Nelson mandela: Comparative Perspectives of His Significance for Education

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Nelson Mandela
COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION: A Diversity of Voices

Volume 42

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Nelson Mandela

Comparative Perspectives of His Significance for Education

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INTRODUCTION

The late Nelson Mandela was not only a revered icon of liberation in South Africa but also an internationally decorated personality whose courage and clarity of vision regarding freedom was invaluable. While much has been written and published regarding Mandela’s enduring fight to a free and democratic South Africa, there has been very little focus on the subject of Mandela’s contribution in terms of worldviews on education. He considered education as one of the most powerful weapons which can be used to change the world.

This chapter presents a critical analysis of Mandela’s views on education. The analysis is undertaken in the light of the philosophical tradition of existentialism. In the process of elucidating Mandela’s worldview on education, parallels are drawn with views of liberation theorists such as Paulo Freire and Julius Nyerere so as to explicate the notion of education for liberation that cuts across the views of Mandela and the two theorists. For all three, education ought to lead to the transformation of individuals and society, and enhance human dignity.

We begin by sketching Mandela’s biography so as to provide the context within which his views on education can be understood.

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF NELSON MANDELA

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was born on 18 July 1918 in the village of Mvezo, Transkei, South Africa. His mother’s name was Nonqaphi Nosekeni and his father was Nkosi Mphakanyiswa Gadla Mandela of the Madiba clan. His father was the principal counsellor to the Acting King of the Thembu people, Jongintaba Dalindyebo. In 1930, when Mandela was twelve years old, his father died and the young Mandela was taken in by Jongintaba to be brought up at the Great Palace in Mqhekezweni (Nelson Mandela Foundation).

He attended primary school in Qunu where his teacher Ms Mdingane gave him the name Nelson, in accordance with the custom that required school children to be given Christian names. He completed his Junior Certificate at Clarkebury Boarding Institute and went on to Healdtown, a Wesleyan secondary school, where he matriculated.
He later pursued a Bachelor of Arts degree at the university college of Fort Hare but did not complete the studies due to expulsion resulting from his participation in a student protest. He completed his Bachelor of Arts degree by correspondence through the University of South Africa and returned to Fort Hare for his graduation in 1943.

He later enrolled for the degree of Bachelor of Laws (LLB) at the University of Witwatersrand but did not graduate. After his imprisonment in 1962, he enrolled for an LLB with the University of London but also did not complete the degree programme. It was not until 1989, while in the last months of his imprisonment, that he finally obtained an LLB degree through the University of South Africa. He graduated in absentia at a ceremony in Cape Town.

Nelson Mandela became actively involved in the struggle for freedom in 1942. He joined The African National Congress (ANC) in 1944 when he helped to form the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL). He rose through the ranks of ANCYL where they organized campaigns of civil disobedience against unjust laws.

A two-year diploma in law in addition to his BA allowed him to practice law, and in August 1952 he and Oliver Tambo established South Africa’s first black law firm, Mandela and Tambo. Mandela continued actively in the freedom struggle and encountered several confrontations with the unjust legal system and government security machinery. He was arrested repeatedly. In June 1961, he was asked to lead the armed struggle and helped to establish Umkhonto weSizwe (Spear of the Nation) which launched its struggle on 16th December 1961 with a series of explosions.

On 9 October 1963 Nelson Mandela, together with ten others, was tried for sabotage in what became known as the Rivonia Trial. While facing the death penalty he gave his famous speech from the dock on 20 April 1964:

I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die. (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2001)

On 11 June 1964 Nelson Mandela and seven other accused were convicted and the next day were sentenced to life imprisonment and jailed at Robben Island. He remained in prison until Sunday 11 February 1990 when he was released from prison. He engaged the white minority rule in talks to end the apartheid regime in South Africa and in 1991 was elected ANC president. On 27 April 1994 South Africa held the first general elections that involved all races with ANC emerging victorious. As a result, Mandela was on 10 May 1994 inaugurated as South Africa’s first democratically elected president.

He stepped down in 1999 after one term as president of South Africa. Thereafter, he continued with his devotion to democracy and equality (Nelson Mandela Foundation). He died at his home in Johannesburg on 5 December 2013.
NELSON MANDELA'S VIEWS ON EDUCATION

Throughout his life, Mandela demonstrated a singular focus on the importance of the acquisition of knowledge regardless of the obstacles he had to endure, and at the same time dedicated his life to the course of freedom. It is in this dual commitment that his views on education have their roots. Mandela asserted that education is central to the success of a whole range of other human endeavours. Two of his popular quotations illustrate this: “Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world” and “A good head and a good heart are always a formidable combination” (RSS Feed, 2014). He held the view that Africa’s reconstruction and development efforts and interaction in the global village largely depend on the progress made in educating the population. Accordingly, the power of education extends beyond the development of skills needed for economic success. Among others, it can contribute to nation building and reconciliation (African National Congress, 1997).

He argued that efforts should be made to offer education that enables children to exploit their similarities as well as common goals, while appreciating the strength in their diversity. In particular, he argued that we need to educate our young people to become adults who cherish the values of respect for all, that is, women, men and children. The following are some specific contributions of Mandela to the field of education.

Mandela as a Role Model (especially to learners)

At an early age, he learned the art of listening which helped in his role as a leader and peacemaker throughout his life. Mandela was the first member of his family to attend high school and when he matriculated in 1938, he formed part of a very small number of black pupils who had a high school education in the country. This served as an inspiration as well as motivation to others, not only in his country, but Africa as a whole. At the Fort Hare University, he took up sports, excelling in long distance running and boxing. And, during this period, he befriended African, Indian and coloured students, many of whom came to play leading roles in the South African liberation endeavours as well as anti-colonial struggle in other African countries (South African History Online, 2014).

Believer in Life-Long Learning

Mandela was a great believer in life-long learning. For example, he completed his Bachelor of Arts studies at the University of South Africa through correspondence. He also undertook his legal education while he was in prison. Although it was a cruel and tough life in prison, he somehow managed to turn it into a place of learning (RSS feed, 2014). Indeed, his love and belief in education was appreciated such that Robben Island, where he was imprisoned, came to be known as the ‘Nelson Mandela University’.

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Proponent of Access to and Quality Education for the Disadvantaged

Mandela was alive to the fact that the majority of children in South Africa, especially in the rural provinces, either did not have access to basic education or depend on institutions that lack the teaching media and equipment needed for effective learning and teaching (African National Congress, 1997). Thus, he cherished the view that people should join hands in efforts to improve the quality of education and make it accessible to the majority of South Africans. He appreciated the role of business, community and non-governmental organizations in the transformation of education. Participation of parents and students in the management of schools and tertiary institutions should be encouraged while the government needs to continue to create the statutory framework so as to allow all stakeholders to be involved meaningfully in policy formulation and in the education of the nation.

Mandela was disturbed by the fact that many schools in rural Africa do not help children to learn effectively. With this idea in mind, he launched the Nelson Mandela Institute for Education and Development (NMI) in 2007 in response to the education crisis facing rural Africa (Nelson Mandela Institute for Education and Development, 2014). He particularly reasoned that many schools were not yet set up to work and the solutions, including the curriculum and teacher support were often not well tested or calibrated to the linguistic and socio-economic contexts of rural settings. Based in the rural Eastern Cape, and attached to Mandela’s alma mater, the Fort Hare University, the NMI is meant to work in partnership with rural teachers, children, parents and communities to create sustainable solutions to education serving rural Africa.

Working closely with rural teachers, and placing the rural learner at the generative centre, the NMI strives to create tools and methods through which to build text-rich primary school classrooms that promote reading, writing, expression and critical thinking (NMI, 2014). The institute uses these resources as the basis to develop teacher-training systems that are accountable to learner achievement in schools. As one of its major goals, the NMI seeks support to build an internationally recognized teacher training institute, serving teachers in the entire African continent. At the same time, the institute is meant to be accountable to the socio-economic and linguistic realities of rural learners.

It is abundantly clear that during his presidency of the country, Mandela used his influence to attract donors to fund schools, especially in the building of new classrooms and moving children out of dilapidated mud structures. This is particularly evident in his home village of Qunu, situated southwest of Mthatha in the Eastern Cape, where he helped to transform several rundown schools into modern educational facilities. Mandela also urged teachers to ensure learners were computer literate from Grade 1. Indeed, for many pupils, the name Nelson Mandela serves as an inspiration and motivation to get a good education (Media Club South Africa, 2013).
AN ANALYSIS OF NELSON MANDELA’S PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

Advocate of Freedom and Democracy in Learning Institutions

While at the Fort Hare University, Mandela became involved in the Student Representative Council. He was, however, involved in a dispute related to the election process of the student body and was forced to leave the institution before completing his studies (South African History Online, 2014). In particular, he refused to take his seat on the council because he disagreed with the way the elections were conducted. This action is clearly in tandem with Mandela’s belief that “for to be free is not merely to cast off one’s chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others” (Mandela, 1995). Accordingly, he informed his guardian that he would not be returning to Fort Hare and stubbornly stood his ground even when the Regent pleaded with him.

Further, during his years as a student, Mandela became involved in the activities of the ANC, an organization promoting democratic policies in South Africa (Education Update, 2009). However, his university life was interrupted by his involvement in the ANC. He was especially instrumental in establishing the ANC Youth League where he became its president in 1951. Mandela’s anti-apartheid campaigns finally led to his arrest. Interestingly, even during his imprisonment, he covertly engaged in the struggle against apartheid. Notably, he released a statement to the ANC in which he encouraged Africans to unite in the fight against apartheid.

Promotion of Social Equity and Justice Through Education

Mandela was actively involved in fighting racial discrimination in South Africa since his early youth (Education Update, 2009). For instance, as a student, he was involved in a protest of the white minority government’s withholding of basic rights to South Africa’s vast black population. As per RSS Feed (2014), Mandela saw education as part of the key to winning the struggle against apartheid. However, he also observed that education had nothing to do with a person being ‘able’ to vote or think.

In a speech delivered in 2001, Mandela argued that education was the panacea to the broader challenge of nation building. He asserted thus “there is no question in my mind that education is one of the primary means by which the inequality in our country, between rich and poor, black and white, is to be tackled. Education is liberation” (Nelson Mandela Foundation).

He further cautioned that the attainment of formal freedom and justice in South Africa was not an end in itself. He argued that “our struggle is not over. We all now have, as one nation and people, the historic task to promote and consolidate those humane values that have brought us to where we are. This is the major task of education, formal and informal” (Mandela, 2001). Mandela was right in holding the view that freedom from apartheid and the adoption of a constitution with a Bill of rights were not in themselves sufficient for the realisation of the values of freedom and justice. The cultivation of an appropriate environment conducive for implementation is also important.
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MANDELA’S VIEWS ON EDUCATION IN PHILOSOPHICAL PERSPECTIVE

Mandela’s ideas on education can be examined in various philosophical perspectives. However, for purposes of this chapter, we reflect on his ideas within the school of thought known as existentialism. Existentialism is a branch of philosophy that emphasizes individual existence, freedom and choice. It is the view that humans define their own meaning in life, and try to make rational decisions despite existing in an irrational universe. It focuses on the question of human existence, and the feeling that there is no purpose or explanation at the core of existence. Existentialism is generally considered to be the philosophical and cultural movement which holds that the starting point of philosophical thinking must be the individual and the experiences of the individual.

Existentialism began in the mid-19th century, with Søren Kierkegaard, as a reaction against then-dominant systematic philosophies. Kierkegaard held the view that it is the individual who is solely responsible for giving meaning to life. In addition, existentialists generally regard traditional systematic or academic philosophies, in both style and content, as too abstract and remote from concrete human experience. A central proposition of existentialism is that existence precedes essence, which means that the most important consideration for the individual is the fact that he or she is an individual – an independently acting and responsible conscious being (‘existence’) – rather than what labels, roles, stereotypes, definitions, or other preconceived categories the individual fits (‘essence’). Thus, human beings, through their own consciousness, create their own values and determine a meaning to their life. In this case: (a) A human being can be defined only insofar as he or she acts, and (b) in so far as he or she is responsible for his or her actions.

For example, someone who acts cruelly towards other people is, by that act, defined as a cruel person. Furthermore, by this action of cruelty, such persons are themselves responsible for their new identity (a cruel person). This is as opposed to their genes, or ‘human nature’, bearing the blame.

As Sartre writes in his work ‘Existentialism is Humanism’ (1946), “man first of all exists, encounters himself, surges up in the world – and defines himself afterwards.”

Drawing from the theory of existentialism, several implications for education can be delineated:

a) The learner’s experiences must form a basis in the practice of education.
b) Examples and illustrations within the process of education must be drawn from familiar realities of the learner.
c) The teacher and learner should encounter each other as human beings who are in the process of making and remaking their realities.
d) The focus of education should be to draw out the learner’s abilities/ talents and abilities and not to obstruct or limit their fruition.

Mandela’s views on education reflect an existentialist stance in several ways:

a) His concern for genuine freedom and justice depict a specific focus on emancipating individuals from their lived experiences of oppression and domination. His struggle
AN ANALYSIS OF NELSON MANDELA’S PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

for the eradication of apartheid in South Africa was hinged on an ideology that refused to accept the denigrated identity of the marginalized in the country. Indeed, the ideology of apartheid was founded on faulty conceptualization of human essence that considered peoples of African race to be lesser human beings compared to the white ruling class in South Africa.

b) He identified education as the sure means of ensuring freedom from inequalities that persist in human society.

c) He singles out education as a powerful weapon for transformation in society. Implied in this idea is the fact that individuals and by extent society, must continually embrace change as a result of education.

Having postulated Mandela’s views on education in the context of existentialist trends in educational thought, it is necessary to briefly relate his ideas to those of educational theorists who similarly considered education to be a process of liberation, namely: Paulo Freire and Julius Nyerere.

Comparison of Mandela, Freire and Nyerere’s Ideas on Education for Liberation

Mandela, Freire and Nyerere advocated for liberation of the human person in order to realize a free society. Whereas their nationalities and status in society differ, all three confronted systemic oppression and exploitation that infringed on human existence. In addition, the central theme of education for liberation in their speeches and writings point to existential realities that the oppressed encounter in society, a situation that requires emancipation. It is also illuminating to juxtapose the ideas of the three in order to underscore the fact that liberation is a human imperative that is not restricted to an individual country or continent.

The concept of liberation in philosophical terms can be understood in various ways. First, viewed from the standpoint of logic, it implies ‘being freed from’ what appears inhibiting, from a constraint, in order to be able to do certain things (Njoroge, 1990). In this case, liberation presupposes a constraint whose removal enables man to do certain things. Second, when we view ‘liberation’ from the standpoint of philosophical psychology, it presupposes the specific entity or element to be liberated. Here, it may refer to either physical or mental constraints being removed. From the ethical point, liberation has to do with the ethical worth or value attached to the state, or process of liberation. The three personalities present ideas on liberation in an eclectic manner but without losing sight of the vision of liberation.

Paulo Freire’s Views on Education for Liberation

Freire was born in Recife in Brazil, a son of a well-to-do banker who suffered the reversal of fortunes due to the Wall Street crash in 1929. As a result, the family was forced to relocate to the countryside where Freire grew up witnessing the predicament of the impoverished peasantry (Flanagan, 2006). He realized that
ignorance and lethargy of the peasants was rooted in their political, economic and social powerlessness. He also observed that the peasants were victims of systemic oppression, which weaves into their consciousness, causing them to resign to their condition as part of their situation and part of their natural order.

Freire argues that education is never neutral. Every educational system transforms those who go through it in certain ways. In the case of the oppressed, education is deliberately moulded by the dominant group/class to encourage passivity and to accept oppression. In the process they acquire a submerged state of consciousness that augments fear of freedom (Freire, 1972).

Freire defines oppression as being a situation where ‘A’ objectively exploits ‘B’ or hinders his self-affirmation as a responsible person (Freire, 1972:31). According to him, the most potent form of oppression is not physical force or coercion but the control of the consciousness of the oppressed. Such mental control deprecates the individual of self-worth and renders him/her dependent on the oppressor for validation of their existence. In the process, the oppressed begins to aspire to become like the oppressor whom he/she considers to be the ideal of humanness.

In Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Freire (1972) proposes a panacea for this oppressive condition. He espouses the process of humanization as the central purpose of education. In this case, education should be a partnership process between the educator and the oppressed where the phenomenon of the oppressed, causes of oppression and the subjective experiences of oppression form part of the contents to be studied by learners. Pedagogy of the oppressed is a process of enabling – of empowering – oppressed people to see the realities which are keeping them in a state of subordination and to provide alternatives. The process of humanization must embrace critical thinking on the part of learners and educators so as to transform their experience from passive and recipient to active and creative. In essence, education should serve the purpose of liberation.

Considering Freire’s views in the light of Mandela’s ideology on freedom, a common strand of thought is evident. Freire’s education project is to ensure that the oppressed are not only freed from oppressive conditions but also from the temptation of eventually becoming an oppressor. This idea is captured clearly in Mandela’s commitment not only to fight white domination but also black domination. Whereas Freire clearly delineates the pedagogical path that can realize emancipation of the oppressed, Mandela’s ideas are coined in political terms but envisage a liberated person who does not tolerate oppression of any kind. Freire’s ideas therefore complement Mandela’s vision of liberation.

Julius Nyerere’s Views on Education for Liberation

Julius Kambarage Nyerere was born in 1922 near Musoma, Tanzania. After his primary and secondary education, Nyerere proceeded to Makerere University College, Uganda, where he obtained a diploma in Education in 1945. After Makerere, he returned to Tanzania (formerly known as Tanganyika) and taught at St. Mary’s
AN ANALYSIS OF NELSON MANDELA’S PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

school until 1949, when he was awarded a scholarship to Edinburgh University from where he graduated with a Master of Arts Degree in 1952.

Upon his return to Tanzania, he began to take an active part in Tanganyika politics. In 1954, he founded TANU (Tanganyika African Union) and was subsequently elected Member of Parliament during Tanganyika’s first elections in 1959; he became the first Chief Minister of the country one year later, and was sworn in as Prime Minister of Tanganyika in May 1961. During the first presidential elections in 1962, Nyerere won the elections and became the first African President (Njoroge & Bennaaars, 1984). He continued to be re-elected as president until mid – 1980s when he retired from the presidency as well as active politics. He, however, continued to participate in various international fora on global issues as an eminent person until his death in 1999.


The primary concerns for us are his views on education for liberation. It is evident that Nyerere’s interest is clearly in the phenomenon of man and not pure philosophical enterprise. We note that he does not restrict himself to any one sense of the concept of liberation. Rather, he argues in an eclectic manner. To illustrate this point the following citations as quoted in Hinzen and Hundsdorfer (1990:49) are useful:

Development is for man, by man and of man. The same is true of education. Its purpose is the liberation of man from the restraints and limitations of ignorance and dependency. Education has to increase man’s physical and mental freedom to increase control over themselves, their own lives, and the environment in which they live.

Education has to liberate both the mind and body of man. It has to make him more of a human being because he is aware of his potential as a human being and is in a positive, life-enhancing relationship with himself, his neighbour and his environment. (ibid., 43)

The ideas imparted by education, or released in the mind through education, should therefore be liberating ideas; the skills acquired by education should be liberating skills. Nothing else can be properly called education. Teaching which induces a slave mentally or a sense of impotence is not education at all. It’s an attack on the minds of man. (ibid., 49)

These citations indicate the eclectic nature of Nyerere’s view of ‘Liberation’. The first points to what we have termed a logical view. Here, liberation points to certain restraints and limitations that need removal. These constraints include ignorance and dependency. The removal of obstacles leads to the state of ‘being able’ to carry out certain tasks. In this case, individuals are able to increase control over their lives and their environment. The second citation coheres with what we have termed a
philosophical psychological view of the term ‘Liberation’. Central to this view is the identification of the targeted elements that require liberation. Nyerere argues that liberation should be directed to both the mind and the body of an individual. In this case, it has to attend to both the physical and the mental needs of man, meaning, to the whole person. The final citation lays emphasis on the ethical value or worth of education that is inclined to produce liberated human beings. He argues that the ideal goal of education is liberation. Failure to envisage liberation leads to inculcation of slave mentality and a sense of impotence in individuals.

Nyerere perceives liberation as an on-going process, involving systematic eradication of physical and mental impediments to freedom. For instance, Africa primarily needed political liberation during the colonial era. This was of necessity to be followed by eradication of political, economic and social structures at variance with the African subjectivity. However, post-independent Africa has, and continues to preserve Euro-Centrism which has tended to make the African perpetually dependent. Such tendencies have forced the African, to seek, outside his own subjectivity, the criteria for worthwhile knowledge, skills and even ethical and aesthetic judgment. It is apparent that for liberation to be complete, it needs to be both physical and mental, either successively or simultaneously (Nasongo & Wamocha, 2012).

He also tends to stress mental liberation as the key to the attainment of genuine humanity. Comparatively, physical freedom is of little or no consequence if the mind remains fettered. For instance, in spite of the political freedom attained in Africa through decolonization, there still remain facets of neo-colonialism that include dependency on former colonial masters for support in social, economic, technological and even political models. Prevalent in this situation is a helpless resignation to circumstances.

Nyerere views the task of education as primarily the emancipation of the human person. Thus, he views education as a process of expanding freedom.

Arguably, education has to liberate both the mind and the body of man. It has to remove certain restraints and limitations that include poverty, disease, slavery, colonialism, ignorance and dependence. In Nyerere’s view, this can be achieved by releasing liberating ideas and skills to the mind of learners. This, he hopes, is likely to increase their control over themselves, their lives, and their environment. The envisaged ideas and skills are radical in nature, such that they can shake people out of the resignation which has attended their lives for centuries, and enable them to become aware of the things that they, as members of the human race, can do for themselves and for their society. In this case, liberating education should make man aware of two things: one, his own human-hood, and two, his power as a human being to use circumstances rather than be submerged in them.

Furthermore, Nyerere’s view of education implies rational approaches to educating in the sense that educating should arouse curiosity and provoke inquiry. In this case, old assumptions and established practices are to be challenged. In their place, man should be able to think for himself, make his own decisions, and execute these decisions. The main target of such an approach, is the cultivation of the ‘self’
that is free and self-dependent. The foregoing assertion does not, in any way, exalt a state of individualism; rather, it tends to underscore the essential role of free people in building up a free society. Moreover, a society of liberated individuals tends to be preferable for self-reliance and development.

Nyerere, Freire and Mandela’s views on education share a nexus in the sense that they consider education to be a key phenomenon with regard to genuine social, economic and political transformation. Education is crucial in liberating oppressed human beings. In addition, they do not consider political freedom as an end to the struggle for liberation. Instead, political freedom is only but a starting point, with education being assigned a significant role in the attainment of ultimate freedom.

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing sections, we have examined Mandela’s views on education and juxtaposed his ideas with those of Paulo Freire and Julius Nyerere, particularly on the subject of education as a liberation process. Here we comment briefly on what we think is the enduring legacy of Nelson Mandela as far as his philosophy/worldview on education is concerned.

First, Mandela views education in the context of warfare. Here, education is a lethal weapon that can be used to transform society. Indeed, any country that desires to put at bay the malignant challenges that bedevil it must undertake far-reaching reforms in education with emphasis on liberation of the individual to realize genuine transformation.

Second, Mandela’s view of education as a panacea to inequality and social injustice is worthwhile. Most countries face challenges related to social inequality, corruption and other forms of injustice. Mandela’s faith in education as a tool for eradicating such vices should attract serious thought and appropriate action.

Third, Mandela’s resilience in pursuit of education via full-time and part-time study modes should inspire educators to embrace open and continuing education so as to ensure access by all regardless of their circumstances. The fact that Mandela pursued his LLB degree studies while incarcerated at Robben Island prison is proof of resilience in educational pursuit.

Fourth, the philosophical orientation utilised in examining Mandela’s views on education for liberation, coupled with the comparative approach of juxtaposing his ideas with those of Freire and Nyerere is a pointer to a variety of ways in which Mandela’s invaluable ideas can be reflected upon. Indeed, it provides a basis for debate, particularly on the existential nature of his philosophical orientation towards education.

Finally, it is crucial to state that Mandela’s views on education constitute significant contributions towards the understanding of the central role of education in human transformation. In this chapter we have tried to show that Mandela’s contributions to humanity transcend the social-political arena that has hitherto preoccupied scholars and practitioners in diverse fields.
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