclas zvakoziiswa asi zvokuzoiswa after wards but infrastructuyre yedu whereerv we go its not user friendly for vanu vane ma disablities. even chaiko kana ndiine hama yangu even iri blind even iichi we dont talk about that and hati bude bude navo stereki. that one is true, tichiri.....pane stigma inodarika ye AIDS when it comes to disability why because usually tinoti akaroyiywa we believe in witchcraft. tinotungamidza witchcraft <u>because thats our culture</u> ne witchcraft irimo and because tino tungamidza witchcraft <u>we are embarrassed</u>, we associate those people with bad omens kuti maybe kumba kwavo kune munhu akambo uraya munhu, kune ngozi thats why vakazoita mwana ari blind. if you look at my boys vangu vese their great grand mother used to have eyesight problems, their father, what what. like yavo its hereditary along the line everyone has to wear (glasses) my youngest one its even worse because the other eye arichavoni but you wont know he only uses one eye. so when you look at those things if tiri vanhu vaya vanenge vachitarisa chivanhu we would say iko kuti kumusha ikoko kwa...vaiikata kuti aite saMbuya vake. which is not true. maybe its because kwakabvira disability kudara kuti yaiwonekwa sei...its was not seen as a normal thing. remember kudaradara taiuraya matwins tichiti chishamiso chisanga vanirwe kuitika...ishura...hazvivanirwe kuitika zvakadai. <u>So maybe ikoko kwazvakabvira kare kare</u> kuti mukaita chirema kudara vaiuraya vanazvo chaizvo chaizvo vanovarirwa mumba. you wont know kuti panechirema pamba apa unless you are a relative. anopiirwa ikoko achidya ikoko so wazvakabvira i think thats where theres a problem. it starts from hoem community nationawide.

[00:33:23.18] Interviewer:ikozvino one of the big things zirikutaurwa in education circles is inclusive eduation

[00:33:29.04] MaJoy: (interjects) yes!

[00:33:29.04] Interviewer: so we are most likely in the coming few years to see ma classes ari blended. munenge muine vana vane....

[00:33:36.16] MaJoy:(interjects) i'll give you an example of what happened last year. tichitanga tanga tatiine mwana ane.....yangoita kunge some sort of disability ane big body but asinga nyatsogona kufamba. Ndobva asvika paku seenzesa ma crutches handiti. vaiuya vomu dropper pa gade then last year as teachers we almost cried vauya vamdropper pa egde vema organised transport vaye vaye. ma crutches aye aye haacha holder body weight he was big mwana uya uya. ayiti akafamba akasvika apo ogara. and i remember we had 4 teachers who had to take charge kumusumudza mwana kupinda naye mugade. as a school hatina kana wheel chair yekuti alright mwana auya, how can we help that child, hatina! we had to lift that day mwana iyeye and do you know next...we are talking about inclusive handiti...he would take time because as a school what we had to do we had to call the parents and refer that school iri apo inonzi chii....King george...yes! to go and find out how best they can help because pano go even to the toilets.... matoilets edu ndeye ava vari able bodied now it was now a burden kune vamwe vana beause aiti kana avekuda kuenda ku toilet two boys had to accompany him. vosvika vomulifter vomuisa pa toilet vodzoka naye which was now being unfair on the other children because body yake yakange yaka kurisa. we had to ask the parents to transfer...yes we are talking about inclusive but do we have those facilities because again we need trained teachers vanoziva kuti ku King George vanenge vaine class teacher ane assistant who knows how to handle vana vaye vaye who handle kana vave kuenda kuma toilets kuine infrastrure yakakwana but a normal school like this it means we have to restructure everything especially ma toilets edu hakuna kana zvima rails zviya zviya and kuma steps, ma toilets edu ese you have to go up masteps so as much itai inclusive when we talk about inclusive maybe tinga tora hedu vari blind but still vanoda kuti vaitirwe toilet yavoive seen ku Mckerutan they have a special toilte for those children they are well trainied how to use that type of toilet and inenge iri clean! compared kunevana vanoona, very clean well taken care of. I dont know how those teachers train but they’re well trained and vanoita kuti vasaende uko because children being children anosvika achimuitira weti, they can mess them . onyatso svika achiti trrrrrrrri because haasikumuona but iye if you know kuti vane yavo....althoygh it will be again like isolating

them but in another way its just trying to protect them. isusus we are far, infrasture yedu at school....yes talk about iclusive but does our infrastructure allow that? so it has to be that ivo they have to restructure their schools kana muchi taura nezve inclusive . Train more teachers! because it would mean do they have the money to train more teachers? Because what it means is that we must have asst teachers who are going to asst us how to handle those children and if i have a class maybe mwana uya aita problem, i have 47 children to leave 47 and go with 1.....pauese.....so it means tinenge taukuda ma asst.

[00:37:15.29] a staff maybe come back to give feedback on an earlier task. she tells the lady that she is a 'darling, thank you so much'

[00:37:19.14] MaJoy: It has to do with infrastructure because they have to go back to the drawing board. Yes munogona ku forcera ma schools kuti torai vana but are we trained to assist or makuti titore vazoswera pachikoro whereby if they go to king george those schools that meant for that handiti they've well trained teachers they know kuti by the end of the year mwana wangu would have achieved that. But inini ukandipa i'll just make sure kuti the child is socialising, i dont know how kuti ma motor skills vanoda ma motor skills vakaremara vaye how do they go about it. i am not doing anything to that child, i am not helping that child in any way but unless if they're going to say they are going to bring specialised teachers vanenge vachizovaitisa ma phisio vachivaitisa this and that, eys it will be welcome but not to just say inclusive and you are not doing anything. like now tine ma enrolment ema 51/52 onto of thos e51/52 maybe you give me 1 or 2....and do you know that one mwana ane special needs anodarika the 50 that I have so if they are going to do that. so if they're going to do that (INCLUSIVE) it has to be kuve ne supplemanry budget rekuti they're going to employ more people to deal with that situation not to just say kuti bedzi endai vana ngava...enrolai vana its a must that those children be taken to schools. it would be very unfair on the part of the child. very unfair, they have to think about it seriously

[00:38:58.18] Interviewer:well we will see, i know kuti the education amendment bill yaka pinda muna May that is one of the things thatthey are trying kuti that all schools should start working towards infrastrure...

[00:39:08.21] MaJoy: (interjects) muna mari yacho! becuase you have to look at mari, mari iripo here to do all those things

[00:39:09.26] Interviewer: it remains to be seen

[00:39:18.00] MaJoy: Yah we will wait and see. we are educators, we are supposed to educate everyone. we will wait for that day and we embrace the changes as they come, we will

[00:39:32.16] Interviewer: Uhm thank you so much maam i think as a personal reflection what i take from our conversation is i can see the comfort and the joy yamunayo in working with students that is something chatisanganyanyi kunyora about in academia leve. kana tichinyora nezve teaching...i think we are too academic...somethimes we forget that teaching is a calling it is a joy it has to be there has to be joy...and joy iyoyo kana ichibva kuna teacher it translates kuvana

[00:40:14.05] MaJoy:it does!

[00:40:14.05] Interviewer:that is something that i need to bring from our conversation into my thesis. ndichastavaga the best ways kuti ndizvi capture zvakana....

[00:40:22.16] MaJoy: We never talked about money (salaries) there is no money but we are here. Ini I always tell them even my parents. I'll just read it for you yesterday (asks students - lina where is my tablet, ngiyi fake nga - students search - asks students to bring her bag) can you see how comfortable they are (to be sent, to go into her locker and bag) students attempts to bring entire bag she responds - just the tablet - and zip back again) and they'll never take anything from my bag

[00:41:07.20] Interviewer:interesting

[00:41:07.20] MaJoy: You talk to them at the beginning, you tell them, respect each other's but that's my property, my personal property so if you disrespect it then there's going to be a problem. I should disrespect you as well so....(addresses a student at the back - kanti Lindokuhle whats going on there, bakuthunukile? Answers no.) This parents when he came yesterday akati he brought me two loaves of bread (provide context here)

[00:42:02.22] Interviewer:oh nice

[00:42:02.22] MaJoy: so I was just thanking him again in the evening 'thank you again for the bread, stay blessed' zvikanzi 'libongani thina yithi esibingayo nge commitment lokuzinikela ku calling yenyu in these hard times' ukuthi parents can see, they really see kuti its harsh and they appreciate khonok'yana ukuthi this parent said thank you for your commitment to me it means a lot, it's a lot again. it also keeps me going kuti well yes its harsh, im struggling but people around me they see it as well kuti im struggling and they appreciate so let me do my work. if i

fail to get transport money then i'll stop coming but as long as i get transport money then i'll wake up and come everyday

[00:42:49.17] Interviewer:interesting, very interesting. maybe before i close just one question yango huuya uhm teaching young boys is it very different from teaching 44 all boys is it different if sya you were teaching a class ine 22/22 or iri all girls

[00:43:17.21] MaJoy:mina i have experienced both. i have taught mixed and i have taught this. at primary level there is not much difference as such. although at primary level girls excel at primary level vakomana vanozo mature vavekuenda kunana grade 7 form 1 and when you teach them separately vane ma unique problems avo as boys. like ava what i say is kuti maturity irikure Monday its their PE day they brng PE attire vasina kupfeka ndoti boys go for PE and they start undressing ndoti ah! lina bantwana kanti liyenzani bothi 'hantsho ungu mama' they refuse to go out, they'll undress ngihlezi khona and put on their....whereby if it was a mixed class that wouldn't happen they'd be very aware of their bodies but because i am a mother and bona they are boys they don't mind to undress. where i was where i taught a mixed class even sitting next to a boy they wouldnt want. you'd see kuti if you put a group ine vankomana nevasikana they are aware kuti ini ndiri komnana inin ndiri muskana. they'd separate uchaona vakomana vari uko vasika vari uko same group nbut kwandiri when i dont feel kuti if i was teaching girls onlys it was going to be different. at promary level a child is a child havasi that difficult and pa this age havasati vane...maybe if it was secondary level we would talk about ma mood swings but at this age at primary I don't see difference yacho because I once taught boys and girls BUT what i was able to see at primary level as much as muchi blamer ma gay you're being very unfair at primary level you can identify. i was teaching a class as time went on i realised ndanga ndiine mukomana ainzi Leroy. Leroy (pause) wova grouper handiti when they separate kuti boys uko girls uko you'd find him sitting pakati pevasikana and thise girls could put their hands on him handiti. im talking about nature at prmary level going home Leroy you'd see him walking with girls he was frinds with girls. but lets say pakagara Leroy pochi uya david they'd run away why? somehow they'd sense kuti mwana uyu mukomana muGAY and after ma exam tapedza grade 7 exams boys would be in the grouond sweating vachitamba soccer you'd find Leroy knitting with the girls. and vamwe vana vese vepachikoro they dont talk about it, they dont laugh about it. you'd find achirova fish-fish and ini i dont think he was even aware but he'd asssociate more nevasikana than vakomana. at primary level you can pick kuti mwana uyu.....that child akati achienda ku scondary my son was at St Columbus mwana akati 'mama kune kamkomana kakadai kakabva kuchikoro kwenyu kato piwa zita remsikana.

because the way he'd carry himself you know he was smart and even kana achitaura those gestures dzevasikana (raises pitch of voice to imitate young feminine voice). this is at primary level haazive kuti i am gay. at primary. mwana azviti anobva kuprimary. so as much vanhu vachiti zvavo inini since that time yandaka teacher vana ivavo i went on to realise kuti vanhu ava yes we might say its wrong but havazviitise. a teacher can easily pick that

[00:47:30.02] another staff member (who she refers to as sir) comes in to give notice about dismissing the students. she immediately stands up and starts to give instructions to prefects. then another teacher comes with documents for her. students start packing up for assembly.

[00:50:30.13] MaJoy:sorry about that amadisturbance akhona kawapheli

[00:50:33.24] Interviewer:its good observation, ndirikuto nakidzwa

[00:50:39.12] Interviewer:thank you so much i think we have come to the end of our conversation. it eded up becoming longer than what we wanted...

[00:50:44.29] MaJoy:i wanted 2 minutes (laughs)

[00:50:44.29] Interviewer:but for me, for me it was perfect. ndisingazive if you have any questions for me?

[00:50:51.12] MaJoy:haaaa NO! Ok i enjoyed talking to you, just sharing uhhhm

[00:51:00.03]school siren goes off

[00:52:13.15] Interviewer: thank you for the interview

End of recording

Appendix G: Turnitin digital receipt

turnitin

Digital Receipt

This receipt acknowledges that Turnitin received your paper. Below you will find the receipt information regarding your submission.

Submission Author	PRECIOUS Simba
Turnitin Paper ID (Ref. ID)	1386989753
Submission Title	P Simba PhD Draft 1
Assignment Title	PG Skills Turnitin Sandbox
Submission Date	14/09/20, 20:27

Appendix H: Proof of language editing

Lize.net
COMMUNICATION (Pty) Ltd
Company registration: 2019/050723/07

To whom it may concern

This serves as confirmation that I, Lize Vorster, performed the language editing and technical formatting of Precious Simba's thesis entitled:

A feminist critique of ubuntu: Implications for citizenship education in Zimbabwe

Editing is done in track changes and the student has final control over accepting or rejecting changes at their own discretion. Technical formatting entails complying with the Stellenbosch University's technical requirements for theses and dissertations, as presented in the Calendar Part 1 – General or where relevant, the requirements of the department.

Yours sincerely

Lize Vorster
Language Practitioner

Vygie street 9, Welgevonden Estate, Stellenbosch, 7600 * e-mail: lizevorster@gmail.com * cell: 082 856 8221