

Diversity education in South Africa, Mozambique and Namibia: A research agenda

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Abstract

The literature on diversity education in southern Africa to date has not taken account of the changing composition of populations in educational institutions. Migration in the region has led to changes in the demographic profiles of schools, colleges and universities. What impact have these changes had on social relations? How are emerging social relations redefining the meaning of globalisation and regionalisation? This article provides an overview of research literature on diversity education in Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa. The concepts educational change, globalisation, regionalisation and localisation are instructive in analysing developing social relations of race, socio-economic class, gender, national origin and ethnicity. I propose a research agenda of school-based studies that can build on our current knowledge. Such localised research can inform policy revisions at regional, national, community and school levels. Additionally, empirical studies informed by southern African perspectives can contribute to the relevant international and comparative literature.

Introduction

National and educational development in southern Africa was shaped by and has in turn determined globalisation, regionalisation and localisation. Against this backdrop the purpose of this article is to formulate a research agenda to study developments in the demographic composition of and social relations among people in educational institutions. It is based on a review of the existing research on diversity education in South Africa, Namibia and Mozambique.

Change – and non-change – lie at the heart of national development in southern Africa's recent history. Change defined the struggles for liberation from apartheid and colonialism, and accelerated change lies at the heart of the Age of Globalisation. Most of the countries in southern Africa have achieved self-determination relatively recently after decades of social and political struggle. Mozambique attained independence from Portugal in 1975, Namibia from South Africa in 1990 while the first democratic elections were held in South Africa in 1994. Political conflict in the post-independence period in

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these countries can be attributed to the limited extent of socio-economic change and social transformation under the new governments.

In education, an important element of change is the fact that within a short period schools, colleges and universities have had to deal with large numbers of students from a variety of socio-economic groups and countries on their campuses and in their classrooms. The drivers of migration vary. For instance, Namibian and Mozambican schools now accommodate significant numbers of Angolans, Zimbabweans and Somalians, among other nationalities, as a consequence of political conflict and war in those countries. In South Africa and Namibia, with the scrapping of legal apartheid, schools that were formally segregated by race, class and ethnicity remain separate, but significant pockets of integration are now evident. And, as a consequence of neo-liberal globalisation which has exacerbated inequality and poverty in large parts of the continent, Africans from other countries have migrated to South Africa, searching for a better life and education for their children. They now compete with millions of jobless, homeless South Africans in shanty towns.

What is the impact of these developments on education systems and on social relations? What are the intercultural and sociological dimensions of regional diversity? How can they best be understood? More practically, what lessons may be learned and what education policies should be reviewed and implemented?

We begin by discussing educational change in the region with reference to diversity education. This is followed by a discussion in which the relevant literature on globalisation is reviewed and a case is made for the inclusion of the concept of 'regionalisation'. Finally, we propose a research agenda focusing on empirical research into the actual social conditions and developments in schools. Globalisation and regionalisation are useful concepts in understanding the contextual circumstances of diversity. However, they are primarily abstract ideas. Conditions on the ground – localisation – are crucial in explaining how parents, teachers, students and communities respond to and recreate their world.

Diversity education and change

'Diversity' here refers to social differences – real, perceived or imagined – in regard to race, socio-economic class, ethnicity, gender and national origin. This is not to say that other diversities, such as language or religion, are not important. I wish to establish the parameters for the discussion. Other dimensions of diversity are not prominent in the literature. "Diversity has come to be seen as aimed at *embracing*, or *accommodating* or *engaging* differences".¹ Diversity can also include *ignoring* differences, buttressing and reproducing the status quo inside classrooms, schools and universities. While the following quotation refers to higher education in South Africa and excludes specific

¹ Michael Cross, "Institutionalising campus diversity in South African higher education: Review of diversity scholarship", *Higher Education*, 47, 2004: 387-410 (404) [emph. in original].

aspects such as curriculum and pedagogy, it is useful in framing our general approach to the topic:

Diversity means opening up the university to different people, all interested in studying at this university. It means that all staff should be able to meet the needs of each individual. It means accommodating as many people as possible with their differences. It means wishing to know about the other. It means different things to different people and institutions.²

Current regional scholarship on diversity education has not worked rigorously enough with the notion of change. We need to revisit the familiar discriminatory social relations of diversity in the light of contemporary migrations and changing demographics in schools. Empirical findings from earlier research imply that racial conflict among students at desegregated schools in South Africa would not change as long as schools continued to reproduce historical and systemic inequalities. More recent research suggests that tolerance towards racial Others developed over time, with far-reaching implications for national development.³

Crain Soudien, Nazir Carrim and Yusuf Sayed constructed an 'interlocking' framework for a comparative study of India and South Africa that can be operationalised to analyse the ways in which race, class, gender and other categories interrelate in everyday life.⁴ Soudien et al. use Cameron McCarthy's idea of 'nonsynchrony' which views race, class, language, region and so on as being interrelated.⁵ Put another way, peoples' understandings of diversity intersect in ways that reflect the variety of individual and group experiences. This conceptualisation draws on Hall's notion of 'articulation' which recognises that at particular historical and political conjunctures, one category of diversity can gain ascendancy and hegemony over others.⁶ Although the interlocking framework is useful, it does not include the dynamics of change. More than ever before, race relations and the category of 'race' itself are unstable and fluid. Who we are, or who we think we are, only makes sense in relation to the Other and who we and our children are likely to become.

² Hlongwane, University of Zululand, quoted in Cross, "Institutionalising": 392.

³ Everard Weber, Mokubung Nkomo and Christina Amsterdam, "Diversity, unity and national development: findings from desegregated Gauteng schools", *Perspectives in Education*, 27 (4), 2009: 341-350.

⁴ Crain Soudien, Nazir Carrim and Yusuf Sayed, "School inclusion and exclusion in South Africa: some theoretical and methodological considerations", in: Mokubung Nkomo, Carolyn Mckinney and Linda Chisholm, (eds.), *Reflections on School Integration: Colloquium Proceedings*, Cape Town, Human Sciences Research Council, 2004: 19-42. See also: Yusuf Sayed, Ramya Subrahmanian, Crain Soudien and Nazir Carrim, *Education Exclusion and Inclusion: Policy Implementation in South Africa and India*, London, DFID, 2007. <<http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/PDF/Outputs/impAccess/ResearchingtheIssuesNo72.pdf>> [accessed 13 March, 2015].

⁵ Soudien et al., "School inclusion"; Cameron McCarthy, "Nonsynchrony and social difference: An alternative to current radical accounts of race and schooling", in: Henry Allen, Albert Halsey, Hugh Lauder, Paul Stuart and Ammy Wells, (eds.), *Education, Culture, Economy, Society*, London, Open University Press, 1997: 254-264.

⁶ Stuart Hall, "Who needs identity?", in: Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay, (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*, London, Sage, 1996: 1-17.

Seyla Benhabib critiques understandings of uncontested cultural holism which can translate into political stereotypes.⁷ In democratic civil society, cross-cultural and inter-cultural spaces can be created in which identity and difference can be negotiated. This has implications for education in terms of systemic, curriculum and pedagogical change. Yet many localities appear to be untouched by changes in the wider world. The more governments implement reforms, the more schools and classrooms remain the same, as Manuel Guro has discussed regarding Mozambique, and Newton Stoffels referring to South Africa. Change has a political dimension, often neglected in the literature on educational reform.⁸ At the micro-level of the school and inter-personal relations, or at systemic levels, diversity is reflected in places of everyday struggle. These sites are consequently unstable and their instability generates the potential for broader institutional and social change. The politics of change revolve around the social struggles that drive the interlocking framework. Everard Weber, Mokubung Nkomo and Christina Amsterdam found evidence at desegregated, co-ed schools in the Gauteng province, South Africa, of diversity relationships among students that reflected co-operation, alongside those that were antagonistic.⁹ They quote an African male student who assigned characteristics to different racial groups. Gender, appearance, body shape, hair, race, perceptions of prettiness and language were intertwined and became the constituents of social conflict.

It is important to outline the overall trajectory of change as opposed to a medley of postmodern differences and identities that interlock and co-exist. In this study accelerated change is woven into the processes of globalisation and regionalisation. This enables us to place developments in diversity education within both a wider and a comparative context, at regional and global levels. It further enables us to bring current scholarship in line with the changing student demographics in southern African educational institutions. There is a dearth of quantitative studies focusing on diversity in the various countries in southern Africa and studies that map the patterns of migration within and across the nations of the region. Such databases are needed, and should be regularly updated. The situation is somewhat different in higher education.¹⁰

⁷ Seyla Benhabib, *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 2002.

⁸ Manuel Guro, *Basic Education in Mozambique: The Policies of Curriculum Change and the Practices at Marrere Teacher Training College*, Ph.D thesis, University of Pretoria, 2009; Newton Stoffels, "Why do teachers do what they do? Teacher decision-making in the context of curriculum change in South Africa", in: Everard Weber, (ed.), *Educational Change in South Africa: Reflections on Local Realities, Practices and Reforms*, Rotterdam, Sense Publishers, 2008: 25-40.

⁹ Weber et al., "Diversity".

¹⁰ UNESCO, *Global flow of tertiary students*, UNESCO, Institute for Statistics, 2012. <<http://www.uis.unesco.org/EDUCATION/Pages/international-student-flow-viz.aspx>> [accessed 13 March, 2015]; Paul T. Zeleza, "Internationalization in higher education: Opportunities and challenges for the knowledge project in the Global South", Keynote Address, *Vice-Chancellors leadership dialogue. A Southern African Regional Universities Association leadership dialogue on building capacity of higher education to enhance regional development*, Maputo, Mozambique, March 21-22, 2012. Conference organised by the Southern African

Diversity education, globalisation and regionalisation

Few studies have examined diversity education within the context of globalisation. Nadine Dolby's study is an exemplary exception.¹¹ She draws on Bourdieu's notion of 'taste' to explain youth identity at a recently desegregated school in Durban, South Africa. She discusses an African student who she says, "unhinges [his] African identity from South African (or African soil) locating it in the practices of the global popular". The student says "We [young people] play the same music with rhythm and the majority will wear the same fashions and that you can easily notice. We also prefer the same sports [...] soccer and basketball".¹²

Globalisation can be defined as the increasing integration and movement of people, ideas, histories, and cultures within countries, between rural and urban areas, and between countries, across national borders.¹³ Fazal Rizvi and Rob Lingard aver that globalisation can be interpreted from three perspectives.¹⁴ The first considers the increasing interdependence and interconnection in the world. There have been revolutions in transport, communication, technology and the application of knowledge. The second perspective is the development of a consciousness among people, communities and states of the problems facing the world and the need for collective effort to address them. The third perspective sees globalisation as the triumph of the market, economic liberalisation and the ideology of neo-liberalism.¹⁵ Hegemony has accompanied interconnectedness in that global developments have gone hand in hand with the increasing power of certain states, political parties and organisations.¹⁶

Besides political parties and international organisations, the nation-state plays a powerful role through the development and implementation of public policy, and in laying the foundations that provide an enabling environment for globalisation to thrive. These circumstances have re-defined state authority, jurisdiction and governance. Certain private institutions and international organisations have grown in stature and influence

Regional Universities Association, the International Association of Universities, and Universidade Eduardo Mondlane.

¹¹ Nadine Dolby, *Constructing Race: Youth, Identity and Popular Culture in South Africa*, Albany, NY, State University of New York Press, 2001.

¹² Ibid.: 64.

¹³ David Held, (ed.), *Political Theory Today*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1991; Claudia Matus and Cameron McCarthy, "The triumph of multiplicity and the carnival of difference: Curriculum dilemmas in the age of postcolonialism and globalization", in: William F. Pinar, (ed.), *International Handbook of Curriculum Research*, Mahwah, NJ, Erlbaum Associates, 2003: 73-82.

¹⁴ Fazal Rizvi and Rob Lingard, "Globalization and the changing nature of the OECD's educational work", in: Hugh Lauder, Phillip Brown, Jo-Anne Dillabough and Amy Halsey, (eds.), *Education, Globalisation and Social Change*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006: 247-260.

¹⁵ Cf. Mark Olssen, "Neoliberalism, globalization, democracy: Challenges for education", in: Hugh Lauder, Phillip Brown, Jo-Anne Dillabough and Amy Halsey, (eds.), *Education, Globalisation and Social Change*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006: 262-287.

¹⁶ Cf. Bourdieu in Rizvi and Lingard, "Globalization": 252.

and have taken over functions previously controlled by the nation-state. Multinational corporations operate to a greater degree beyond the confines and constrictions individual states or governments may impose.¹⁷ Their operations consolidate other forms and structures of hegemony.

Arjun Appadurai writes about the 'new global cultural economy' as inter-related and contradictory, rather than binary.¹⁸ Older understandings of 'push' and 'pull' in respect of migrations, or of 'centre' and 'periphery' in describing colonial and neo-colonial, and imperial relationships, are inadequate. There are today fundamental political, cultural and economic 'disjunctures' across the globe. Appadurai argues that they can be analysed through a conceptual framework of five 'scapes': global flows of people, images, technology, capital and ideologies. The complexity of the scapes lies in how, singly and in relation to one another, they are played out in multiple individual localities, contexts and milieus. Sometimes there are clear connections in how policy discourses have 'migrated' and/or been imposed, from North to South. Hertha Pomuti and Manuel Guro have shown that ideas about curriculum reform in basic education, and decentralised educational governance and school management which are now being implemented in Namibia and Mozambique emanate from industrialised countries.¹⁹ Despite the complexities of implementation processes and the politics of implementation, these have left recognisable footprints in schools and classrooms.

Globalisation is useful as a macro concept. However, sections of the relevant literature do not adequately theorise the idea of regionalisation.²⁰ Jane Kenway and Elizabeth Bullen discuss cultural globalisation regarding "contemporary constructions of the young" by referring to "the Minority World, or the overdeveloped countries of the West".²¹ We end up with a conceptualisation in which the global is emphasised, but with a lopsided, Northern research and epistemological focus. This is ironic because globalisation is supposedly about world-wide interconnection. Books such as those by Robert F. Arnove and Carlos Alberto Torres and Joseph Zajda are instructive in questioning Eurocentric approaches to globalisation and in emphasising the role of regional and local development in contemporary educational change.²²

¹⁷ Olssen, "Neoliberalism".

¹⁸ Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1996; idem, *Globalization*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2001.

¹⁹ Hertha Pomuti, *An Analysis of the Relationship between Cluster-Based School Management and Teaching in Namibia*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Pretoria, 2009; Guro, *Basic Education*.

²⁰ Cf. William F. Pinar, (ed.), *International Handbook of Curriculum Research*, Mahwah, NJ, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2003; Marcelo Suarez-Orozco and Desiree B. Qin-Hilliard, (eds.), *Globalisation, Culture and Education in the New Millennium*, Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2004; Macedo, Donald and Panayota Gounari, (eds.), *The Globalisation of Racism*, Colorado, Paradigm, 2006.

²¹ Jane Kenway and Elizabeth Bullen, "Globalizing the young in the age of desire: Some educational issues", in: Michael W. Apple, Jane Kenway and Micheal Singh, (eds.), *Globalizing Education: Policies, Pedagogies and Politics*, New York, Lang, 2005: 31-43 (31).

²² Robert F. Arnove and Carlos Alberto Torres, (eds.), *Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local*, 2nd ed., Lanham, Rowman and Littlefield, 2003; Joseph Zajda, "Globalisation, education and

The countries of southern Africa share a common history, especially since the 1960s when, unlike the political independence attained in the rest of Africa, white minority regimes and Portuguese colonialism remained in place. The quintessence of the struggles for democracy in Namibia, South Africa and Mozambique (as well as Zimbabwe and Angola) has been unity and nation-building in the face of divide-and-rule policies. Anti-colonial movements, such as FRELIMO in Mozambique, emphasised multi-ethnic and multi-regional unity as inseparable from their opposition to Portuguese colonial rule.²³ Globalisation should embrace the concept of regionalisation, which acknowledges the national conditions and histories in each country, and regional developments and migratory flows in southern Africa as a whole. The localisation of identity formation in schools and classrooms should be contextualised regionally and in relation to world-wide development. Comparative study displaces the focus from the nation-state as the primary unit of analysis to much broader perspectives that can be gleaned from including neighbouring states and the rest of the world. The value of regionalisation is that it opens a window for the re-definition of the meaning of globalisation from the cultural, social and historical experiences and actions of the peoples of the South.

In stressing developments related to globalisation and regionalisation, I do not wish to imply the end of the nation-state as a unit of political organisation, or the emergence of southern Africa as a borderless, regional entity. There is some debate about the role of the nation-state in the era of globalisation, including the tension between the national and the global. Nicholas Burbules and Carlos Alberto Torres ask: "To what extent is the educational endeavor affected by processes of globalisation that are threatening the autonomy of national educational systems and the nation-state as the ultimate ruler in democratic societies?"²⁴ Roger Dale asks whether the relationship between globalisation and education is about a "common world educational culture," or a "globally structured educational agenda". He says, "[t]he former [...] seeks to demonstrate the existence and significance of a hypothesized world culture [rooted in the nation-state] and the latter to show how a new form of supranational force affects national educational systems".²⁵ Dale sees these two approaches as different, yet complementing one another.

In discussing "educational reforms in Anglo-American democracies", Scotland Davies and Neil Guppy, set up a dichotomy between "economic globalization" and "global rationalization". Economic globalisation refers to the "process [...] [which] occurs via market forces and is directed by self-interested class actors [...]". In contrast, neo-

policy research: Overview and introduction", in: idem, (ed.), *International Handbook on Globalisation, Education and Policy Research*, Dordrecht, Springer, 2005: xix-xxxii.

²³ Eduardo Mondlane, *The Struggle for Mozambique*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1969; Barry Munslow, *Mozambique: The Revolution and its Origins*, New York, Longman, 1983.

²⁴ Nicholas C. Burbules and Carlos Alberto Torres, *Globalization and Education*, New York, Routledge, 2000: 4.

²⁵ Roger Dale, "Globalization and education: Demonstrating a 'common world educational culture' or locating a 'globally structured educational agenda'?", *Educational Theory*, 50 (4), 2000: 427-448 (447).

institutionalists point to state officials and professionals".²⁶ Andy Green's arguments are instructive and, although they refer primarily to the North, they are broadly supported by developments in the southern African region. He writes that "rather than full-scale globalisation of education, the evidence suggests a partial internationalization of education systems which falls short of an end to national education *per se*."²⁷ Similarly, Mark Olssen makes the point that regional blocks simultaneously "erode and confirm" the autonomy and independence of the nation-state. Furthermore, "global culture can *coalesce* with national identity, and compromises national consciousness only in certain respects, not all of which can be seen as negative; e.g. in relation to norms of democratic justice, which can be supported as warranted and important".²⁸

Cameron McCarthy and Greg Dimitriadis provide an alternative perspective to the one developed by Green, drawing on Foucault's concept of governability and Nietzsche's notion of 'resentment'.²⁹ Their key conclusion is that of a 're-constituted', 'de-centred' state that plays second fiddle to or enters into new relationships with cross-cutting, multiple, discursive and cultural spaces and practices in civil society under globalisation. These developments become the central foci of analysis, rather than a centralised 'entity'. The state and the system of education it controls and reforms, has traditionally been the primary site of social reproduction.³⁰

Recent regional history in southern Africa has seen the emergence of strong national identities, symbolised by the establishment of new states with popular mandates to reconstruct national education systems, neglected by former colonial powers and white minority regimes. A defining feature of post-apartheid politics within the ruling African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, and between the ANC and opposition parties, has been the degree to which it has delivered social services in areas such as education. This feature has been evident in all national and provincial elections since independence in 1994. Crudely put, the black majority looks to the parties they put in government and the 'new' state to transform society and education systems.

Globalisation and regionalisation, we said, are characterised by the development of an increasingly interdependent, interconnected world. This refers not only to finance, communication, economics and so on, but also to growing diversity as the compositions,

²⁶ Scotland Davies and Neil Guppy, "Globalization and educational reforms in Anglo-American democracies", *Comparative Education Review*, 41 (4), 1997: 435-459 (447).

²⁷ Andy Green, "Education, globalization and the nation state", in: Hugh Lauder, Phillip Brown, Jo-Anne Dillabough and Albert Halsey, (eds.), *Education, Globalisation and Social Change*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006: 192-197 (193)[emph. in original].

²⁸ Olssen, "Neoliberalism": 262 (emph. in original).

²⁹ Cameron McCarthy and Greg Dimitriadis, "Governability and the sociology of education: Media, educational policy and the politics of resentment", *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 21 (2), 2000: 169-187; Green, "Education".

³⁰ Cf. also Carlos Alberto Torres, "Globalisation, education and citizenship: Solidarity versus markets?", *American Educational Research Journal*, 39 (2), 2002: 363-378.

cultures, and sociologies of communities and educational institutions change. These latter dimensions of globalisation have been poorly researched in southern Africa.

Diversity education and research in Namibia, Mozambique and South Africa

There are hardly any comparative education diversity studies in southern Africa. Two notable exceptions are Prudence Carter, James Caruthers and James Foster who compare South Africa and the United States, and Yusuf Sayed et al. who compare South Africa and India. Carter et al. argue that although the United States and South Africa have produced different national frameworks promoting the necessity for racial integration in education, certain practices converge in these countries at the school level that thwart the intended policy goals. They present empirical evidence collected at desegregated schools in both countries of how social interactions, sustained by school practices, circumscribe educators' and students' abilities to comply with the integrationist aims of equity and the redress of historical racial discrimination. The same study analyses how social and symbolic boundaries are reproduced by educationists in everyday school practices.³¹ Sayed et al. write that in South Africa and India, "the patterns of inequality in education correlate consistently and significantly with race and caste, and further, with gender and poverty, and suggest complex intersections between each in the production of persistent education exclusion". Among their conclusions is that "for the most part schools could only be described as weakly and procedurally inclusive."³² These studies illuminate the contradictions between the goals of racial integration policy at national level, and perceived group interests and actions at school level. Understanding the modalities of non-change at grassroots can go a long way to explaining the reproduction of inequity and inequality in education across different countries, much further afield than southern Africa.³³

The value of comparative education study lies in the determination of the extent and range over which social phenomena and relationships exist, and in tracing the trajectories of their evolution. There are lessons to be learned from the research studies reviewed above. Firstly, the conclusion of Carter et al. that it is social relations in schools that are decisive in intervening between policy and practice informs the call for further research made below. Secondly, I shall explore the 'complex intersections' between different dimensions and analytic categories of diversity in education with reference to Namibia, Mozambique and South Africa. Thirdly, the experiences of these three southern African countries and the relevant literatures enable us to speak to and learn from the

³¹ Prudence Carter, James Caruthers and James Foster, "Knowing their lines: How social boundaries undermine equity-based integration policies in United States and South African schools", *Perspectives in Education*, 27 (4), 2009: 351-364.

³² Sayed et al., *Education*: vi, x.

³³ Cf. also Zajda, "Globalisation".

broader comparative scholarship on globalisation, education, and development. It also provides the basis for evaluating and building on existing national research.

Diversity education is localised or context-bound at school and classroom level. In schools in all three countries there are areas about which we know very little, such as diversity in respect of ethnicity.³⁴ Historically, ethnicity has loomed large in the education systems of Namibia and South Africa. Namibia was a colony of Germany. After the defeat of Germany in the First World War, the United Nations granted South Africa a mandate to govern the country. When the National Party came to power in South Africa in 1948 it introduced the system of racial and ethnic apartheid (literally meaning 'separateness') in both countries. Namibia was governed as if it were a province of South Africa. Racially segregated schooling was enforced by law. Black schools were further segregated by ethnicity with each ethnic group having its own education department that controlled schools in its own group area or 'homeland'. As a result South Africa ended up with 18 departments of education and Namibia with 11. Curricula were re-written. They were designed to cater for the perceived special needs of each racial and ethnic group, classified and named in new laws.³⁵

The policies of the apartheid era [...] served to reify racial and ethnic divisions throughout the society, to the extent that different communities were segregated geographically, economically and socially. [...] for many Namibians [and, we can add, South Africans] the policy [of national reconciliation, introduced after independence was attained] is [...] seen to be entrenching the status quo by protecting the pre-independence gains of the minority and by legitimising patterns of social differentiation that had existed in the colonial era.³⁶

The research and knowledge gaps in the diversity education literature of the region highlight the fact that some topics have received more attention than others. In Mozambique and Namibia, writing on the topic of gender has concentrated on systemic issues.³⁷ There have been interesting developments in Mozambique. In using gender conceptually,

³⁴ For developments in the post-apartheid period see Nazir Carrim, "From teachers to educators: Homogenizing tendencies in contemporary South African educational reforms", *International Journal of Educational Development*, 21, 2001: 45-51.

³⁵ Manuel Gonzales, "Re-educating Namibia: The early years of radical reform, 1990-1995", *Africa Today*, 47 (1), 2000: 105-124.

³⁶ Chris Tapscott, "National reconciliation, social equity and class formation in independent Namibia", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 19 (1), 1993: 29-39 (29).

³⁷ Cf. Staf Callewaert, "Which way Namibia? Or how to decolonise the colonised mind of the anticolonial teacher?", in: Kenneth Zeichner and Lars Dahlstrom, (eds.), *Democratic Teacher Education Reform in Africa: The Case of Namibia*, Windhoek, Gamsberg MacMillan, 1999: 223-247; UNICEF, *Gender and Education in Mozambique: Analysis of Results, Lessons and Recommendations, First Draft – CIDA*, 2001.

<http://www.unicef.org/evaldatabase/files/MOZ_02_006a.pdf> [accessed 13 March, 2015]; Mmantsetsa Marope, *Namibian Human Capital and Knowledge Development for Economic Growth with Equity*, Working Paper Series No. 84, Washington DC, The World Bank, 2005; Chankseliani Maia, "Gender inequality in Mozambican primary education: Problems, barriers and recommendations", *Political Perspectives*, 2 (1), 2008: 1-30.

we are challenging the conventional approach: [e.g.] migration to neighbouring South Africa in search of work [...] can no longer be seen merely as a male undertaking in search of a better life, but rather as an ongoing expansion of production and distribution, where both men and women play fundamental, albeit different, roles, and within which gender relations frequently arise.³⁸

Studying the literature on gender and education in Namibia and Mozambique one notes the dearth of comparative studies on countries in sub-Saharan or southern Africa.³⁹ Qualitative and ethnographic studies of girls' school experiences and socialisation have been neglected in Namibia and Mozambique. There is a focus on attaining gender parity and reducing gender inequality, often from the point of view of human capital development and modernisation. Gender inequality has been analysed in relation to education with the goal of achieving greater gender parity, reducing the gender gap and poverty, and countering gender discrimination.⁴⁰ With few exceptions⁴¹, the historical dimensions of gender inequity, its relationship to patriarchy, the national or regional political economy, and theory building have been neglected or ignored.⁴²

In South Africa the diversity literature has paid special attention to the persistence of racial discrimination (through, for example, critiques of assimilationist and multicultural education reforms), with less focus on issues of class and gender, apartheid education, and reviewing the new government's transformation agenda.⁴³ These foci in the literature reflect the concerns of South Africa's national development agenda. Since at least the 1930s and 1940s, South Africans in various social movements and later in

³⁸ Ana Loforte, "Social science in Mozambique: Current perspectives and the outlook for the future", in: Ana de Almeida, (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Sociological Association Regional Conference for the Lusophone World*, Lisboa, International Sociological Association, 1997: 75-84 (80).

³⁹ Sab Indabawa, "Promoting access and equity in female education: The Kano, Nigeria de-boarding experiment and implication for Namibia", *Reform Forum*, 11, 2000: 3-12.

⁴⁰ Cf. Jini Roby, Missey Lambert and Joseph Lambert, "Barriers to girls' education in Mozambique at household and community levels: An exploratory study", *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 18 (4), 2009: 342-353; G. E. Tjipueja, "Provision of Equal Access to Boys and Girls in Formal School in Namibia", *Reform Forum: Journal For Educational Reform in Namibia*, 14, 2001:24-32.

⁴¹ E.g. Felicity Thomas, "Global rights, local realities: Negotiating gender equality and sexual rights in the Caprivi Region, Namibia", *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, 9 (6), 2007: 599-614.

⁴² E.g. Gonzales, "Re-educating".

⁴³ Cf. Nazir Carrim, *Desegregation in Coloured and Indian Schooling*, Johannesburg, University of the Witwatersrand and UNISA, 1992; Jordan Naidoo, *Racial Integration of Public Schools in South Africa: A Study of Practices, Attitudes, Trends*, Durban, Education Policy Unit, University of Natal, 1996; Michael Cross, Zanele Mkwanazi-Twala and Gillian Klein, (eds.), *Dealing with Diversity in South African Education: A Debate on the Politics of a National Curriculum*, Cape Town, Juta, 1998; Salim Vally and Yolesa Dalamba, *Racism, 'Racial Integration', and Desegregation in South African Public Secondary Schools*, Johannesburg, South African Human Rights Commission, 1999; Linda Chisholm and Mohammad Sujee, "Tracking racial desegregation in South African schools", *Journal of Education*, 40, 2006: 141-159; Weber et al, "Diversity"; Republic of South Africa, Department of Education, *Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions*, Republic of South Africa, Department of Education, June 2008. See also the review in Crain Soudien, "The asymmetries of contact: An assessment of 30 years of school integration in South Africa", *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 10 (4), 2007: 439-456.

academia, have debated the nature of the country's political economy in terms of race, class and gender. A rich political practice has resulted, with an extensive literature. Education was seen as reproducing and perpetuating economic relations of exploitation and political relations of oppression, symbolised in the denial of the franchise for black people. Education also came to be recognised as a key site of resistance to apartheid, most dramatically after the Soweto student uprising of 1976.⁴⁴ A literature survey says

the overarching assumption remained that education policies and practices [...] helped sustain class, race and gender inequalities primarily understood in terms of relations of production [...] [which] were mirrored [...] in the form of the state and thus in state policy with regard to education.⁴⁵

It is interesting to compare the above extract with the different theoretical perspective of Carter et al., discussed earlier, which centres on problems of policy and practice.⁴⁶ Like Unterhalter et al., Michael Cross makes the point that diversity is tied to social structure:

[There is a] tendency [in the literature] to reify culture [...] at the expense of political economy [...] the future of diversity initiative[s] will [...] depend on its ability to integrate theory of cultural recognition [...] with the theory of social justice [...] [i.e.] a critical theory [...] that identifies, and supports [...] those forms of identity politics that can be coherently combined with a politics of equality [...]. [He appeals for] a recognition of difference that advances the cause of social equality.⁴⁷

Much of this writing has emphasised the national (as opposed to the regional and international) development of South African society. It is debatable whether the evolution of southern African society over several centuries, including modern times, was ever primarily 'national' in character. Today the evolving social relationships that constitute inequality are tied to reconstituted national development, globalisation and regionalisation.

Researchers have recently started paying attention to the emergence of xenophobia as a component of discrimination in respect of national origin, particularly since the widespread violence in South African townships in 2008.⁴⁸ Mikael Hjern writes about

⁴⁴ Cf. Kallaway, Peter, (ed.), *Apartheid and Education*, Johannesburg, Ravan, 1984; Michael Cross, "A historical view of education in South Africa: Towards an assessment", *Comparative Education*, 22 (3), 1986: 185-200; Nkomo, Mokubung, (ed.), *Pedagogy of Domination: Toward a Democratic Education in South Africa*, Trenton, NJ, Africa World Press, 1990.

⁴⁵ Elaine Unterhalter, Debbie Epstein, Robert Morrell and Relebohile Moletsane, "Be yourself: Class, race, gender and sexuality in South African schoolchildren's accounts of social relations", *Pedagogy, Culture and Society*, 12 (1), 2004: 53-72 (56).

⁴⁶ Carter et al., "Knowing their lines".

⁴⁷ Unterhalter et al., "Be yourself"; Cross, "Institutionalising": 404.

⁴⁸ Cf. Tawana Kupe and Eric Worby, (eds.), *Go Home or Die here: Xenophobia and the Reinvention of Difference in South Africa*, Johannesburg, University of the Witwatersrand Press, 2009; Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP), *Humanitarian Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons in South Africa. Lessons Learned Following Attacks on Foreign Nationals in May 2008*, Johannesburg, University of the Witwatersrand, 2009; Derde Kruger and Razia Osman, "The phenomenon of xenophobia as experienced by immigrant learners in Johannesburg inner city schools", *Perspectives in Education*, 28 (4), 2010: 52-60.

xenophobia among Swedish adolescents. He observes that “Europe is in the wake of globalization” and the resulting changes have caused social insecurity. Racism, xenophobia and right-wing political movements have spread.⁴⁹ Hjern further explains that “xenophobia is defined as a negative attitude towards, or fear of, individuals or groups of individuals in some sense different (real or imagined) from themselves or the groups they belong to”.⁵⁰ Most writers on the topic “present the argument that the rise in acts of xenophobia in South Africa can be attributed to the rise in the number of migrants (legal and illegal)”.⁵¹

In terms of theoretical frameworks some South African writers on diversity education have been influenced by or have drawn on overseas work such as the scholarship on critical anti-racism in Britain and the United States.⁵² Nazir Carrim and Crain Soudien published research in which they emphasise the differences between South Africa’s history and post-apartheid experiences, and certain Northern writings.⁵³ Interestingly, they have not boiler-plated concepts developed in industrialised countries onto analyses of South African social realities. They point out that certain ‘critical multiculturalists’ have rejected ‘race’ as an analytical category and have preferred the notion of ‘ethnicity’ in their critique of present day forms of cultural racism. Among the reasons why Carrim and Soudien are critical of these arguments are the significant place of race in the history of South Africa and the data they collected in two provinces.

Theorising about regionalisation problematises the fact that the present southern African literature is dominated by writing on South Africa. One indicator of this feature is the specialised studies on specific topics such as race and sport.⁵⁴ This is a reflection of South Africa’s status as the most ‘developed’ country in the region (in the sense of the size and level of its economy as determined by traditional, quantitative economic indicators), and the greater research capacity at its disposal as a consequence. Regionalisation can be more important – and more problematic – than globalisation. Koreans may be more occupied with opposition to “Japanization”, as Cambodians oppose “Vietnamization” than with concerns about global change.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ Mikael Hjern, “What the future may bring: Xenophobia among Swedish adolescents”, *Acta Sociologica*, 48 (4), 2005: 292-307. See also Martin Carnoy, “Globalization, educational trends and the open society”, *Open Society Institute Conference 2005: Education and Open Society: A Critical Look at New Perspectives and Demands*, June 30 – July 2, 2005, Budapest, Hungary.

⁵⁰ Hjern, “What the future may bring”: 294.

⁵¹ Carlton McLellan, “Cooperative policies and African international students: Do policy spirits match experiences?”, *Higher Education Policy*, 22, 2009: 283-302 (291).

⁵² See, for example, Dolby, *Constructing Race*; Soudien, “School inclusion”.

⁵³ Nazir Carrim and Crain Soudien, “Critical antiracism in South Africa”, in: Stephen May, (ed.), *Critical Multiculturalism*, London, Falmer Press, 1999: 153-171.

⁵⁴ Deeva Bhana, “Six packs and big muscles, and stuff like that. Primary school-aged South African boys, black and white, on sport”, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 29 (1), 2008: 3-14.

⁵⁵ Arjung Appadurai, “Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy”, in: Hugh Lauder, Phillip Brown, Jo-Anne Dillabough and Albert Halsey, (eds.), *Education, Globalisation and Social Change*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006: 179-188 (181).

Writing about the state of social science in Mozambique, Ana Loforte states that the “systematic analysis of the way in which social science is practised is still at an elementary stage”. And: “the country does not have a tradition of scientific culture. It is in the process of being created. What we are trying to do [...] is to outline the structures which will provide the structure of the future *habitus* of scientific research”.⁵⁶ Comparative, regional research centred in different national localities is required in order to yield empirical and conceptual knowledge which is not underpinned by a South African essentialism and dominated by the predilections of South African writers.

We have anecdotal evidence that the ways in which diversity is perceived by Mozambicans differ substantively from the ways in which it is viewed by South Africans and Namibians. For instance, it *appears* that ethnicity could be a more important marker of difference for Mozambicans than race is for South Africans and Namibians. The differential importance of race could be due to the small size of the present white population in Mozambique compared to that in South Africa and Namibia. Moreover, whites in Namibia and South Africa may have lost political power in that they no longer control the government and organs of the state, but they have not lost economic power.

Comparing diversity education in South Africa, Namibia and Mozambique therefore draws attention to the differences in the composition of the respective populations. Assuming that diversity has different meanings or variations of meanings in the three countries, we may infer that the regional circumstances which have acted as drivers of migration are also different. Angolans who have recently settled in Windhoek, Namibia as a result of the civil war in their own country, will be living under different circumstances and socio-economic and political contexts than those Angolans who, for the same reasons, have recently moved to Cape Town, South Africa. Diversity studies in the region could profit by comparing these communities and the schools their children attend.

As we have seen, the South African literature shows that several scholars have focused on race and class and, to a lesser extent, gender, within the context of the country's history and political economy. It might be instructive to adopt a more regional focus and to pose critical questions about the appropriateness of the spotlight on race and class in neighbouring countries. In Mozambique, for example, the relevance of race appears to have receded with the emigration of large numbers of colonial settlers and the growth of an indigenous elite and middle class.

We saw that globalisation is about interconnection and hegemony. In the same way in which writings on globalisation are dominated by Northern writers, some of whom speak problematically from a Northern perspective, the research on diversity in southern Africa is dominated by South Africans, reflecting South Africa's history and national concerns. A regional, comparative perspective, between the more ‘developed’ (South Africa) and less ‘developed’ countries (Namibia and Mozambique) is likely to challenge this perspective.

⁵⁶ Loforte, “Social Science”: 75, 82 (emph. in original).

Localisation and a call for further research

Our goal is to centre the analysis of globalisation in the Southern, developing world and in local realities. The purpose is to discover how grassroots empirical research can revise understandings of globalisation at the macro level in the existing, primarily Eurocentric literature. Sometimes globalisation is conceptualised in terms of its effects and impact on national education systems and localities.⁵⁷ David Smith writes that globalisation importantly “represents the various ways that people around the world are responding to [...] [it] through acts of accommodation and resistance”.⁵⁸ Localisation thus means constructing a research agenda at the grassroots level, privileging the circumstances and voices of the constituencies and stakeholders in schools and their surrounding communities. Comparative research in southern Africa can revise conceptualisations of regionalisation and globalisation currently dominated by Northern writers and, in southern Africa, by South African writers. The particular case of South Africa, Mozambique and Namibia needs to be complemented by other cases of other countries. Furthermore, studying localisation can contribute to the formulation and implementation of independent education policies that have been informed and/or imposed by international organisations and governments.

We should explore ways in which the relations of diversity are currently being reconfigured, re-invented – and reproduced. There is a need for studies on education diversity against the background of global and regional developments in southern Africa. It is important to collect and analyse data on schools with diverse student and faculty populations. Such schools can be compared with one another in terms of historical relations of diversity within each country and in the region as a whole. Both the policy implications and scholarly significance of the research can be explored.

Guiding questions for such work might include the following: What are the contemporary patterns of diversity based on race, gender, class, ethnicity and national origin? How have they shifted and how are they evolving? How can they be explained? How can such knowledge and research findings be used by stakeholders in education to promote educational change? What contribution does such research make to the relevant literature?

It is useful to identify specific research aims in order to provide practical, instrumental direction to the research agenda that

- describes and explains emerging social relations among diverse groups of teachers, students and school administrators in each country;
- conducts cross-country, cross-regional comparisons of diversity;
- compares the data collected and findings with past relations of diversity;

⁵⁷ Salim Akoojee and Simon McGrath, “Assessing the impact of globalization on South African education and training: a review of the evidence so far”, *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 2 (1), 2004: 25-45.

⁵⁸ David Smith, “Curriculum and teaching face globalization”, in: William F. Pinar, (ed.), *International Handbook of Curriculum Research*, Mahwah, NJ., Erlbaum Associates, 2003: 35-55 (35).

- determines the policy implications and socio-political relevance of such research for schools and neighbouring communities, and policy-makers;
- contributes to comparative, regional understandings of diversity, as opposed to knowledge grounded solely in the nation-state as the main unit of investigation;
- determines the significance of this research for the existing, international knowledge base on diversity education, regionalisation and globalisation.

Research of this nature should build and consolidate collaboration among scholars in the region. It should also contribute to the development of research-based knowledge in the form of baseline studies for future development in this field.

Conclusion

We need to learn more about the patterns of migration within and between southern African countries. The scale of migration indicates the need for understanding the implications in order to promote democratic political and socio-economic development which is dependent upon and influenced by education reform. Teachers, principals and education department officials have largely ignored the impact of increasingly diverse student populations on school life, teaching and learning, citizenship and educational change. Schools are microcosms which reflect and determine the trajectories of national and regional development.

From a policy implementation perspective, further research can contribute to schools and local communities re-evaluating school policies and missions. Whose school is it? Who is welcomed and feels at home here? How? Departments of Education should revisit existing curricula. What is the place of regional studies in the curriculum? Whose history and social experiences are privileged? What should be the alternatives? Education policy, teacher training and learning materials will probably need to be revised. Regional research can inform policy development and implementation at different levels within the education systems of each country and the region, furthering the aims of the Southern African Development Community Protocol on Education.⁵⁹ One challenge will be to make concrete recommendations in the light of current conditions and on the basis of research-informed findings. The constitutions of the countries concerned and related documents might speak of democracy, human rights, and inclusivity, but they do not necessarily interpret these in the context of regional migration and changing school demographics.

Globalisation in the form of colonial conquest and colonial rule dates back several centuries in this region. Apartheid and colonialism were not only top-down developments; from the bottom up the peoples of southern Africa defeated these legacies, even though they may persist in adapted forms and different contexts. What have been the

⁵⁹ Southern African Development Community (SADC), *Protocol on Education and Training*, 2008. Available at: <http://www.ancefa.org/IMG/pdf/SADC_PROTOCOL_REVIEW.pdf> [accessed 13 March, 2015].

responses of teachers, students and local school administrators to the manifestations of regionalisation and globalisation? How do their ideas and actions re-define the drivers of change emanating from the worlds beyond the community and the district? How we conceptualise change processes, particularly the politics of change, is fundamental at various levels, from the inter-personal to the institutional, the national and beyond.

Our understanding of regionalisation in diversity education in southern Africa can contribute to the debates about the meaning of globalisation in other parts of the world. Regional scholarship can also challenge and produce revisions of existing national literatures. There are indications that regional conceptualisations of race can displace, and lead to a revision of national, predominantly South African assumptions and perspectives. We also noted important differences between how the nation-state is theorised in the North as compared to popular conceptualisations in southern Africa.

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