

**CRITICAL THEORY, ADULT LEARNING AND 'XENOPHOBIA': A
CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE ON *UMOJA WA AFRIKA*'S HUMAN RIGHTS
PEER EDUCATION PROGRAMME**

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ABSTRACT

The impact of global migration on local contexts has spawned new issues and a range of social responses. These include the emergence of ‘xenophobia’ in the terrain of discrimination and the subsequent development of popular educational responses to this. As part of popular educational responses, adult education programmes have assumed an important role in changing people’s attitudes.

This long research paper presents a critical analysis of how a human rights and counter-xenophobia peer educators’ programme enables young adults to develop a critical consciousness about human rights and ‘xenophobia’. The research focused on learning materials, course content, training methodology and processes of a three-day human rights and counter-xenophobia workshop held by *Umoja wa Afrika*, a local non-governmental organization, in March/April 2007 at Goedgedacht, just outside Cape Town. The research was based on qualitative methodology which included an exploration of relevant literature, interviews with participants and facilitators, as well as the researcher’s critical reflections.

The research was located within a critical theory framework in the field of adult learning, and drew from the work of Paulo Freire (1970) and Stephen Brookfield (2005).

The key finding of the study is that the experience of the workshop enabled participants to develop a *critical awareness* - but *not* necessarily a critical understanding of human rights and ‘xenophobia’. The participants identified specific factors that contributed to such awareness. These included the diverse composition of participants, the ‘accompanying’ facilitation style, and the interactive training methodology.

This study makes a contribution to understanding human rights peer education in the South African context and the extent to which such provision could enable participants to develop a critical understanding of human rights and xenophobia. This study is an attempt to make an original contribution in this area. As such it adds to literature in applied critical methodology.

DECLARATION

I, Shepherd Ayanda Mati, hereby declare that this research paper constitutes my own work and has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

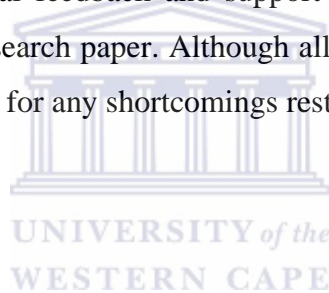
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NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY AND 'XENOPHOBIA'

Terminology is key not only in sustaining but also in countering discourses of 'xenophobia'. A human rights perspective requires sensitivity to language and language use. The construction of the 'other' presupposes a language of exclusion. As a critical researcher, I have to pay attention to this issue of framing and naming of the 'other'.

Throughout this research paper the term *foreign national from other African countries* is used to refer to people who come from across the African continent to reside in South Africa. This term is sometimes used interchangeably with *immigrant* to refer broadly to people who have come to reside in South Africa, and who may or may not have legal status. I chose to use this term precisely because the term **African national** tends to reinforce the notion of South Africa as non-African. Therefore it has been deliberately avoided as an attempt to locate the argument of this research within a discourse that is critical of the dominant paradigm that sustains the status quo of exclusion and 'othering' of fellow Africans.

Migrants is used to refer to persons who temporarily, either voluntarily or through force, leave their country of origin to live and work in another country.

Refugees are persons who leave or run away from their country of origin because of war or conflict or economic reasons; or they fear that they might be injured or killed (persecuted) for political, religious or other reasons if they remain in the country where they are living.

Asylum-seekers is used to refer to all those people who, as a result of a genuine fear of persecution, have run away from their country of origin to come and seek protection and livelihoods in another country.

Ikwerekwere this is a derogatory term said to originate in the mocking mimicking of the sound of foreign languages to local ears.¹ The term is used to refer to foreign nationals from the rest of the African continent living in South Africa and it is predominant in the public discourse. In working class and poor communities the contestation ranges between this term and the term ‘brothers and sisters’. In government discourse though, the term used is not *ikwerekwere* but often ‘aliens’ and ‘foreign nationals’ to denote who is and who is not a citizen, even when the Constitution suggests equal rights to all – citizens and non-citizens.



¹ <http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/kwerekwere>

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SECTION ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Context and background

1.1.1 *A flashback to xenophobic eruptions in 2008*

On the morning of Sunday 11th May 2008, South Africa, a country emerging from more than three centuries of systematic discrimination, social injustice and violation of human rights, woke up to a series of attacks apparently carried out by locals and directed at foreign nationals from the rest of the African continent. These took place in a number of townships and informal settlements beginning in Alexandra, Johannesburg (McKnight, 2008; Lubbe, ND).

The following headlines reflect how the subeditors in the English and Afrikaans mainstream, liberal commercial newsrooms framed and coded what one publisher called ‘the first rough draft of history’¹, of that fateful month:

‘Bitter fruit in Alex’ (*Citizen 19 May 2008*)

‘A nightmare threatens the dream of a new South Africa’,
(*Cape Argus 3 June 2008*).

‘Fight for survival begins again’, (*Cape Argus 10 June 2008*).

‘Honderde bid teen xenofobie’ (Hundreds pray against xenophobia),
(*Die Burger 24 May 2008*).

‘Looters run riot’, (*Weekend Argus - Saturday Edition 24 May 2008*).

Could what was happening in the streets of Alexandra be the physical manifestation of violent discourses driven by the power of the mainstream media, and often shared by the state, in constructing foreign nationals from the rest of the continent in

¹ Phillip Leslie Graham delivering a speech to the overseas correspondents of *Newsweek* in London in April 1963 uttered the following words “So let us today drudge on about our inescapably impossible task of providing every week a *first rough draft of history* that will never really be completed about a world we can never really understand...”. Source: http://www.barrypopik.com/index.php/new_york_city/entry/first_draft_of_history_journalism/

‘problematic’ terms and the associative usage of such codes as ‘illegal’ and ‘immigrants’ wherever reference is made to foreign nationals from the rest of the continent living in South Africa? (Neocosmos, 2006). Could South Africa be drifting into the post-colonial paradox once observed by the Martinique-born Algerian revolutionary when he uttered these words:

Between resounding assertions of the unity of the continent and this xenophobic-behaviour of the masses which has its inspiration in their leaders, many different attitudes may be traced. We observe a permanent see-saw between African unity, which fades quicker and quicker into the mists of oblivion, and a heart-breaking return to chauvinism in its most bitter and detestable form (Franz Fanon 1990, p.126 as cited in Neocosmos, 2006).

These attacks, starting in Alexandra township, soon spread to different provinces, catching many by surprise and shocking most. However, in all of this, the community of *Masiphumelele*, an informal settlement metaphorically and physically located between the squalor of Ocean View and the opulence of Fish Hoek, south of Cape Town, responded differently to the initial threats directed at mostly Somali shopkeepers and traders in the area. Community leaders rallied everyone together, moved the mostly Somali community to a temporary place of safety, and proceeded to deliberate on the source of this new ‘xenophobic’ conflict and how to deal with it. The results of this community consultation and deliberation was a resolution to offer a public apology to the mostly Somali nationals, conduct a community raid to recover stolen and looted property belonging to those shopkeepers who suffered attacks, and invite the Somali shopkeepers back to reopen their shops in the community.

1.1.2 *Globalisation, migration and social conflict*

The triumph of political democracy in South Africa in the 1990s took place in the context of increasing globalization (Sparks, 2003; Legum, 2002; Klein, 2007) and a shift from a liberal-democratic welfare state to a dominant neo-liberal paradigm (Preston, 1996, p.255 in Groener, 2000, p.162). One feature of this market driven globalization has been an increase in movement of people across borders. Accounts of cross-border migration in literature differ, with some emphasizing the political

pressures of war and collapsing states (Pulitzer, 2004), while others looking further to how this state implosion is taking place in the organized interest of capitalist accumulation, imperialist corporations and comprador elites (Van Driel, 2008 citing Bayart *et al*, 1999). There are also those who highlight the collapse of local economies and the necessities of trade, employment and education as accelerating factors for migration (Lubbe, 2008). As an apparently and relatively economically and politically stable country, notwithstanding a Gini coefficient of 0.679², and high levels of inequality comparable only to Brazil, Columbia, Haiti and Paraguay, South Africa has become an eventual destination for most of this migration in search of safety, livelihood and new possibilities.

The impact of global migration at the local level has been the emergence of new social issues and a range of social responses. These have in turn impacted on and opened up new challenges, possibilities and spaces for adult education. This long paper is about one such response to a situation of social conflict and injustice apparently brought about by new forms of migration following political democratization in South Africa.

The tension between immigrants and locals is often ascribed to the struggle to access scarce resources (Harris, 2001). It is not the intention of this study to explore the cause of this conflict in any depth, suffice to argue that while globalization has created disparities between rich and poor countries, it has simultaneously deepened social disparities within countries. In South Africa, these have been expressed along race, class and gender lines. This has been achieved largely through pursuit of neo-liberal policies aimed at achieving fiscal austerity and cutting down on social spending (Legum, 2002). Inevitably this creates extreme levels of social marginalization. It is often to this social environment of marginalization that immigrants from the rest of the African continent arrive.

The action of the residents of *Masiphumelele*, to which I referred earlier, prompted me to ask the question: Why? Why did the *Masiphumelele* community act differently

² See Business Day Online Edition report by Donwald Pressly dated September 28, 2009 available at the URL <http://www.busrep.co.za/index.php?fArticleId=5181018>

when it was so easy to follow the example of other townships? After all, the media coverage of these incidents simply reinforced the anti-immigrant frenzy so much so that it is reported the youth of *Masiphumelele*, when confronted as to the reasons for looting the shops of Somalians in the area, simply said they wanted to do what they saw on TV being done in Alexandra township outside Johannesburg.³

In reflecting on these events, I found out that members of the *Masiphumelele* community participated in a course offered by *Umoja wa Afrika*, a community-based, non-governmental organization set up by young South Africans and foreign nationals from the rest of the continent and working across the Western Cape to promote human rights and empower young adults from a diversity of cultural, social and economic backgrounds, and especially its *human rights and counter-xenophobia peer education course*. The course is captured in a 25-page manual that was developed using material and exercises reproduced and adapted from *The Human Rights Education Handbook: Effective Practices for Learning, Action and Change* published by the Human Rights Resource Centre, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, USA. This prompted me to investigate this course.

1.2 The research question

In this study, the research question focused on:

How did the course enable learners to develop a critical understanding of human rights and 'xenophobia'?

1.3 Theoretical assumptions

The first theoretical assumption underpinning this research paper is that adult learning can change people's consciousness. The second theoretical assumption is that critical awareness is a necessary but insufficient condition for critical understanding and transformative or critical action.

³ This was how a local community leader described the response of the youth when a community meeting asked them why they participated in the looting. The community leader shared this with the researcher in a telephonic interview conducted in June 2008, The interview was for an article for an online newsletter resource for journalists covering municipal issues. The online newsletter was available at the URL: <http://www.wordonthestreet.com>

1.4 Scope of the literature review

In order to provide the conceptual foundations for my research and to clarify the concepts of '*critical awareness*' and '*critical understanding*' in the context of critical theory, I undertook a literature review of key critical theorists on adult learning, as well as to explore the role of consciousness in the rise of 'xenophobia'.

I have reviewed literature related to the field of human rights education, critical theory and adult learning theory. This literature focuses on the power of critical theory in adult learning (Brookfield 2005); transformative learning (Mezirow 1981, 1997; Taylor 1998); social emancipatory perspective of transformative learning theory rooted in the work of Paulo Freire (1970) and critical pedagogy (Giroux 1983, 1985; Apple 1997). There has been considerable research on transformative learning frameworks based mainly in the North American context and but this does not expand beyond a psycho-social dimension to examine the social-economic dimension. After all, for learning to take place, adults must be able to reflect on their experience and to dialogue with themselves and with others (Merriam, 2008). Adult learning gives a privileged position to critical reflection and positions this as a distinctly adult form and process of learning (Brookfield, 1995, p.4). It is this social construction of knowledge in a specific context of a non-governmental organization engaged in human rights and counter-xenophobia education in South Africa in 2006 that this research paper seeks to critically examine.

1.5 Outline of the research paper

This long research paper begins with an introductory section that provides context and background to the research area and discusses how the research question evolved.

Section Two gives a context and background to globalization and its implications for migration and adult learning and concludes with a literature review/conceptual framework on critical theory and adult learning focusing on three areas: construction of knowledge for critical thinking; developing critical thinking – learning

methodology; and the relationship between critical thinking and action – learning outcomes.

Section Three deals with qualitative research methodology; the aims of the study; and the research design, strategy and techniques. It elaborates how the participants were selected and how the data was collected and analysed. The section concludes with a note on ethical considerations and the limitations of the study.

Section Four deals with data analysis and findings. The analysis and findings were organized into three analytical threads. These are the *Construction of Knowledge*; *Learning Methodology*; and *Learning Outcomes*.

Section Five provides a summary, possible research that flow from this study and conclusion.



SECTION TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this research study is to analyse the ways that a human rights peer education programme enables participants to develop critical understanding of human rights and xenophobia. This literature review focuses on three key areas. Firstly it provides a background on critical theory and critical pedagogy as a practice of adult learning. Secondly it examines power and hegemony and how these relate to issues of course content and process in adult learning contexts. Finally it explores the concept of critical reflection and the current debates in fostering critical thinking among adult learners. The elements of critical understanding are critical awareness, critical reflection and critical thinking.

2.1 Critical theory and adult learning

A critical theory of adult learning is a theoretical perspective which frames this paper. An overview of adult education literature reveals that several authors have analysed the relationship between critical theory and adult education (Collard & Law, 1991; Collins, 1985; Collins & Plumb, 1989; Hart, 1990; Little, 1991; Welton, 1991). Critical theory emerged from the theoretical and empirical work undertaken by thinkers such as Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Erich Fromm and later Jurgen Habermas. They were associated with the Institute of Social Research in Frankfurt, Germany hence they are sometimes referred to as ‘the Frankfurt School’ to denote them as a distinct intellectual community. According to Birden (2003) the Frankfurt School intellectuals were concerned with the normative challenges of their times - “the increasing influence of monopoly capitalism, the rise of Nazism and the socialism of the Soviet Union” – and, drawing from the intellectual capital of Marx, “they began asking fundamental questions about how social change occurs, the role of reason in modern society and the connections between theory and practice” (p.36). They undertook this pursuit, however, in a constant dialogue and critical engagement with Marx and “in order to create a more just and democratic society” (Kohli, 1996 as cited in Birden, 2003, p.37). After all, and following Jay (1973), critical engagement

is an *essential* characteristic of critical theory so much so that critical engagement extends to critical theory itself.

Drawing on the work of Horkheimer (1995) to distinguish between critical theory and traditional theories, Brookfield (2000) presents five distinctive characteristics of critical theory. One of the fundamental characteristics of critical theory is that it is grounded in a consistent political analysis. Critical theory's primary unit of analysis remains social conflict between classes. This conflict is based on the struggle of one class to emancipate itself from exploitation and another class to maintain the status quo of exploitation. As Marx argued, in a commodity exchange economy, all human relationships are determined by the dynamic of exchange and in the exchange value of things supersede their use value. At the root of adult learning, there is this tension between the exchange value of learning in order to be employable in the job market and the use value of learning in order to "develop self-confidence, draw new meanings from life and be open to new perspectives on the world" (Brookfield, 2005, p.24).

The commodity exchange economy transforms intellectual and manual labour into a commodity to be exchanged for money. Marx calls this process "commodity fetishisation" (Marx, 1973, p.72 as cited in Brookfield, 2005). As a result, "a major source of our identity and self-worth – our labour - is turned into an abstract object" (Brookfield, 2005, p. 25). This fetishisation extends to human relationships and turns these into "the phantastic form of a relationship between things" (Marx, *ibid* as cited in Brookfield, 2005). Adult education has not escaped from this "fetishisation" and this translates to objectification of relationships between teachers and learners, of curriculum, of adult educators as if they were things with an innate value all devoid of emotions and feelings. Harbemas (1987) talks of "the colonization of the lifeworld" to refer to this "invasion of our personal lives by capitalist processes of exchange". According to Brookfield (2005) the premise from which Horkheimer based his analysis was that "the commodity exchange economy that dominates social relations must be reconfigured so that people can realize their humanity and freedom" (p.23).

Brookfield (2005) asserts that critical theory is grounded in three core assumptions about the world as it is. The first assumption of critical theory is that what appear as open democratic societies are actually unequal societies characterized by empirical

realities of social inequality and class, race and gender discrimination. The second assumption of critical theory is that this situation of social inequality is reproduced and normalized through the dissemination of dominant ideology. The third assumption of critical theory is that critical theory helps to not only understand this situation, but does this as a necessary step to changing it (p.viii). Critical theory presupposes the ultimate vision is of a society based on human solidarity and encouragement of free expression of human creativity and in which the individual's wellbeing is linked to collective well being. To attain this vision, human beings must become critically aware of how dominant ideology functions to maintain and reproduce the status quo. As Brookfield argues critical theory *as ideology critique* presupposes a preoccupation "to understand how people learn to identify and then oppose the ideological forces and social processes that oppress them" (2005, p.30). Following this, adult learning can play a central role in allowing adults to critically distance themselves from being enmeshed in the dominant culture of everyday living, examine the assumptions underlying their everyday discourse and power relations and then reengage themselves in the task of challenging and resisting dominant culture. As a learning process, ideology critique describes "how people learn to recognize the manifestations of dominant ideology in their everyday lives" (Brookfield, 2005, p.13). In the context of education, ideology critique enable adults to unmask how an unequal and unjust society functions and is sustained as well how they have within themselves the power to transform this society towards a just society based on solidarity. This kind of society can only be created on the basis of what Brookfield calls "the learning tasks of critical theory". These are learning to "recognize and challenge ideology" that attempts to present the status quo of exploitation of the majority by a powerful minority as a "natural state of affairs"; learning to "uncover and counter hegemony"; learning to "unmask power"; learning to "overcome alienation and accept freedom"; learning to "pursue liberation"; learning to "reclaim reason", and learning to "practice democracy"(p.39).

In relation to xenophobia, it is my contention that in a class-divided society characterized by social inequality, xenophobia, like all other forms of discrimination, works in the interest and to the benefit of the dominant class and the powerful and against the poor and marginalized classes. The course under investigation is an attempt to understand this processes at work and then to strategise ways of subverting

the norm. Critical theory provides key conceptual tools to understand how the status quo operates as a necessary precondition to changing it. These concepts include ideology (Marx and Engels, 1970), repressive tolerance and rebellious subjectivity (Marcuse, 1965), hegemony (Gramsci, 1971) and disciplinary power (Foucault, 1977).

Welton (1991, 1993, 1995) describes how adults learn to recognize and understand how dominant ideology is manifested in daily life. There are two bases for the relevance of critical theory for adult learning. The first is using critical theory to explain how adults learn to accept and then challenge social and economic inequality. Secondly it is how critical theory helps us critically reflect on assumptions underlying our actions. Therefore a critical understanding of ideology and of how it ‘prevents the agents in society from correctly perceiving their true situation and real interests’ and of how essential it is for adults to free themselves of “ideological illusion” in order to achieve genuine freedom is a central concern of critical theory (Geuss, 1981, p2-3). The early work on ideology, undertaken by Marx and Engels who explored how ideology helped to reproduce social structure, was built upon and expanded by Antonio Gramsci who introduced a key concept of hegemony to broaden the definition of ideology. Although ideology is imposed by the ruling class, hegemony occurs when these ideas, beliefs, values and practices are embraced by all classes. Hegemony is achieved when people learn to accept an unjust society as ‘natural and in their own best interests’. In explaining the central role of adult education and learning in hegemony formation, Gramsci argued that “every relationship of hegemony is necessarily an education relationship” (1995,p.157)

This research examines specifically the different ways in which the *Human Right Peer Educators Course* assists participants to recognize and challenge the perception that seeks to present the status quo whereby foreign nationals are perceived as a social burden to the host country, and how expressions of xenophobia are seen as natural and in the best interest of the citizens of the host country.

2.2 Critical understanding, critical awareness, critical reflection and critical thinking

I argue that critical understanding is comprised of these elements – critical awareness, critical reflection and critical thinking (Freire, 1984; Brookfield, 1987).

2.2.1 Critical thinking and the hidden curriculum

Any provision of adult learning presupposes a curriculum. This involves not only the openly-declared and visible formal curriculum that is located in the course content and texts, but also the hidden and invisible informal curriculum that is located in the context and process of learning. Often the hidden curriculum can assume “a more intricate and more influential role” in adult learning settings (Johnson-Bailey in Cervero and Wilson *et al.*, 2001, p.132). While the formal curriculum is explicit about power the hidden curriculum is relatively implicit of power and power relations.

A review of literature on hidden curriculum reveals a number of theorists beginning with Durkheim (1961) when he first observed “a whole system of rules in the school that predetermine the child’s conduct” even though these are not specified in the formal curriculum (p.148). But the term ‘hidden curriculum’ is said to originate from Phillip Jackson (1968) who, in his *Life in Classrooms*, identified “learning to wait quietly, exercising restraint, trying, completing work, keeping busy, cooperating, showing allegiance to both teachers and peers, being neat and punctual and conducting oneself courteously” (as cited in Kentli, 2009, p. 84). Subsequent theorists include Dreeben (1968) who studied school culture and how it teaches students about authority.

Durkheim, Jackson and Dreeben are known as constituting the consensus theory school of thought which emphasizes the hidden curriculum as part of a socialization process including norms, values and belief systems that are not explicitly stated in the formal curriculum but are embedded in it. However, this approach to the hidden curriculum has been criticized for stressing consensus and stability at the expense of conflict and change, and for not problematising the norms, values and beliefs systems embedded in the curriculum and transmitted via the hidden curriculum as well as for

denying agency to students and treating them merely as passive recipients (Lynch, 1989).

Vallance (1973) identifies three dimensions of hidden curriculum. These relate to: (1) the contexts of schooling; (2) the processes operating in and through schools; and (3) the degrees of intentionality of the hidden curriculum. Drawing from a Marxist tradition, Bowles and Gintis (1976) argue that through the hidden curriculum, educational institutions do not facilitate social mobility but serve to reproduce existing social relations, by “sending a silent, but powerful message to students with regards to intellectual ability, personal traits, and the appropriate occupational choice [...]” (as cited in Kentli, 2009, p.84)

Martin (1976) goes further to suggest hidden curriculum can be found not only in the social structure of the classroom and the relationship between teacher and student but also in the learning activities, language used by teachers, textbooks, tracking system and curriculum priorities. Willis (1977) points us to the hidden curriculum of student resistance if we are to fully understand process of social and cultural reproduction.

Anyon (1980) established a connection between the social class of the student and the type of occupation they were prepared for by the schooling system.

Apple (1982) suggests that the hidden curriculum includes “various interests, cultural forms, struggles, agreements and compromises” and that students are capable of resisting the system as it attempts to socialize them (Kentli, 2009, p. 86). This issue of resistance is taken further by Giroux (1983) when he examines the role of students and teachers in resisting official and hidden curriculum and specifically as “active agents working to subvert, reject or change curricula” (Kentle, 2009, p.86).

While the hidden curriculum is not the focus of this study, it however provides an opportunity to explore the values, norms and practices which, while not explicit in the curriculum statement of objectives, were nevertheless conveyed by the course.

2.2.2 Adult learning and critical reflection

A review of adult education literature reveals that the development of critical thinking and critical reflection are central concepts to the practice of adult education (Mezirow, 1981, 1991; Marsick, 1987; Brookfield, 1987; Garrison, 1991, 1992). This involves the idea of learning through reflecting on own experience of and in the world. The literature on critical thinking and critical reflection draws from a variety of intellectual traditions including analytic philosophy, pragmatism, constructivism, psychoanalysis and critical theory (Brookfield, 2005). Brookfield (1993)⁴ defines critical reflection as constituted by firstly the experience of questioning and then reframing an assumption cherished as dominant commonsense by the majority and secondly the experience of adopting a perspective on political and social structures or on personal and collective actions, which is strongly alternative to that held by the majority. However, as Brookfield warns, there are apparent limitations to this definition of critical reflection. I would argue, critical reflection cannot be examined outside the context in which it is applied. As Brookfield (1993) maintains “the mere questioning and reframing dominant commonsense assumptions does not amount to the development of alternative perspectives underpinned by a social justice imperative”. On the contrary, more like the proverbial double-edged sword I would argue, critical reflection could be employed to sustain and foster race, class and gender discrimination and other forms of social injustice. In fact, Reynolds (1999) warns of this when he argues that “stripping reflection of any socio-political element weakens its capacity for analysis and redefinition while leaving a superficial impression that a more critical approach has been applied” (p.178).

I suggest this is particularly evident in the transformative learning perspective, where critical reflection is framed primarily in terms of personal development and not the socio-political context. Finally, critical reflection risks the disconnection of reflection from action. Brookfield (1993) warns against critical reflection “ending up mired in ineffectual acknowledgements of diversity or becoming just one more example of technical rationality through its reduction to a set of processes and techniques.” In his

⁴An article entitled *Breaking the Code – Engaging Practitioners in Critical Analysis of Adult Educational Literature*. This article is available as a permalink at the URL: <http://search.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.uwc.ac.za/login.asp?direct=true&db=aph&AN=9609222787&site=ehost-live> . The accession number is: 9609222787

own work, therefore, he has pursued a deliberate and dialectical blending of “universalist elements of the modern valuing of rational analysis as a hedge against oppression with relativist elements of the postmodern emphasis, contextuality and multiplicity of perspectives” (Brookfield, *ibid*). The result has been to extend critical reflection to the analysis of hegemony. Learning is a process of “receiving and creating communicative messages or discourses about the social world” (Brookfield, *ibid*).

Another perspective on critical reflection comes from the transformative learning theoretical perspective. Taylor (1998) identifies critical reflection, experience and rational discourse as key themes in transformative learning. In this perspective, critical reflection is about the ability to question the taken-for-granted assumptions and beliefs that come with prior experience. And it is likely to take place when individuals reach an awareness of a contradiction in their thoughts, feelings and actions (Taylor, 1998).

According to Cranton (1994) transformative learning implies a process of grasping, validating and reformulating of the meaning of experience (p.22). The outcome of transformative learning is a change in perception (Mezirow,1991,1995,1996; Cranton, 1994,1996). The basic assumption made by transformative learning theorists is that human beings acquire their perceptions uncritically through the process of socialization and to change these it is essential for learners to engage in critical reflection on their experiences. The result of this process of critical reflection, it is asserted, is perspective transformation, which is defined by Mezirow (1991) as,

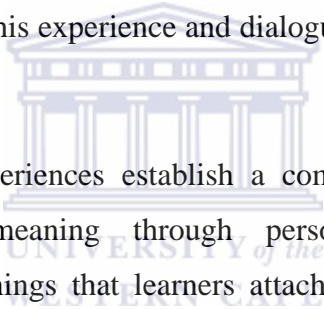
[...] the process of becoming critically aware of how and why our assumptions have come to constrain the way we perceive, understand, and feel about our world; changing these structures of habitual expectation to make possible a more inclusive, discriminating, and integrating perspective; and, finally, making choices or otherwise acting upon these new understandings (p.167).

While providing important insights into how adults learn, Mezirow’s transformative learning perspective focuses on the micro-level of individual agency and tends to ignore the macro-level of socio-political structural context. Critical theory, on the other hand, tends to focus especially on this macro-level in order to explain the micro-

level. The way people learn to become conscious of and act on their capacity for agency is central to critical theory and its concerns with adult learning (Brookfield, 2005).

Brookfield (1995) identifies three interrelated processes involved in critical reflection. These are firstly the ability to ‘question and then replace or reframe an assumption’ we may have held as ‘commonsense wisdom’; secondly the ability to adopt ‘alternative perspective’ on ideas, actions and ideological positions which we have all along taken for granted; and thirdly the ability to ‘recognise the hegemonic aspects of dominant cultural values’ and to understand how these ‘self-evident renderings’ of the way things are in actual fact serve to sustain the interests of powerful groups in society.

So therefore, I would like to argue, a key to transformation is the experience of the learner, critical reflection on this experience and dialogue with others. Tennant (1991) sums this up thus:



[Shared] learning experiences establish a common base from which each learner constructs meaning through personal reflection and group discussion...The meanings that learners attach to their experiences may be subjected to critical scrutiny (p.197)

Critical reflection is ‘a process by which we attempt to justify our beliefs, either by rationally examining assumptions, often in response to intuitively becoming aware of that something is wrong with the result of our thought, or challenging its validity through discourse with others of differing viewpoints and arriving at the best informed judgement’ (Mezirow, 1995, p.46)

Freire and Macedo (1995) place critical reflection among three central teaching approaches to fostering emancipatory transformative learning. Firstly it is critical reflection which aims to rediscover power and help learners develop an awareness of their agency to transform society and their own reality. Secondly a problem-posing and dialogical method of teaching. And thirdly a horizontal student-teacher relationship with the teacher as a political agent on equal terms with the students.

Therefore it would appear that dominant discourse in literature on developing critical thinking suggests that critical reflection, as well as a problem-posing dialogical methodology is key to fostering not only an emancipatory transformative learning but a critical consciousness (Freire & Macedo, 1995). It is this claim about the nature of adult education as essentially emancipatory and critical reflection as a distinctive character of adult learning that this long paper seeks to subject to critical analysis by looking for empirical evidence in the human rights peer education programme of *Umoja wa Africa*. Specifically, the course is located in and draws on popular education methodologies⁵. Accordingly, critical reflection on the experiences and knowledge of the participants are central to the pedagogy promoted in the *Human Right Peer Educators Programme of Umoja wa Africa*.

2.2.3 Critical thinking, human rights education and action

2.2.3.1 Critical thinking, consciousness and action

Literature about critical thinking and school education suggests that although ‘there remains much we do not know about critical thinking development’ some conclusions can be drawn from research done so far (Tsiu, 2007). These are: critical thinking seems to make a difference to students (Gunn, 1993; Keeley, 1992; King, Hood & Mines, 1990; McDonough, 1997; Mines, King, Hood & Wood, 1990; Pascarella, Bohr, Nora, & Terenzini, 1996; Rykiel, 1995; Spaulding & Kleiner, 1992) and that purposeful classroom instruction can and does enhance critical thinking (Halpern, 1999; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). And whilst there has been criticism of the limitations of evaluative instruments used to assess critical thinking (Ennis 2003, as cited in Tsiu, 2007), a growing body of research appears to suggest student engagement in interactive exchanges and class discussions involving thinking processes (McAdams & Foster, 1998; Tsiu, 1998, 1999, 2002), problem-solving methods and activities (Marra, Palmer, & Litzinger, 2000; McAdams & Foster, 1998),

⁵ This is evident in the interview with the key facilitator and adapter of the training manual, Victor, conducted on 5th August and 30th September 2009, when he refers to an ‘accompanying facilitation style’. He says “the idea is not to teach other people [...] but to accompany them in the process of learning” (see full extract on page 58). This is consistent with popular education as expounded by among others Gadotti (1996) and Freire (1984). Further evidence for this can be found in the training methodology and approach as expounded by the activities and exercises in the expanded version of the training manual which says “[...] the primary methodology will be based on the need for interactive and experiential learning” (Human Rights Training Manual, p.5).

the integration of ideas and themes across courses and disciplines (Tsiu 2006-2007), examination of epistemological assumptions (King & Kitchener, 1994; Kronholm, 1996; Thompson, 1995, Tsiu, 2002) and a constructivist-oriented pedagogical approach (Baxter Magolda, 1992; Holfer, 1998-1999) are responsible for student improvements in critical thinking. Reynolds (1999) makes a useful distinction between critical thinking and critical reflection and defines critical thinking as “a disciplined approach to problem-solving” as opposed to critical reflection “which is seen as capable of challenging the unquestioned pursuit of economic expansion with its consequential inequalities in privilege” (p.173).

Following Brookfield, and as discussed earlier, adult learning is about learning to think critically about power and knowledge. This involves a recognition of the social position adults occupy – class, race, gender, nationality – and how these impact on their lives. In the Gramscian sense, adults must learn to distance themselves from their experiences in order to critically reflect on these and understand them as culturally constructed. Critical theory presupposes learning as contextual. As Brookfield maintains, the positionality or location of the learner is reflected in such decisions as to what to learn (the content of learning), how to learn (the process of learning – methods and approaches) and cognition of learning (concepts, categories, and interpretative forms) (2005, p.104-105). Learning to understand how hegemony works and how to undermine it is linked to the social struggles people wage against specific forms of oppression and discrimination – racism, sexism, and xenophobia. According to Brookfield (2006) critical thinking is about understanding the assumptions underlying our decisions, actions and choices, verifying the accuracy of these assumptions by engaging in research of different perspectives and making informed decisions based on our research (p.11). The first stage of the Brookfieldian approach to critical thinking corresponds to what Gramsci calls an ‘elementary and primitive’ phase of developing critical awareness (1971, p.333). This involves a temporal distancing from the culture in order to develop a “single and coherent view of the world” (*ibid*, p.333). This elementary and primitive consciousness of Gramsci is the naïve consciousness of Paulo Freire (1970). This form of consciousness is essentially hegemonic and leads to passivity and conformity. But as Gramsci argues once a class develops an understanding not only of its position in society but of its collective power to oppose injustice and oppression, it has developed a ‘critical

consciousness'. Both Antonio Gramsci and Paulo Freire thought and wrote extensively on the process of developing a critical consciousness that leads to critical action. For Gramsci, adult educators as organic intellectuals are catalysts in the political movement for the emancipation of the working class.

As Freire (1998) maintains, while human beings cannot be said to possess either absolute ignorance, or absolute wisdom, they are however capable of knowing, and: "As they apprehend a phenomenon or a problem, they also apprehend its causal links. The more accurately men and women grasp true causality, the more critical their understanding of reality will be" (Freire, 1998, p.82).

Freire goes on to argue that when human beings cannot grasp causality, they are said to possess a magical consciousness. This form of consciousness is based on an understanding of facts while attributing to these facts a superior power. Magical consciousness is then controlled by this superior power and must submit itself to it. The result of magical consciousness is fatalism "which leads men to fold their arms, resigned to the impossibility of resisting the power of facts" (Freire, 1998, p.83).

While naïve consciousness regards causality as static, critical consciousness "represents things and facts as they exist empirically, in their causal and circumstantial correlations" (*ibid*, p.83).

According to Freire (1998), "[...] naïve consciousness considers itself superior to the facts, in control of the facts, and thus free to understand them as it pleases" (Alvaro Vieira Pinto, *Consciencia e Realidade Nacional* (Rio de Janeiro, 1961) as cited in Freire (1998, p.82). Freire goes on to argue that, critical consciousness is integrated with reality, naïve consciousness superimposes itself on reality and magical consciousness adapts to reality. For human beings to act in the world, they have to first understand the world. Since, following Freire, it is within the nature of human beings that once they "perceive a challenge, understand it, and recognize the possibilities of response [they] act" (1998, p.83). Once human beings grasp causality, they are said to have developed a critical consciousness. An acute awareness of the dynamic nature of reality and of change leads to an ability to submit this causality to

analysis. They are aware of the fact that, as Freire (*ibid*, p.82) says, “what is true today may not be true tomorrow”.

2.2.3.2 Critical thinking, action and human rights education

Lohrenscheit (2000) has explored international approaches to human rights education; Tibbitts (2002) presented an overview of emerging models for human rights education; and Lenhart and Savolainen (2002) has studied human rights education as a field of practice and theoretical reflection. A Canadian example is presented by Nazzari, McAdams and Roy (2005) who, using the Canadian Human Rights Foundation’s *International Human Rights Training Programme* as a case study, explore the practices and conditions essential to fostering transformative learning. The programme is offered simultaneously through French and English and draws participants from more than 60 countries spread across all regions of the world. It is essentially directed at human rights activists with at least two years experience in a civil society organization, which in turn has to have an expressed commitment to engage in follow up activities. The programme gives participants an opportunity to learn together and share their experiences of human rights. The methodology emphasizes critical analysis, reflection, and practical application in generating strategies for future action. Furthermore, through critical reflection, the participants are able to challenge their own values and assumptions about human rights, their work and society.

Lohrenscheit (2002) maintains that while learning about human rights involves the genesis, history and relevance of human rights documents, international human rights debates, content of declarations and various instruments and actors in the international human rights field, learning for human rights entails empowerment, participation in the transformation of community life and society, solidarity and tension between adaptation and resistance for change (p.176). For the former, the emphasis is on “knowledge, understanding and valuing”, while for the latter it is on “respect, responsibility and solidarity” (p.176). However it is worthwhile to mention that I found the conceptual distinction of education *about* and education *for* human rights made by Lohrenscheit (2000) very useful to distinguish between ‘critical awareness’ and ‘critical understanding’ of human rights and xenophobia. None of these studies

has explored and analysed how human rights education enables participants to develop a critical understanding of human rights and xenophobia.

2.3 Adult learning, power and knowledge

Critical theory maintains all human relations are at the core power relations. The task of learning to become an adult of necessity involves learning to understand how power underpins our very lives and to recognize “the ways it is used and abused” (Brookfield, 2005 p.47). According to Foucault, “power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives” (1980, p.39). Following on from this insight, it can be argued that in all education interactions power is manifested in everyday rituals and interactions, and in the micro-dynamics of situated learning.

As critical theory assumes personal, cultural and social influence on knowledge production (Cherryholmes, 1988; Foucault, 1972; Habermas, 1971; Rorty, 1989; Young, 1971), it contrasts with the dominant empirical epistemology which presupposes knowledge construction as objective and without any cultural or personal influence even on the part of the researcher (Greer, 1969; Kaplan, 1964). Critical theorists such as Habermas (1971) and Giroux (1983) have argued against this dominant empirical view of knowledge for “despite its claims, modern science is not value-free but contains important human interests and normative assumptions that should be identified, discussed and examined” (Banks, 1993 p.5). As Kilgore (2001) suggests, learners cannot be considered outside their own life experiences, including their race, gender and class background.

There is a close relationship between power and knowledge. Following Foucault, power is relational and those who are dominant in society exercise their power to the extent that those who are dominated allow this to happen. Those who have power are in a position to construct knowledge so as to maintain their position of power. However, knowledge construction is contested as those who are dominated also construct knowledge even though this is frequently subjugated by the dominant in society. What is regarded as knowledge or truth in any given society effectively validates the power of some and invalidates that of others. As Foucault puts it, “it is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for

knowledge not to engender power” (1980, p.52). Adult education, as part of the educational institution of society, plays a key role in the construction of knowledge and truth. The concepts of discourses and regimes of truth are used by Foucault to explain how knowledge is produced and accumulated. He argues that “relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse” (1980, p.93). Further, a number of discourses constitute a ‘regime of truth’. Foucault maintains that

Each society has its regime of truth, its ‘general politics’ of truth; that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true (1980, p.133).

Until Foucault, the dominant discourse on power in critical theory was that of ‘repressive state apparatus’ drawing from the work of Louis Althusser. This implied power resided with the elite at the top of society from which it was exercised to control and repress. So Foucault not only shifted the debate on power beyond repression to look at how power “produces effects at the level of desire” (1980, p.59) but also looked at how power is dynamically diffused within society. While Foucault argued one could not escape power, he equally recognized the centrality of resistance to given power relations as “there are no relations of power without resistances; the latter are all the more real and effective because they are formed right at the point where relations are exercised” (1980, p.142). For those engaged in resisting given power relations in general and for adult learners, it is critical, I would argue, to understand how power can be “in ways that diminish or in ways that enrich” (bell hooks, 1989, p.52).

It is my assertion that Foucault’s conception of power provides adult education practitioners with the conceptual tools to understand how adult learners have the capacity to both exercise disciplinary power over themselves and to subvert and resist the dominant power relations. This gives us conceptual tools to critically analyse whether and to what extent practices that claim to be participatory and to empower learners actually disempower and further disciplinary power.

Since the 1980s feminist scholars such as Farganis (1986), Code (1991), and Harding (1991) also challenged empirical scholarship for being limited by the assumptions and biases implicit within it. A useful concept that has come out of feminist scholarship is that of 'positionality'. As cited by Banks (1993), Tetreault (1993) defines this thus:

Positionality means that important aspects of our identity, for example, our gender, our race, our class, our age...are markers of relational positions rather than essential qualities. Their effects and implications change according to context. Recently, feminist thinkers have seen knowledge as valid when it comes from an acknowledgement of the knower's specific position in any context, one always defined by gender, race, class and other variables. (p.139)

Positionality is the idea of researchers and scholars declaring their own position and frame of reference which influence how they relate to the data they deal with, including how they interpret, analyse and present this. After all, there is a very close relationship between power and knowledge and those in positions of power have the ability to create knowledge in support of the existing power relationships (Foucault, 1980). This dialectical relationship between power and knowledge aptly articulated by Foucault when he argues that "the exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge and conversely knowledge induces effects of power [...] it is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power" (1980, p.52). In any society, whatever is acceptable as knowledge and truth consequently strengthens the power of some and limits the power of others. The social construction of knowledge involves "an administration of knowledge, a politics of knowledge, relations of power which pass via knowledge" (1980, p.69), and all of this results in framing some knowledge as "legitimate" and some as "unreliable" (Brookfield, 2005, p.136). Those who control knowledge production, have the power to create what Foucault calls dominant discourses and regimes of truth. When society accepts these dominant discourses and regimes of truth without questioning, even when these work against the very interests of those who cherish these discourses, we can talk of the exercise of disciplinary power (Foucault, 1980).

This study will show how the curriculum of the course under investigation facilitated a process of social construction of knowledge that is counter hegemonic as opposed to a conception of knowledge which is the preserve of the 'expert' teacher. Accordingly

the course positioned participants as authorities with the necessary power to co-produce knowledge.

A close examination of the media coverage of foreign nationals in this country, reveals that foreign nationals are sometimes constructed as a burden on the physical and economic resources of the host country and threatening “our culture”, and sometimes constructed as genuine victims of political and economic instability and accordingly refugees seeking the protection and support of the host country . This study seeks to examine which ‘truth’ is this curriculum biased in favour of.

This process of exercising disciplinary power on ourselves by ourselves is closely linked to the concepts of internalization of oppression and dehumanization (Freire, 1970) and complicity in our own oppression (Brookfield, 2005). Adult education, the mass media, religious institutions, and the family are some of the key institutions through which society reproduces itself and maintains the status quo. Of all social institutions, education has a prime function of creating knowledge and truth (Brookfield, 2005, p.136) and of teaching standards for “determining truth and what is considered official knowledge” (Apple, 2000 as cited in Brookfield 2005, p.136). This conceptual elucidation of how knowledge and power is linked as well as how knowledge is socially produced, as well as how disciplinary power or hegemony or manufacturing of consent is achieved, is helpful in laying a basis for a critical analysis of adult educational texts as dominant discourses and codification of knowledge. After all, texts are sites of pedagogical and political struggle and as such this raises the need to critically interrogate these representatives of codified knowledge by asking “important questions about the ideological interests at work in forms of textual authority” (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991, p.105).

This contribution of scholars working in ethnic and feminist studies to epistemological discourses has led to the transcendence of misconceptions, biases and assumptions and the development of ‘more complete perspectives’ about the ‘other’. As Banks states, “more complete perspectives result in a closer approximation to the actuality of what occurred” (1993, p.6) and, citing Merton (1972), the perspectives of

both “insiders” and “outsiders” are essential in order to obtain “a complete view of social reality” (p.6).

2.4 Conclusion

This section explored critical theory and adult education, critical reflection and critical thinking and, drawing from literature, sought to explain specific variables such as ‘critical awareness’ ‘critical consciousness’ and ‘critical understanding’, as well as foreshadowing how literature will be used in the analysis of the findings. In the next section I describe the research design and methodology.



SECTION THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This section presents an overview of the research methodology. Flowing from the aims of the study it begins with a brief narrative on the development of the research question and its theoretical underpinnings. It provides a snapshot of the research participants before elaborating the qualitative research methodology. It then turns to a discussion of data collection techniques utilized and gives an indication of how data analysis was conducted. It identifies the key themes emerging from the data. The section ends with some remarks on ethical considerations and a brief comment of the limitations of this study.

3.1 Aims of the study

As previously stated the aim of the study was to critically analyse the consciousness of young adult learners about human rights and 'xenophobia'. The specific research question was: *How does the Umoja wa Afrika's Human Rights Peer Educators Programme enable participants to develop a critical understanding of human rights and 'xenophobia'?* This question was influenced by Paulo Freire's perspective, that is, that a distinction can be made between *critical awareness* and *critical understanding*. As previously stated *critical awareness* is a necessary but not sufficient condition for *critical understanding*. Freire goes on to argue that "once man (sic) perceives a challenge, understands it, and recognizes the possibilities of response, he acts" (1998, p.83). Critical understanding, therefore, implies the capacity for critical action or engagement to transform the world.

At a philosophical level there are two basic views on knowledge. One view holds that knowledge is something that is out there to be discovered by the researcher. In this view, often the researcher's subjectivity is not acknowledged and consequently denied. The other view maintains that knowledge is something that is socially constructed. The researcher's subjectivity is acknowledged and often the issue is how to transparently engage with these human interests and normative assumptions instead

of denying their existence. Critical theorists locate themselves within the latter paradigm.

The assumption I made was that those who took part in the course were enabled to develop a critical understanding of human rights and xenophobia leading them to participate in action directed at promoting their own as well as the human rights of migrants, asylum seekers, refugees and countering xenophobia. This consciousness itself transforms awareness into action. Critical consciousness is a key variable and a precondition in determining how human beings make a transition from being objects to being subjects of history (Freire, 1973). In this Freire shares with Marx the idea that the purpose of education/learning is not to understand the world; rather the key is to change the world. Thus the evaluative yardstick for Freire's conscientisation is his learning spiral which starts with experience and move through to action that again leads to experience.

3.2 Developing the research question

How does the Umoja wa Afrika's Human Rights Peer Educators Programme enable participants to develop a critical understanding of human rights and 'xenophobia'?

As previously discussed in the introduction, the research question evolved from an initial quest to understand what I would call a multidimensional 'integrative response' by the community of *Masiphumelele* to 'xenophobic' eruptions in 2008.

From an initial idea of examining the role of two human rights peer educators trained by *Umoja wa Afrika* in the formulation of this 'integrative response', I became interested in the role of *Umoja wa Afrika* itself. In a very difficult but enriching process of dialogue with my supervisors, the research question was narrowed down to focus on the peer education programme of *Umoja wa Afrika* and how it enabled participants to develop a critical understanding of human rights and 'xenophobia'.

Who are the people who have gone through this course? Are they organizationally-based people or simply individuals? What is the philosophy underpinning the course? What are the values underpinning the course?

In refining and formulating the research question, I therefore made a basic assumption following Freire's perspective on critical understanding, that is, that the programme enabled participants to develop a *critical understanding* of human rights and 'xenophobia'.

Another key assumption I made, as a critical thinker and adult learning practitioner, is that *critical consciousness* is a key variable in shaping how people respond to situations, issues and events. Again influenced by the work of Freire (1973; 1984) and drawing from Gramsci (1971) on hegemony and Brookfield (2005) on 'the conspiracy of the normal', I argue that critical consciousness is a preconditioning variable in determining transformative action and the process of how human beings make a transition from being objects to being subjects of history (Freire, 1970). Adult learning in the context of critical theory must of necessity develop 'forms of reasoning' that question the status quo, unmask power and how it affects their lives and communities and challenge the dominant ideology. Brookfield (2005) suggest that critical theory is concerned about how adults learn about the existence of hegemony as a set of ideas, practices and institutions that actually work against their own best interests and about their own complicity in the continued existence of this process of hegemony. Finally adult learning in the context of critical theory is about how in the process of contesting this hegemony, adults learn to interpret their experiences in ways that generate and promote solidarity with others and collective engagement.

The theoretical underpinnings of the study therefore decisively influenced the aims of the study and my interpretation of the nature of the participants' understanding of human rights and 'xenophobia'.

3.3 Participants in the study

Data for this study was generated from two sources. Firstly from the interviews with course participants or learners and facilitators. Secondly from the course documents – manual and workshop programme. The participants were from diverse residential, language, organisational and occupational backgrounds. They included a lay preacher and youth practitioner, a Sunday school teacher who works as a financial manager for

a research organisation, a medical insurance administrator, a university student, a development facilitator, a performing artist, a railway station access controller, a social movement youth officer, a self-employed shopkeeper, a community activist university lecturer who manages an non-governmental organization (NGO) project, a civil engineer who works as a director of an NGO. What is common with all of them is that they were committed to community development work of one sort or another often with a strong component of adult education. Among them were seven South Africans and three refugees. They all took part in the workshop, organized by *Umoja wa Afrika* which focused on human rights and counter-xenophobic peer education, and held from March 30th to April 1st 2007 in Goedgedacht, outside Cape Town.

The process of locating participants involved acquiring attendance lists of all the participants in the human rights peer educators' workshops that *Umoja wa Afrika* has run hitherto. Then, because of the fact that the motivation for this study stemmed from the May 2008 developments in *Masiphumelele* township near Ocean View, this became a determining factor in confining the focus to the March 30th to April 1st 2007 workshop in which two of the participants came from *Masiphumelele*.

This was the original pool from which I had to select a sample of nine learners and two facilitators. The sample was generated on the basis of those participants who had kept some form of contact with *Umoja wa Afrika* after the workshop, this being an indication of their ability to carry out follow up workshops in the communities from which they came. In this, the choice was largely influenced by the coordinator of the organization as he was best placed to indicate who had remained in contact with the organization beyond the workshops. I do acknowledge the potential for bias in this process but often participants, as I discovered in trying to contact them, move elsewhere for employment or educational purposes and in the process loose contact with the organisation.

Of the fourteen 'learners' initially identified for the sample, only nine were actually located and interviewed (see *Appendix 1: List of Interviewees*).

One was now living elsewhere out of town, one had gone back home overseas, one could not be located at all, one was out of town temporarily and one just could not get to make a suitable time for an appointment with the researcher.

The two facilitators were also interviewed to establish their own perceptions about the course, what it sought to achieve and how it did this. Together with the course documents – programme for the workshop and course manual – these interviews with learners and facilitators were key to the triangulation of this research study.

3.4 Research focus, qualitative research strategy and research techniques

This research examines the facilitation methodologies employed during the facilitation of the workshop as well as the philosophy underpinning the course. By examining the methodologies one can infer whether the philosophy of the programme encourages uncritical assimilation of knowledge or aims to the raise consciousness of the participants.

The units of analysis for this research were threefold:

- (1) The programme learning materials and course documents and what is codified in these texts in terms of the underlying philosophical assumptions, values, and orientation of the curriculum. These provided me with insights on what outcomes the course aims for and how it seeks to deliver these outcomes.
- (2) The training methodology, process and outcome for facilitators and participants;
- (3) The emerging consciousness and understanding of the facilitators and participants.

The research strategy was based on triangulation – utilizing multiple perspectives and sources in data collection and analysis so as to maximize validity of findings.

A key source of data was the course documents which included a training manual and outline and instructions for activities and exercises. I looked closely at what the documents purport in terms of the aims and objectives of the course and how the activities seeks to achieve the course outcomes.

The main technique employed for data generation was personal interviews using a semi-structured interview schedule and is outlined below. (*Appendix 2: Interview Guide for Participants and Facilitators*).

The interview schedule, as a qualitative research technique, was designed to gather the meanings, understandings, assumptions of learners and facilitators about the world of human rights and ‘xenophobia’, and counter-xenophobic measures. As suggested by Brynman (2008, p.366), I found that the semi-structured interviews were the most appropriate data collection technique for this study since by “keeping the structure to a minimum” the voices of the interviewees surfaced and thus “enhance the opportunity of genuinely revealing the perspective of the [learners and facilitators]” who were the subjects of this study. The interviews explored concepts of human rights, tolerance, education, understanding, and what are the underlying values behind these as articulated in the programme and how the programme enabled the participants to relate to these. Furthermore it was important not just to focus on what messages were learnt, but how the learning took places, as well as to what end, in other words the outcome of learning.

This strategy supported the interpretivist epistemological position adopted in this study. This position places “the stress [...] on the understanding of the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants” (Bryman, 2008, p.366). The ontological stance was constructivist as what was explored was the production of knowledge of the facilitators and the participants themselves “rather than phenomenon ‘out there’ and separate from those involved” (ibid., p.366). As Paulo Freire argues isolating consciousness from the world, denies people ‘their ontological and historical vocation of becoming fully human’. Constructivism as an ontological stance positions people as agents capable of developing “their power to perceive *critically* the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves” (Freire, 1998, p.77).

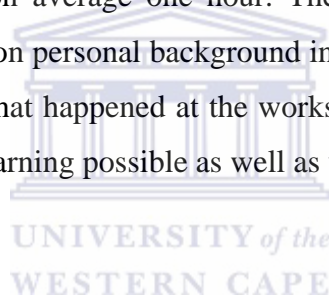
3.5 Interview schedule and research process

The course under investigation brought together locals and foreign nationals, facilitators and learners, English home-language and non-English home language speakers. In this situation it is the extent to which everyone of these participants feel included and accepted, and their contributions valued that is a key indicator of a

hidden curriculum based on fostering a critical understanding of human rights and ‘xenophobia’.

The interview schedule was a guide, developed over time with feedback and suggestions from my supervisors. It was tested telephonically with one learner and refined for clarity. Although the guide was in English, two of the learners preferred to speak in *isiXhosa* and the questions had then to be actively translated on the spot staying as closely as possible to the figurative meaning of the original language. The fact that the researcher speaks both languages fluently and had some experience in translation, in fact he had translated this very human rights peer educators’ course manual into *isiXhosa* a few years ago, helped a great deal.

I conducted face-to-face interviews with individuals at places most convenient to them. Each interview took on average one hour. The interviews with the learners sought to gather information on personal background including perceptions before the workshop, recollections of what happened at the workshop, own perceptions of what they learnt, what made this learning possible as well as what they were able to do after the workshop.



In all the interviews, I used copies of the exercises and activities to prompt the memory of the interviewees about specific exercises and activities. Only one interviewee appeared on edge and as a result provided the shortest interview of all. Although this was not probed to any extent, the impression I gathered as the researcher was that the interviewee was in a hurry to carry out household chores as she had just arrived from work. This speaks to a broader issue of gender expectations in households and how these often impact on capacity of women’s voices in the production of knowledge.

As far as the facilitators were concerned, I interviewed each of them separately at the beginning of the data gathering process. However, with one of them, the purpose of the interview was to gather information on the course and, as a result, I had to conduct the actual facilitator interview at the end of the data gathering process. This was also influenced by the tight traveling schedule this interviewee was subject to at the time.

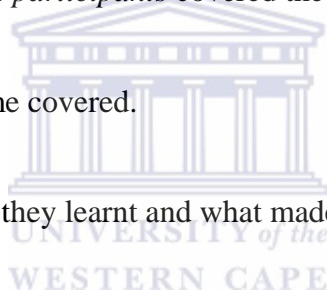
The interview with the facilitators sought to gather information on personal background and motivation to get involved in this kind of work, values and philosophy underpinning the course, what they sought to achieve in the workshops and how they did it including facilitation style. The focus in all interviews was on human rights and xenophobia and how the course enables participants to develop a critical awareness of human rights and xenophobia. The other source of data was the documents – workshop programme and course manual. These I subjected to critical scrutiny and endeavored to deconstruct the language used with a view to understand the philosophy and values informing these texts and what they sought to achieve in terms of pedagogical outcomes. On this basis then I explored critically whether the philosophy and values which frame and underpin these texts is consistent with developing a critical consciousness of human rights and xenophobia.

The interview schedule for the *participants* covered the following aspects:

What the workshop programme covered.

What did they learn.

How did they learn the things they learnt and what made learning possible.



The interview schedule for *facilitators* covered such aspect as:

What motivated their involvement in human rights and counter-xenophobic work.

How and why the course was designed.

What the workshop programme covered.

What values were implicit in the course.

What did they hope to achieve in the workshop.

How did they go about delivering the workshop and what was their ‘teaching’ style.

What were their perceptions about the participants, what they learnt, and how they learnt.

What follow up support do they provide for participants.

Although in general it was crucial to solicit the perceptions of facilitators, the facilitators were not only directly involved in organizing and facilitating the

workshops, they also happened to be central to the formation of *Umoja wa Afrika* and the design of the course itself.

The interviews were recorded on audio minidisc and transcribed. Where necessary the *isiXhosa* transcripts were translated into English. It is worth noting that the primacy of English versus *isiXhosa* needs to be problematised as this often determines whose voices are included and whose voices are excluded in discourses.

3.6 Data analysis

The approach taken for the purposes of data analysis involved an inductive process that emerged from thematic editing of data, informed by the research question, as well as in dialogue with the supervisors. The first step in the process of data analysis was to transcribe all the audio recordings of the interviews verbatim. The second step involved reading through the transcripts to get an understanding of the descriptions and perceptions of the interviewees. The third step involved grouping similar themes together and then finding a key word or words that capture the theme. There were three key thematic areas, under each of which the main question and themes emerged and were used as a framework for analysis:

Construction of knowledge

Learning methodology

Learning outcomes

These are discussed in the next section. In addition, at the end of each interview I made notes consisting of my own reflection.

Then there were the course documents and learning material which provided insight into the philosophical assumptions and values underpinning the course. In analyzing the course documents, I sought to understand the meaning of the textual code employed in the documents and establish how and to what extent the discourse constructed by these textual codes enabled a learner-centred participatory approach to knowledge construction and a development of a critical consciousness of human rights and ‘xenophobia’ among the participants and the facilitators. Phillips and Hardy (2002), in their list of analytic devices in critical discourse analysis, suggest that “a discourse is not only constructed through texts but is also able to influence other discourses and give meaning to social life” (p.8). Drawing on the notion of discourse

as a vehicle for the exercise of power (Foucault, 1977), and an understanding that “social interactions cannot be fully understood without reference to the discourses that give them meaning” the aim was to “explore the relationship between discourse and reality” (Phillips and Hardy (2002, p.3). I sought to understand the philosophical underpinnings and values carried in these texts and how the meanings attached to these texts get privileged and therefore which meanings get marginalized. Also, I sought to explore the extent to which the texts as discourse were drawn from and able to influence other discourses and how these fared in enabling the development of a critical consciousness. This was done by paying special attention to, among others, the statements of objectives in the course manuals and how these were operationalised in the workshop process and activities and whether these promoted a critical engagement including with the documents themselves.

The analysis of the discourse involved examining the actual content and meaning of the texts, the ‘hidden curriculum’ behind the texts to explore any messages conveyed by the course, outside the curriculum statement and objectives. These were then interrogated in an on-going process in the light of both Freirian and critical theory perspectives. This was important from the point of view of moving consistently backwards and forwards between the data and the theory in a critical way.

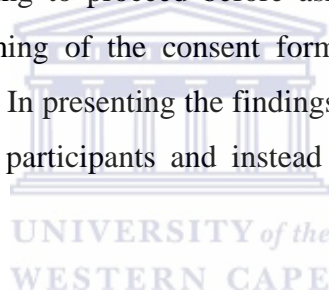
As the data were analysed, trends and patterns began to emerge and take shape. The next section on findings and analysis deal with these.

On the question of validity, I would like to flag the following reflection. One of the issues that impacted on the analysis was the qualitative difference between written text as transcribed and audio text as recorded. The voice of the interviewees often carried much more information than simply the literal code – voice inflections emphasizing the point made by words or often signifying a certain detachment from what is said. For the sake of simplicity, the analysis was carried out on the basis of the type-written transcripts. Perhaps this issue of ‘word’ versus ‘sound’ in qualitative research warrants further exploration and research. For now, a critical analysis of the relationship between written and oral text tends to suggest that the written text tends to assume power and authority, perhaps consistent with that of domination of literate culture over oral culture.

3.7 Ethical considerations

At the stage of initial telephonic contact with the potential interviewee, I introduced myself as the researcher and explained how I got the contact details of the individual concerned and then proceeded to explain what I was doing, what was the purpose of the research, how it will be used and asked whether the individual was willing to participate in the research.

At the interview stage, again I explained what the research was all about and how it will be used including respecting the confidentiality of participants and then asked them if they were then willing to proceed before asking them to read and sign a consent form. Once the signing of the consent form was dispensed with, I then proceeded with the interview. In presenting the findings and analysis, I have refrained from using actual names of participants and instead used pseudonyms to identify individual voices.



3.8 Limitations of the study

As far as the limitations of this study go, there are four issues I would like to highlight.

Firstly the study focuses on only one workshop and its participants. There may well be factors that were present only in this workshop and not in others that account for how the participants were enabled to develop a critical awareness of human rights and xenophobia. A broader more comparative study is necessary to establish this.

Secondly, it is based on only one interview session of one hour with each participant and, as such, in the tension between breadth and depth of the interview, the data may well reflect the breadth and not sufficient depth of the issues covered.

Thirdly, there was a serious limitation of lack of access to evaluation forms completed by the learners and facilitators during the course. This would have been extremely useful as part of triangulation of this study.

Finally, the fact that, as a researcher, I was doing a study of what happened at the workshop *after the fact* and was not able to take part in the workshop as an observer-researcher, imposed a limitation on my ability to observe the interactions between facilitators and learners in this situated learning.

While this section looked at the research design and methodology, the next section will focus on research findings and analysis.



SECTION FOUR

KEY FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

In this section I outline and present the key findings and analysis. These are presented according to the research question and under specific themes and categories.

The overall framework is indicated below under the heading *Key Themes and Questions: Framework for Data Analysis and Findings*.

The analysis draws from the literature review and the insights of other researchers. My findings are grouped around two topics: what learning outcomes were acquired; and how the learning was acquired.

These themes were drawn primarily from the interview data generated from single face-to-face interviews with the participants and facilitators and from the course manual. These interviews cover *what* learning was acquired at the workshop; *how* the learning was acquired; and *what outcomes* were achieved.

Key Themes and Questions: Framework for Data Analysis and Findings

Construction of knowledge

Where did the knowledge for the course come from?

Learning methodology

How was the learning acquired – what factors enabled the participants to learn?

Learning outcomes

What particularly was responsible for a change in consciousness?

I chose to distinguish between what learning was acquired – in other words the content of learning, how the learning was acquired – in other words the process of learning, as well as the outcome of learning – changes in consciousness and post-workshop engagement. Although the *what* and the *how* of knowledge production are intricately linked, I made the distinction for the purpose of conceptual clarity.

Under each topic I make use of selected verbatim extracts from the interview transcripts in an attempt to give ‘voice’ to the participants and let them speak directly to the reader. In relation to the use of the original words of the participants, though, the reader must be cautioned. These have been mediated by transcribing from audio to written text, and, in some cases through additional translation from *isiXhosa* to English. This has of necessity positioned me, the researcher-translator, as a authoritative interpreter-codifier of knowledge subsuming the primary ‘voice’ of the participants.

I have chosen to speak in the first person. Where I think my voice will silence that of the participants, I make use of pseudonyms to respect and protect the anonymity of the participants. As a critical analyst I am aware of the danger of ‘overprivileging’ and ‘unproblematising’ the learner-participant voice for ‘to take student [read learner-participant] voices at face value is to run the risk of idealizing and romanticising them [...] it is important that they be recognized for their contradictions for their contradictions as well as their possibilities’ (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991, p.130-131).

4.2 Social construction of knowledge

The curriculum, as expressed through the teaching methodologies and teaching approach adopted in the course under investigation, facilitated a social construction of knowledge. Participants in collaboration with each other and the facilitators were key contributors in the construction of knowledge. This was evident in the activities of the workshop as well as the course manual.

In examining methodologies as well as the approach adopted in the manual, it is evident that a participatory methodology has been used to construct knowledge. This means that the learners and facilitators were jointly responsible for creating knowledge. Collaborative construction of knowledge was further evident in the methodologies employed such as role-plays, group work, activities that encouraged participants to reflect on their own experiences and drawing from these essential insights that focused on human rights, on how xenophobia is manifested in the day-to-day lives of participants, and how to instill a culture of human rights and respecting

the others as individuals and foreign nationals from the rest of the continent. For example, the workshop began with an activity called *Human Rights Squares* which sought to get participants to introduce themselves to each other while generating knowledge about human rights in a non-threatening and playful way (Trainer's Manual, p2).⁶

Participants were given an A4 sheet with sixteen squares. Each square had a single question about human rights. The participants were allotted time during which to mingle and find a different person who can answer each question. The name of the person who answered a question had to be written in the box next to the relevant question. The instructions for this exercise stress that the purpose "is not to test the knowledge of the participants but to get them to think about human rights" (Trainer's Manual, p.2).

Another example illustrative of the social construction of knowledge within the curriculum is the activity seeking to generate knowledge about and understanding of other African countries. Participants were divided into smaller, mixed-groups of refugees and locals, and asked to divide themselves into roles of a president of one or other African country and his or her cabinet. Each country had to defend its human rights record in front of the 'United Nations Secretary General'. This activity provided participants with an opportunity to undertake background research on their chosen country, its history, its political and economic system, its constitution, culture, cuisine, dress style and human rights situation. As there was no Internet access at the workshop, "participants had to rely on each other and on sharing the knowledge and expertise they each brought with to the workshop" (Lilly⁷, interview, 18th September 2009)

During the presentations of this role-play each group was dressed in the national costume of their chosen country. A participant summed up the pedagogical value of this activity, by saying it "caused us to learn a lot about different countries [...] asked what is the capital of some African country and people did not know. And asked what is the capital of France, everybody shouted Paris. People know about European

⁶ The course trainer had a manual entitled *Migrant and Refugee Rights are Human Rights: Trainer's Manual* which outlined the workshop programme and activities. This was shared with the researcher. Further reference to this manual in this document is referred to as *Trainer's Manual*.

⁷ Pseudonyms have been used throughout to protect the confidentiality of those interviewed.

countries and yet they do not know about their own African countries” (Lilly, interview, 18th September 2009). For another participant “I got another perspective, there is so much to learn from our continent that we don’t know” (Jimmy, interviewed on 14th August, 2009). The role play also inspired a participant to extend this approach a step further: “After the workshop when I presented my own workshop [...] I took some of my own traditional food [...] which brought a lot of excitement and information sharing” (Nandi, interview, 21st September 2009).

Over the course of the two days – two half-days and one full-day – participants were exposed to a number of specific activities each geared at generating knowledge around a specific theme of the workshop. There was an activity called *Perpetrator, Bystander, Victim, Healer*. This activity is meant to get participants to reflect on their own experience and recall a time when they might have been a victim, a perpetrator, a bystander or a healer in an incident involving human rights (Workshop Handout 2). Out of this activity participants get to see how they as individuals are capable of being victims and perpetrators, bystanders and healers. This knowledge comes from the participants themselves and is based on their real life experiences.

Then there were two activities used to generate awareness about the discrimination experienced by refugees and asylum seekers. One was called *Born Equal* (Workshop Handout 3) and the other was called *Applying for Asylum* (Workshop Handout 4). In *Born Equal*, the participants were asked by the facilitator to stand in a line. Then the facilitator called out those who are held the green South African identity document to take one step forward and those without to take one step backwards. The participants could now physically and experientially feel discrimination. “You could see how we were divided by that exercise, I think there were three or four refugees and you could see they didn’t have a green ID [document]...and the one question [was] how do you feel about your position [...] how would you feel if you were in the other group, definitely you would feel excluded” (Julius, interview, 11th September 2009). This activity created a moment of awareness, in which “everything stood out for me, that there are certain things that make you different, unfortunately the rules of countries, even if we start out just as equal human beings” and “I think that moment you had a particular view – you had empathy with those who did not have [a green ID document]” (Jones, interview, 17th September 2009).

In the activity *Applying for Asylum*, participants were given a form written in Creole to complete. The exercise was undertaken just as the participants were returning to the session from a break. The facilitator, who acted as an official, was unsympathetic and instructing the applicants to complete the form in five minutes. When five minutes expired the facilitator collected the forms, most of which were not fully completed. Then he called names of applicants and told them they had not completed the form correctly and were therefore denied asylum. He would occasionally demand a bribe to allow an applicant through.

The aim of the exercise is “to introduce participants to some of the problems that refugees and asylum-seekers have to confront” (Workshop Handout 5). Participants reflected on how this was one of the most frustrating exercise for them. “It was in the afternoon, it was hot, and I was frustrated. People were frustrated. How do you start filling this form? ‘Appelido’ what is your ‘appelido’? Does it mean anything?” (Loyiso, interview, 17th September 2009). “After that [exercise] in the discussions people were compassionate in a way. They finally understood. It brought out a lot of frustrations out of the South Africans. And then after that when it was explained it brought out a lot of ‘oh!’ and the comments that people made after that were ‘now I understand!’” (Sindi, interview, 21st August 2009).

Among the outcomes of the course as expressed in the manual, one related to how participants will “have discussed at a conceptual level and analysed the problems related to xenophobia and how it is manifested in South African society” and the other to how participants “will have explored their own attitudes towards and perceptions of foreigners in South Africa and how this may have had an impact on xenophobic tendencies in South African society” (Human Rights Peer Education Training Manual, adapted by Williams & Nkongolo, 2006, p.6)⁸.

⁸ An expanded version of the Human Rights Peer Education Training Manual, adapted by Vincent Williams and Zoe Nkongolo for the 2006 workshop. It contains a section on course objectives and additional documents including the “*I am an African*,” speech by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki to the Constitutional Assembly on the occasion of the adoption of the Republic of South Africa Constitutional Bill in 1996.

The educational methods adopted in the curriculum facilitated a social construction of knowledge as discussed above. These methods were consistent with critical pedagogy since, following Brookfield (2005), participants in the course were provided with opportunities to adopt a critical distance from their daily life and examine the assumptions behind their own views, perceptions and power relations. Accordingly the course, through using a participatory approach of collaborative learning “unmask how an unequal and unjust society functions and is sustained” (Brookfield, 2005, p.31), in the context of refugees and foreign nationals and how adults have the capacity and power to transform such an unjust society and work towards building a more just and equal society.

The research question sought to establish *what the participants learnt as a result of the workshop experience* and *how they learnt this during the workshop experience*. It was important to establish what the participants knew of or how they perceived issues relating to human rights and xenophobia before the workshop, and then assess this against what the participants say they knew of or how they perceived issues relating to human rights and xenophobia as a result of undergoing the workshop experience. This provided an empirical basis to assess and analyse whether and how the course enabled participants to develop a critical understanding of human rights and ‘xenophobia’.

4.3 Appropriation of human rights and xenophobic knowledge

A key theme that emanated from interviewees was *control over and appropriation of human rights and xenophobic knowledge*. This theme gained expression under two sub-themes, namely, reinforcing existing social and cultural knowledge and developing knowledge that changed behavior.

4.3.1 Reinforcing existing social and cultural knowledge

In analyzing the responses of the participants as to the significance of the knowledge acquired during the course, two sub-themes emerged. The first sub-theme was how the course reinforced the understanding and behaviour of those participants who were already involved in one form of community mobilization and organization or another. These participants were mostly active in faith-based organizations operating within

religious institutions, particularly Churches, as well as active within community-based organizations working primarily with young people to raise awareness about social issues. This reinforcement of consciousness and behaviour was accompanied by new knowledge in terms of the laws and international conventions relating to refugees and asylum-seekers. There was, as a participant put it, “a lot of reconfirmation of the things I knew as well as a lot of discovery especially when we spoke about documents – the United Nations International Declaration of Human Rights” (Julius, interview 11th September 2009). Even the exposure to the Bill of Rights of the South African Constitution and “teaching me to read the Constitution [...] we didn’t even know what’s Chapter 9 [of the Constitution]” (Lilly, interview, 18th September 2009).

The knowledge acquired by these participants did not ‘stay’ with them; on the contrary, they wanted to share these with others. A participant stated that:

I got a copy [of the South African Constitution] posted in a bathroom so that when you sit in the bathroom you can read these things – uplifting things. [...] one of my missions was to try and make as many copies of the Constitution and would ask people ‘do you have a copy of the Constitution?’, here is a copy of the Constitution, please read the Bill of Rights, read what is important for your own growth! (Jimmy, interview, 14th August 2009).

What was particularly interesting from this group was how they mentioned inculcation of values of respect and tolerance at home was crucial to their own development of a social consciousness. They spoke of the value of solidarity and ‘*umntu ngumntu ngabantu*’⁹ instilled at home from a young age and how this was natural to extend to the ‘other’ in later life. A participant spoke of how she was just born colour-blind and the issues of equality are very important to her as a Christian. As a Sunday school teacher, this same participant would use different colour apples to teach children how, under the different skin colours, human beings are all just the same (Lilly, interview, 18th September 2009).

⁹ ‘Umntu ngumntu ngabantu’ is an IsiXhosa saying which translates to ‘a person is human because of other people’. This implies we can only find our humanity with and through our fellow human beings.

The participants whose knowledge was reinforced were already engaged in some form of contestation of this ‘othering’ of foreign nationals from the rest of the continent.

[...] the people that know me especially in my church whenever they see someone from somewhere in Africa they tell me there’s your people. Now I would ask them why not our people. I would say it’s my people it doesn’t matter it’s my brother it’s my sister, so that’s the way I refer to people – it doesn’t matter where they come from (Lilly, interview, 18th September 2009).

4.3.2 Developing knowledge that changed behaviour

The second sub-theme emerging from the analysis of data was how the course changed the consciousness and behaviour of those who, apparently, were not involved in any form of organizational work before the course. This change was captured in “I did not care for ‘them’ before but now I do...” (Sindi, interview, 21st August 2009) and “I did not know why they are here but now I understand” (Loyiso, interview, 17th September 2009). A participant said if they had not gone through the experience of the workshop, they would in all likelihood be among those who loot the shops of foreign nationals from the rest of the continent who operate *spaza*¹⁰ shops in the townships. Another participant said they would make “silly” comments about foreign nationals from the rest of the continent in their company before, but now they no longer did. The change in perception towards foreign nationals from the rest of the continent is captured starkly when participants talk about their perceptions before and after the workshop.

I use to believe that these guys would take people’s wives. ‘*Yho! my friendo* [a special reference to foreign nationals from the rest of the continent living in South Africa] you can’t come here my friend!’, you know all those language. It’s like *bangotsotsi* [they’re *tsotsis*] and all those things. And I came to realize that we’re the same. We’re all human beings (Loyiso, interview, 17th September 2009).

¹⁰ A *spaza* is a name given to an informal shop in the townships of South Africa, usually operated from residential premises, converted shipping container, or a shack.

To be honest, what I can say is people who came from other countries, they are called refugees [...] I use to say they have come here to take our jobs, and our men and women, and they have come to destroy our country by bringing in drugs. I did not even want a conversation with them. But after I joined *Umoja wa Afrika* and went to the workshop at Goedgedacht, there was a guy there who is a refugee and he explained the reason why they are here in South Africa. And while he was explaining I was touched by the way he explained. I did not have knowledge of why they were leaving their country and coming to South Africa. And what helped me was how this brother explained everything that is happening to them over there in [Zimbabwe] and how this led them to come here to Cape Town (Kholiswa, interview, 28th September 2009).

A participant explains how, had they not gone through the workshop and changed their perceptions; they could have easily become perpetrators of human rights violations.

Perhaps I too could have partaken in beating up these people, and in looting groceries from their shops. That would not have been difficult to me as it was not difficult for me not to want them here. I would even say in the company of foreign nationals, if for instance I was working with them here, I would speak in *isiXhosa* because I know they do not know it, I would say 'I would say how this place smells, there is someone who hasn't put on something here!' I would still be displaying this kind of rudeness and silliness, if I did not have any knowledge. So I am saying this to show how knowledge has helped me because truly I would otherwise have participated in beating up people and looting groceries to take home (Sindi, interview, 28th August 2009).

The issue raised above signals the critical point of learning/knowledge as generated in the course: the extent to which participants begin to grasp the link between consciousness and human behaviour and specifically the transforming nature of critical consciousness on human behaviour. This critical appreciation of the consequences of a naïve consciousness (Paulo Freire, 1998) is remarkable. Actually reflecting on their post-workshop engagement, one of the participants whose

experience and outlook was changed by the course, relates an incident that took place inside a taxi they were traveling in during the time of xenophobic tensions.

I was riding (*sic*) in front next to the driver and then I do not know where the topic came from but out of the blue the people starting talking ‘*Yhoo! Hay lamakwirikwiri angaka! Hay makahambe apha!*’ [Whow! So many amakwerekwere! No they must go!]. An elderly woman said; ‘*ndiyithathile mna igrowusara bendingazokuziyekela!*’ [I personally looted some groceries, I wasn’t going to miss this opportunity.] Then the driver started saying; ‘*sisezakubakatsa aba bantu!*’ [We are yet to meet out punishment to these people]. I told myself, my priest is Pastor Chris and he not only teaches the Bible but he wants you to practice it. So I told myself I have just come from a Human Rights Workshop, it was about three months after the workshop, so I decided to target the driver next to me and not turn around and face the rest of the commuters. So I said to the driver, do you know what you are saying is the biggest sin ever? He looked at me and started shouting, then I told him to calm down as I am sitting just next to him and we still had a long way to go. I ended up explaining to him the need for taxi drivers to have a Human Rights Workshop involving the people they call *amakwirikwiri* so that we could get to the bottom of these issues. He ended up giving me his cellphone number to contact him and he would organize the other drivers (Sindi, interview, 21st August 2009).

If there was anything that came close to a real cathartic moment in the post workshop experience, this was it. A moment which crystallizes all that consciousness raising and determines whether the understanding translate to agency as this participant, a woman in a patriarchal society, takes initiative and engages a taxi driver to attempt to make a difference to all taxi drivers. This in a context in which taxi drivers are powerful agents of mobility and taxi gossip constitutes a critical public space for influence and for shaping opinions. What is even more interesting, it is this same participant who shared how they felt guilty about not doing anything when a young man was killed on their doorstep, and how they, following the workshop, understood their own experience of abuse by a partner and what to do about it.

I now turn the focus to *how* the learning was acquired as expressed by the participants.

4.4 Learning methodology

4.4.1 How the learning was acquired

This part of the findings seek to answer the *how* question of the learning as expressed by the participants. These are presented as learning through diversity and group dynamics; learning through storytelling and personal testimonies; activities and reflection as a learning process; and learning through an accompanying facilitation style. These together with the *what* of learning presented earlier, provide an empirical basis to assess and analyse whether and how the course enabled participants to develop a critical understanding of human rights and xenophobia.

4.4.1.1 Learning through diversity and group dynamics

What emerged from the analysis of the data was that a high level of diversity was a positive and enabling factor to learning. All participants without exception highlighted the strength for learning coming from the fact that they were a mixed group of South African nationals and foreign nationals from the rest of the continent. Within each of these two groups there was also diversity in terms of home language, residential area, organizational and occupational backgrounds. One of the facilitators explains the selection process involved in workshops and particularly in the workshop investigated by this study:

We try and select them as a mix of foreign nationals and South Africans, Coloured communities, African communities, in fact probably the best workshop was where we had some English-speaking Whites, Afrikaans-speaking Whites, this was a real diverse workshop (Victor, interview, 5th August and 30th September 2009).

Without this ‘diversity of voices’ and particularly the voices of foreign nationals from the rest of the continent – refugees – the value of this workshop would have been

significantly diminished according to participants. After all this learning together and from each other emerged as one of the key themes in the interviews with learners as well as one of the main issues facilitators encouraged and promoted.

[...]at the end I always encourage them to find other people who are in their communities to work with in order to promote human rights. So the whole emphasis is around me as an individual working together with the human rights communities – and the human rights community is not necessarily the physical or geographic location but the group of people who will provide support who will inspire you (Victor, interview, 5th August and 30th September 2009).

This contact between locals and refugees also serves to counter any potential objectification and dehumanization. The mere presence of refugees helps to personalise and humanise them in the eyes of locals and vice versa. The experience of foreign nationals from the rest of the continent in South Africa has been accompanied by the introduction of a new language of exclusion. And often these names are a further dehumanization and ‘othering’. Foreign nationals from the rest of the continent in South Africa, for instance, are referred to by the name ‘*amakwerekwere*’, which is derived from ignorance about the languages spoken by and a derogatory and dismissive attempt to imitate how foreign nationals from the rest of the continent speak. But, judging by what emerges from the interviews, this workshop managed to break these barriers, and give ‘voice’ to foreign nationals from the rest of the continent, if only for the weekend. Without this element, it could be argued, participants would not have been able to make the connections between the conceptual and experiential level of learning about human rights and xenophobia.

[...] because those people who were refugees there, they were then speaking for themselves. It was not me speaking on behalf of somebody, [...] it is my experience – this young boy who was talking there, or this older person who was talking there, all of a sudden they could connect and say ‘this is the real person!’ (Jimmy, interview, 14th August 2009).

And

When we are together alone as South Africans, for every 10 of us, 6 perhaps are hard of thinking and hearts of stone. So they will spread their influence saying ‘oh no! these *amakwirikwiri* we don’t want to hear anything about them!’. Whereas if we are mixed you can hear the views of everyone, and where they come from and why and let people explain. This is what makes a big difference (Kholiswa, interview, 28th September 2009).

An analysis of how the participants were able to acquire knowledge of and about one another reveals that this largely came from learning from each other and from the hidden curriculum of the course. As one participant puts it, it was not reading or hearing about others, “they were there, speaking for themselves” (Kholiswa, interview, 28th September 2009). Nazzari, McAdams and Roy (2005) acknowledge the value of a relatively highly mixed group “provides a unique opportunity for participants to draw upon the diversity and richness of their individual and collective experience” (p.173). However, it must be emphasized, diversity in and of itself does not lead to learning. If anything, the experience of tensions between locals and immigrants speaks volumes in this regard. Therefore diversity must be valued and consciously utilized as an opportunity for learning, and “to deepen our subjective understandings of knowledge about human rights, which is constructed in the inter-subjective encounters amongst people” (Magendzo, 2005, p.138).

4.4.1.2 Learning through storytelling and personal testimonies

The sharing of personal stories or testimonies during the workshop constitutes another theme. Perhaps the power of personal stories as vehicles for learning is illustrated by the retention of and a strong emotion associated with the recall of this story by all but one of the respondents. It is an incident involving one of the participants – a refugee from Somalia who, during one of the breaks at the workshop, had called his mother back in Mogadishu. While they were talking suddenly there was an explosion he could hear in the background on his mother’s side

[...] and then the phone went dead and he had no idea [whether] his mother was okay. Because when he came back [to the workshop room] that was so

emotional, here's someone sitting among us, he doesn't know whether his mother is still alive or not. And I want people to understand that, that very thing, that this people, I don't like saying, it's part of our people, they feel what we feel (Jimmy, interview, 14th August 2009).

Even those who had experience in working with foreign nationals from the rest of the continent and specifically refugees appear to have been moved by this story of the Somali refugee.

I can say that I have interacted with people who come from other countries before but this was one incident that really shocked me. [...] I remember the days during apartheid how the police really abused us. This was a kind of a flashback, wow man this kind of thing is happening. I realized again how difficult these situations are (Julius, interview, 11th September 2009).

This one highlight of that workshop is basically there was a Somalian at that workshop [...] shared his deepest most secret with us in terms of his life in Somalia and why he came to South Africa and why it was so hard for him to adapt (Jones, interview, 17th September 2009).

In reflecting on the meaning of the story, a fellow refugee who had been on the receiving end of name-calling for some time in this country, find themselves comparing their experiences and consequently devaluing their own experience with name calling. This goes back to the idea of disciplinary power exhibited by this participant and how once we have internalized oppression; the tendency is to grade abuse and dehumanization and excuse certain levels better off than others.

I always thought the name calling for me was bad but then hearing somebody who came maybe from a worse situation than mine, where I think he spoke about his family when he ran away from the war in Somalia and then calling back home to his mother and hearing the bullets, hearing that the house next door was bombed, hearing that this person was killed on our front door, I think that's very painful for me to hear and for everybody present (Nandi, interview, 21st September 2009).

Reflecting on the perspectives expressed above, I was reminded of the experience of the Rwandan genocide and how it began with name-calling in which the Tutsi community was described as *cockroaches*. Surely name-calling even under apartheid could never be excused as better than actual forced removal and eventual psychological and physical subordination. This is all part of a single process of dehumanization, discrimination and oppression.

The value of this story lies at different levels. At a superficial level to have heard this testimony from the participant concerned gave 'voice' to the 'Other' who ordinarily remains voiceless in our society. At a deeper level, this anecdote provides an opportunity to explore the substantive issues – nomadic versus settled cultures, migration, social inequality, underdevelopment, the flow of resources from the periphery to the centre, wars and conflict. As an essentially nomadic society before the conflict, Somalia's historical memory through oral tradition probably surpasses that of any other community on the continent.

To what extent could this story have been used to open a window not only to that country's rich oral culture but also to the richness and diversity of the continent?

While the course and the workshop provides possibilities for fostering greater awareness about the situation of foreign nationals from the rest of the continent, there are equally limitations imposed by both the form and content of this course. As far as course content goes, the human rights discourse and the discourse of tolerance implicit in the course and captured in the documentation erodes the notion of class as a social category. For instance, consider this extract from a participant about the impression made on them by a foreign national from the rest of the continent, who works as a petty trader, at the workshop.

And then hearing how he started out humble, I think he said he started out with one small box of blades selling those blades. So he sold those single blades up until where he started selling small things at the robot and today he owns a shop by himself. So that was a very touching story for me it inspired me a lot because that takes a lot of hard work and determination. And also what I think in South Africans it cause them to think sometimes they take

things for granted and they always expect the government to do this and the government to do that. But if they can start to do things for themselves they can also be successful. And that sometimes they are also unfair in thinking these people are coming to steal our jobs and other things and yet they are really working hard and making effort to get what they want (Nandi, interview, 21st September 2009).

In this extract, I found a demystification of the discourse of ‘they come here to take our jobs’ and the replacement of that by a new awareness that ‘through hard work, they actually create jobs here’. Furthermore, there is lament for lack of initiative and dependence on others – government – to provide, and a call for agency and initiative on the part of South Africans. This is all important as part of an awareness of what is actually happening as opposed to the public discourse which is often out of sync with what is really happening. A careful reading of this, however, reveals that this participant is celebrating essentially an ‘American way of life’, or what Brookfield (1993) calls “an entrepreneurial culture which values above all the self-made man (sic) who has pulled himself up by his bootstraps”. This suggests that it is possible within a capitalist context to be able to rise above all difficulties and make it. Equally this is an indication of the extent to which the human rights discourse excludes to a great degree the category of class, of labour from its discourse. On the other hand, however, there is an acknowledgement of the need to learn about self-reliance and initiative as exemplified by the Somali petty traders. However, there is a danger of privileging the notion of learning in certain contexts and not in others in the workshop context. Personal testimony is useful in the context but must be linked to historical memory. The limitation of not being able to personally observe the workshop process makes it difficult for me to establish to what extent the facilitators are aware of the oral traditions of Somalia, Eritrea and Ethiopia. As used here, personal testimony does appear to resemble a confessional moment at a born-again Church where people say I was a drunkard, thief and I abused my partner but the Lord saved me. It’s ephemeral, here today, gone tomorrow. For an enduring pedagogical value, personal testimony must be linked to historical memory. As heard earlier from the South African participants, this link to historical memory is apparent when they say ‘if it wasn’t for them we would not be here with our liberation’. All would learn about historical memory in greater depth if they listened.

4.4.1.3 Activities and reflection as a learning process

The dialogical process between experiential activities (simulation, exercises, role-play) and critical reflection in the workshop appear to be key vehicles for personal reflection on own life experience by participants leading to learning. Although the design of these activities was geared to generate particular insights and learning, often, and this is consistent with the nature of adult learning and popular education, the response generated by an activity would be different from what was intended. One of these activities dealt with getting participants to look back at their lives and reflect on when they had violated the rights of others; had their own rights violated; simply stood by while the rights of others were violated; and were helped to heal those whose rights were violated. The purpose was to create an awareness through reflecting on own personal experiences, of how we are all capable of and have experience with all of these roles. Often, and this is consistent with the dichotomization of human experience in a class-divided society, we do not make connections between our own experiences and those of others, between what we do in our private and what happens in our public lives, between what we say and what we do. According to the principal facilitator the design of the workshop had deliberately sought to create this awareness of the need to make these connections as part of development a critical understanding of human rights and xenophobia. For most participants this exercise seem to have engaged them at a more private level and because of this, left a lasting impression in terms of learning. This enduring impression is key to developing a critical consciousness.

At that moment I wanted to cry because I was like a bystander while a person was being killed in front of my grandmother's house. But there was nothing we could do. We watched this person and the only thing we managed to do was to phone an ambulance. But as for going outside to intervene and stop the man, because it's just me and my elderly grandmother. While he was killing this man the perpetrator kept shouting to people to come out of their houses. He was not doing his deed privately but in public. So telling this story at the workshop hurt me very much I wished I did not talk about it. It was the first time I spoke about the incident. When I reflected in my group what this

bystander activity did to me, they said it was good I spoke about it as this help me to heal whereas if I kept it to myself it would continue to hurt me (Sindi, interview, 21st August 2009).

While this might have been a powerful moment of reflection, and of assuming responsibility for inaction at a critical moment, this disclosure itself is a form of violence where the person involved did not do anything to prevent the killing and now they view themselves as weaklings. Foucault (1977) suggests that when people talk about their own personal narrative of trauma, this is a form of discipline and of punishment. For instance, in the extract below, a participant says because they did not do anything “I can sometimes feel the victim, because I feel so bad about what I have done,” and “So I become a kind of a victim where I victimize myself now.”

[...] I can sometimes feel the victim, because I feel so bad about what I have done. So I become a kind of a victim where I victimize myself now. And off course being a healer becomes so important because especially when we start to talk about these things, healing can start to take place when we share our stories. Being the perpetrator if I'm also not helping I may also be the perpetrator, I may not be the one who is physically seeing the one who is doing it but as the one who is not doing something I become the perpetrator as well. So we need to become the healer in our lives (Loyiso, interview, 17th September 2009).

I will now turn to an activity called *Applying for Asylum* meant to put the participants in the shoes of the asylum-seekers and the challenges they face on a day to day basis. As raised earlier under the heading “social construction of knowledge” the second activity dealt with the challenges faced by asylum-seekers in applying for asylum in this country where they were issued with a form in Creole. This entire exercise was conducted by the facilitator playing the role of a typical bureaucrat, an official at the South African government Department of Home Affairs. None of the participants spoke or understood Creole and every time they tried to ask questions the official would simply shrug his shoulders and shout at them to hurry up and complete the form. When participants sought to clarity and guidance regarding how to complete the form:

[...] and he would say I don't know, fill in the form. And the time is up, hand your form in. And he would look at it and say no, unfortunately you cannot be allowed to come in, you know. All those kinds of things, those frustrating moments, you know. This is a very brilliant exercise, [...]. It was in the afternoon, it was too hot, and I was frustrated. People were frustrated. And like one just fills in something and he goes you've got your asylum, you can go in. You begin to ask, you've filled in exactly the same thing (Jones, interview, 17th September 2009).

All participants who participated in this exercise seem to have found it extremely frustrating. This seems to have generated an understanding of the kinds of frustrations asylum-seekers in South Africa face on a daily basis. As I was reflecting on the responses of participants and trying to make sense of them, I was constantly reminded of the Native American saying that you do not judge a person until you have walked a mile in their shoes. It is this experience of putting yourself in the shoes of the other person that shapes understanding and promotes empathy. The exercise also created deeper insight into the experience of asylum seekers and refugees more generally.

Those are the really frustrating things my brother. [...] you are told that your asylum seeking application has been denied, you cannot get it because you couldn't do certain things. Even what you are saying is that because of a certain document you can be able to proceed but because you don't have what do you do? Those are the frustrations that go in those Department of Home Affairs offices in town, and still people are still faced in their own communities – in those communities that they stay in like Guguletu, and so on – they are faced with the challenge of *abantu bengabaphathi kakuhle* because *hayi ngamakwirikwiri* [people not treating them well because they are *amakwirikwiri*] and all those things. But tomorrow a person must go and queue where they need an interpreter and all those kinds of things, it's really frustrating, it's really frustrating, serious (Loyiso, interview, 17th September 2009).

Just like the experience of asylum-seekers in this country is hidden from public view, so this exercise helped to bring this experience into the open.

I think it brought out, after that in the discussions people were very, how do I say this, they were compassionate in a way. They finally understood because when you are put in that situation, even myself as a refugee I think at that point I wasn't even thinking of myself as a refugee but saw myself as a person being presented with a form but the language I don't know. So it brought out a lot of frustrations out of the South Africans. And then after that when it was explained this activity it brought a lot of 'oh!'s a lot of 'oh!'. I think you can understand when someone says 'oh!'. So I think this is how they feel this is what they go through. And I think the comments that people made after that were now I understand, now I can know how to try to help, I can know how to treat or to think about other things not to just take it from face value. Not just to say that you are a foreigner and so on. So I think it brought out a lot of compassion on people (Nandi, interview, 21st September 2009).

The third activity was a drama in which each participant had a role to play. At the start of the workshop, participants were divided into groups and each group was responsible for a country on the African continent. So each group, acting like a parliament, had to elect a president of their country, and the president had to appoint a cabinet with ministers responsible for various departments. On the second day of the workshop, dressed in their national costume, each country had to defend their human rights record before the 'United Nations Secretary General'. This activity, it seems, was not only able to provide an opportunity for each participant to do something but also for them to learn a bit about different African countries, the political and economic system of the country, language and national costume, as well as the current government. If there was any, this was one opportunity to explore the issues of historical memory and contemporary challenges of African countries. Also in the course of research an opportunity existed to learn more about the forms of organization that are prevalent among communities of foreign nationals from the rest of the continent living in South Africa.

That caused us to learn a lot about different countries because mind you, and now I am taking you somewhere else, we went to another school to present a workshop and Z asked what is the capital of Zimbabwe or some African country and people did not know. And he asked what is the capital of France, everybody shouted Paris. What is the capital of England, everybody shouted London. People know about European countries and yet their own African countries they do not know about. So it forced us in that activity to find out about other countries and then we had the workshop in a secluded area and we did not have the Internet to go and find out what is the food of Kenya. So it forced among each other in knowledge sharing and sharing of ideas to find out about other cultures also, which was a very interesting thing (Nandi, interview, 21st September 2009).

4.4.1.4 Learning through an accompanying facilitation style

Although facilitation style was not mentioned explicitly and prominently by participants, but merely implied in the comments relating to learning from reflecting on exercises and activities, there does appear to be a deep and strong value attached to what the principal facilitator described as ‘accompanying the participants in their learning journey’.

It’s all about the facilitator. [...] So a good facilitator and also the selection of people, you can’t just grab anyone from the street and that person has nothing in his heart for the issue you want to address, it’s not gonna work. Yeah those are two things that I would say (Lilly, interview, 18th September 2009).

This principal facilitator has a long history of activism in the struggle for social justice and this is rooted in the liberation theology with its option for the poor and organized expressions of this. The methodology of these movements was ‘see, judge and act’ and it resonates in the facilitation style of these workshops. The facilitator explains the difference between the workshops and conventional teaching methods.

[...] that’s precisely what makes it different from the academic course that I teach, it’s not so that people know what Section 1 point 2 of the Constitution

says this. If they wish to learn that they can do that elsewhere, but it's saying that the Constitution should be a living document. We should all be inspired by the essence of the Constitution which is to do unto others what we want them to do unto us. That's the idea of the course to inspire people to say I should protect my own rights but I should equally be willing to protect the rights of others. (Victor, interview, 5th August and 30th September 2009)

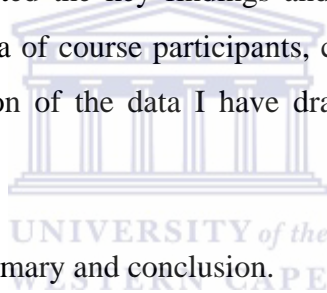
[...] my training is based on the principle of accompanying. So you may know a little bit more about a few things but the idea is not to teach other people those few things but to accompany them in the process of learning. So very much I think of the weekend as accompanying a group of twenty, twenty-five people in learning about human rights. Towards the end when we do the short facilitator training that's when we look at those things. That's the point I make that even though I am the facilitator because I've been exposed to issues of human rights for a longer time I might know a little bit about them but my role is to help them learn not to teach them. So I spend a lot of time, which I don't think they always understand the point I'm trying to make, trying to say when you go and do your own workshops don't behave like a teacher. So the other day I saw some photos of some guy who've been on a recent workshop with a power-point presentation with people sitting in rows like they are in a classroom. So I look at this and I say did he not get the point (Victor, interview, 5th August and 30th September 2009).

This reference to an 'accompanying facilitation style' could mask the power and authority of the 'facilitator' over and above the 'learner-participants'. After all it is the facilitator in his role as the course designer who structured the programme and prepared the activities and exercises. As one participant notes "...but Victor is just good with what he does" (Lilly, interview, 18th September 2009). What was interesting from the extract above was how this facilitator says when they saw a photograph of one of the guys who had been on a recent workshop using a PowerPoint Presentation with people sitting in rows, the facilitator concluded that the guy did not get the point. Perhaps this is an indictment on the facilitation style of the course, a recognition that this 'accompanying facilitation style' has merely reconfigured the traditional role and power of a teacher and hidden it behind what

appears to be an empowering facilitation style. This is the paradox of power and how it manifests itself in the context of adult education. Adult learning and critical understanding must of necessity grasp this paradox. To the extent to which this issue of power as expressed through facilitator-learner relations has not been problematised in this course, to that extent an opportunity for developing a critical understanding of adult education as a vehicle to fostering human rights and counter-xenophobia has been missed. On the other hand, ‘accompanying’ implies co-learning, searching together as equals, traveling on a long journey of learning. In this context the workshop simply becomes a moment on that journey whose outcomes we are now turning to.

4.5 Conclusion

In this section I have presented the key findings and analysis. In doing so I have drawn from the interview data of course participants, course documents and manual, and in presenting a discussion of the data I have drawn from the insight of other researchers.



The next section presents summary and conclusion.

SECTION FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The research question sought to establish: *How does the Umoja wa Afrika's Human Rights Peer Educators Programme enable participants to develop a critical understanding of human rights and 'xenophobia'?* This research question guided this study. In this section – and based on my methodological and analytical reflections, - I present a summary and conclusion.

5.1 Summary of findings

One of the most significant methodological insights that arose during the process of doing my research was that the data and the theory itself required me to reflect on the research question in an ongoing and dynamic process.

The *Umoja wa Afrika Human Rights Peer Educators Programme* did make a definite contribution to participants' critical awareness not only of their rights but the rights of others. The course did this through a combination of the following:

Firstly the positioning of the learners in the centre of constructing knowledge for learning, and, together with the facilitators, as jointly responsible for creating knowledge. Secondly, the course created favourable conditions for appropriation of human rights and 'xenophobic' knowledge by the learners. This knowledge was appropriated in such a way as to reinforce existing social and cultural knowledge on the part of those learners who came into the course with prior experience in social activism, and to change behavior on the part of those learners who had exposure to social activism prior to attending the course. Both the social construction and the appropriation of knowledge was fostered through participatory learning methodologies including learning through diversity and group dynamics; learning through storytelling and personal testimonies; learning through activities and reflection; and learning through 'an accompanying facilitation style'. This accompanying facilitation style draws from the values of liberation theology - and

while these values were not explicitly stated in the curriculum statement and course objectives, were implicit in the course.

The critical awareness of participants developed through their exposure to the workshop activities, the readings, and documents. Through a combination of these and the exercises and activities participants engaged in, their interaction with each other as well as an enabling learning methodology resulted in development of a critical awareness in the Freirian sense. Moreover the experiential learning bias of the programme put strong emphasis on the central role of critical reflection arising from actual experience and direct grappling with the issues of xenophobia. Consistent with ideas emanating from critical pedagogy, drawing from the knowledge and experience of participants was primary in creating knowledge as opposed to traditional education where the teacher is the source of knowledge. *However, while the course did foster critical awareness of human rights and ‘xenophobia’ on the learners, it was not possible to deduce that such awareness will lead to critical action or engagement in relation to prevention of xenophobia.*

Following Brookfield (1993)¹¹ the course provided participants with an opportunity to engage in critical reflection. This involved questioning and redefining commonsense assumptions about xenophobia – for example foreign nationals are in South Africa to take away jobs from the locals – and adopting a counter-xenophobic perspective and stance on political and social structures or on personal and collective actions, which is strongly alternative to that held by the majority. However, as Brookfield warns, there are apparent limitations to this definition of critical reflection. I would argue, critical reflection cannot be examined outside the context in which it is applied. However, and as Brookfield (1993) maintains, “the mere questioning and reframing dominant commonsense assumptions does not amount to the development of alternative perspectives underpinned by a social justice imperative”¹². On the contrary, more like the proverbial double-edged sword, I argue, critical reflection could be employed to sustain and foster race, class and gender discrimination and other forms of social

¹¹An article entitled *Breaking the Code – Engaging Practitioners in Critical Analysis of Adult Educational Literature*. This article is available as a permalink at the URL: <http://search.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.uwc.ac.za/login.asp?direct=true&db=aph&AN=9609222787&site=ehost-live>. The accession number is: 9609222787

¹² *Breaking the Code: Engaging Practitioners in Critical Analysis of Adult Educational Practice, ibid.*

injustice. This is particularly so if critical reflection is understood primarily in terms of personal development. Critical reflection then needs to encompass a critical analysis of how hegemony operates. Furthermore, and in the context of xenophobia, critical reflection needs to recognize how the poor and marginalized often adopt commonsense perspectives of the way things are, and how these perspectives actually serve the interests of the powerful in society. This study found no evidence to suggest the course fosters a critical analysis of how hegemony works on the part of the participants.

Clearly the findings suggest that in the first instance, the course was able to transform all those who took part in it in one key aspect. It challenged categories of 'other' and participants were able to reject the discourse of *amakwerekwere*. While it is clear that some participants arrived at the workshop with a 'naïve consciousness', others, it would seem, were already 'converted' to specifically human rights issues. Among all though, the workshop appeared to have sown the seed of a critical consciousness (Paulo Freire, 1970). At the least, it appears to have forged a *critical awareness* of human rights as they apply to themselves and to others.

However outside of a couple of examples where individuals were able to apply their knowledge to their own personal life, it is very difficult to explore any direct relationship between the actions of participants and the extent to which xenophobic sentiment was neutralized in communities.

This is another gap that needs further exploration. A silence in this research is whether participants are integrating with social movements and community-based organizations. If so, to what extent are they doing this as a conscious and pedagogical effort to build community-based solidarity in the fight for social justice against exclusion, marginalization and inequality?

With respect to human rights, everybody who had been through the workshop, either had their own perceptions and attitudes reinforced and extended or transformed. Those who came to the workshop with prior experience of human rights work of one sort or another, appear to have had their attitudes and perceptions reinforced and extended. While those who had limited if not no exposure to human rights work

before the workshop had their perceptions changed. Three of the participants were able to conduct at least one human rights peer education workshop in their communities.

There were three key vehicles through which this critical awareness seems to have been promoted. These were the sharing of personal stories, group work, and activities and reflection.

It is noteworthy that not a single participant related to the course in terms of certification and the pursuit of a qualification in exchange for better job prospects. All of them were volunteers driven by a sense of community service. Granted that this area may have been one of the silent gaps in this research, the only question coming close to this aspect was ‘what did you hope to do after the workshop?’

What then is the pedagogical value in terms of the content and the method of this programme? From the thematic point of view, the results allow us to identify the need for further exploration on the theme of adult learning, identity, language and nationality, and social justice. But it is hard to establish whether participants went beyond simply learning a set of facts and information to understanding where this all is located in the world of inequality and of unequal power relation. To enable participants to develop a critical understanding of human rights and xenophobia involves becoming aware of themselves and their roles in relation to human rights and xenophobia within the context of social inequality, as well as being aware of their own power, working collectively to transform this empirical reality to a more just and equal society.

5.2 Conclusion: Adult learning and the local impact of globalization and migration

In concluding my research I have now come full circle. The course work in Masters in Adult Learning and Global Change set out to offer ‘a global perspective on learning in a cross-cultural environment’ and to encourage critical perspectives on globalization and reflective and strategic practices. I had come to the Masters in Adult Learning and Global Change course as a media facilitator and adult educator with a political

activist background of commitment to social justice causes. The start of the course was aimed at locating oneself in global learning. Indeed I began this journey by relating how my own personal observations of a specific community response to ‘xenophobia’ led me to ask questions that took me from a personal realm of political activism and ideological commitment to an intellectual journey. This journey began by locating this long research paper in the context of globalization and migration and adopting a critical theory perspective particularly drawing from the work of Paulo Freire (1970) and Stephen Brookfield (2005) to try and understand what accounted for specific responses to the local impact of globalization and migration.

5.3 Implications for further research

It is evident that there are new issues emerging in our society, including migration, diversity and social justice. What can we learn from research about these issues? What new spaces for adult education can we explore? What changes and shifts do we observe taking place in the terrain of discrimination? And how are these impacting adult educators? This long research paper has just been one attempt to shed light on these and other questions, in the hope of making a small contribution on the quest for a just society.

On reflection then and on closer scrutiny of the process of research and analysis of data, *I would recommend further research to explore to what extent the findings are replicable in multiple sites. Also to explore the learning fostered by the course in relation to Freire’s distinction between three kinds of consciousness: critical awareness, critical understanding and critical action or engagement.*

In this section I have presented a summary of the key findings, offered a conclusion to a personal and professional journey of discovery and learning, and made some recommendations for further research.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Lilly,	Participant/Learner, Interviewed 18 th September 2009
Nandi,	Participant/Learner, Interviewed 21 st September 2009
Julius,	Participant/Learner, Interviewed 11 th September 2009
Jones,	Participant/Learner, Interviewed 17 th September 2009
Loyiso,	Participant/Learner, Interviewed 17 th September 2009
Sindi,	Participant/Learner, Interviewed 21 st August 2009
Jimmy,	Participant/Learner, Interviewed 14 th August 2009
Kholiswa,	Participant/Learner, Interviewed 28 th September 2009
Nazeem,	Participant/Learner, Interviewed 17 th August 2009
Victor,	Facilitator, Interviewed 5 th August and 30 th September 2009
Zain,	Facilitator, Interviewed 3 rd August 2009

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE

QUESTIONS FOR FACILITATORS

PERSONAL PROFILE:

Name and Surname _____

Address _____

Residential Area _____

Age _____

Gender _____

Marital Status _____

Languages Home _____ Other(s) _____

Nationality _____

Occupation _____

PERSONAL HISTORY

Tell me a little bit about your self, your personal background, any qualifications related to educational and facilitation work and how you came to participate in these workshops

BACKGROUND AND EXPERIENCE IN THE WORK (ACTIVISM, AND HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING ANY EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS)

What is your background and experience in this kind of work?

What kind of organizations were you involved in, in the last five years?

ACTUAL WORKSHOPS

I am interviewing you because you were one of the facilitators in this Human Rights Training course? How did this come about? What prompted your interest in the course?

In your view, what was the purpose/s of the course?

Why do you think the workshops are/were important?

How many workshops did you facilitate?

What were these workshops aimed at?

What were the conditions for fostering critical awareness?

Was it critical awareness only or did it develop critical reflection; crucial consciousness and critical action.

To what extent are these present and valued in the programme?

What was in the design of the courses which enabled this?

What about the methodology? What role did it have?

When I look at the training manual I see that there were a number of activities/exercises for participants? Which ones do you regard as the most effective in terms of the aims and objectives of the workshops? Why do you say these exercises were effective?

PERSONAL VALUES

What motivated you to facilitate these workshops?

What are your own personal values and principles towards people that are marginalized in society?

Why do you think it is important that South Africans concern themselves about the wellbeing of foreign nationals? Is your perspective/s consistent with the core messages the course propagate? Show me how this was reflected in the course.

Have you interacted with participants after the completion of the workshops? What was the nature of your continued relationship? What motivated you to continue the contact?

WORKSHOP CONTENT

How did you become knowledgeable in the content?

What key messages did you convey in the workshops?

How have these workshops made a difference in your live, the lives of the participants and the lives of foreign nationals?

QUESTIONS FOR LEARNERS

PERSONAL PROFILE:

Name and Surname_____

Address_____

Residential Area_____

Age_____

Gender_____

Marital Status_____

Languages Home_____ Other(s)_____

Nationality_____

Occupation_____



PERSONAL HISTORY

Tell me about your self within your own society, who you are and where you come from?

How did it come about that you participated in one of these workshops?

BACKGROUND AND EXPERIENCE IN THE WORK (ACTIVISM, AND HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING ANY EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS)

What is your background and experience in this kind of work?

What kind of organizations were you involved in, in the last five years?

When in your life did you become aware of the issues that the workshop dealt with?

TERMINOLOGY

What is the term or word that you use for people who come from outside the borders of South Africa? Why do you use it?

ACTUAL WORKSHOP

- **GENERAL:**

Tell me about your experience at the workshop?

What exactly did you do at the workshop? What did the programme cover?

What did the workshop make you aware of? (this question seeks to find out if the person became aware of the human rights of immigrants; if they learnt about migration and if they became aware of the extent of migration)

What did you find most useful and why?

What are the key messages or knowledge you have gained through your participation in the workshop?

- **HUMAN RIGHTS:**

Course Outcomes:

- Develop a good understanding of human rights imperatives that underpin the legislation that inform the functions of and/or are administered by the Department of Home Affairs, including the South African Constitution of 1996, the Immigration Amendment Act 19 of 2004 and the Refugees Act of 1998.
- Be familiar with be familiar with various international instruments pertaining to human rights generally and the rights of asylum seekers, refugees and (im)migrants, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations and OAU Conventions relating to refugee protection and the UN Convention on the rights of migrant workers and their families;

Did the workshop enable you to develop an awareness of the human rights of immigrants, migrants and refugees

How did the workshop enable this awareness?

Was it the information? If so what kind of information? (content)

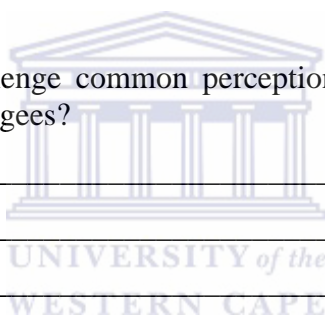
What was new and what did you find surprising about the information (content) about the human rights of immigrants, migrants and refugees?

You heard and learnt about the human rights of immigrants, migrants and refugees. Did you agree that those should be the human rights of immigrants, migrants and refugees in South Africa? Did you agree with all of these or with some of these? Did you disagree, and if so, what aspects did you disagree with? (Trying to establish what critical understanding did you get at the course)

Was it the activities? If so, what activities?

Do you remember that moment when you had to talk about your own experience of having your rights violated or of violating the rights of someone else? I want you to take me to that moment and tell me about that experience?

How did the workshop challenge common perceptions about the human rights of immigrants, migrants and refugees?



What knowledge did you acquire about human rights, xenophobia and migration?

What information helped you to develop this understanding?

- **XENOPHOBIA:**

Course Outcome:

- Have discussed at a conceptual level and analysed problems related to xenophobia and how it is manifested in South Africa society;
- To have explored their own attitudes towards and perceptions of foreigners in South Africa and how this may have had an impact on **xenophobic** tendencies in South African society.

Conceptual level:

What were the issues that you discussed in relation to xenophobia?

Understanding:

What did you learn about xenophobia?

What was new?

Problems:

What problems related to xenophobia did you discuss?

What was new?

Attitudes:

Did the workshop enable you to explore your attitudes towards immigrants, migrants and refugees?

If so how did the workshop do that? Was it the information? Was it the activities? (derive the methods and processes from this)

Did the workshop challenged your attitude? Did you change your attitudes? If so what new attitudes do you have towards immigrants, migrants and refugees?

What was your attitude towards immigrants, migrants and refugees before the workshop?

Perceptions: (view of someone or something!!!)

Did the workshop enable you to explore your perceptions of immigrants, migrants and refugees?

If so how did the workshop do that? Was it the information? Was it the activities? (derive the methods and processes from this)

Did the workshop challenge your perceptions? Did you change your perceptions? If so what new perceptions do you have towards immigrants, migrants and refugees?

What was your perception of immigrants, migrants and refugees before the workshop?

Do you think that you were naïve or ignorant before you came to the course? What were you naïve about? Why?

What was particularly meaningful to you in what you learnt from the course?

What made it easier for you to learn the things that you learnt during the course?

(What critical reflection did you develop?)

SITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

PEER EDUCATION AFTER THE WORKSHOP :

What have you done since the workshop? Why?

Did you take this experience back to your community?

How did you take this experience back to your community?

Reflecting on what you have learnt at the workshop, and your interaction with your community. How and why do you think the workshop made a difference in your thinking and the thinking of the community you are working in?

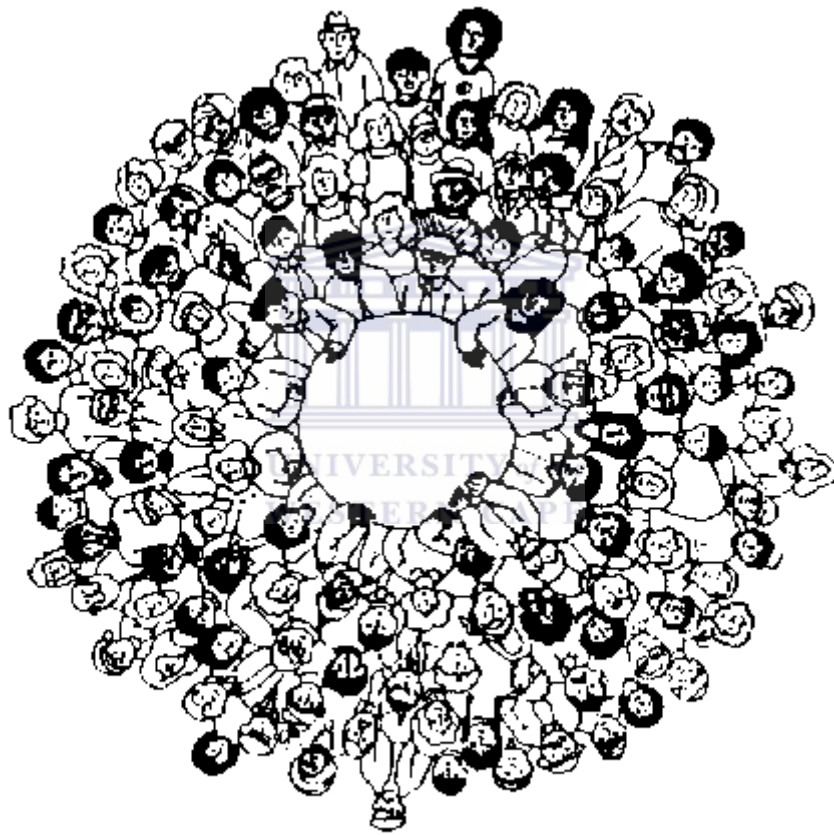
What did you hope to do after the workshop?

What do you think and how do you feel about this interview?

APPENDIX 3: RESEARCH SCHEDULE

Objectives	Activities	Results	Refining of Question & Techniques	Deadline
Research Diary				January
Generating of Research Idea	Initial meeting to discuss research subject Gathering of material Interview of key informants			January – June
Deciding on Research Idea, Formulating of Research Questions, Writing of Research Proposal				January – July

Migrant and Refugee Rights are Human Rights



Trainer's Manual

THE WORKSHOP PROGRAMME

Friday Evening

1. Welcome and Introduction (15 mins)

The Facilitator or someone else (e.g. chairperson or leader of the group) welcomes all the participants and thanks them for making the time available to participate in the workshop. Each person (including the facilitator) is then given the opportunity to introduce her or himself. This can simply be asking each person to tell the group their name or you can ask each person to give additional information e.g. where they live, what language they speak and so on.

2. Expectations (20 mins)

This is optional, but provides a good opportunity for each individual and the group as a whole to talk about their reasons for participating in the workshop. This information can sometimes be useful to the facilitator when she or he thinks about the kinds of issues to raise or to emphasise during the workshop. One way of getting participants to talk about their expectations is to ask them to complete the sentence:

“ I am attending this workshop because...”

3. House Rules (15 mins)

It is always useful to get all the participants involved in making and agreeing to the “rules” about how to behave or conduct themselves for the duration of the workshop. These rules can be about timekeeping, noise, listening to each other or anything else that may impact on the workshop- negatively or positively. As facilitator, you need to be careful, however, that the participants do not make rules that make it difficult to have an enjoyable learning experience. Write all the rules on a sheet of newsprint and display it throughout the workshop. When necessary, participants can then be reminded of the rules they agreed to.

4. Introductory Activity: Human Rights Squares (30 mins)

This exercise is a good way to start a workshop on human rights. Firstly, it is a way of introducing the participants to each other in a relaxed manner. Secondly, it immediately gets the participants to think about the topic of the workshop, which is about human rights.

Note that the purpose of the exercise is not to test the knowledge of the participants, but to get them to think about human rights.

Instructions for this activity and the handout are in this folder under the heading **Activities & Exercises**.

Saturday Morning

1. Introduction to Human Rights (60 mins)

The facilitator briefly reminds participants of the Human Rights Squares activity that they participated in. Then divide the participants into 4 small groups with more or less equal numbers and ask each group to discuss the following questions:

- (a) What are Human Rights?
- (b) Why are human rights important?
- (c) Why is human rights education important

Give each group about ten minutes to discuss after which you ask them to share the outcome of their discussion with the rest of the participants.

Under the heading PART ONE: UNDERSTANDING HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION there are four sub-headings; namely,

The Human Rights Principles

Human Rights Education: What and why

Building Human Rights Communities

Building Blocks for Human Rights Education

Give each group one of the sections e.g. group one gets the page about Human Rights Principles; group two gets the pages about Building Human Rights Communities and so on.

Ask each group to read through the page(s) that they've been given and together to write a summary on newsprint. Each group then in turn presents their summary to the other groups. Allow some time for questions and answers after each summary presentation.

If necessary and appropriate, the facilitator may add to and/or clarify the summary presented by the group.

2. ACTIVITY: Perpetrator, Bystander, Victim, Healer (30 – 40 mins)

This activity is useful to get participants to think about times when they might or might not have promoted human rights.

Instructions for this activity and the handout are in this folder under the heading **Activities & Exercises**.

FOLLOWING THIS ACTIVITY, THE PARTICIPANTS

PROBABLY DESERVE A REFRESHMENT BREAK.

3. ACTIVITY: A New Planet (60 mins)

This activity is designed to get the participants to think about the rights that they want for themselves and for others. It is also in preparation for the next activity that will focus specifically on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).

Instructions for this activity and the handout are in this folder under the heading **Activities & Exercises**.

4. ENERGISER: The Storm (5 mins)

This is an opportunity for the participants to let off some steam and energise themselves.

Instructions for this activity and the handout are in this folder under the heading **Activities & Exercises**.

5. ACTIVITY: The UDHR in our community (60 mins)

In this activity, participants read and analyse the various articles of the UDHR and evaluate the extent to which the UDHR is implemented in their own community.

Instructions for this activity and the handout are in this folder under the heading **Activities & Exercises**.

This activity concludes the first part of the workshop that focused on human rights generally.



6. COLLECTIVE SUMMARY

To conclude the first part of the workshop, ask the participants to “buzz” (talk to one other person) and to answer the following question:

**What have I heard today that I will remember
as particularly meaningful or important?**

**It is a good idea to take a lunch-break at this point,
before moving on to the next part of the workshop.**

Saturday Afternoon

1. ACTIVITY: Applying for asylum (30 mins)

This activity helps participants move away from general human rights issues to the specific rights of refugees and asylum-seekers.

NOTE CAREFULLY THE INSTRUCTIONS FOR THIS ACTIVITY WHICH CAN BE FOUND UNDER THE HEADING “ACTIVITIES & EXERCISES”.

2. ACTIVITY: Packing your suitcase (20 mins)

This activity builds on the previous one and draws participants deeper into the experiences of asylum-seekers and refugees.

Both the above activities are intended to prepare the participants for the discussion on the specific rights of refugees and asylum-seekers that will follow.

3. ENERGISER: To the lifeboats

An opportunity for participants to revitalise their energies.

4. ACTIVITY: Definitions

Put the following list of words and phrases on a sheet of newsprint and ask participants to discuss and supply the meaning of each word or phrase. Make sure that the participants understand that all these words and phrases pertain to refugees and asylum-seekers :

- Asylum-seeker
- Refugee
- UN Convention
- OAU Convention
- Non-refoulement
- IDP
- Resettlement
- Repatriation
- Integration
- Durable solution
- UNHCR

5. International and National Instruments

Divide the participants into small groups and ask them to discuss the following questions:

- (a) What are the most important documents that promote and protect the rights of asylum-seekers and refugees, internationally and in South Africa?
- (b) Once they have named the documents, ask the groups to explain the manner in which these documents protect and promote the rights of asylum-seekers and refugees
- (c) Ask each group to make a list that represents the most important rights of refugees and asylum-seekers.

6. CLOSING: Ball Toss

Participants toss a ball from one to another. Each person who catches the ball states one thing she or he learned or can use from the workshop.

Saturday Evening

The Saturday evening should be an opportunity for the participants to relax and enjoy themselves. However, it is best if they are not just left to spend the evening as they wish. It may be a good idea to have an informal “concert” or similar activity during which each participant or groups of participants prepare something (poetry, singing, art, drama and so on) to present to the rest of the participants. Alternatively, the facilitator or group leader can arrange for a video relevant to the issues being discussed to be shown. It might also be useful to invite a well-known personality to come and address the participants.

Sunday Morning

1. ACTIVITY: Born Equal

This activity is designed to help participants understand how cumulative discrimination takes away the rights of asylum-seekers and refugees, specifically in relation to the citizens of the country where asylum-seekers and refugees find themselves.

Instructions for this activity and the handout are in this folder under the heading **Activities & Exercises**.

2. ENERGISER: Arm in arm

While this activity is an energiser, it is also used to demonstrate the value of co-operation. For the purpose of this workshop, the activity can be used to discuss how co-operation between asylum-seekers/refugees and citizens can lead to a “win-win” situation for everyone.

3. ROLE-PLAY/SCENARIOS

This session is aimed at helping participants to think about their role as facilitators of human rights education workshops. It uses a few examples of typical problem situations in a workshop and the facilitator is asked how she or he would respond to it.

Instructions for this activity and the handout are in this folder under the heading **Activities & Exercises**.

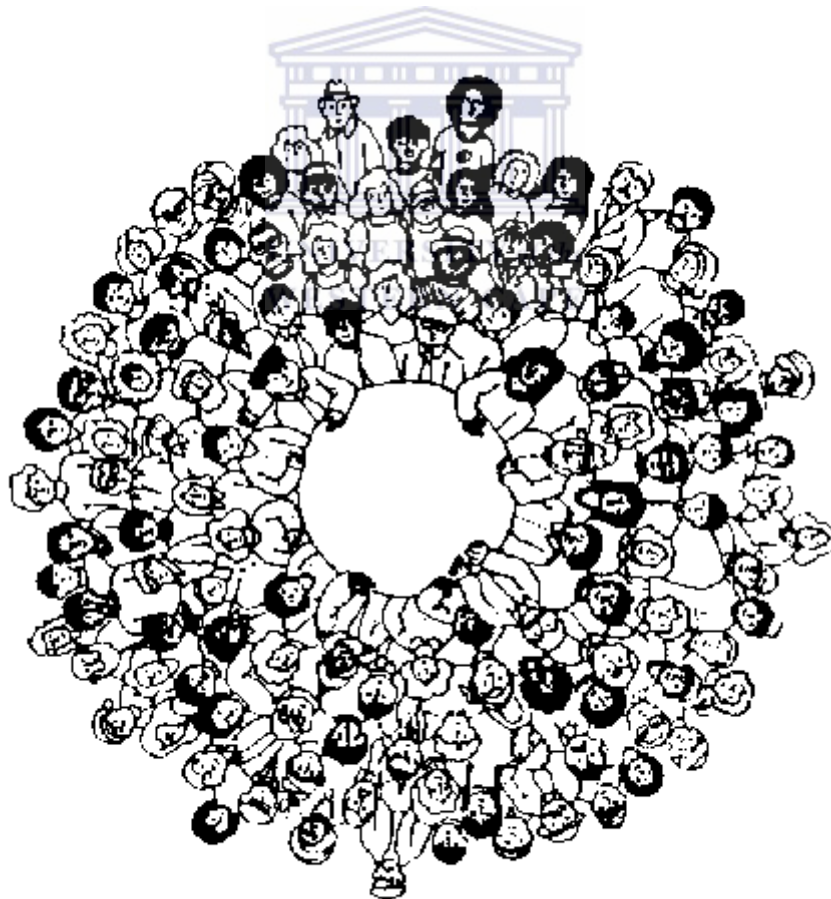
4. EVALUATION

Doing an evaluation at the end of a workshop is important. It gives the participants an opportunity to express their feelings and ideas about the workshop and, equally importantly, it tells the facilitator(s) whether and to what extent the workshop was successful, what could have been improved, what worked really well and so on. Evaluations can either be written or verbal.

The evaluation form included in this manual is quite an extensive one, but it can be made shorter if appropriate. Often it works best if participants are given an opportunity to complete the form and then those who wish to do so, are allowed to comment so all the participants can hear.

5. END OF WORKSHOP

End the workshop in a meaningful way- the participants can have lunch together or finish with a prayer and a song.



APPENDIX 5: WORKSHOP HANDOUTS

1. Human Rights Squares

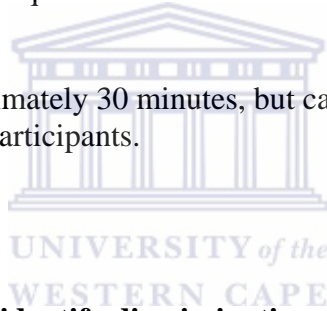
This exercise is a good way to start a workshop on human rights. Firstly, it is a way of introducing the participants to each other in a relaxed manner. Secondly, it immediately gets the participants to think about the topic of the workshop, which is about human rights.

Note that the purpose of the exercise is not to test the knowledge of the participants, but to get them to think about human rights.

Instructions

Give each participant a copy of the “Human Rights Squares” sheet (on next page). As you will see, each square has one question about human rights and there are sixteen questions in total. Explain that during the allotted time, the participants must mingle and find a different person who can answer each question. The name of the person who answered is written next to the question. At the end of the exercise, ask who got the most signatures. Ask which questions were difficult or impossible to find answers for.

The exercise will take approximately 30 minutes, but can be shorter or longer depending on the number of participants.



2. BORN EQUAL

In this exercise participants identify discrimination experienced by asylum-seekers and refugees.

Instructions:

1. Divide participants into small groups. Ask half the groups to list 5 advantages and 5 disadvantages of being a refugee or an asylum-seeker. Ask the other half to list 5 advantages and 5 disadvantages of being a citizen or permanent resident.
2. Ask each small group to report their lists. Record them on chart paper. Then ask the whole group to rate on a scale of 1-5 how important each item is to the life of an individual. For example, something trivial like "Wearing a certain kind of attractive clothing" might receive a 1 while "Not get as much food" might receive a 5.
3. Make a line on the floor with chalk or piece of string. Explain that this is the starting line and ask everyone to put his or her toes on the line. Explain that all the participants are babies born on the same day, and according to the UDHR they are "born free and equal in dignity and rights." Then explain that unfortunately, some members of the community are not really "equal in rights and dignity." Randomly divide the whole group into two with one group being the asylum-seekers/refugees and the other citizens/permanent residents.

4. Then read one of the advantages for refugees/asylum-seekers received a 5 rating (e.g., "Make more money") and ask everyone who is a refugee/asylum-seeker to step forward 5 steps. Do the same for an advantage for citizens/permanent residents. Then read a disadvantage for refugees/asylum-seekers and ask that group to step backward the number of steps that the disadvantage was rated; then do the same for the citizens/permanent residents.

5. Continue in this same manner through the advantages and disadvantages on the list. When a large gap has developed between the two groups, ask them to turn and face each other. Ask several individuals from each group:

How do you feel about your "position"?

What do you want to say to those in the other group?

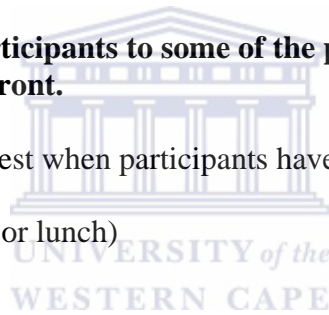
How would you feel if you were in the other group?

6. Emphasise that this activity points out how cumulative discrimination works to erode the human rights principle of equality.

3. APPLYING FOR ASYLUM

This exercise introduces participants to some of the problems that refugees and asylum-seekers have to confront.

NOTE: This exercise works best when participants have had a break and are returning to the training room (after tea or lunch)



Instructions:

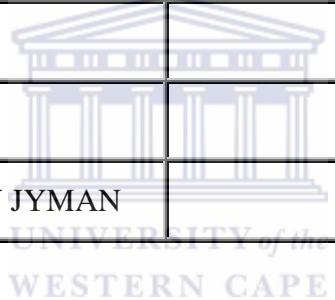
1. Let participants come into the training the room without greeting anyone or acknowledging their presence.
2. After a few minutes and when most participants are in the room, hand out the application for asylum written in Creole (attached). Say only "You have five minutes to complete this form." This could be spoken in any foreign language as well. Coldly ignore questions and protests.
3. Greet any latecomers rudely (e.g., "Is there any reason you are late? You have only ___ minutes to complete this form."). Most participants will get the point right away, but some may get angry or anxious.
4. Collect the forms without smiling or making personal contact.
5. Call a name from the completed forms and asked that person to come forward. Look at the form and say, "I see you answered no to this question. Asylum denied." Repeat this process several times.

6. Finally break out of your role. Ask participants how they felt filling out an unintelligible form. Ask them how this simulates a refugee's experience.



Write your name here:

APPLICATION FOR ASYLUM	
1. APPELLIDO	
2. PRIMER NOMBRE	
3. FECHA DE NACIMIENTO	
4. PAIS, CIUDAD DE RESIDENCIA	
5. OU GENYEN FANMI NE ETAZINI?	
6. KISA YO YE POU WOU	
7. KI PAPYE IMAGRASYON FANMI OU YO GENYEN ISIT?	
8. ESKE OU ANSENT?	
9. ESKE OU GEN AVOKA?	
10. OU JAM AL NAHOKEN JYMAN	



4. PACKING YOUR SUITCASE

This exercise simulates the emotional and practical decisions a refugee must face and their unforeseen consequences.

Instructions:

1. Read/explain this scenario:

*You are a teacher in _____. Your partner disappears and is later found murdered. Your name appears in a newspaper article listing suspected subversives. Later you receive a letter threatening your life for your alleged political activity. You decide you must flee. **PACK YOUR BAG:** you can only take five things and only what you can carry. List what you would take."*

2. After a few minutes, call on participants to read their lists aloud. For every list (usually 95%) that does not include the newspaper article or the threatening letter, say, "Asylum denied!"

3. Read the legal definition of a refugee. Discuss how this definition is applied in real life and why most participants were denied "asylum" because they had no proof of well-founded fear of persecution to qualify for refugee status.

4. Discuss making decisions under pressure, reasons for personal choices, emotions evoked by the decision-making process. Conclude by explaining that the purpose of this activity is to understand how difficult it is for people to make decisions and think rationally when they feel threatened or are under pressure.

5. PERPETRATOR, BYSTANDER, VICTIM, HEALER

This activity helps participants think about and reflect on the different roles that they play with regard to human rights.

Instructions:

1. Divide participants into small groups and give each person a paper divided into four quadrants with the headings "Perpetrator," "Victim," "Bystander," and "Healer." (see attached sheet)
2. Ask participants in turn to give an example of a time when they played one of these roles (e.g., a time when they violated someone's rights, when their own rights were violated, when they stood by and did nothing, and when they witnessed someone whose rights were being violated and took action).
3. Debrief with the whole group. Ask volunteers for a few examples. Ask what feelings and new understanding the activity elicited. Emphasise in conclusion that everyone plays all these roles at one time or another. Ask what qualities and understanding a person needs to take action.

PERPETRATOR, BYSTANDER, VICTIM, HEALER
