



LEADERSHIP WITH INTEGRITY

HIGHER EDUCATION FROM VOCATION
TO FUNDING

8

C. STÜCKELBERGER, J. GALGALO, S. KOBIA (EDITORS)



Leadership with Integrity

Higher Education from Vocation to Funding

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Joseph Galgalo / Samuel Kobia

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INTRODUCTION

Christoph Stückelberger

Integrity is the virtue of virtues. It encompasses and summarizes virtues such as honesty, respect, righteousness and also embodies values such as peace, justice, orientation towards the community and common good.

Many leaders in politics, business and professions are mainly seen as power-driven and money-driven, corrupt or opportunistic, autocratic or morally unreliable. Citizens and employees, students and parents, as well as believers of the different religions are thirsting and crying out for leaders with integrity.

This book is about leadership with integrity. It focusses on higher education as many of the current and future leaders have been, are and will be educated through higher education. Therefore, universities, as well as institutes for vocational training are key to forming leaders with integrity.

Twelve articles represent a beautiful bouquet of flowers in this book: Part A is about integrity in leadership with contributions of university leaders such as a Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor who frame the ethical, feminist, regulatory and financial perspective of leadership integrity.

Part B focusses on vocation. “Business as Noble Vocation” is a call of the Vatican to see business leadership as a calling, a vocation. The same is true for higher education: to be a Vice-Chancellor, a Registrar, a student, a parent, a cleaner, an accountant or a member of parliament as

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regulator and legislator of higher education is more than a job. It is a noble vocation for integrity!

Part C deals with elections. The elections of student representatives in a university are important training grounds to normalise fair and free elections, which will then influence local, provincial and national elections of leaders to follow this same path of integrity. Church elections are also very important markers for elections of integrity. If the churches, mosques and temples are not beacons and benchmarks for honest elections, politics and business will neither do it.

Most of the authors of this book are from St Paul's University (SPU) in Kenya. This private university with its Protestant-ecumenical identity is a leading, highly recognized university not only in Kenya, but in the whole of East Africa. The three editors of the book are the former Chancellor of SPU, Dr. Samuel Kobia; the former Vice-Chancellor Prof. Joseph Galgalo; and myself, an SPU alumnus 1974-75 (and the first non-African student). The book is the fruit of the cooperation between the global network on ethics, called Globethics.net, where I am the founder and President, and SPU, which is a member of the Globethics.net Consortium of Universities.

Let us continue to work together on a Kenyan, African and global level for *Leadership with Integrity as a Noble Vocation!*

PART A:
INTEGRITY

**PRIORITIZING ETHICS IN
HIGHER EDUCATION IN KENYA.
A NATIONAL IMPERATIVE
TO TRANSFORM A GENERATION
INFLUENCED BY PERVERTED VALUES**

**Opening remarks at the launch of the Chancellor
Samuel Kobia Centre for Ethics, Integrity and Govern-
ance at St. Paul's University, Kenya, 15 March 2019**

Samuel Kobia, Kenya

At over a hundred years old, St. Paul's University (SPU) stands on its predecessors as the oldest institute of higher learning in Kenya. Its origins are an integral component articulated in a vision of the Alliance of Missions during the first decade of the 20th century that includes the Alliance High Schools. As a divinity school and later theological college, it was to theological education what the Alliance High Schools were to secular education. Its legacy includes the formation of the first generation of African church and ecumenical leaders of impeccable in-

tegrity, accountable governance and responsible leadership. The alumni constitute a who's who in the leadership of Protestant Church and ecumenical leaders at local (Kenya), regional and global levels. The establishment of the Ethics Centre we are launching today therefore fits nicely in the pioneering role of this great institute.

1.1 The Significance and Role of Higher Education

It is a truism to state that higher education makes significant impact in the development of a nation. At the dawn of 21st century we discern a paradigm shift from capital accumulation to human resource development and a knowledge-based economy as the basis of national development. And that can only be made possible through higher education. Prof. Stella Chioma Nwizu could not be more correct when she observes that, “the demand for higher education globally is on the increase”, which also means that the higher institutions and their facilities are overstretched. In an attempt to cope with this phenomenon, “the admission of substandard students into higher education programs especially in less developed nations has made higher institutions lose sight of serious emphasis on academic ethics and values. Today, there is serious concern about lack of ethics and values in higher education. Such concerns range from the social and cultural harms of unethical practice to harming the restoration of the dignity of man and to manipulative influence in research. A nation where educational institutions continue to turn out unethical and debased graduates is heading for serious catastrophe.”

Today Kenya finds itself in such a situation and intentional measures must be taken to make the necessary corrections. Such measures should be both short and long term. The exam cheating that we know all too well about is symptomatic of a broader and deeper ethical and social malaise in the society. While we recognize that its eradication would take more than ethics courses in higher education, any further delay towards that end would itself be morally irresponsible on the part of the universities and government.

The Kenyan people are conscious of this phenomenon and the need to deal with it decisively. This socio-ethical desire is evident in important documents like the Kenya Constitution 2010, Chapter Six on Leadership and Integrity; Article Ten on National values and principles of good governance, integrity, transparency and accountability; Chapter Eleven on Devolved government. There are other public documents which provide guidance on ethical behaviour in private and public life. Yet, the noble objectives and ideas prescribed in those documents notwithstanding, we observe a glaring contradiction when it comes to the reality on the ground regarding how both the general populace and their leaders conduct their lives. Seized of that reality and in an attempt to respond to its mission and calling, SPU felt the need to discern the way forward and how to make a contribution, however humble.

Early in my position as Chancellor I broached the idea of starting an ethics centre at St. Paul's University; that was almost five years ago. The Vice Chancellor, Prof. Joseph Galgalo, enthusiastically embraced the idea and promptly tasked a team of his colleagues to follow it up; in the process they consulted regularly with the Vice Chancellor and the Chancellor. The rest, as they say, is history!

1.2 The Vision of the Centre

It is envisioned that the *Chancellor Samuel Kobia Centre for Ethics, Integrity and Governance* will run programs and activities based on four pillars:

- Inter-generational dialogues
- Research and short courses
- Mid-career refresher courses
- Annual colloquium

1.3 The Imperative of Ethics in Higher Education

An ethics course is not easy to design and teach given that a standard or universal definition of what is ethically right does not exist. That is the case because principles, world values and standards on which ethics is founded are rooted in social norms, cultural practices and religious influences (Stella Nwizu in Ike/Onyia Eds., 2018). Inculcation of solid ethical values takes place very early in life; in homes and families, nursery and primary schools which are the critical sites of ethical formation. Does that therefore mean ethics in higher education has no influence upon ethical behaviour? The answer is no, because, as Christoph Stückelberger observes,

“ethical development is a lifelong process and even university students need to be equipped with skills and values that help them to take right decisions in their lives, programs and activities at the higher institute of learning. A university graduate is expected to not only have a good certificate but good character as well.”

The university teacher and researcher too are not exempt from ethical behaviours and good character. The quality of a country’s education system hinges on the quality of teachers and students.

1.4 A Proposal: African Value Ethics

It will take concerted efforts by all the stakeholders to effectively and meaningfully deal with the challenge before us. From the perspective of higher education, which is our focus today, I wish to make a bold proposal;

1. Introduce a 101 course on *Value Ethics* for all incoming students in both public and private universities. The SPU Ethics Centre we are launching today should be tasked with the responsibility of following this proposal through and see to it that it succeeds.

2. While such a course should consider traditional western ethical philosophy; structuralism, post-structuralism and post-modernity all of which have impact on ethical teaching, the course should fundamentally be based on *African Ethics*.

The foundations of African ethics, argues Benezet Bujo, “is the question of its anthropology, since it is possible to understand many norms and modes of ethical conduct aright only when one is aware of how Africans understand the human person.” Here it is important to underscore the decisive role of the community which is the starting point for African ethics.

3. It should include the understanding of the relational dimension of life since the ethical conduct is not only based on the individual “but is realized primarily by means of a relational network that is equally anthropocentric, cosmic, and theocentric.” (Bujo, *Foundations of an African Ethic: Beyond the universal claims of Western morality* 2001).

4. It should examine the central role of *integrity* which connotes completeness or wholeness; and soundness of moral principle – specifically honesty and sincerity. Chidiebere Onyia (2018, *Ethics in Higher Education*) notes that,

“integrity in the field of higher learning may have both moral and ethical components. For example, in the issue of academic integrity, the typical issues that arise include whether an individual involved was honest or cheated, as well as broader issues such as integrity in teaching and how this affects the reputation of the school in the outside world.”

5. A 101 course on ethics should be contextualized. The need for producing ethical and value grounded graduates cannot be overemphasized. For that to be realized there is need for education policy provisions which emphasize quality student intake, quality teaching, well-resourced research and quality control. But we are painfully aware that in the last two decades or so, such policies have been greatly undermined by unethical practices such as examinations cheating, corruption

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in grading including sexually-generated grades, outsourced thesis writing etc.

Consequently, we have in the job market mediocre “professionals” and ethically compromised employees in all levels of management, as well as in governance and ministration in public life.

**SERVICE TO GOD AND HUMANITY:
MODELLING CATHARTIC SACRIFICE AS
THELEITMOTIV OF
AUTHENTIC CHRISTIAN SERVICE**

**Valedictory Lecture Delivered at St. Paul's University
on 6th December 2020 By Prof Joseph D Galgalo,
Out-going Vice Chancellor, St. Paul's University**

Joseph D. Galgalo, Kenya

2.1 Introduction

I humbly present this lecture with a deep sense of gratitude to God and humanity. Thank you for celebrating with me a successful completion of 10 years of a fulfilling journey of tenure of office. A decade ago, I was undoubtedly the unlikely candidate who ascended to the office of the Vice Chancellor. I am forever indebted to all who gave me the benefit of doubt, their unreserved support and valuable partnership over the years. I am indebted to our students, past and present, Trustees, the Council, the Chancellor and staff for their valuable collaboration and role in the continued growth of this university.

Before I turn to the topic of this lecture, it is with humble submission that I make one observation not directly related to the lecture. The last ten years, without a doubt, has seen St. Paul's take its rightful place among the rank and file of leading higher institutions of learning. Build-

ing on a solid foundation laid over many years, St. Paul's has witnessed tremendous growth over this period. Most notable in this regard is the increase in human resource capacity, development of programs, manifold increase in students' enrolment, infrastructure development, increased asset base, financial sustainability and above all, effective business support systems which underpin our quality assurance regime and adoption of best practices in pursuit of our mission and vision. In sum, we now are a brand name, and truly the university of choice. We have never been in the habit to blow our trumpet, but it should be in order to say that we have earned the recognition and admiration of many. We were not surprised, for example, when in 2019, we emerged the best run private university in Kenya by the Global Unirank. This is a validation of what we actually have become over time. I am indebted to numerous people and organizations for these achievements. Please accept my utmost gratitude. Thank you.

The topic of this lecture is 'service to God and humanity;' with the subtitle, 'modelling cathartic sacrifice as the leitmotif of authentic Christian service.' This topic is inspired by two thoughts. The first is the phrase, 'servants of God and humanity,' a phrase which was initially used as the motto by St. Paul's United Theological College and later adopted with a slight variation as the motto of the University. The original rendering of the motto, which came into official usage from as early as the 1930s reads: 'servants of God and man.' Over the years, this rendering proved inadequate particularly in order to meet changing societal demands to pass the test of gender sensitivity and political correctness. In the obvious quest to achieve desirable gender inclusivity, the noun 'man' slowly dropped out of vogue, and in its place, the word 'humanity' increasingly came into usage. This shift in rendition was complete by the late 1990s.

Another, rather more significant shift in the phrasing of the motto is evident from around 2000s onwards. Without any official sanction or

guidance, the word ‘servant’ fell out of use and overtime was replaced by the word ‘service.’ The emerging thought patterns, and preference of the word ‘service’ to ‘servants’ reflects a shift in cultural and contextual dynamics that generally interpret or apply the word ‘servant’ in a negative light. It is this understanding that likely originated the sensitivity that one should not apply such demeaning imagery to oneself. Following this shift, the phrase currently in use, and curiously, used only occasionally as the motto is ‘Service to God and Humanity.’

Notice the big shift where ‘servants of God,’ has changed to ‘service to God.’ The shift is seismic. The focus or emphasis is no longer on the person, that is, the noun servant, but rather on service, as in the act of the person. The reason for this shift is not difficult to guess. When seen in the light of the changing social-cultural dynamics, especially in a context where anti-colonial sentiments abound and gender sensitivity is growing, it is evident why a word, which in practice connotes servile or a lowly status is no longer attractive. The enjoyment of the service of servants was generally the preserve of endowed men and wealthy masters. Nobody would willingly want to happily appropriate such a socially disparaging designation for themselves. Interestingly, this big shift was practically brought about by way of spontaneous community adoption, as opposed to any official sanction. The single driving force here is simply the changing dynamics in social-cultural thought patterns. Perhaps I should state that, I have no contention with the adoption of the more inclusive term, ‘humanity’ but I suggest that the term ‘servant’ should be preferred to ‘service’ in order to achieve a more effective formation in modelling an authentic Christian service.

On interrogating the validity of this shift, and especially the preference of the word ‘service’ to ‘servant,’ the second inspiration for this topic occurred to me. We note that both ‘service’ and ‘servanthood’ are distinct Christian concepts. There is, therefore, the need to cut through the prevailing social-cultural motifs and develop a theoretical framing

for practical and authentic Christian service. To achieve this, this lecture will attempt a theological modelling of servanthood leadership using the concept of cathartic sacrifice as the leitmotif of authentic Christian service. Regarding the motto and the shift in focus, both in expression and application, from servant to service, I make this observation. The leitmotif or the central theme that defines the purposes of the leader has clearly shifted from the being (the person) to the role or action of the person (i.e., service), or even further to that which is supplied, if the word ‘service’ is taken as an impersonal noun.

This shift is radical in that it fundamentally separates action from being – and emphasises one at the expense of the other. The resulting dichotomy between work and being or action and person, can influence attitudinal and dispositional orientations or formation at both conceptual and practical levels. The ethical implications of this can be enormous. With emphasis on ‘service’ and not the ‘servant,’ it is possible that responsibility for decisions made, interpersonal work relations and fidelity to processes can be undermined. For example, a bad decision can simply be blamed on policies, tools, systems or processes, and human beings, may, in such circumstances simply become mechanistic, impersonal or simply fail to take responsibility and blame it all on the system. These two concepts – being and action, as distinct as they are, should be held together for a holistic formation of the servant who can deliver a quality service. We intend to use a sacrificial typology, particularly a cathartic type of sacrifice as a model for authentic Christian service, which can be liberating to the served and can bridge any unhealthy dichotomy between the being and action with regard to a leader who sacrificially embraces servanthood in service to humanity. We shall revisit this a little later.

The method I have adopted is a simple analytical approach to the interpretation of theological and biblical data generated through desktop survey. Observable outcomes will be subjected to various established

hermeneutical frames in interpreting the original data with special attention to the interplay between the desirable ideals as taught in the scriptures, and the contextual realities then and now. We shall endeavour to demonstrate how the model of cathartic sacrifice, if adopted as the leitmotif for Christian service, can nurture authentic attitude that is oriented, both ethically and morally to provide leadership that truly empowers and transforms organizational ethos and can create a fair and just community – a new social vision. Before I embark on discussing how the model of sacrifice, and specifically cathartic sacrifice can help us model this vision and orient our leadership towards the realization of authentic service, let me clarify some terms as used in this lecture.

2.2 Servants of God and Humanity

What is the meaning of servants of God and humanity? The phrase presents two desirable goals – to serve God and to serve humanity. Note that the person who offers such a service is identified as a ‘servant,’ which among other things connotes the disposition of the one who gives service – a disposition which alludes to the relationship of the served and the servant, meaning, by no stretch of imagination, that a leader is one who serves, identified here as a *servant*. Ironically, the choice of this concept, going by the negative connotation earlier mentioned indicates that the ‘servant’ is by this very role of service set apart as one who ‘gives’ as opposed to the ‘master’ who ‘receives’ service. There is also a ring of humility about it. This is rather curious as it raises the question of what possibly inspired the idea that the leader is a servant. It is indeed not difficult to tell that the influence on the minds of those who coined this motto is the biblical teaching of the concept of servanthood or servant leadership.

In this particular regard, I find the definition of servanthood leadership by Christopher Newton very helpful. He says,

“Biblical Servant-hood is a lifestyle disposition, whereby a believer’s attitudes, motives, and actions towards others, are gov-

erned by the fundamental belief that he/she is God's servant first, in all [action], and that as a representative of Christ, [the] service [rendered] to others, whether as leader, colleague, or follower, must be rendered in a spirit of obligation to the will of God, and to the greatest good of those individuals."¹

This understanding reflects and builds on the teachings of Jesus, that as a matter of a leadership principle, "Anyone who wants to be first must be the very last, and the servant of all" (Mark 9:35); and that a Christian leader who faithfully follows in the footsteps of Jesus, must appreciate that Jesus, "did not come to be served, but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many" (Mark 10:45; Matthew 20:26, 28). The Apostle Paul when he writes that leaders should be of the same mind with Jesus Christ, emphasises also that, they "should not consider their status or leadership positions as something to be used to own advantage" (Philippians 2:6). This means that the high road to leadership is not about trappings of power but rather through a selfless and sacrificial terrain of service, with the single motive to empower others, and without shame or fear to embrace servanthood as the authentic mark of service. It is not about amazing power, fame and wealth but about giving oneself to empower others in order that the served can realize fullness of life and in turn serve to empower others.

The phrase 'servants of God and humanity,' therefore connotes servant leadership, which is a life orientation focused primarily on empowering humanity through services rendered in a way which recognizes and follows the patterns set by Jesus. Servant leadership is about the disposition of the leader, which should always be 'other centred' as opposed to self-centredness. It is oriented towards God and humanity, the two 'others' who the leader is privileged to serve. The shift from 'self' to the 'other' calls for self-sacrifice in that leadership is not about power to

¹ Christopher Newton, "'Towards A Theology of Servanthood,'" *Caribbean Journal of Evangelical Theology* 15 (2015): 31-46, p.32

rule, and enrich oneself, but the power to give service; it should never be about self except in expending that self in serving.

2.3 Cathartic Sacrifice

Secondly, I would like to clarify the concept of cathartic sacrifice. Sacrifice is basically a theological category, with recognized classifications into various types, and generally often interpreted as either propitiatory or expiatory. Cathartic sacrifice is closely aligned in meaning to the latter than the former of these two terms. The word catharsis has a complex intellectual history. It has a philosophical origin going back to Socrates and Plato although the contestation of its interpretation and application was largely inspired by how Aristotle used it with regard to the work of art and drama. The Greek word *katharsis* simply means "cleansing" with regard to the rituals or actions and processes that can purify and release a person from inhibitions to be in harmony God or enjoy the fullness of human existence. The process of catharsis is applied in many religious traditions with regard to purificatory rituals.

A typical Biblical example of cathartic sacrifice is that of the goat of Azazel, commonly referred to as the scapegoat of the *Yom Kippur* or the Day of Atonement, which the New Testament generally renders as a typology for the atoning death of Christ. Azazel sacrificially carries the sins of the people, an act by which a cathartic cleansing of the whole community is achieved – effecting much more than just a purificatory ritual including reconciliation between God and humanity, renewing the community, and achieving restoration, and thereby rejuvenating worship and service. Similarly, Jesus' atoning sacrifice, of which the Old Testament types foreshadow, is a pattern of a salvific leadership. By his stripes we are healed, and in dying with him, we live with him – and truly cleansed we are liberated to render authentic service to God as well as humanity.

It is this type of sacrifice that I propose as the best leitmotif for a fruitful cultivation of leadership that can model authentic Christian service. Let us keep in mind that servanthood leadership necessarily entails

dying to self in pursuit for endearment to common good or empowerment of the served. To help us clarify this point, I find a parallel from Christian mystical theology helpful:

“In Mysticism, the aim of human life and philosophy is to realize the mystical return of the soul to God. Freeing itself from the sensual world by catharsis, the purified human soul ascends by successive steps through the various degrees of the metaphysical order, until it unites itself in ... contemplation to the One, and sinks into it in the state of *ecstasis*.”²

Whereas we are not adopting the mystical application of catharsis, hook, line and sinker, some theological concepts that run through this idea, particularly the ideas of – purification, return and union, and contemplation leading to a state of *ecstasis* (as in ‘to be, exist or stand outside oneself’) are relevant for our purpose. Paul’s testimony for example, as in Galatians 2:20 express this thought: “I have been crucified with Christ and I no longer live, but Christ lives in me. The life I now live in the body, I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me.” (NIV)

We contend that the ultimate goal of human existence and earthly service is to be achieved not in *ecstasis* but in the salvific process of *theosis*, possible only through faith in God, a faith received by grace, and which sacrificially seeks union with God through service to humanity, not as a means to attaining salvation but as a fruit of the journey of faith in knowing, loving and serving God. The experience of ‘union with God,’ through faith is what Paul likely had in mind when he says, “I have been crucified ... [and] I no longer live, but Christ lives in me.” This is the sense in which cathartic sacrifice is here applied. Let us now then turn to a proposition on how the concept of cathartic sacrifice can be used as the leitmotif for authentic Christian service.

² “Catharsis,” in *New World Encyclopaedia*, <https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/catharsis>

2.4 Cathartic Sacrifice as the Leitmotif of Authentic Christian Service: Offering a Theological Model

Various atonement theories have continued to be developed. The classic of these includes: Irenaeus' recapitulation, The *Christus Victor* or Patristic ransom theories, Anselmic penal substitutionary or the Reformers' satisfactory theories, the Abelardian moral influence and the more modern ones like the embracement theory, the shared atonement and the scapegoat theories. Needless to say, the concept of sacrifice is the thematic leitmotif in all these theories. The general function of every sacrifice is to effect either propitiation or expiation, if not both at the same time.

It is important to note that both of these terms – propitiation and expiation have same roots, the Greek, *hilasterion* but which unmistakably points to one end goal – the reconciliation between the served and the one who serves. Whether the word *hilasterion* is translated as propitiation or expiation, the focus of these two concepts clearly converges. Both are about the desired end goal of the liberating state of being in relation. Although the difference between propitiation and expiation are rather subtle, the two are distinct in motive. Whereas expiation signifies the removal of sin or guilt of the one who offers the sacrifice; propitiation, is about appeasing the recipient of the sacrifice. Both expiation and propitiation have relevance in the atoning work of Christ, but whereas expiation is inward looking and primarily seeks the reformation of the person by putting right the heart and mind, propitiation, on the other hand, uses sacrifice as a leverage to buy favour with the intended recipient to whom sacrifice is directed. It is about appeasing or placating the other with the express motive of securing favour. Expiation is theologically to be preferred because it is primarily about the purification of self, or what in theology is called self-effacement in order to give up something of great value for one of greater or eternal value.

We make the observation that when sacrifice is removed from its religious purview, the secularized understanding and function of sacrifice often tend to be propitiatory – that is, transactional, trading a cause or service for personal gain or favours. No wonder in our context today, the word sacrifice as is the cause with servant, is treated with suspicion and in some sense even seen as serving a ruthless exploitative culture. Sadly, it is the weak that are often sacrificed at the altar of expediency. We contend that it is possible to achieve the ideals of servanthood leadership, through a life of faith committed to cathartic sacrifice patterned on and strengthened by participation in Christ's expiatory sacrifice. Ethical implication of the meaning and appropriation of the theology of the cross is here in view. The cathartic benefits of the sacrifice of Christ, received by faith, can pattern a liberating attitudinal disposition making it easy for the purified mind to experience healing, reconciliation, and ultimately union with God. This is a process where *theosis* or the desired union with God, makes it possible to die to self through participation in the cross of Christ where present life in the body, is lived "by faith in the Son of God." The ethical and moral implication of such an experience is enormous. It is possible, for example, to grasp a higher calling of eternal value, which can shape the model of our service to God and humanity.

How may we apply this model in practice? The synoptic gospels record an incident where two disciples tried to secure favour with Jesus asking for positions of power in the envisioned kingdom. When the other ten got to know what was going on, they were indignant. Jesus takes this fallout as an opportunity to teach them a rather radical idea of servant leadership. Mathew 20:25 – 28 records:

"Jesus called them together and said, 'You know that the leaders of the world lord it over them, and their high officials exercise authority over them. Not so with you. Instead, whoever wants to become great among you must be your servant, and whoever wants to be first must be your slave — just as the Son of

Man did not come to be served, but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many.”

By a simple illustration based on common practice, Jesus draws a sharp distinction between the patterns of worldly leadership and that of the kingdom he is establishing. The desired leitmotif or model of authentic service here is clearly that of servanthood. The route to greatness is through service. We need not belabour the point that this is possible through cathartic sacrifice, that is, the renewal of inner being, who when transformed through catharsis is then able to serve for the sake of service, not power or positions. The general pattern of worldly service is the same then and now. Positions of authority are generally sort for self-gratification and material gain. The motive is ego driven and generally serves to placate a benefactor or the earthly master. If sacrifice is ever in view, it is driven by the *quid pro quo* principle. This is a skewed concept of sacrifice where the only motive for doing good or giving service is the benefit or favour received in return. The common language is; ‘if you scratch my back, I will scratch yours.’ This explains why much nepotism, tribalism, corruption, greed, abuse of office and power, and such other ills have sadly become the standard answer to the greed driven question: “what is in it for me?”

In our Kenyan context, the greed for gain or the motive of self-preservation explains the commonplace culture of sycophancy and habitual placatory sacrifices of which include intellectual sensibilities. The only logic that seemingly informs this kind of leadership is the appreciation that: ‘whoever pays the piper calls the tune.’ In the circumstances, loyalty is foreign, and allegiances change as soon as the appointing authority or the ‘benefactor’ changes. Abuse of power is common and the principle of maximum profit generates the tendency to exploit, use and abuse services rendered by others. Going back to Jesus’ teaching, this is not how it should be among those who through the spiritual catharsis affected by the expiatory sacrifice of Christ have been made a new creation.

My proposition is that using the model of cathartic sacrifice itself patterned on the atoning death of Christ, it is possible to build a value system where the goal of service is transformation of the individual into a servant. It is presumptive but plausible that the transformed servant leaders can build a redemptive social vision, and enjoy a foretaste of ‘the kingdom,’ the ultimate eternal glory. The transformation of the person through sacrifice also assumes a faith influenced process of change called *theosis*. This is a transformative journey of faith, where the faithful grows into Christlikeness and ultimately union with God. We note that, “*theosis* is brought about by the effects of catharsis (purification of mind and body) and *theoria* (‘illumination’ with the ‘vision’ of God).”³ *Theosis* or divinization is different from sanctification in that it is not just about our degree of righteousness but about the quality of our humanness and the ultimate purpose of human existence. Authentic Christian sacrifice is possible; therefore, if through catharsis we can experience the process of divinization or *theosis* where our service to humanity is first and foremost inspired by the desire to serve God and from the point of view of our life, lived by faith through union with the Son of God.

Note that we are specific about authentic Christian service because strictly speaking, applies to believers who by faith, and through the reconciling death of Christ, have themselves resolved to follow Christ – picking up their cross and daily dying to self in giving a servanthood service in the manner of Christ. In practice, dying to self will entail overcoming egoistic and unreformed human propensity towards fame, power, and greed. Paradoxically, it is only if you “humble yourself before the Lord that He will lift you up...” (James 4:10). This is paradoxical in that it is self-mortification, and not self-exaltation which is key to authentic service that can be truly liberating yet, only possible through the way of the cross. Just as is the case in sacrifice where something

³ “*Salvation in Christianity in Wikipedia*,” [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theosis_\(Eastern_Christian_theology\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theosis_(Eastern_Christian_theology))

great is given in order to gain another that is greater, it is in dying that we live, and in giving that we receive. The door to glory is through servanthood service. At the heart of it is the principle of humility, which is, character must be sort before power, and good name to be preferred to riches or fame. Let us explain this in a rather simplistic way. If power and wealth are two different keys that can open many doors, character is a master key that can open doors that neither power nor wealth can open. Some people may resist your power and vehemently oppose you to death, some may resent your wealth and reject you, but an authentic character is irresistible. As they say, competence is necessary, but character is absolute.

Such character or human disposition can be possible through cathartic experience, making this an indispensable leitmotif for an authentic Christian service. Over the years, SPU in a deliberate move to attain wholeness in the approach to formation - with the goal to shape both character and competence - has continued to influence intellectual and spiritual pursuits, in ways possible to achieve the vision of servanthood in service. In this regard, I recommend that we reclaim the lost Christian concept of biblical servanthood. I also recommend that in order to popularize the adoption of correct sacrificial models in service, comparative leadership studies involving identified servant leaders, as the subjects, and the results thereof of the transformation of their organizations are conducted. The outcomes will then be used to develop a theological basis for a contextually adaptable ‘authentic Christian service.’

2.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, as Tracy Lett observes,

“The Servant Leadership approach is the less travelled road of leadership. In the final analysis, it is not outward leadership be-

haviour or skill, but an internal character of the heart. It is a matter of ‘being’ rather than ‘doing’.”⁴

The framers of our initial motto: ‘servants of God and humanity,’ were therefore absolutely right in emphasising ‘person’ over and above ‘action.’ It is clear that St. Paul’s concept of *doulos*, (literally meaning slave) and Jesus’ concept of servanthood as the path to glory are the key influencers here. The emphasis on the person or ‘being’ (that is, servant) rather than on the act or service itself, creates an important focus on the person and thereby maximizes the potential to inculcate the sense of responsibility, thereby motivating a sacrificial service in the footsteps of Jesus himself, or even Paul, who, confident of his resolve to follow Christ, boldly instructs believers to imitate him as he imitates Christ.

The change in the phrasing of the motto from ‘servants of God and humanity,’ to ‘service to God and humanity,’ betrays a secularizing influence that undermines the transformation of the actor or the person who serves. It also has enormous implication on our approach to character formation and how we influence ethical orientations. The action can only be as good as the person. If the natural inclination of the leader is wrong, the authenticity and the liberating power of service will likely be less than satisfactory. I contend that in order to achieve a more effective formation, which can lead to liberating, empowering service, it would be better if the light is rather beamed on the servant than the service *per se* – and not in any way to glorify the servant, no, not all, but in order to effect transformation at the point where it matters most.

This is not to mean that our concern should be one and not the other, but we can kill two birds with one stone, if we focused on the formation of the ‘servant’ it is because a transformed servant leader is catalytic for achievement of authentic Christian service. This also means that, what

⁴ *Biblical Lessons for Educational Leaders: The Servant Leadership of King David, Apostle Paul, Dr Joe Hairston, Dr. Tim Markley*, Doctor of Education (Ed.D) Dissertation submitted to Loyola University Chicago, 2014, p.39, Dissertations. 901. https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_diss/901

makes a given service specifically ‘Christian’ is the disposition of the servant leader, who in the first place, has attained ‘servant statuses because of union with Christ. As Scotty Smith says, “The humility and servant love of Jesus are to inhabit, inform, shape, and fuel every relationship in which [the leader] participates as God’s [servant].”⁵ By adopting the mind set of Jesus, it is possible to pick up a towel, and stoop low in the act of foot washing. Paradoxically, such a lowly act is both the way of the slave, as well as the way to power and glory. You cannot pick and choose by embracing one and rejecting the other. The road to power is paved in sacrifice. The cathartic effect of such sacrifice can inspire a servanthood leadership, which can truly transform and liberate the servant for the service to God and humanity.

⁵ Cited in *Jesus: The Ultimate Servant Leader*, The first of a series of articles on leadership lessons from biblical characters available at: <https://centerforfaithandwork.com/article/jesus-ultimate-servant-leader>

LEADERSHIP WITH ETHICS AND INTEGRITY. THE NOBLE VOCATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION ETHICS

**Keynote Speech at the Inauguration of the Chancellor
Samuel Kobia Centre for Ethics, Integrity and Govern-
ance at St. Paul's University, Kenya, 15 March 2019**

Christoph Stückelberger, Switzerland

Students, Administrators, Professors, Vice-Chancellor, Chancellor, Excellences, friends, is a great honour for me to hold this keynote speech at the inauguration of the *Chancellor Samuel Kobia Centre for Ethics, Integrity and Governance*. I do it with great humility and thankfulness as an alumnus of the then St. Paul's United Theological College, now St. Paul's University. I had the chance to study on this campus for half a year between 1974 and 1975, 45 years ago! I am also deeply thankful for the long-term friendship with former chancellor, Dr. Samuel Kobia, who studied here just a few years before me, and whom I worked with for over twenty years. During that time, Dr. Samuel Kobia, Prof. Jesse Mugambi and myself, worked together to create the Programme for Ethics in Eastern Africa PEEA in Nairobi in 2002. This was one nucleus which two years later, in 2004, led me to create the global network

www.globethics.net. I will say more about this foundation towards the end of my speech.

Rev. Dr. Samuel Kobia in his valedictory speech as chancellor, in 2018, concluded with three topics. He suggested: “In conclusion, I wish to identify and propose three frontiers for universities to explore in academic studies and vocational training; social media; ethics in politics; and ethics in higher education.” It is my privilege in this keynote speech, to concentrate on the third of the frontiers: ethics in higher education.

But before dealing with ethics in higher education, I would like to share some experiences and a lesson learnt during my studies at St. Paul’s, then called United Theological College, 45 years ago.

3.1 My Studies at SPU 1974-75: Eight Lessons Learnt

It is for me an emotional moment because I realize how much I owe to this institution and how much it influenced my personal development and academic journey. You will also see how it is directly linked to ethics in higher education.

The mid-seventies in the last century was, politically, a very intense period. I must remind you that it was still the period of apartheid and strong anti-apartheid movements that we as students in Europe were involved in began to take hold. The liberation movements in Africa were still active. The Portuguese colony Angola became independent during my time at St. Paul’s in January 1975, and Mozambique followed suit in June of the same year. Black theology and South American liberation theology were hotly debated. In 1974, Swiss students launched the campaign, “Nestlé kills babies”, and about the company’s exploitive tactics that promoted powder milk over breastfeeding, to the detriment of infants in developing countries. As a student I also investigated Nestlé in Nairobi and Limuru.

Lessons Learnt

- A long way: Incarnation of Christ needs enculturation of faith.
- Honest listening opens doors and builds friendship.
- Poverty eradication starts with access to information.
- Contextual ethics places humans at the centre.
- Cry Justice: Ethics starts with tears and smell.
- Integrity leadership means zero fraud and corruption.
- Trauma healing is a condition for liberation and reconciliation.
- Unity (at St. Paul's United Theological College), ecumenism and interfaith, is possible.

For you, students and researchers, let me add a small remark on academic research methodology: make your geographical, political, economic and religious contexts, as well as your personal interests and experiences transparent in the introduction of your research. This personal context is what I briefly tried to explain with these biographical notes. The times, where empires – be it the Roman, Ottoman, British, French, American or Chinese – claimed to speak for the whole world, have passed. Even though I am convinced that global values and globally shared knowledge exists, academic work is international, but also always contextual. Academic honesty rests upon making this context transparent and taking stock of its influence on research results!

3.2 Higher Education: Trends and Ethical Challenges

Let us now look at ethics in higher education and start with trends⁶ and challenges before looking at fundamental values and solutions.

⁶ The following is partly based on *Research Report: Ethical Impact of Funding in Higher Education*, article in this book, by student Marie Renée Andreescu under supervision of Christoph Stückelberger.

3.2.1 Global Enrolments of Students

Global enrolments of students in tertiary education institutions grew from about 65 million in 1990 to 213 million students in 2015. This is an increase of 300 percent in one generation! China and India dominated the global growth, but many African countries also increased substantially. Demographic growth and economic growth are two main factors, but enrolment growth exceeds demographic growth. UNESCO forecasts for 2015-2030, the SDG period, an increase of 16% in global population growth and 56% in tertiary education enrolment up to a total of 332 million students in 2030, five times higher than 1990. In Kenya, from the year 2000 to 2015, the population increased by 51%, GDP grew by 100% and tertiary student enrolment by 168%. This immense growth can be seen as a positive development towards more skilled people in a society, but the high unemployment rate of graduates shows its negative side as we will soon discuss.

Ethical chance: Increased number of well-educated and equipped graduates for rising needs.

Ethical challenge: The rapid growth can also undermine quality and integrity.

3.2.2 Public versus Private Universities

With market liberalization in the last four decades, the education market was also liberalized, causing a boom of new private universities. Private universities are often smaller than public ones, and ask for much higher student fees, but offer (sometimes, not always) better quality of teaching because of better remuneration of teaching staff. They offer better infrastructure as they are newer. Global private enrolment increased by 5 percent between the year 2000 and 2010, but since then it is slightly decreasing⁷. Some private universities have already closed or

⁷ According to unpublished data, shared by the author with Globethics.net: Daniel C. Levy, *Global private higher education: an empirical profile of its size and geographical shape*, 2018.

will disappear for lack of quality. On my recent visit to universities in Moscow, I met the President of the Association of Private Universities of Russia. He told me that 600 private universities have been established in the last two decades (many of them only distant learning), but recently, 500 of them have been closed by government decision. Being the president of a private university himself, he was not unhappy about this development for the sake of guaranteed academic quality and reputation. Whereas in Europe, the “old” continent with many universities as old as 500 years including my university in Basel, public universities still comprise the majority of higher education institutions. In the “young” nation of USA and especially in emerging economies influenced by the American model, private universities are booming.

Ethical chance: Private universities, because of competition, are often more willing to integrate ethics in higher education.

Ethical challenge: In some countries, there is corruption or fraud in accreditation and supervision authorities of higher education. Competition can also lower standards in order to attract more paying students.

3.2.3 Funding of Higher Education

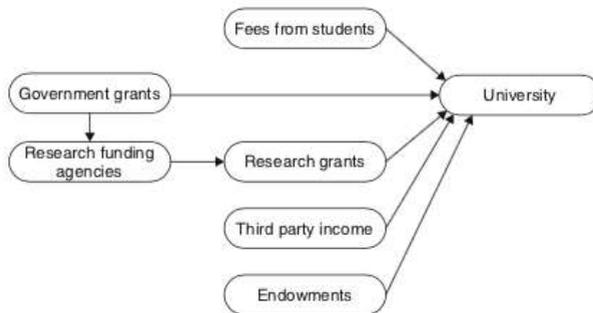


Figure 3.3 The four flows of finance to present universities

Together with market liberalization, the funding models also changed. Private investors discovered the education market. This is positive as public funding is not enough, but it is negative as volatility and,

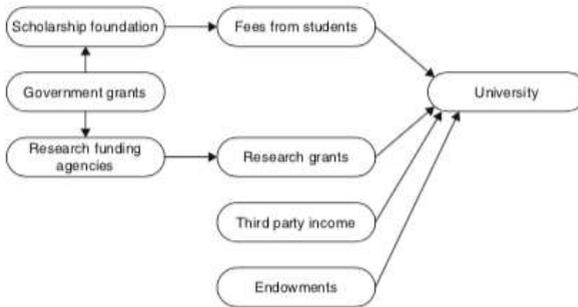


Figure 3.4 Schematic flow of finance to the Third Generation University

in some cases, profit maximization raises serious ethical questions. The following two graphs⁸ show the shift from direct to indirect government funding in a competitive environment:

Ethical chance: private funding is needed, but public budget should remain strong for higher education.

Ethical challenge: increased private sector funding, e.g. in research, increases conflicts of interests and endangers independence of research.

3.2.4 Teachers' Salaries and Quality of Teaching and Research

A large part of the ethical challenges in higher education are linked to economic factors, especially low remuneration of teaching staff. This leads to multiple higher education institutions engaging with the same professor, often with no or little time for research and accompaniment of students. The praxis of additional income from bribes from students, “marks for sex” and absenteeism because of private business, is still growing in many countries. By the way: a professor at a university in Greece or Eastern Europe does not earn more than a professor in Kenya nowadays (professor salaries in Greece were cut by 50% due to the current economic crisis).

⁸ Josef C. Brada, Wojciech Bienkowski and Masaaki Kuboniwa, *International Perspectives on Financing Higher Education*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Ethical chance: I do not see an ethical chance in low salaries, only challenges.

Ethical challenge: as mentioned above.

3.2.5 Unemployment, Employability and Vocational Training

Unemployment of graduates is a huge problem in many countries. It is up to 50 percent and more in some countries. In Nigeria, where I teach at a private Catholic university, graduates' unemployment in the country is estimated at 70%! This has led to policy change in many countries (from Indonesia, India and China) where budgets for higher education have been reduced in favour of vocational training budgets.

Ethical chance: meet the needs of the job market/the society better with more practitioners and technicians.

Ethical challenge: lower government budgets for higher education

3.3 Higher Education as Noble Vocation

The relation between academic and vocational education leads to a key ethical question: what is the value and the reputation of a profession in society? In ancient Greece, the philosopher was higher than the slave; in the middle age the priest was higher than the trader or teacher; in 2019, the CEO of an IT or Artificial Intelligence company is more reputable than the farmer. And from the perspective of Christian faith? Christian work ethics⁹ is revolutionary for education and the job market: what counts not is the reputation of a profession in society, but rather work executed for the glory of God (*Soli Deo Gloria*) and as service to people in need/to the society. And if work is only done for personal ben-

⁹ See Elly K. Kansime, *Integrating Faith with Work. A Ministry Transformational Model*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2015, Focus series; Christoph Stückelberger, *Work Ethics. Profession as Vocation*, in Christoph Stückelberger, *Global Ethics Applied*, Vol 4: Bioethics, Religion, Leadership, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2016, 180-182. Free download www.globethics.net/publications, Readers series.

efit, it often leads to exploitation of others. Therefore, in the light of Christian faith, a righteous farmer has higher reputation and dignity in front of God than a corrupt billionaire or a famous researcher who develops the newest autonomous weapons/drones to kill innocent civilians. An honest cleaner in this university has higher status in front of God than a selfish professor or pastor or priest!

*“Vocation of the Business Leader: A Reflection”*¹⁰ is an excellent document of the Vatican, published by the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace under its president Cardinal Turkson from Ghana. Not only does a pastor, a deacon, a nun or a bishop have a vocation, but every profession. “When businesses and market economies function properly and focus on serving the common good, they contribute greatly to the material and even the spiritual well-being of society...The alternative path of faith-based “servant leadership” provides business leaders with a larger perspective and helps them to balance the demands of the business world with those of ethical social principles, illuminated for Christians by the Gospel.”¹¹

“Vocation of an Academic Leader” could be statement or policy document produced by the new Centre for Ethics, Integrity and Governance at SPU, together with Globethics.net. to work in the sector of higher education, be it as vice-chancellor, teacher, administrator, driver, cook or student, a vocation, a calling to serve God for the common good!

3.4 Integrity Leadership as Stewardship

This leads directly to the keyword “integrity” which is one of the three topics of the new centre. Integrity is one of the most important characteristics of a leader. What does it mean? I call integrity “The Vir-

¹⁰ Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Vocation of the Business Leader. A Reflection*, Vatican 2014.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 2, Executive Summary.

tue of Virtues”¹², because it integrates most of the virtues and values for a life in dignity and a human society.¹³

“Integrity is a combination and integration of many virtues: honesty, respect, responsibility, transparency, righteousness, trustworthiness, probity, uprightness, honourableness, morality, high-mindedness, right-mindedness and following God’s rules on justice, peace and love. Integrity is to comply with one’s own values and convictions. For Christians, this means to act in conformity with God’s will. Integrity is doing the right thing, even when no one is watching (C.S. Lewis) and doing what is necessary and not only what is profitable. A truthful person acts out of intrinsic motivation and not the contrary. A truthful person respects and implements laws and regulations. He/she has the courage to act correctly without being followed by the crowd, without being applauded by the authorities, or without fear of financial losses. The person with integrity can distinguish conflicts of interest and solve them in a transparent way. The person with integrity can recognize his/her own mistakes and those of others, and to correct them, accepting the own limits and the need for collaboration with others.”

Integrity means also to accept the limits of oneself. If I am not strong enough to resist unethical practices in politics, I may not apply as a candidate for a position. The Bible is very blunt on that: “Do not try to become a Judge, if you cannot extract injustice, for you could be influenced by the personality of a Prince and thus compromise your own integrity” (Sirach 7:6). Straightforwardness (Prov. 1:3) is close to integrity and integrity of faith says no to former (ancient) gods, and has trust

¹² Christoph Stückelberger, *Integrity*, in Christoph Stückelberger, Walter Fust, Obiora Ike (Editors), *Global Ethics for Leadership. Values and Virtues for Life*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2016, 311-328.

¹³ The following part is taken from *ibid*, 323-327.

in God (Jos 24:14); integrity and faithfulness are almost synonymous in this text.

“There are other expressions that describe many aspects of integrity: the purity of the heart and the loyalty of the believer, for instance, David, following the threat of Saul (2 Samuel 22:21-26):

“My God treats me by my justice, he treats me by the purity of my hands, as I have followed the paths of God, I have not been unfaithful to my God. All his laws are in front of me, and I have not disobeyed his commandments. I have been faithful with Him; I have avoided all misbehaviours. Consequently, God has given me back my justice, as he has seen it with his own eyes. To the faithful, you are faithful, to the blameless; you are blameless (intègre).”

Faith in God and in his teachings/ethical principles: “Let our heart be truthful to God, our God, so that you follow his teachings, and keep his commandments, as you are doing it today” (1 Kings 8:61, 1 Kings 9:4). But in the eyes of Jesus, the Pharisee, in his prayer, he follows all the laws of God, but he forgets that love is the most important teaching of Jesus. So, in this sense, integrity is understood as an act of love.

A biblical text on integrity—which we may consider as a “classic”, as it is very rich — is the Psalm 15:2-5:

“God, who will be accepted in thy tent?

Who will stay on thy sacred mount?

He who has a truthful behaviour;

practises rightfulness;

has honest thoughts;

controls his tongue;

does not harm others;

nor hurts his fellow men;

he despises the sinner;

but respects those who fear God.

He does not back off after he made a wrong promise

He does not lend money with interest

He does not accept gift to condemn an innocent

He who behaves as such is incorruptible.”

This is an excellent description of a truthful person with the eleven following traits: he is rightful, honest and true, he controls his words, he is fair, nonviolent without excess, he does not fear wrongdoers, but follows those who behave truthfully, he keeps his promises, does not let himself being exploited, is free of corruption and is incorruptible (“unshakable” in other translations). The term “incorruptible” at the end of the Psalm is an important qualifier of the believer and of the truthful person: a truthful person recognizes temptation, but he resists.

Staying truthful in a world where evil, cheating, corruption, dishonesty, lies and exploitations are abounding, is a big challenge for a truthful person. This is where he/she needs a lot of bravery and resilience. These are moments during which the truthful person finds him-herself alone, without any support, nor understanding from others, and often being considered as a naive or even weak-minded person. These are moments where he/she undergoes pain and sufferings as violence overshadows non-violence, just as the horse overshadows the donkey, if we refer to Jesus’ metaphor on donkeys. It is during those moments where the force of integrity is tested and where faith comes into force, based on the conviction that the dishonest person may have short term gains, but the just will benefit in the long term from benedictions and blessings, as promised in the Bible: “For the upright will live in the land, and the blameless will remain in it” (Proverbs 2 :21), “Blessed are the meek, for they will inherit the earth” (Mt 5 :5), “Blessed are those who are the

pure in heart, for they will see God” (Mt 5 :8). The spiritual inspiration for a truthful person is his faith, his hope and the divine promise.

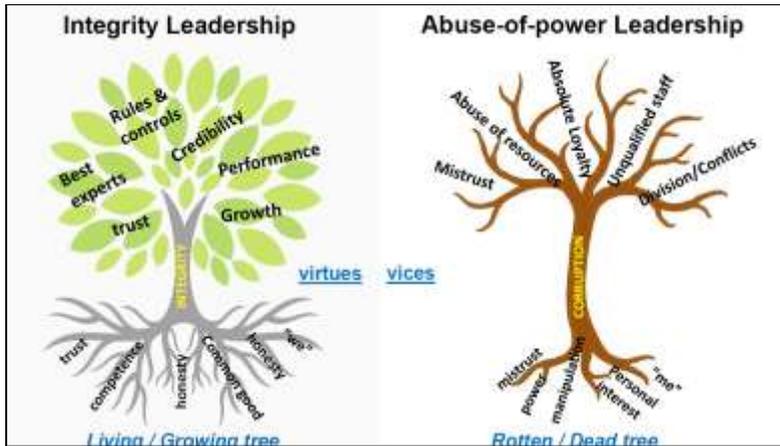
Courage to remain truthful can be (sometimes) costly. Some time ago I met two friends: The first has a high-ranking position as head of a public company in Africa. He resigned voluntarily as he was not given the chance to implement the value-based integrity as discussed above. He had given up his position and the privileges thereof, the money and the politico-economic power in order to keep up with his principles of integrity. He thereby enhanced his reputation as a truthful and trustworthy person, a moral quality of which the people in his country were yearning for. The second is a friend from Asia, who had accepted a promotion for a top academic position in an institution, provided he could replace the corrupted elements within it, and build thereupon a culture of integrity with more transparency. He declared that he would resign without the instrumental support of the auditing authorities. These two examples show that one needs not only the necessary bravery, but also a sufficiently sound safety net to avoid falling into the insecurity gap upon leaving a position out of ethical conviction! Many more examples of personalities known for their integrity could be mentioned. Africans like Nelson Mandela, Desmond Tutu and Kofi Annan are only three.

Integrity Leadership as Stewardship: The Christian term for leadership is in fact stewardship. It means leaders do not own decision-making or political power, the assets accumulated, the skills they have or the spiritual power. All power belongs to God, who entrusts power to human beings, to serve society and the whole creation. The calling (vocation) of every leader is to be a good steward¹⁴ of God. God calls us to be the steward, good manager (oikonomos, manager of the household

¹⁴ See Christoph Stückelberger, *Stewards and 'Careholders': Christian Leadership Ethics*, in Christoph Stückelberger, *Global Ethics Applied*, Vol 4: Bioethics, Religion, Leadership, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2016, 135-148. Free download www.globethics.net/publications, Readers series.

oikos, Luke 12:42-48). This is also the deep meaning of servant leadership: not to serve oneself, but to serve God the one who entrusted us his charisma and power (exousia). This trust of God in human beings, this delegation of power is the very root of all human empowerment.¹⁵

Integrity leadership means to put the “we”, the common good and service, before the “me” (“What is in for me”). These two types of leadership can be shown in the above graph:



The key change of attitude is to simply turn one character, from the “me” to the “we”. I call it the One Character Revolution”:



¹⁵ See Christoph Stückelberger, *Empowerment as Fundamental Value*, in Christoph Stückelberger, *Global Ethics Applied*, Vol 1: Global Ethics, Economic Ethics, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2016, 190-106. Free download www.globethics.net/publications, Readers series.

3.5 Governance of Oneself and of an Institution

There is a close link between ethics, integrity and governance as it is these three that are represented in the title of the new centre at SPU. Governance: the governing structures, mechanisms, quality checks and control of power start with the integrity of the persons in leadership. *Governing oneself as a leader is the core of governance of an institution!*

The current Lenten period – 40 days from Ash Wednesday to Easter – is an excellent example in Christianity, like the Ramadan period in Islam – of strengthening self-governance by cleaning body, mind and soul of greed and unethical “waste” accumulated in order to be free for servant leadership.

Governance would be an individualistic approach if it were to stop there. As we human beings are weak, we all need others — in Christian terms, brothers and sisters who support and correct us if needed, and in structural terms, rules, regulations, standards, laws, checks and balances. Integrity is not only an individual virtue but needs a *Systemic Approach for an Institutional Culture*. Some may blame the ethics of virtues as individualistic. Indeed, virtues are foremost references for attitude and action on a personal level. But integrity is not only reserved to ethical heroes, in other words, women and men with a strong character. Integrity is the attitude of an individual who can bring transformation to a culture, within which the majority of the population can adapt under all circumstances, the foundations of integrity. Integrity is a holistic and systemic approach to solve a problem and reduce its vices.

Christian ethics not only calls individuals to come back to moral behaviour but makes them feel accountable for having failed to provide the necessary support to carry out a virtuous life. In addition, Christian ethics help to build a thorough support structure for the individuals. The individual and interpersonal ethics are about the direct interaction between human beings. The structural ethics is the indirect interaction of ethics through structures and rules within institutions. Here are some

examples: Professional and Institutional Codes of Ethics¹⁶, Committees for Research in Ethics within Higher Education Institutions and Hospitals, sanctions against plagiarism, religious worship activities, religious and moral teaching in schools, education within the family, anti-corruption posters in airports, documentaries on public personalities or unknown individuals whose exemplary behaviours can serve as models for others.”¹⁷

The non-governmental organisation, Integrity Action, which also cooperates with Globethics.net, defines *public integrity* as follows:

“Public or organisational integrity is the set of characteristics that justify trustworthiness and generate trust among stakeholders. Integrity creates the conditions for organisations to intelligently resist corruption and to be more trusted and efficient. Integrity Action takes integrity to be the alignment of four factors: accountability, competence, ethics and corruption control.”¹⁸

3.6 Ethics in Higher Education at Globethics.net: Four Programmes

Globethics.net Foundation, the global network on ethics which I founded in 2004. Prof. Jesse Mugambi attended the founding week and Dr. Samuel Kobia helped in the ‘birth’ process, therefore both are co-founders. I can never forget the shocking experience of having the book of John Mbiti, which my fellow students on the campus did not have access to.

¹⁶ See the collection of over 1000 codes of professional ethics online, free downloadable: <https://repository.globethics.net/handle/20.500.12424/29>

¹⁷ Christoph Stückelberger, *Integrity*, in Christoph Stückelberger, Walter Fust, Obiora Ike (Editors), *Global Ethics for Leadership. Values and Virtues for Life*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2016, 325f.

¹⁸ www.integrityaction.org.



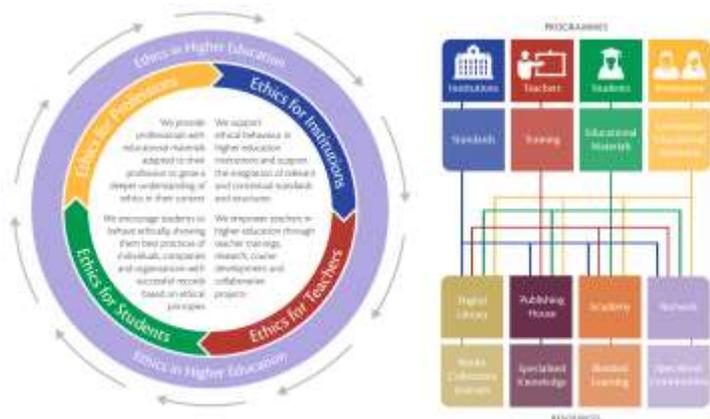
This was one of the triggering experiences leading to the launch in 2008, 4 years later, of the current largest worldwide online library on ethics and theology. Academic content available to everyone, everywhere.

On www.globethics.net over 4 million online documents are available for free download!

<https://www.globethics.net/library/home>

We have 198,000 registered participants from 200 countries. We have ten regional offices on all continents, operating for many years. One of them is in Nairobi, the Regional Programme for Eastern Africa, hosted at CUEA and working in all 5 countries of the East Africa Economic Community.

The focus of Globethics.net is now on Ethics in Higher Education. We have a global network of universities which build a Consortium for Ethics in Higher Education. Kenya is a core country for Globethics.net and we see many opportunities to cooperate with you at SPU in general, and with the new Centre for Ethics, Integrity and Governance in particular.



3.7 The New Ethics Centre and Future Cooperation

The new *Chancellor Samuel Kobia Centre for Ethics, Integrity and Governance* at St. Paul's University offers manifold opportunities to cooperate with Globethics.net:

- Publications, co-publications
- Trainings for teachers
- Online courses for students and teachers
- Consortium member institutions, e.g. consultancy on directorate of ethics
- Specific conferences of the centre, in cooperation with Globethics.net where appropriate
- International and regional conferences
- Course for management and values-driven business for companies

I thank you for your attention and for all excellent work of SPU.

INTEGRITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION? A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

Esther Mombo, Kenya

4.1 Introduction

If you want to know me, then you must know my story, for my story defines who I am. And if I want to know myself, to gain insight into the meaning of my own life, then I, too must come to know my own story.¹⁹

Integrity in higher education is often interpreted as the *quality* of being *honest* and having *strong moral principles* which are not objects of change. Academic integrity is often connected to avoidance of cheating and the maintenance of academic standards, honesty and rigor in research and publishing. A culture of honesty, trust, fairness, respect and responsibility should be implemented to ensure academic integrity.²⁰ Yet, feminist theory has emphasized the other meaning of integrity, e.g.

¹⁹ Dan P. McAdams, *The stories we live by Personal Myths and the Making of the Self*. New York: Guildford Press. 1993, 11.

²⁰ Fundamental values of Academic integrity <https://www.academicintegrity.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/Fundamental-Values-2014.pdf>. Integrity of mind.

implying the *quality* of being *whole* and *complete*. Here, integrity is both related to bodily integrity and safe space as well as to inclusiveness of perspectives. Far often, integrity seems to be sacrificed at the altar of the common good. In places of higher education, the challenges of bodily integrity and safe spaces are overt. Scandals of abuse of power, sexual harassments and the exclusion of women from positions of leadership mirror these ethical lapses.

As a feminist and a higher education practitioner, this raises flags regarding the personal nature of integrity – what is sacrificed, by whom and for who’s good? This article discusses how to raise/maintain the standard of integrity in higher education for the benefit of all: faculty, students and general staff. First it introduces gender studies and identifies some areas where integrity is jeopardized in higher education, e.g. the underrepresentation of women in leadership positions and the incompleteness of perspectives in higher education, and the “disgrace”, sexual harassment and abuse. Second, this article explores how cultural norms and practices contribute to the gendered violation of integrity. The concluding section offers lessons learned and focuses on implementation of measures to ensure holistic integrity.

4.2 Gender, Ubuntu and the Common Good

Gender theories have become an integral part of discussions in society, ergo in institutions of higher learning. Whereas gender studies is a field of interdisciplinary focus on gender identity and gendered representation, in the context of this paper, the category of gender brings to light aspects of integrity in higher education that destroy the Ubuntu which is the essence of what it means to be human, what really makes a human. Ubuntu is a sharing and a participation in the values that sustain and ensure the existence of human community.²¹ Since Ubuntu recognizes the rights and the responsibilities of all people, whether individual

²¹ Aloo Ososti Mojola, *Utu, Ubuntu and Community*, BTL Nairobi 2020, 5.

or collective, it should also promote the social and individual well-being and wholeness of all. Research has shown that our understanding of gender has deep roots in our traditional cultures, and that some gender problems in Africa predate the coming of Islam and Christianity to Africa and the colonial era.²² By using gender categories feminist scholars expose harm and injustice in society which extend to scripture and the teachings and practices of the church through culture.²³ There are many situations in which men and women have not been treated equally and where rigid enforcement of stereotypes means that those who do not fall in line with culturally assigned gender roles struggle to find a place in the community. This challenges the very ethos of community and what makes us 'whole'. We need to accept that discussions around gender are here to stay, and that they are important because they bring to light deep-seated gender inequalities.²⁴ Gender analysis brings to light the aspects that are to be both celebrated and shunned in higher education. Gender theory remains a lens with which aspects of higher education are approached.

A review of literature in higher education reveals many gender and ethical issues include complex systemic barriers to opportunities of advancement, especially for women.²⁵ Other literature shows how hegemonic masculinities in higher education limit the progress of women

²² Mercy Amba Oduyoye, *Introducing African Women's Theology*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001. 24

²³ Musimbi Kanyoro, *Engendered Communal Theology, African Women's Contribution to Theology in the Twenty-First Century*.

²⁴ Esther Mombo, *Gender in African Public Theology* by Dion A. Forster and H. Jurgens Hendriks. Hippo books 2020. page 222.

²⁵ Sharon R. Bird, "Unsettling Universities' Incongruous, Gendered Bureaucratic Structures: A Case Study Approach." *Gender, Work and Organization* 18 (2): 203.

within academia.²⁶ Further, scholars like Van den Brink and Stobbe argue that the ways in which gender is ‘done’ in academia – the ‘paradox of visibility’ – perceives women to be less employable despite their overrepresentation, and higher achievements at undergraduate and graduate levels.²⁷ Gendered structures within institutions erect systemic barriers which disproportionately disadvantage women.²⁸ Within the Ubuntu context of African philosophy, an individual’s identity is part and parcel of the village’s common vision and self-understanding. What then is one’s self-understanding when one is afforded the quality education available, but faces the harsh realities of glass ceilings, discrimination and abuse which suggest that despite one’s abilities, one is never enough; always less than? And how does this person then function within the framework of the wider society? This becomes an issue of ethical integrity, as one finds that the violation of ‘rights’ – to work, study and belong have been intrinsically removed from women, who are pre-conditioned to think that the only place where they can effectively contribute to society is in the home.

A survey of universities in Kenya, produced findings that do not differ from what has been observed in other places where the patriarchal systems with a bias on women have serious manifestations in institutions of higher learning.²⁹ According to FAWE, women in Kenyan uni-

²⁶ Shelly Pacholok, “*Gendered Strategies of Self: Navigating Hierarchy and Contesting Masculinities.*” *Gender, Work and Organization* 16 (4): 2009. 471–500

²⁷ Marieke van den Brink and Lineke Stobbe, “*Doing Gender in Academic Education: The Paradox of Visibility.*” *Gender, Work & Organization* 16 (4): 2009 451–470.

²⁸ Marieke van den Brink and Yvonne Benschop. “*Slaying the Seven-headed Dragon: The Quest for Gender Change in Academia.*” *Gender, Work & Organization* 2012 19 (1): 71–92.

²⁹ Mallon K Onyambu, *Gender Disparity in the Management of Kenyan Universities: Experiences and Lessons from Selected Universities in Uasin Gishu*

versities hold less than 30% of academic posts, and are mainly represented in the lower and middle level academic and administrative positions.³⁰ While there has been a steady enrolment of female students in both undergraduate and post graduate courses across the country and in some spaces the majority of the student body are female, women remain a minority in both teaching and administration of the universities. The Economy Survey 2013 showed that there were some 105,115 female students enrolled in universities in 2012, up from 80,560 the year before. This highlighted a trend over the past five years that has seen female enrolment rise faster than that of males, whose number rose by 15% – half the growth rate of women – from 117,700 in 2011 to 135,436 in 2012.³¹

The *Daily Nation* in March 2020 published an article titled “The Path to Women’s Right to Education” in which the author noted that “when more than half of students who are looking at you are women, you realize the education landscape in Kenya has changed.”³² The only thing however that has remained constant over the years is the domination of men in senior academic posts rooted in the patriarchal nature of higher learning institutions. Paulo Freire in his book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* saw education in an oppressive context as a practice of domination where the teacher attempts to control the thinking of the students, who are seen as passive objects, and adapt them to the oppressive structures.³³ While Freire does not explicitly discuss gender in power relations, we can contextualize his work and see women as the op-

County, Kenya. Africa International Journal of Management Education and Governance (AIJMEG), 2019 4 (3), 1-11.

³⁰ Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) (2009). *Kenyatta University: Baseline Study of Gender Composition of Management, Staff and Students* (Unpublished)

³¹ Economic Survey 2013.

³² Kwamboka Ayaro, *The path to women’s right to education*, The Daily nation March 20, 2020.

³³ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the oppressed*, Verlag Herder: Germany 1968.

pressed quota in the higher education power matrix. Whereas this is not overt, much of the power imbalance which realizes ethical challenges to integrity within the framework of gendered relations in higher education are readily internalized by both male and females; sometimes through subliminal messages and micro-aggressions that ‘teach’ students and staff where their place is. A male-dominated faculty may posit patriarchal agendas, despite females comprising the majority demographic. The patriarchal voice is internalized in the learning process by female students who mistake it for their own voice. Additionally, the domination of faculty by males has become normative and many female students are resistant to female faculty. When higher education establishes these norms, the compromising of the balance and use of power across gender lines will have a trickledown effect on the wider society’s understanding of norms, roles and responsibilities.

The report by FAWE further suggests that while there is small gender disparities in junior levels of university jobs, as you go higher up to the senior ranks of positions, fewer women are found. In addition, in lower levels of learning for instance, kindergartens and primary schools, the majority of teaching staff are women. This phenomenon suggests that there is a connection between power, authority and women’s limited presence in institutions of higher learning. Njoki in the article ‘Experiences of Women Academics’ in observes that

“[b]y virtue of their position and higher education, they are in a privileged position compared to the majority of their sex, and even to the majority of their male compatriots; but they are greatly disadvantaged when compared with male academics in the same institutions.”³⁴

³⁴ Nyokabi N Kamau “Outsiders Within: Experiences of Women Academics in Kenya”. In: Oyèwùmí O. (eds) *Gender Epistemologies in Africa*. (Palgrave Macmillan: New York) 2011. Page 120.

While education has empowered and equipped women to move to positions of authority, the gender variable still plays a significant role in restricting women to access senior positions. The male academics can scale the academic ladder up to the senior-most positions of universities, but the same is not true for most women.

4.3 Beneficence, Feminist Methodology, Epistemology

Feminist theories have had a strong impact on gender study disciplines, especially within my academic area of theology. Gender approaches within Christian tradition have been critiqued as a perceived threat to traditional theological understanding of family life and the relationship between men and women, because it overtly challenges traditional hierarchical relations. The methodological approach of using narratives appears to be problematic to many. When invited to contribute to this book, I thus wondered how much of my story could be brought to the paper while retaining academic relevance.

Feminist theologians note that methods and epistemology are important when issues of gender and ethics are raised. Through the narratives one is able to bring to light the very issues that are positive and affirming and also challenge those issues that are destructive and seem to be normalized.³⁵ Epistemologically, at the heart of the academy is a relationship between societies and the production, discovery or construction of knowledge. The ethical question is the dearth of information about women and the parts they have played in institutions of higher learning. Mercy Oduyoye observes that “as long as men and foreign researchers remain the authorities on culture, rituals and religion, African women will continue to be spoken of as if they were dead.”³⁶ This is

³⁵ Shulamit Reinharz, *Feminist Methods in Social Research*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992, 133.

³⁶ Mercy Oduyoye and Musimbi Kanyoro, *The Will to Arise: Women, Tradition, and the Church in Africa*. Orbis Books, 1995:1.

inclusive of the ways in which African women have served society by bringing to light issues of integrity in the ways in which men and women relate. When data about women is lacking in institutions of higher learning, it implies exclusion of part of humanity. Issues of integrity arise in the dearth of representation of other beings; their voices are muted but much more so, they are discussed as though they were dead.

4.4 Deontology: Virtue and Gendered Leadership

As a group, women around the world have often been under-represented in leadership. African women are no exception; they find themselves surrounded by cultural, social, economic, and political barriers to ascendance to positions of leadership. However, in spite of multiple challenges, African women can be found in several leadership roles.³⁷ Given the link between leadership and education, it is no surprise that statistically men outnumber women in higher education. However, the imbalance is even greater in theological institutions, where men vastly outnumber women. Further, most styles of leadership are a challenge to women folk in dealing with the power and authority. Styles of leadership that are pyramidal and hierarchical thus conform to a patriarchal paradigm of reality fostering a model of subordination of some human beings, especially women.

It is in this context that I found myself as an administrator in an institution of higher learning, first as an academic dean in a theological college and then as a deputy vice-chancellor of academics. Both appointments were not without their challenges but I somehow managed to weave through them to set a different trajectory of the institution. After being appointed academic dean many questions were raised including what I would be called, and whether I would occupy the same position as the colleague who had stepped down. It was, however, in attending

³⁷ Faith Wambura Ngunjiri, *Women Spiritual leadership*, State University of New York: New York Press. 2010

the first management meeting that brought me face-to-face with the ethical issues that I had to deal with for a long while both as a university administrator and lecturer.

At a management meeting, I found myself alone with five male colleagues, one White and four Africans. The meeting started with a homily and I was introduced as the new academic dean. The minutes of the previous meeting were circulated and read. One of the minutes relayed the circumstance of a single woman who had been sacked due to a suspected pregnancy and alleged abortion. Although the matter had been dealt with in a previous management meeting, I decided to enquire about the man who impregnated her. One member said the matter had been closed, but I insisted. I requested that the decision on the matter be revisited because if the man was also in the institution it was unethical to apply a rule in a biased way. The chair informed members of management that they had a feminist in the house. After some deliberation it was agreed that one of the few women in the institution would be sent to check with terminated employee about whether the man who made her pregnant was also an employee. I reasoned that even if she had indeed gone against the ethical standards of the university, the termination of her employment was a very drastic measure especially if she had not signed any terms regarding pregnancy. I then proposed alternative disciplinary measures for the woman, and also for the man if he was found to be an employee. Both requests were granted but it was noted that it was not within the policies.³⁸

This one case in management gave me a glimpse into the gender dynamics in the institution's statistics, policies, gender and cultural norms. All these would be raised as issues of integrity. The face of the university was masculine; in the administration, faculty and student composition. Epistemologically, the women were missing and the method of dealing with issues that affected them was based on perceptions of them being the source of the problems they faced. The real lives of the women

³⁸ SPUTC Management minutes October 1999

were in their narratives but there was no safe space to hear the narratives. The policies, where they existed, were gendered and were implemented with no empathy.

Through the social and gender lens I would begin the task of deconstructing patriarchy by creating a leadership style that could enlarge the space and help the people to grow in their capacities by:

- Increasing the number of women students.
- Framing a contextually relevant curriculum.
- Integration of HIV-AIDS- and the issues related.
- Establishing gender-equitable policies to increase women in administration.

This move was influenced by the spirit of the Circle of Concerned African Women Theologians.³⁹ In a wider context it was a process of engendering theological education and was later renamed African Women's Theologies.

The engendering process became the spirit with which policies were written or examined to ensure inclusivity (e.g. sexual harassment, dress code, discipline cases on dress code and pregnancies). Before, women would bear the brunt of pregnancy alone; but this changed with the engendered policies.

4.5 Moral Subjectivism in the Double Exposure of Short Skirts

The abovementioned management case was rife with moral subjectivism which is very individualistic and, more critically, a denial of moral principles of any significant kind. For, in any structure where the onus of decorum is placed solely upon one individual or a group of similar individuals; the exposure of the purported rule-breaker also reveals

³⁹ Isabel Phiri, *Major challenges for African women theologians in theological education* (1989-2008)

something about the character of the rule defenders. Deaconess Owani, the first female student, narrated:

“Being the female student and worse still, unmarried! My male counterparts never wanted me to reason with them. They would say it was wrong for a woman to reason (they called it arguing) the way I did as it would make nobody marry me. My fellow theologians said taking me as a wife would mean marrying a fellow man. Some of them said I was rude while others said I was a difficult lady because I refused their sexual advances or proposals for marriage. I used to tell them openly that sex outside of marriage was not for me.”⁴⁰

The above narrative mirrors some issues women continue to struggle with, although today there are policies in place to address sexual harassment. Currently, in higher education, the presence of women in leadership roles is still met with suspicion. The persistent narratives paint a complex set of patriarchal structures within which women negotiate.

In Christian universities, entrenched patriarchal structures normalize male privilege. Thus, despite strict sexual morality laws, the response to sexual misconduct is blatantly gendered. This has had a trickle-down effect in the education system. Recently, the issue of teenage pregnancies underwent serious scrutiny, as schoolgirls were threatened with expulsion for being with child, with no recourse for their complicit partners. This is problematic (as was the management case) as this occurred during exam time and under COVID-19 situations.

Research has shown that the presence of men and absence of women in positions of seniority in higher education mean that men often have more opportunities to exercise power negatively. Women professors are below 10% and executive heads are below 5% in both countries (Singh,

⁴⁰ Esther Mombo and Heleen Joziase., *If You Have No Voice, Just Sing Narratives of Women's lives*, Theological Education at St. Paul's University, Zapf Chancery, 2011, 2.

2008). This is not uncommon. Singh (2008) also reports that, in 70% of Commonwealth countries, all universities are led by men. In the European Union, with decades of equity legislation, only 19% of professors are women.⁴¹

Sexual harassment in universities is multifaceted - rape, sexual jokes, sexual assault among others. Most distressing however has been the “quid pro quo or sex for grades exchange.”⁴² Some scholars have observed that sexual harassment is about gender and power rather than sex. When men dominate in places of power, does it come as a surprise that higher institutions of learning are centres of sexual harassment? This transactional sex must be seen as sexual harassment as it happens between a student and lecturer. This relationship is characterized by power imbalance and therefore cannot be termed as an equal sexual relation. In addition, this is a power display of patriarchal entitlement to sex, where lecturers and tutors feel entitled to sexual relations with their students. A study carried in Ghana and Tanzania exposed the explosion of rampant sex for grades situations or ‘sexually transmitted grades’ in higher education.⁴³ It is worth noting that these sexual scandals happen in hidden places and are underreported. One Kenyan report noted that female students fear victimization or stigmatization and thus refuse to report incidences of sexual harassment. This phenomenon is not unique to Tanzania and Ghana but is global. Unfortunately, the 2002 study also suggests

⁴¹ Louise Morley, “Sex, grades and power in higher education in Ghana and Tanzania” *Cambridge Journal of Education* 41(1):101-115, 2011, 102-105.

⁴² Jabulani Gilford Kheswa, “Exploring the Causal Factors and the Effects of Sexual Harassment on Female Students at the Universities in Africa. An Overview” *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 5(20) 2014. 2848.

⁴³ The project conducted 200 interviews with academic staff and policy-makers and 200 life-history interviews with students 52 women in Ghana and 51 in Tanzania, 48 men in Ghana and 49 in Tanzania (Morley & Lugg, 2009; Morley & Lussier, 2009; Morley et al., 2010).

that sexual harassment left the female students feeling more unsatisfied with their studies.⁴⁴

One realizes therefore, that the power dynamic in higher education enables sexual harassment and sustains it by silencing it. Fear is the currency utilized to silence the victims of sexual harassment; besides the humiliation caused by the violence itself women are humiliated when they report the sexual violence. They are ridiculed; and further shamed and the sexual harassment continues to blossom in higher education. In the case of Ghana, female students continue to bear the brunt of shame in the 'Sex for Grades' scandal, [all] women are constructed as corrupt learners whose academic achievements are not based on their abilities but rather on their sexuality.⁴⁵

Finally, sexual harassment has devastating effects on equal participation of women in higher education. This is because sexual harassment is violence; affecting women physically: it may result in HIV/AIDS, unwanted pregnancies, or other sexual transmitted diseases.⁴⁶ Psychologically it leaves the victims traumatized, distressed and/or depressed. These factors have both short-term and long-term effects on an equal participation of women and men in higher education. In the short-term, women lag behind in their academic pursuit; as university/college poses a threat to female students.

4.6 Conclusion

The stories narrated reflect lessons learned, resulting in efforts to create safe spaces of learning and doing research. The policies which

⁴⁴ Louis Morley, *Sex, grades and power in higher education in Ghana and Tanzania*, Cambridge Journal of Education Vol. 41, No. 1, March 2011, 101–115

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Vimbi Petrus Mahlangu, "Legal Understanding of Quid Pro Quo Sexual Harassment" in Schools" *Current Business and Economics Driven Discourse and Education: Perspectives from Around the World BCES Conference Books*, Volume 15, 2017.

were implemented in our institution were a result of joint efforts of men and women in faculty and administration. Not only commitment to these regulations of all those in power is needed in order to be effective instruments, but also constant discussion, evaluation and revision. Integrity must be visible as well as practical. It must privilege balance and offer practical steps for inculcating justice in a culture of trust. Within higher education institutions, this obviates the need to perpetuate moral subjectivity.

REGULATING UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN KENYA. ETHICAL AND LEGAL CHALLENGES

Mwenda Nangwi, Kenya

5.1 Introduction

Imagine you are a member of the senior management of a local university and also a top scholar in your field. You receive an invitation from the national regulator of universities to accompany a team of technical officers to another university for a site visit in order to verify a number of items before accrediting one of its programmes. When you arrive on site you find that other academic experts were invited to the same institution to aid in verifying numerous other items related to the process of accreditation. Some of the items include, but not limited to; learning facilities such as laboratories, classrooms, and studios, course texts and journals, and qualified faculty assigned the different courses and programmes. As is common practice, the host institution's leader introduces the members of the academic staff who will teach in the programme being accredited. Part of the exercise of introducing members of staff is to show that the institution has the requisite staff capacity to mount the programme under review. Much to your surprise one of the individuals introduced as part of the academic staff in the university

being inspected is a member of your own academic staff. In your university. As you listen to the introduction you further learn that the individual is the one providing the necessary anchoring of the programme. You are surprised and wonder if said person resigned from your institution without notifying you. You are puzzled but choose not to cause a scene and decide to wait for an appropriate moment to find out more about the matter.

The accreditation visit goes as scheduled – you listen to the institution’s academic leader present the programme’s resources and then you are all invited to take a tour of the campus to verify that what was presented was actually on the ground. But before the tour there is a short break. You call “your” staff member aside and ask for some explanation of why you are not aware of his departure from your university. The individual tells you he is still your employee but is in this institution under review only to “help them” meet the requirements of the regulator in order for the programme to be accredited. “After all,” he notes,

“there are enough members of staff who can support the necessary teaching in the programme and the only thing missing is someone with the highest degree in the field to anchor the programme (the academic leader).”

In a context where there are not enough qualified individuals to service all the programmes in the universities as required by the regulator, this seems like a logical claim to make. In your own institution you know you have been struggling to keep your academic leaders for certain programmes due to high staff turnover precipitated by the lure of promotions. What do you do? Do you inform the regulator or do you let it go?

This scenario points to both an ethical and legal dilemma: on the one hand it is wrong for an individual to feign belonging to additional institutions simultaneously and on the other hand it is not illegal to do so. Therein lays a further challenge – could an action not clearly defined as illegal be considered right? Can we argue in this case that an ethical

standard based on principles of right and wrong may not necessarily align with a legal standard based on the written law? In such a case as applied to the example above of university accreditation we can see that even though the regulator has standards that guide the process of giving an institution the green light to offer a programme, such an exercise may be fulfilled in unethical ways. This chapter explores the challenges inherent in overseeing and regulating the practices of institutions and individuals that are, by virtue of their work, autonomous and capable of self-regulating but may not necessarily do so. I do not provide any answers but rather pose practical questions that both the regulator and the regulated ought to constantly engage in an effort to make their work more ethical.

5.2 The Context of Accrediting Universities in Kenya

The accreditation of universities and their programmes is a world-wide phenomenon meant to ensure equitable quality assurance that provides comfort for citizenry regarding the kind of education they access in a university. In Kenya this activity is overseen by the Commission for University Education (CUE) which is a state agency for which I have had the privilege of working for a few years. Established in 2012 through an Act of Parliament, CUE is a successor to a similar body called the Commission for Higher Education (CHE). CHE was established in 1985 also under an Act of Parliament (CAP 210) as the first quality assurance entity in Africa.⁴⁷ Despite its trailblazing identity CHE encountered a few challenges at the onset. The Act of Parliament that created CHE had not addressed the issue of existing universities that had

⁴⁷ Fred Hayward, "Quality Assurance and Accreditation of Higher Education in Africa" paper presented at the Conference on Higher Education Reform in Francophone Africa: Understanding the Keys of Success, June 13-15, 2006, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, 2006 pp.14 available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228783075_Quality_assurance_and_accreditation_of_higher_education_in_Africa, Accessed on October 14, 2020.

been established by their own specific Acts of Parliament, resulting in CHE becoming a de facto regulator of private universities. At the time there were few public universities in the country but over time the numbers grew. Members of the CHE board comprised of vice chancellors of public universities and a handful from private universities. It is not surprising that with the majority of the commissioners coming from public universities CHE's activities focused on private universities. How then could the CHE accredit and regulate public universities?

To correct the arrangement that had CHE only overseeing private universities, a new Act of Parliament, the Universities Act No. 42 of 2012, was passed. This is the legislation through which CUE was established along with a number of other corporations mandated to provide oversight for various facets of higher education especially funding and placement of students. The government was keen on providing a comprehensive approach to university education through three key prongs—ensuring relevance, providing wide access, and ensuring equity. CUE's oversight, therefore, extends to all universities in the country and acts as an extension of the governance system of the state as described through legislation established by parliament.⁴⁸ With the law in place it was now a matter of having all the universities subject themselves to the standards and regulations set by the Commission. The practice, until the new law came into existence, was that private universities were familiar and very much attuned to following the quality assurance measures set by the Commission. Public universities were, however, adhering to their own individual Acts of Parliament that guided their operations including quality assurance. The public universities were self-regulating while private universities were externally regulated by the Commission. It is this history of university quality assurance as well as the rapid growth of

⁴⁸ J.K. Kauffeldt, "The Commission for Higher Education in Kenya: A Case Study Regarding the Establishment, Role and Operations of an Intermediary Body in the Higher Education System of a Developing Nation." PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto, 2009.

universities in the country that we might start to mine some understanding of the ethical dilemma narrated above.

In 2012 when the Universities Act came into play there were seven chartered public universities in Kenya. A year later there were twenty-three universities, representing an addition of 16 universities in one year. In 2016 another seven universities were added to the list, bringing the total number of public chartered universities to thirty. Together with private universities there are a total of 74 universities and university colleges in Kenya as of December 2020. Such growth in number of universities within a period of eight years is unprecedented. It took fourteen years to come up with Moi University in 1984, the second university in Kenya after the University of Nairobi which was founded in 1970. It is not clear what led the government to expand universities so fast but one of the drives for CUE has been upholding the government's commitment to accessible, equitable and relevant university education. Such growth within a short time has negative ramifications for academic staff and also puts a strain on resources especially given that public universities depend on the government for financial support.

Assuming that it takes a minimum of four years to train someone with a master's degree to get a doctorate then there is a major challenge for Kenyan universities seeking to have adequate academic staff to run their programmes. CUE's 2017 report on ratios of lecturer to student in public universities stood at an average of 1:39 which is higher than the UNESCO recommended ratio of 1:30 in non-professional programmes. Some programmes such as education science had higher ratios at 1:186.⁴⁹ This shortage of adequately trained faculty in Kenyan universities poses a real challenge to the provision of quality university education. Most academic staff in universities lacks doctoral degrees. Data from the Commission for University Education shows that in the aca-

⁴⁹ See, "2016-2017 University statistics Report," available at <https://cue.or.ke/index.php/downloads/category/18-universities-data-0-3?download=201:2016-2017-university-statistics-report>, accessed December 1, 2020.

demical year 2018-2019 there was a total of 5,249 academic staff with doctoral degrees in public universities in Kenya. The largest number of these academic staff members are distributed in the “original seven” universities which were in existence before 2012.⁵⁰ These comprise the University of Nairobi, Moi University, Kenyatta University, Egerton University, Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, Maseno University and Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology. These seven institutions take up 64% (3,381) of the share of academic staff who hold doctorates and are led by the University of Nairobi with 1,081 followed by Kenyatta University with 846. The other twenty-four public universities are left to share 1,868 academic staff that has doctorates. With over 5,100 programmes being offered in Kenyan universities,⁵¹ it is not hard to see why it is such a challenge for these few academic members of staff to service all the 74 universities effectively as academic leaders. Moreover, with the high cost of living that prevails in Kenya, many employees find themselves earning less than what is needed to live a relatively decent life of a university lecturer. To fill the gaps these employees engage in what is known in Kenya as a “side hustle” which entails having a second income-generating activity, be it another job or a business. Teaching for another university while holding a full-time position in another is considered part of the phenomenon of side hustles.

Universities play a key role in developing the next generation of leaders through teaching, research, service and innovation. Good teaching is not the product of advanced degrees alone. It takes mastery of subject matter and experience in teaching to be able to train students well even when the quality of facilities and students’ own motivation and ability to learn pose challenges. It also takes moral and ethical be-

⁵⁰ See, “2018-2019 University statistics Report,” forthcoming.

⁵¹ See, “2017-2018 University Statistics Report,” available at <https://cue.or.ke/index.php/downloads/category/18-universities-data-0-3?download=205:2017-2018-university-statistics-report-approved-doc> accessed December 1, 2020.

haviour and commitments. While it is true that learners can be taught by instructors with minimal training and experience, one cannot doubt the efficacy of a well-trained and a highly experienced instructor. A few questions emerge following the “revelation” about the rapid growth of universities, shortage of senior academic members of staff, and the high number of programmes on offer in universities that need academic leaders. Would it constitute wrong doing if an institution presented a highly qualified individual as the one anchoring a programme as long as that person agrees to offer the needed services to the institution irrespective of what else he/she does with his/her professional life? It is not illegal for a university lecturer to work in two different universities as long as his/her duties are not negatively affected. If the said lecturer offers courses in university A as required and does so for university B, including having office hours and supervising students, then he/she has met his/her obligations to the institutions as an employee. What then, would cause an institution not front that person as an academic leader for their programme?

There are other activities that may present other challenges of ethics when it comes to universities adhering to quality matters and meeting the standards of accreditation set by the regulator. Besides fronting academic leaders who work fulltime for other institutions some universities have moved resources from one campus to another for purposes of meeting requirements for accreditation. If an institution has a campus for which it is seeking accreditation, for instance, it can bring books and computers from one of its other campuses and present them in the campus that is being accredited. Soon thereafter the accreditation exercise by the regulator comes to an end the resources are taken back to the institution from which they were “borrowed.” The campus may be granted accreditation without requisite resources for teaching, learning and research but on the strength of “borrowed” resources from another campus of the university. Again, such matters bring about numerous ethical mat-

ters that need to be addressed. As I will argue here, however, the answers or solutions to such matters are complex.

5.3 Ethical and Legal Frameworks Guiding Quality Assurance in Universities

Ethics entails such matters as values, ideas about evil and good, and right and wrong, that in turn require a consideration of the legal framework within which accreditation and quality assurance takes place so as to gauge how to estimate what is considered ethical in the realm of regulatory practices. Exploring ethics within the accreditation system of university education points to the need for carefully considering both the quality of services provided and the guidelines that allow those audited or accredited to have an idea of what is expected of them by the regulator. As a state agency, CUE operates within a publicly established culture of clearly sharing the expectations of quality assurance just as universities are subjected to similar standards and regulations. In 2014 the Universities Regulations which provide clear agreed-upon expectations for how universities ensure quality teaching, learning, and research were passed by parliament. The process of coming up with the regulations involves a number of key players including technical teams that translate the Universities Act into implementable steps that are used to guide the accreditation process. They also include members of the academic staff in universities who participate as practitioners and share teaching and research experiences necessary for the regulations to be relevant to universities. This process not only ensures familiarity with the regulations but also ownership.

Cultivating ownership of the regulations by key stakeholders in the university is important for the regulator. It allows for similar reference points and agreed-upon benchmarks of quality which in turn aids in the institutions' preparation of accreditation and quality assurance documents and reports. But in the process of developing and mobilizing the regulations something else emerged. Every university has access to the

same set of standards and regulations which guide the preparation of the institution's own programmes for review and accreditation by the regulator. On the one hand applying the same regulations to all universities allows for equal treatment of the institutions involved but on the other hand this poses a challenge of equity when unique institutions are subjected to the same unit of measure and/or accreditation. Different universities have different philosophies and cultures that they wish to cultivate and implement. Universities are also at different states and stages in terms of their preparedness for offering their different programmes. To prescribe uniformity through adherence to the standards and guidelines that come in the form of a checklist is a recipe for killing creativity and uniqueness. Further when quality is based on successfully meeting a set of requirements based on a checklist, institutions are bound to focus on conformity rather than on the quality of the graduate. The case given above is a good example of the different strengths that universities have (whereby the one from which the faculty member came may have enough faculty to provide academic leadership for programmes in the institution under review) which lead to some of them taking short cuts to comply with the regulator's requirements for accreditation. It becomes a matter of "you ask for it, we provide it." But the provision may be carried out in an unethical manner.

The possibility of a university employee servicing two universities is one such activity that poses an ethical challenge for a university regulator, whether the employee is a full-time employee or a programme leader. Technically an individual cannot hold two full time positions in the public sector because if he/she is employed on a permanent and pensionable status he/she would be drawing two pensions which is a burden on public resources. But if he/she held only one full time position with one institution and a contract with another then it is hard to fault the individual for any wrongdoing. This is where any sanctions for such a person would have to appeal to morality rather than legality. There is a

certain level of autonomy that universities are granted under section 29 of the Universities Act 2012 (Rev. 2018) which states in part:

A university, in performing its functions, shall

- have the right and responsibility to preserve and promote the traditional principles of academic freedom in the conduct of its internal and external affairs;
- have power to regulate its affairs in accordance with its independent ethos and traditions and in doing so it shall have:
 - regard to the promotion and preservation of equality of opportunity
 - and access; effective and efficient use of resources;
 - and its obligations as to public accountability.

The law, through this section of the Act therefore, limits the level of oversight the regulator may have on a university. The university, for instance, has the power to make decisions on the kind of contract it has with an employee provided that such a contract is stipulated in the university's human resource handbook or guidelines.

5.4 Some Concluding Thoughts

I started this chapter with a scenario that happens frequently in Kenya. I shared some context of why it is bound to happen based on the scarcity of requisite resources and the demand for university education. In the scenario we are faced with a case of an activity that seems wrong morally and yet not illegal based on such parameters as the existing law. Such a scenario may cause many of us to ponder over what really defines the way we act and interact with others within the university education sector. Working with the understanding that ethics broadly entails the morality of conducting one's activities and decisions based on what is right or wrong, how do we deal with a case of regulations that are guided by rules enforceable by strict observance of agreed-upon

measures? The same regulations provide for some level of autonomy in the operations of the university thus weaken any unilateral decision by the regulator. As a unit of measure, quality itself can be quite elusive and as such makes the actual process of enforcement vulnerable to misdeeds. What happens if the regulator decides to look the other way when a university presents an academic member of staff known to be full time in another university? What if that said academic goes ahead to support the said programme and five years down the road the institution produces some excellent graduates? Would the end justify the means? Would there be any reason to regard such a case in that way in the first place? Having checks and balances within and outside the university is a sure way of creating a culture of good practices but as I have shown above, that too is not fool proof. Physical resources such as classrooms/laboratories/studios, books, equipment, and land are important in providing an adequate learning environment, but do they guarantee academic success for the learners? Why then does the regulator insist on following set standards that result in a checklist? Without such a process there is much room for subjective assessment of an institution's quality. To address all these challenges in regulating the university sector both the regulator and the regulated have to agree on terms of engagement and both be committed to upholding them at all times. That way there is both internal and external quality assurance, a benefit to institutions that believe quality becomes their culture. Quality assurance is thus a collaborative project which both the university and the regulator pursue because it is a good and moral thing to do but uses laws to provide some level of even-handedness.

MONEY AND MORALITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION. SEVEN COUNTRIES CASE STUDIES

Marie Renee Andreescu / Christoph Stückelberger⁵²

6.1 Introduction

How does the attribution of funds and their origin impact ethics in higher education? This main question of this research paper leads us to ask three secondary questions: What is the evolution of the higher education domain? Who funds higher education and through what means? Is ethical commitment part of the funding strategies?

6.1.1 Methodology

This research paper proceeds in a succession of two moments: 1. Identifying global trends related to higher education. 2. Focusing on some case countries, trying to compare them with the global situation. 3. Conclusions. The paper works with data from the World Bank and

⁵² This chapter is the fruit of a research study of Marie Renee Andreescu as student during her three months' internship Feb-April 2019 at Globethics.net in Geneva, during her studies at the Graduate Institute in Geneva. Supervisor of the internship was Prof. Dr Christoph Stückelberger who edited and partly updated the research for publication.

UNESCO. However, an important challenge was missing data for some aspects and countries.⁵³

The World Bank provides on its website a table with all the data they have on each country, until 2015. This was very interesting as I wanted to do a time series analysis, to see the evolutions in higher education over time. This proved to be impossible as there were many countries that did not have any data available, or only had data for one year instead of twenty. Developed countries had a complete panel of data, while the data from the developing world was pretty scarce. The conclusions, therefore, would have only applied to developed countries and would have been pretty useless for our efforts to identify the places where gaps between the local and average international situation exist. The gaps would have most likely been even bigger if developed countries were only taken into account. This was even more problematic as the data missing was from the specific countries we wanted to use as case studies. Therefore, the methodology had to be adapted. Since sufficient data was not available, we switched to a more qualitative study; doing a lot of readings on governmental and international reports on the global trends in higher education. Data was cross-referenced to see if information was confirmed by other reports. Main sources used were studies by UNESCO, the British Council and the UN to get a general overview, but many other sources have been integrated on specific topics. This study had to differentiate between general data on education that focused mainly on primary education and the data on higher education. The responses to SDG4 seem to concentrate on primary education and this can be understood, as it is the unavoidable basis for further education and essential to the improvement of alphabetization rates. However, the fact that investment in primary education creates not only the biggest social, but also economic returns might also have something to do with the choice in priorities.

⁵³ Special thanks to Daniel C. Levy who has agreed to help with data on private higher education.

Data were also directly drawn from governmental national reports, by accessing their online archives. This was somewhat complicated, as sufficient understanding of each education system was required in order to make data comparable. For instance, some countries consider high schools part of higher education, which increases the numbers of students enrolled in classical tertiary education. We then had to subtract high schoolers from the overall number. In addition, sometimes linguistic problems occurred as some reports are published in national languages, and not readily available in English or French. However, with translations and additional research, reports could be understood.

Reasons for missing data in databases of international organisations such as the World Bank and UNESCO can be manifold: some data are sensitive and countries are not keen to share in an open international database for political and social reasons. In some cases, data are really not available or not reliable.

Most of the data collected in this study are analysing the evolution of higher education between 2000 and 2015, although where data were available, we went further back in the past. According to each situation, historical moments that were significant, were identified. Country progress data are based on information from the World Education News + Reviews.⁵⁴

6.2 The Evolution of Higher Education

6.2.1 A growing domain: Six Country Case Studies

Global higher education enrolment rates have increased and are forecast to keep increasing in the future. Global tertiary enrolments were approximately 65 million in 1990 and they reached 170 million in 2009, so they have increased by 160 percent in 20 years. In 2015, global tertiary enrolments reached 213 million, an increase of 327 percent compared to 1990! The world's 18-22 age population over the same period

⁵⁴ <https://wenr.wes.org>.

grew by one per cent per annum, implying a significant rise in the global gross tertiary enrolment ratio. Between 2002 and 2009, China and India dominated global growth in tertiary enrolments, accounting for 26 million (44 per cent) of the overall increase of 55 million. In percentage terms, a number of other countries of significant critical mass registered exceptionally strong growth rates in tertiary enrolments over the same period: Brazil (+68 percent), Turkey (+74 percent), Indonesia (+53 percent), Nigeria (+68 percent), Pakistan (+179 percent), Malaysia (+41 percent), Vietnam (+127 percent), Saudi Arabia (+70 percent) and Bangladesh (+84 percent).⁵⁵

The increase in enrolment rates is correlated with two factors: demographic growth and economic growth. There is statistical evidence that an increase in GDP leads to important increases in enrolment rates, especially in emerging economies with GDP per capita less than US\$10,000 where a small increase in the GDP contributes to a significant rise in the enrolment rate. This research found strong correlation in certain countries between student and trade growth. In some countries, such as Canada, Japan, China, South Korea and India, the correlation is above 70 per cent.⁵⁶

From 2015 to 2030, UNESCO forecasts a 16 % growth in global population and a 56% growth in higher education enrolment that is set to reach 332 million students. The enrolment trends are different according to the countries' economic situation. Lower- and middle-income countries will see the higher education demand from the traditional college-age population grow larger relative to the supply of institutions. High-income countries will face stagnant enrolment unless they expand their pool to include the non-traditional domestic population (age over 24) through lifelong, online, or blended learning. High-income countries are also capable of reaching underserved (or unserved) students in lower

⁵⁵ The British Council, *The Shape of Things to Higher Education Global Trends and Emerging Opportunities to 2020*, London: The British Council, 2012.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

and middle-income countries. Some strategies include: transnational education, and recruiting international students to campuses⁵⁷. International student enrolments at US Universities dropped 2016-2020 during four consecutive years from 300,000 to 267,000 students per year, without counting the COVID-related drops in the academic year 2020-2021 which was a 43 percent decrease as of fall 2020 compared to the previous year!⁵⁸ At US Universities, 53 percent of international students came from China (35 percent) and India (18 percent).⁵⁹

Argentina: Argentina had a demographic growth of 16% from 2000 to 2015 and a GDP growth of 50% over the same period. The number of students enrolled in higher education has grown by over 67 per cent, which is a growth rate higher than GDP growth.

China: China is one of the countries dominating global growth in tertiary enrolments, the enrolment in higher education going up by 480%, meaning here 36 million more students in higher education from 2000 to 2015. This growth is exclusively a consequence of economic growth: the GDP has increased by 300% over the same period, while the demography hasn't changed much (the population has increased by only 8%) due to the anti-natalist state policies. However, the number of students still has room to grow: in 2015 only 45% of the young people eligible for higher education were actually enrolled in it and less than 15% actually graduated. China aims towards a 20% target of higher education attainment by 2020.

China's higher education is highly stratified. Structurally, it is divided into two sectors: regular higher education and adult higher education.

⁵⁷ Rahul Choudaha & Edwin Van Rest, *Envisioning pathways to 2030: Megatrends shaping the future of global higher education and international student mobility*. Studyportals, 2018.

⁵⁸ <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2020/11/16/survey-new-international-enrollments-drop-43-percent-fall>.

⁵⁹ US Government, *Open Doors Report on International Educational Exchange*. www.opendoorsdata.org.

As of 2015, the Ministry of Education reported a total of 2,845 Chinese higher education institutions (HEIs) in both the regular and adult higher education sectors. Tertiary education can also be obtained through a prescribed self-study program.

Ninety percent of China's HEIs (2,553) are in the regular higher education sector. Over 70 percent of undergraduate students are enrolled at regular higher education institutions. Not all Chinese institutions of higher education, even in the regular sector, offer degrees; many offer graduation certificate only. Around 1,202 institutions in the regular higher education sector are academically oriented and grant degrees.

Indonesia: Indonesia is also one of the countries experiencing the biggest growth in enrolment numbers, which went up by 65% from 2000 to 2015. However, population only increased by 22% and GDP by 118% which suggests that the GDP growth would be enough to make up for the higher enrolment rates. Gross enrolment ratio remains low going from 14% to 23% of eligible young people, meaning that three quarters of young people do not have access to higher education.

While enrolment grew through the first nine years of basic education have also improved significantly in recent years, at the upper secondary level just 51 percent of the population aged 15-18 attended school in 2012, well below the Southeast Asian average of 65 percent. This occurred despite the fact that the government is constitutionally obligated to direct 20 percent of the national budget towards education, something observers say does not happen in reality. Official figures for 2010 put education expenditures at 17.1 percent of the national budget, which represents 3 percent of GDP, low comparative to most neighbouring countries.

According to the Directorate of General Higher Education, in 2009 there were 3,016 institutions of higher education in Indonesia, an increase of 28 percent from 2005 when there were 2,428 institutions. Competition for places at Indonesia's best public universities is fierce. In 2010, 447,000 students sat for the National University Entrance Ex-

amination, with just 80,000 seats available. The Council's 2012, *Going Global* report: *The Shape of Things to Come*, predicts that the number of Indonesians in higher education will grow by a total of 2.3 million to 7.8 million students by 2020, making it the fifth largest system in the world after China, India, the United States and Brazil.

Types of Higher Education institutions in Indonesia:

IKIPS (Institutes and Teacher Training Institutes), which rank as universities with full degree-granting status, but across a specialized field of study. In 2009, there were 54 institutes.

Islamic Institutes. These have the same rank as universities but under the auspices of the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

Colleges or Advanced Schools, (Sekolah Tinggi) offer academic and professional university-level education in one particular discipline. In 2009, there were 1,306 colleges.

Single-Faculty Academies offering diploma/certificate technician-level programs only. In 2009, there were 1,034 academies.

Polytechnics are attached to universities and provide sub-degree junior technician training. In 2009, there were 162 polytechnics.

Community Colleges offering two-year programs with credits that are transferable to university programs, similar to the U.S. model. Community colleges are a recent addition to the Indonesian higher education system and are being introduced in a bid to meet rapidly increasing demand for skilled workers among Indonesian employers. The government hopes to open as many as 500 community colleges across Indonesia in the next four years.

Kenya: Kenya is a lower income country whose rapid economic growth - the GDP went up by 100% from 2000 to 2015 - led to even more rapid growth in enrolment numbers that have risen by 168%. The population has also increased by 51%. In recent years there has been a huge expansion of the higher education sector in Kenya. Where there were just five public universities in the country in 2005, today there are 22 with plans for as many as 20 new universities. Growth in the univer-

sity sector has largely come about through the upgrade of pre-existing colleges. In addition, there are 17 private universities and 14 public and private university constituent colleges. An additional 14 institutions have letters of interim authority to operate. All of the above have the authority to award academic degrees.

Nigeria: The data is provided by the National Universities Commission. The National Universities Commission (NUC) is a parastatal under the Federal Ministry of Education (FME); one of its main purposes is to “grant approval for all academic programmes run in Nigerian universities”. This basically means that the NUC is the institution that gives accreditations to private universities. Nigeria is one of the countries with the biggest growth in enrolment numbers during the last twenty years. From 2000 to 2015, the number of students enrolled in higher education grew by 171%, a growth more significant than world average. This is due to demographic and economic factors. Nigeria has a very young population and in the last 20 years the population grew by 46%, creating a great demand for higher education. From the economic point of view, Nigeria’s GDP increased by 175% during the same period, but the GDP per capita in 2017 remains well under 10,000 US dollars, putting Nigeria in the lower-income countries’ category. This means that any increase in GDP contributes to a significant rise in the enrolment rate.

In Nigeria the higher education system is divided between federal, state and private universities. The number of recognized universities has grown tenfold from 16 to 152 between 1980 and 2017. However, the universities suffer from overcrowding and there are insufficient places for all the students that want higher education.

Philippines: The number of HEIs in the Philippines has grown rapidly over the past decades. Between 2007 and 2015, the number of HEIs increased from 1,776 to 1,943. That makes the Philippines the country with the highest number of HEIs in Southeast Asia. For example, the Philippines has more than four times as many HEIs than Vietnam (445 in 2015), a country with a similar-size population.

The Philippines have an important growth of GDP, 113% from 2000 to 2015 and of population by 32%, but enrolment numbers have only increased by 62%, which is unexpected for a lower to middle income country that has a GDP per capita under 3000 dollars. In 2017, the National Economic and Development Authority of the Philippines published the Philippine Development Plan, 2017-2022, detailing the country's aspirations for the next five years. The plan envisions the Philippines becoming an upper-middle income country by 2022, based on more inclusive economic growth that will reduce inequalities and poverty, particularly in rural areas. Human capital development is a key element in this strategy and has been the impetus behind various political reforms over the past years. Recent education reforms have sought to boost enrolment levels, graduation rates and mean years of schooling in elementary and secondary education, and to improve the quality of higher education. Many of these reforms were adopted against a backdrop of declining educational standards in the Philippine education system during the first decade of the 21st century.

A UNESCO mid-decade assessment report of Southeast Asian education systems, published in 2008, for example, found that participation and achievement rates in basic education in the Philippines had fallen dramatically, owed to chronic underfunding. In higher education, the government seeks to expand access and participation, but even more importantly, tries to improve the quality of education. The Philippine National Development Plan is quite outspoken on this subject and notes that while the number of higher education institutions (HEIs) in the Philippines is ten times more than its neighbouring countries, the Philippines' lacklustre performance in producing innovators, researchers (81 researchers per million population versus 205 in Indonesia and 115 in Vietnam), and knowledge producers (28 out of 777 journals or 3.6 percent are listed under Thomson Reuters, Scopus or both) indicates . . . that the country has lagged behind many of its ASEAN neighbours in producing the . . . researchers, innovators . . . and solutions providers

needed to effectively function in a knowledge economy”. Main measure - going from a 10-year school system to a 12-year one.

The K-12 reforms will inevitably lead to decreased higher education enrolments, at least in the short-term, since many of the students that would usually have entered higher education after grade 10 now have to complete two additional years of school. Between 2015/16 and 2016/17, the total number of tertiary students already dropped from 4.1 million to 3.6 million – a decrease that is particularly apparent when looking at undergraduate enrolments. Data from the Commission on Higher Education (CHED) shows that undergraduate enrolments dropped by 12.7 percent between the 2015/16 and 2016/17 academic years, and is expected to drop by a further 22 percent in 2017/18, before starting to recover in 2018/19, when the first K-12 cohorts start to enter higher education.

Population growth and the prospect of increasing economic prosperity imply that the total number of tertiary students in the country is set to increase rapidly. The Philippines is expected to be among the world’s top 20 countries in terms of tertiary enrolments by 2035.

Russian Federation: Russia’s case is very particular, because Russia is in a demographic crisis, population has decreased by 1.4% from 2000 to 2015 and even as the GDP has increased by 74%, the demographic factor has slowed down the growth in enrolment numbers, only increasing by 5% over the same period. The enrolment numbers were growing until 2010, but then rapidly decreased by 3 million students. To this, one must add the economic difficulties faced by Russia. In recent years, the Russian government has enacted deep spending cuts across the board. Economic sanctions, deteriorating exchange rates, and a decline in the price of oil, Russia’s main export, have led to severely decreased revenues, and tightened governmental spending in multiple sectors. According to government data, federal spending on education decreased by 8.5 percent between 2014 and 2016, from 616.8 billion rubles to 564.3 billion rubles (USD 10 billion).

However, the Russian higher education system is very competitive and efficient, having achieved over 50% higher education attainment and the gross enrolment ratio of over 80 % shows that less than 20% of college-aged young people forego higher education. The country aimed to radically enhance the global ranking of its universities by 2020, and to attract substantial numbers of internationally mobile tertiary-level students from around the globe. At the same time, the government has actively worked to send scholars abroad and incentivise them to return home as part of a broader effort to modernize the lagging economy.

The United Nations estimates that the Russian population will shrink by 10 percent in the next 35 years, from 143.4 million people in 2015 to 128.6 million in 2050 (medium variant projection, 2015). According to the World Bank, Russia's labour force shrinks by an estimated one million workers annually due to aging, and that aging will drain pension funds while increasing public debt. Further compounding labour shortages is a net outmigration of scientists and highly skilled workers, even though current outmigration rates remain a far cry from the massive brain drain that Russia experienced shortly after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In the near term, these pressures may ease, at least in the education system. After sharp declines in the 1990s, Russia's birth rates have, since the 2000s, rebounded, and current increases in fertility rates have given some observers cause for optimism. However, most analysts maintain that current fertility rates remain too low to stem overall population growth, and that demographic pressures remain one of Russia's biggest economic challenges.

In 2012, the government initiated a process of reforms and consolidation that had, by 2017, already reduced the number of institutions by more than 14 percent, from 1,046 accredited tertiary institutions in 2012/13 to 896 in 2016. In 2015, the government announced that it intended to close or merge as many as 40 percent of all higher education institutions by the end of 2016, with a particular focus on the private sector. It also intended to reduce the number of branch campuses operat-

ed by universities by 80 percent. It is presently unclear, however, to what extent these cuts will go forward. In late 2016, Russia's newly appointed minister of education suspended the mergers due to resistance from affected universities. The reform effort is driven by concerns about educational quality. The main goal of the reforms is to merge poorly performing universities with higher quality institutions, an objective that was spurred by a 2012 quality audit which revealed severe quality shortcomings at 100 universities and 391 branch campuses

South Africa: South Africa is a classic example of average growth in GDP (57% from 2000 to 2015), in population (29%) and enrolment numbers (79.5%). The biggest increase in enrolment numbers happened after the end of the apartheid system in 1994 - since then the number of enrolled students has doubled. The University of South Africa with 300,000 students is the largest university of Africa.

6.3 An Innovative and Competitive Domain

Global Modern universities are providing classes to an ever increasing number of students. Higher education institutions have changed during the last 20 years, in two different forms: on one hand, they have become more linked to professional development (which will be treated further on, when talking about employability) and on the other hand, they have increasingly integrated technology in their teachings, through three different forms⁶⁰:

Development of artificial intelligence that popularizes knowledge (anyone can have access to gigantic databases)

Internet-enabled distance learning. Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) threaten to make many schools and universities at least partially redundant. They make education available for free. There is a possibility for MOOCs to expand throughout the world and popularize edu-

⁶⁰Josef C. Brada, Wojciech Binkowski and Masaaki Kuboniwa, *International Perspectives on Financing Higher Education*, Palgrave: Macmillan, 2015.

education. MOOCs may have another effect as their economies of scale are very different from traditional university courses. Thus, the optimum size of a MOOC will be much greater than that of a traditional university with campus, buildings and hardware. This implies that, in many countries, the market for MOOCs will only allow for a few players.

Interactive learning material appears creating the possibility for universities to merge into large international chains with a very large number of students and receiving endowments from sponsors. Modern MOOCs have appeared in 2011 and have rapidly increased since. Around 23 million new learners signed up for their first MOOC in 2017, taking the total number of learners to 81 million. Here is a list of top MOOC providers by registered users:

<i>Coursera</i>	30 million
<i>EdX</i>	14 million
<i>XuetangX</i>	9.3 million
<i>Udacity</i>	8 million
<i>FutureLearn</i>	7.1 million

New courses continue to be created and launched. In 2017, over 800 universities around the world have launched at least one MOOC. MOOC providers are also partnering with companies (mostly tech) to launch courses. The total number of MOOCs that have been announced stands at 9,400, up from 6,850 in 2016. More than 500 MOOC based credentials are now available. “Coursera’s specializations lead the pack with over 250 credentials; followed by edX with around 170 credentials split across 4 types: MicroMasters, XSeries, Professional Certificate, and Professional Education. XuetangX also launched 8 micro-degrees”. Many (if not the majority) of the new courses that were launched in 2017 are part of credentials. A few of the longer courses originally

launched in 2012 and 2013 have also been split up into multiple courses and re-launched under a credential.⁶¹

Online graduate degrees are a lucrative monetization opportunity for MOOC providers. Initial results from these MOOC-based degree programs have been good. The Online Master of Science in Computer Science (Udacity and Georgia Tech) has around 6,000 students enrolled. The iMBA (Coursera and the University of Illinois) has over 800 enrolled students, while the Online Masters in Analytics (edX and Georgia Tech), announced at the beginning of 2017, has 650 students enrolled. The potential revenue to be earned from these three degrees is greater than \$65 million, based on the current number of enrolled students.

Coursera planned to launch 15-20 degrees by 2019, while FutureLearn has announced that they will launch 50 degrees in partnership with Coventry University. XuetaangX, also announced their three online Master's degrees with Zhengzhou University.

We can differentiate between three kinds of MOOCs:⁶²

1. *MOOCs for marketing*, as a way to promote the university of an institution.
2. *MOOCs for life-long learning*, making learning accessible everywhere.
3. *MOOCs for credit* and continuing professional development, linked with the focus of innovative higher education institutions on employability.

⁶¹ Class Central, *MOOCs by the numbers in 2017*, Available from <https://www.class-central.com/report/mooc-stats-2017>, 2018.

⁶² Mark Brown, "Why Invest in MOOCs? Strategic Institutional Drivers," In D. Jansen; L. Konings (Eds.) *The 2018 OpenupEd Trend Report on MOOCs*. Maastricht: EADTU, 2018.

6.4 A Transnational Domain

The internationalisation of higher education is maybe the main change of the last 25 years. This is due to an increase in inter-connectivity in the economic world, which has created the need for students aware of global challenges and the labour market for the highly skilled, and internationally recognised qualifications has exploded. “International student mobility has increased tremendously over the past three decades, from 0.8 million students worldwide in 1975 to 4.1 million in 2010. This trend has been accelerating in recent years, driven by large increases in student mobility from China, India and European countries in particular. Growth is projected to continue in the future to reach approximately 5.8 million around 2020 and 8 million by 2025). A noteworthy development is the new European mobility strategy launched at the last Bologna Ministerial conference in Bucharest which sets the specific target of 20% of graduates in Europe to have studied or been trained abroad by 2020. While not representative of global trends, the Bologna developments are nevertheless important drivers of student mobility given the geographic scope of the Bologna process.”⁶³ “The largest numbers of mobile students in 2020 are expected to be from China (585,000), India (296,000), South Korea (134,000), Germany (100,000), Turkey (84,000), Malaysia (82,000) and Nigeria (67,000); largest increase from India (+71,000 from 2011), followed by Nigeria, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Turkey.”⁶⁴

Data are scarce on the international mobility of academic staff; however, studies show that 80 per cent of countries’ research impact is determined by their research collaboration rate. In addition, Nobel prizes are increasingly won by researchers working in a country other than

⁶³ Assessment of Higher Education Learning Outcomes, AHELO, *Feasibility Study Report, Volume 1*, OECD, 2012.

⁶⁴ The British Council, *The shape of things to come: higher education global trends and emerging opportunities to 2020*, 2012.

their country of birth. Over 60 per cent of the winners in 2010 and 2011 had studied or carried out research abroad. “Another significant trend relates to the profound changes in the organisation and structure of national higher education systems to improve their transparency and interoperability. This phenomenon has been most evident in Europe with the Bologna Process aimed at establishing a European Higher Education Area (EHEA) and enhancing the comparability and compatibility of higher education structures and degrees in Europe by 2010 (Bologna Secretariat, 1999). The Bologna Process is far-reaching, insofar as a number of non-EU countries have endorsed the Bologna declaration and joined its convergence process, to reach 47 participants, spread geographically between Iceland, Portugal, Turkey and the Russian Federation.”⁶⁵ A major development has been the establishment of the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS), a student-centred system based on the student workload required to achieve the objectives of a programme in terms of the learning outcomes and competencies to be acquired. Similar developments are taking place in other world regions with the development of the University Mobility in Asia and the Pacific (UMAP) Credit Transfer Scheme (UCTS) to promote university student mobility in the Asia Pacific region.

There is a large increase in the number of Transnational Education institutions, meaning that the learners are located in a country different from the one where the awarding institution is based. TNE is attractive to students seeking to gain a foreign qualification without moving from their country of residence. It can also be attractive to employers and governments looking at options for human resource development, including multinational or global corporations with a geographically dispersed workforce. Globally some 200 branch campuses existed in 2012 around the world, serving around 120,000 students, with 37 more set to open by 2013 Overall, the United Arab Emirates remains the most popu-

⁶⁵ Assessment of Higher Education Learning Outcomes, AHELO, *Feasibility Study Report, Volume 1*, OECD, 2012.

lar host country (with 37 campuses), and the US by far the most popular source (accounting for 78 campuses worldwide).⁶⁶

Argentina: In the last 20 years, Argentina made the transition from being a country that mainly sent students out to other destinations to becoming a country that receives a lot of international students - in 2000, the net flow of internationally mobile students was of -3,655, but it had reached + 67,371 in 2015. Argentina is the main destination for study in Latin America but its popularity is continental - it mainly hosts Latin-American students.

China: China encourages mobility for its students, and is a member of the University Mobility in Asia and the Pacific (UMAP). The net flow of internationally mobile students is negative and has increased by 90% from 2000 to 2015. In 2010, the government announced plans to increase the number of international students in China to 500,000 by 2020 (up from 265,000 at the time). To attract foreign academics and students, Chinese universities have substantially increased the number of undergraduate and graduate programs taught exclusively in English. Plan 111, launched in 2005, aims to attract global talent to China's top-tier universities. Since the early 1990s, generous funds have also been made available to encourage Chinese star academics working abroad to return to their home country.

China also uses education as a form of soft power to increase its influence in other countries. Examples include the Confucius Institute program, which operates at higher education institutions around the globe to promote Chinese language and culture. Another effort, the China Scholarship Council, provides funding for both Chinese students abroad and foreign students in China. A spate of recent measures also seeks to strengthen ties with specific regions. For instance, in early 2016, China's government announced the establishment of 10,000

⁶⁶ The British Council, *The shape of things to come: higher education global trends and emerging opportunities to 2020*, 2012.

scholarships for nationals of Arab League member states and 30,000 scholarships for students from Africa.

Indonesia: Currently the number of outbound Indonesian students account for less than one percent (0.7%) of all Indonesian tertiary students, very low compared to global averages; and inbound rates are even lower. In 2012, the British Council estimated that growth in the number of internationally mobile Indonesian students would average 20 percent in the coming years, stating that Indonesia will be one of the world's "major international education markets in the next few years."

Kenya: According to UNESCO data, there were 13,573 Kenyan students studying abroad in 2012, with 3,776 in the United States, 2,235 in the UK and 1,191 in Australia. These numbers have been declining significantly over the last decade. The number of Kenyans going to the U.S. for a graduate education is significantly less, indicative of the generally improved opportunities for research degrees at Kenyan universities and the widening of domestic access at the undergraduate level. While not captured in the UNESCO data, local Kenyan media reports suggest that the vast majority of internationally mobile Kenyan students are in neighbouring countries. More than 20,000 Kenyan students are estimated to be studying in Ugandan universities, and approximately 5,000 in Tanzania.

Nigeria: Nigeria is the number one country of origin for international students from Africa, the number of Nigerian students abroad has increased by 160% between 2005 and 2015, from 27,000 to 71,000. This is due to the fact that the national higher education system does not meet the demand for university seats, local education is considered of poor quality, and the rise of a middle class that can afford to send its children abroad. However, the number of outbound students might decrease in the coming years because of economic struggles. Since 2016, Nigeria has been in economic crisis due to the crash of prices in the oil industry, an industry which financed a lot of scholarships to study abroad. A vast

majority of students were forced to return to Nigeria due to an inability to pay the tuition fees abroad.

Philippines: “Like most Asian countries, the Philippines also seeks to internationalize its education system and promotes transnational education (TNE) partnerships with foreign HEIs. To formalize this process and assure the quality of the programs offered, CHED in 2016 established concrete guidelines for transnational programs. Importantly, programs can only be offered in collaboration with a Philippine partner institution. Both the foreign provider and the Philippine partner institution must also be officially recognized and seek authorization from CHED, which is initially granted for a one-year period for graduate programs, and for two years in the case of undergraduate programs. CHED has entered agreements with a number of countries, predominantly in Europe, but its most significant relationship is with the United Kingdom. The British Council, the U.K.’s designated organization to promote international exchange, considers the Philippines an ideal location for a TNE hub, due to its expanding population of university-age students, CHED’s commitment to internationalization, and the use of English as a language of instruction in a majority of higher education programs. In 2016, CHED and the British Council entered an agreement designed to support twinning, joint degree programmes, dual degrees and franchise models in priority fields of study between institutions in the Philippines and the UK.” In 2017, this was followed by ten Philippine universities, including the country’s top institutions, being designated to receive seed funding to establish TNE programs with British partner universities. The initiative is funded with £1 million (US \$4 million) from CHED and £500,000 (US \$698,000) from the British Council. Programs are slated to commence in the 2018/19 academic year.”

Over the past 15+ years, the number of Filipino students enrolled in degree programs abroad alone almost tripled from 5,087 students in 1999 to 14,696 students in 2016 (UNESCO Institute of Statistics UIS). Given the population size of the Philippines, this is not an overly high

number when compared, for example, to Vietnam's 63,703 outbound degree students in 2016. The outbound mobility rate (number of outbound students among all students) in the Philippines is low and remains significantly below the outbound mobility rate of neighbouring countries like Malaysia, Vietnam or Indonesia.

Russian Federation: Foreign student quotas are seen as a measure of the effectiveness of higher education institutions, and the Russian government has, as part of its effort to boost the rankings of its universities, made it a priority to boost international enrolments. In 2015, Russia raised the international student quota at Russian universities by 33 per cent. It also significantly increased the scholarship funds made available to foreign students. That same year, a number of top Russian universities included, in a newly founded Global Universities Association, to jointly recruit at least 15,000 international students to Russia annually. The measures are expected to enhance already strong growth in international enrolments. Reliable estimates of inbound students vary according to how such students are defined and counted, however Russia consistently ranks as one of the ten most popular destination countries for international students in the world. As for the precise numbers, data provided by the UNESCO Institute of Statistics (UIS) indicates that inbound students in Russia increased almost three-fold between 2004 and 2014, from 75,786 to 213,347 students.

As of 2017, Russia's government encourages Russian students to further their education abroad. In 2014, the government introduced a Global Education Program that seeks to facilitate human capital development in Russia, and remedy shortages of skilled professionals by funding Russian graduate students at 288 selected universities abroad. Some 72 are located in the United States. The program is intended to support up to 100,000 Russian citizens over a period of ten years, and targets master's and doctoral students in disciplines, such as engineering, basic sciences, medicine and education. It covers students' tuition costs and living expenses up to 2.763 million Rubel (US \$48,372) annu-

ally. At the same time, the government is seeking to curtail outmigration. Grant recipients are required to return to Russia within three years to take up employment in a number of select positions, mostly in the public sector. As of recently, such scholarship programs appear to be bearing fruit. Between 2008 and 2015, UIS data indicates that the number of outbound Russian degree students increased by 22 percent, from 44,913 to 54,923. This increase in mobility has likely been influenced by the rising cost of education in Russia, as high tuition fees have spurred students' interest in the comparatively inexpensive universities of Central and Eastern Europe, for instance.

Compared to countries like China or the United Arab Emirates, Russia is not a major host of foreign universities or branch campuses. The global branch campus directory maintained by the Cross-Border Education Research Team (C-Bert) lists only one wholly foreign-owned provider in Russia: the U.S.-based Moscow University Touro. There are a number of other foreign institutions licensed to operate in Russia, such as the Stockholm School of Economics Russia, as well as transnational partnerships like the German-Russian Institute of Advanced Technologies, but the overall number of such ventures is still relatively small. On the other hand, Russia is a major player in transnational education (TNE) in post-Soviet countries, where Russian state universities currently operate 36 branch campuses, most of them located in Armenia, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan. Unlike in countries like Australia or the UK, where TNE is primarily driven by private providers, TNE in Russia is directed by the government and presently pursued vigorously. Despite charges by the previous Minister of Education in 2014 that education at cross-border campuses was of poor quality and should be suspended, President Vladimir Putin in 2015 instead vowed to strengthen TNE in CIS countries, where Russia is already the predominant TNE provider. One of the reasons the Russian government is pursuing TNE is that international education is major element in Russia's soft power strategy in the "near abroad" aimed at fostering economic, political and socio-

cultural integration in the post-Soviet space.” This objective is formalized in the role of a government agency called Rossotrudnichestvo (Federal Agency for the CIS), which was set up to promote Russian higher education abroad, support Russian institutions located in foreign countries, and popularize Russian culture and improve the image of Russia in the CIS.

South Africa: South Africa is a historical destination for African students and has always had a positive net flow of students, but this flow has been increasing until 2010 and then started rapidly decreasing while remaining positive.

6.5 Funding Higher Education

6.5.1 Funding Techniques

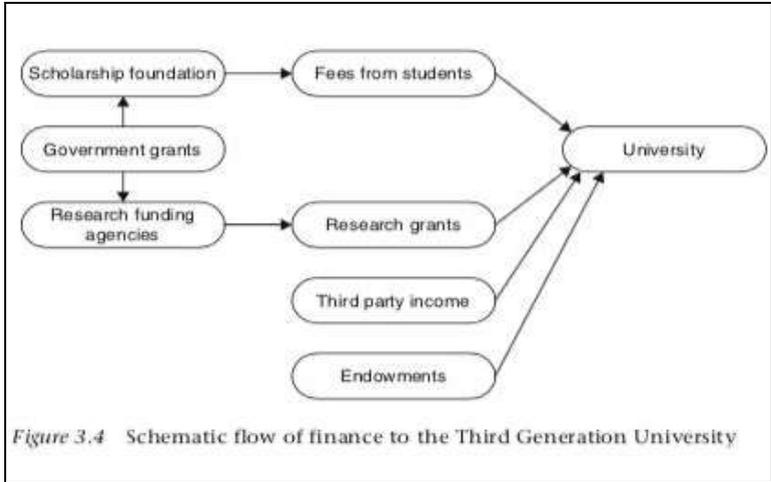
In addition to state funding and student fees, modern public universities receive private funding from selling knowledge, having partnerships with industries.⁶⁷ However this model is not sustainable because scientific research costs increase more than the universities’ ability to sell knowledge or attract sponsors. Therefore, money is generated by increasing tuition fees, which discourages students from going to some expensive universities.

Harvard University is a good example of a leading private institution. It receives 30 percent of its income from tuition, 10 percent from private donations and 60 percent from projects. Most of the projects are government projects allocated on a competitive basis. The university levies as high as 65 percent of each project as university income.

*See on the next page a model of the funding model embraced by most private universities.*⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Josef C. Brada, Wojciech Bienkowski and Masaaki Kuboniwa, *International Perspectives on Financing Higher Education*, Palgrave: Macmillan, 2015.

⁶⁸ Ibid.



Public-Private Partnerships: In 2011, Education at a Glance reported that more than half of the 25 OECD countries with available information had, since 1995, undertaken system reforms of tuition fees and financial support for students, and most had introduced or increased students' contribution to the cost of their higher education (OECD, 2011). As a result, among OECD countries with trend data the public share of higher education expenditure has decreased from 78% in 1995 to 73% in 2009. There is an overall trend of shifting the cost burden to students and away from public subsidies through greater contributions by students and their families. Private resources have also been mobilised through the commercialisation of research and other private uses of institutional facilities and staff. Partners could be a private individual or a private foundation, a private corporation looking for R&D partners, a corporation aspiring to engage in social contribution, or social enterprises whose primary aims are contributing to society. There are of course other possible partners in the non-government sector such as non-profit organizations, religious organizations, NGOs or even political parties. On a general level, global spending on education is more than \$2 trillion, or 5 percent, of world GDP (Moe, Bailey, and Lau 1999). The pri-

vate sector accounts for about 20 percent of this spending, often in the form of fees, donations, sponsorships, and loans and investments made by philanthropists, learners, parents, corporations, lending agencies, communities, NGOs, and cultural organizations.

Below, we analyse the different kinds of public-private-partnerships in education:

Donors Private capital is donated to institutions for higher education activities. Once again, such a donation can include an entire spectrum of implications. At one extreme, donors are not permitted to participate in the policymaking and operations of the institutions, as in the United States where, in return for tax benefits, donors are legally forbidden to interfere with institutional affairs. In many cases, donors enjoy privileges in the sales of their products, opportunities of free advertisements as well as priority admissions because of their donations. Some Chinese institutions have a menu of such privileges for donors. Such privileges may affect the academic autonomy in various degrees according to the respective codes of practices.⁶⁹ In other cases, donors have a say in the disbursement of the money donated. They may directly monitor research processes, like with membership in a steering committee; select recipients of scholarships, perhaps by sitting on the selection board; nominate professors for endowed positions; and so forth. At the other extreme, donors may participate in the governance of the institution because of the donation, generally by sitting on the board or council that oversees the institution.

Sponsorships: These are activities or projects that are initiated by the institutions but supported by the private sector. In a sponsorship, the sponsor normally shares the same objectives as the institutions in the respective activities or projects and is willing to provide resources so that those objectives are achieved. In the end, the result of such activities

⁶⁹ Svava Bjarnason; Kai-Ming Cheng; John Fielden; Maria-Jose Lemaitre; Daniel Levy and N. V. Varghese, *A New Dynamic: Private Higher Education*, UNESCO 2009.

- an event, a report or a product - belongs to the institution, although the sponsor should also be duly acknowledged.⁷⁰

Contracts: These are activities or projects that are often initiated by the private partner for its own ends. By providing the required resources for such activities or projects, the private partner purchases the expertise from the institutions, often by way of a contract. The end results of such activities or projects are often anticipated benefits for the commissioning party. In most cases, the output, be it a report or a product, often belongs to the commissioning party. There are also cases where the product is of public interest, like a scientific discovery, and would not emerge without private support because it is not the preferred direction of research⁷¹

6.5.2 Public Funding

Global: The price of higher education has increased. At the aggregate level, for the 25 OECD countries with trend data, the cost of higher education has risen from 1.3 to 1.5% of GDP between 1995 and 2009. Economic growth over the past two decades has been insufficient to sustain the rising costs of higher education resulting from massification in most countries across the globe. This mismatch has put increasing pressure on public budgets, especially in those countries with a strong tradition of public financing of higher education (e.g. most of Europe). Many countries have thus adopted new modes of financing over the past 15 years to foster cost-sharing. The allocation of public funding for tertiary education is increasingly characterised by greater targeting of resources, performance-based funding, and competitive procedures. The basis for allocating core funding to HEIs has become more output oriented. In a number of countries, formulas to allocate public funds to HEIs are now related to performance indicators such as graduation or completion rates. Research funding has also increasingly been allocated to specific projects through competitive processes rather than block

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

grants. A number of countries have also linked the allocation of research funds to assessments of research quality. A number of countries have expanded their student financial support systems. In some countries, loans have gained in importance relative to grants in overall financial aid packages. Repayable types of aid have also increased in some countries.

Since the 1980s, there has been a rise of New Public Management approaches to public services provision in many OECD countries which has put ever more emphasis on market mechanisms and principles borrowed from the private sector. In particular, leadership, incentives and competition among public sector agencies and private providers have been promoted to enhance the outcomes and cost-efficiency of public services. HEIs have indeed been under growing pressure to diversify their revenues over the past two decades, and market mechanisms have been introduced or reinforced with this specific goal in mind, e.g., through policies on tuition fee deregulation, policies on marketing institutional research, etc. public universities account in 2010 for 70% of students worldwide.

Let us focus here on four case countries: China, Philippines, Russia and South Africa:

China: Public universities, which receive government funding as well as tuition fees (introduced in the 1990s), are generally more affordable than their private counterparts. Institutions in the Chinese higher education sector are of radically differing quality, with an elite few at the top. This stratification is, in part, the result of government policy. In the mid-1990s, the Central government launched two significant initiatives and invested tens of billions of dollars to improve the quality and international competitiveness of top-tier higher education institutions in China. These initiatives include:

Project 211: The State Council, Department of Finance and the Ministry of Education of China co-issued the General Plan for Project 211 in 1995 to strengthen selected higher education institutions and key disciplines. The project started with 99 institutions. It currently includes 112

universities. Target areas of improvement are the overall infrastructure of institutions, key disciplines, and higher education public services system.

Project 985: The State Council and the Ministry of Education of China launched Project 985 in 1998 with the explicit aim of building world-class universities. Thirty-nine elite institutions received a large earmark of US\$4.4 billion (26.4 billion CN¥ 28.4 billion (186.3 billion CNY) from local government to enhance their research capacity.

Private funding has been allowed in China since the 1980s, but recent legislation has been encouraging and promoting it with light regulation. With the beginning of the economic reforms and the growth of the private sector, China introduced the 'two-track' system to public HEIs in the 1980s - one track where tuition and living quarters were free and a second track where tuition and accommodation fees were charged for students who failed to pass the competitive college entrance exams. The percentage of fee-paying students of HEIs, in Shanghai, increased from 8 percent in 1988 to 32 per cent in 1994, showing a jump in 'self-financing' students. From 1997 onwards, all students enrolled in public higher education had to pay fees and living expenses. As a result, the public budget now contributes to less than half of the costs of public institutions.

Philippines: There are three types of public tertiary education institutions in the Philippines as classified by CHED:

State universities and colleges or SUCs are defined as public institutions with independent governing boards and individual charters established by and - financed and maintained by the national government. In order to be classified as a university (as opposed to a college), institutions need to offer graduate programs in addition to a minimum number of bachelor programs in a range of disciplines. There are presently 112 SUCs in the Philippines.

Local colleges and universities are public institutions established and funded by local government units. There are presently 107 local universities and colleges.

Other government schools form a category that comprises specialized HEIs that provide training related to public services, such as the Philippine National Police Academy or the Philippine Military Academy, for example. There are presently 14 of these institutions.

A reported 45.8 percent of the country's 3.5 million tertiary students were enrolled in public institutions in the 2016/17 academic year. Just over 39 percent of students studied at state universities and colleges, 6.2 percent at local universities and colleges, and a small minority of 0.17 percent at other government schools. The largest university in the Philippines is presently the public Polytechnic University of the Philippines, which maintains branch campuses throughout the country.

The decision of President Duterte in 2017 to make education at state universities and colleges tuition-free may help to further boost enrolments, even though critics contend that the costly move will sap the public budget while providing few discernible social benefits. These critics maintain that tuition-free education will primarily benefit wealthier students since only 12 percent of students at state institutions come from low-income households.

Russian Federation: According to government data, federal spending on education decreased by 8.5 percent between 2014 and 2016, from 616.8 billion rubles to 564.3 billion rubles (USD 10 billion). In 2015/16, there were a total of 896 recognized tertiary education institutions in operation in the Russian Federation. Public institutions are categorized into:

Big multi-disciplinary universities;

Academies specialized in particular professions, such as medicine, education, architecture or agriculture;

Institutes that (typically) offer programs in singular disciplines, such as music or arts. There are 50 specially-funded and research-focused

National Research Universities and Universities of National Innovation, as well as nine Federal Universities, which were established to bundle regional education and research efforts, and focus on regional socio-economic needs in more remote parts of Russia.

Finally, there are *National Universities*, the prestigious Lomonosov Moscow State University and Saint Petersburg State University. These well-funded elite institutions have special legal status and are under the direct control of the federal government, which appoints their rectors and approves university charters. Moscow State University is arguably Russia's most prestigious institution and currently enrolls more than 47,000 students. Modelled after German universities, it was founded in 1755.

Between 2005 and 2013, overall Russian higher education spending as percentage of GDP increased from 2.7 percent in 2005 to 3.8 percent in 2013, but has decreased since. In the tertiary sector, spending levels stayed mostly constant between 2005 and 2013, but because the number of students simultaneously declined, the amount spent per student actually rose by 32 percent to US\$ 8,483. This number, however, is still low when compared to the average spending in countries at comparable levels of development, causing observers like the World Bank to recommend that Russia increase education spending and prioritize human capital development in order to ensure sustained and inclusive economic growth.

While higher education in Russia is predominantly state-funded, the percentage of private funding about 35 percent of all expenditures on tertiary education institutions in 2013 is relatively high compared to most OECD countries. Governments at the federal and local level provide large parts of public university budgets and provide premises, dormitories and other properties. Recent legal changes have also allowed private universities to apply for state funding, if to a lesser extent. However, the share of university funding coming from tuition fees has increased over the past decades; between 1995 and 2005, for instance, the

percentage of students paying tuition fees increased from 13.1 to 57.5 percent. As a result, education has become more expensive for many students, even in the public sector. Students with high EGE scores are usually allowed to study for free; however, many students pay annual tuition fees averaging 120-140 thousand rubles (US\$2,084 to \$2,432) for a bachelor's degree and 220-250 thousand rubles (US\$3,822 to \$4,343) for a Specialist degree. Although students can take out low-interest loans, these costs are high considering Russian income levels. Inflation rates of more than 11 percent in 2014 caused many Russian universities to raise tuition fees by significant margins, while the average monthly income simultaneously dropped by 35 percent to US \$558 in 2015.

South Africa: The biggest university in South Africa is public. In 2014 there were a total 26 public universities, including 14 traditional universities, 6 universities of technology and 6 comprehensive technologies. They account for 87% of the students in South Africa.

6.5.3 Private Funding

Global: “Several countries have extensively on private providers to meet the growing demand for higher education, resulting in a massive expansion of the number of private University. This trend has been most prevalent wherever there has not been a tradition of public funding of higher education, or resources have been limited to accommodate any additional demand through public higher education. The fastest-growing systems have also been those in which private provision has expanded most rapidly. For instance, the private sector in India, which accounted for just 15% of the seats of engineering colleges in 1960, rose to nearly 87% of seats by 2003 (Kapur and Crowley, 2008). In Latin America, the past two decades have also seen the growing privatisation of higher education to balance resources with the need to satisfy increasing demand.”⁷²

⁷² Assessment of Higher Education Learning Outcomes, AHELO, Feasibility Study Report.

“In 2008, Guruz estimated that the private sector accounted for some 30% of enrolments worldwide (Guruz, 2008). (The private sector has 56,722,374 students. It thus accounts for 32.9% of the world's enrolment) However, this average reflects diverse country-specific realities. Within the OECD, Chile, Japan and Korea have the largest private university sectors with fewer than 30% of students enrolled in public universities. Mexico, Poland, Portugal and the United States also have sizeable private sectors operating with dominant private funding in the university sector, while Estonia, France, Norway and Switzerland have significant non-university private sectors. Outside the OECD, the largest private sectors are found in Asia (Indonesia, Philippines, Malaysia) and Latin America (Brazil), and to a lesser extent in some post-communist countries. Private enrolments are likely to expand further in the years to come given the large projected increases in higher education participation in China and India, and the reliance of these countries upon private providers to absorb excess demand.”⁷³

By sheer private enrolment size, two regions - Asia and Latin America - are much higher than the rest of the world. They hold over three quarters of global PHE, Asia alone more than half. Latin America's private enrolment, although much smaller than Asia's, is still nearly twice the size of Europe's or the US's. As starkly, three regions (Africa, Arab, and CANZ) individually fall short of having even 5% of global PHE.

⁷³ Ibid.

Table 4 Regional shares in global private and total higher education 2010

	Regional share of global private (%)	Regional share of global total (%)	Private share (%)	Regional private enrollment	Regional total enrollment
Global	100	100	32.9	56,722,374	172,546,175
Africa (sub-Saharan)	1.6	3.0	17.8	930,016	5,218,120
Arab States	2.5	4.8	17.4	1,423,630	8,201,861
Asia	56.9	44.4	42.1	32,267,911	76,568,246
CANZ (Canada, Australia, New Zealand)	0.6	1.8	10.1	318,033	3,162,889
Europe	9.7	21.5	14.9	5,526,851	37,177,470
Latin America and the Caribbean	18.8	12.6	48.8	10,638,863	21,789,880
USA	9.9	11.8	27.5	5,617,069	20,427,709

Source: PROPHE dataset (see <http://www.prophe.org/en/global-phe/data-by-region-country-2010/>)

Daniel C. Levy has agreed to share some of his unpublished data with Globethics.net for this publication: private enrolment was roughly five percent lower for 2000 than 2010 and for 2015 perhaps a percent or less under the 2010 share, with raw private growth continuing strong⁷⁴.

China: Many of the country's best and most generously funded universities are in Beijing, Shanghai, and the great cities of eastern China, and all of them are public. However, China has seen exponential growth in the number of private institutions of higher education (Minban) since the 1980s, when laws governing the sector began to be relaxed. More recently, China has come to see private institutions as a key mechanism for addressing the scale of demand. The 2002 Law on the Promotion of Privately-run Schools, for example, states explicitly that “private educational institutions are integral to the invigoration of the country through science, technology and education.” In the fifteen years leading up to 2014, the number of private higher education institutions in operation rose from 39 to 727. The quality of these institutions is highly variable, say observers, and their status and future are hotly debated. Recent enrolments have declined steeply for some schools, largely because internationalization has heightened competition for qualified students. Programs offered by private institutions are generally more practice-

⁷⁴ Daniel C. Levy, *Global private higher education: an empirical prole of its size and geographical shape*, unpublished, 2018.

oriented than their counterparts in the public sector. Other differences between the two types of institution involve admission requirements, governance, and, particularly, funding models. Following the enactment in 2002 of the Law for the Facilitation of Private Education, the expansion of private providers continued and it is estimated that the private HEIs accounted for 10 percent of China's higher education enrolments in 2008.

Indonesia: In 2010, 58 percent of students were enrolled in private institutions of higher education: there were 460 universities, over 400 of which were private.

Kenya: The enrolment figures for 2014 show that there were 443,783 students enrolled at universities across Kenya, more than double the 2012 enrolment number. Approximately 215,000 of those students were enrolled at the 17 private universities, accounting for almost half the students.

Nigeria: The data is provided by the National Universities Commission. The National Universities Commission (NUC) is a parastatal under the Federal Ministry of Education (FME); one of its main purposes is to “grant approval for all academic programmes run in Nigerian universities”. This basically means that the NUC is the institution that gives accreditations to private universities. In Nigeria the higher education system is divided between federal, state and private universities. In 1999, there were only 3 accredited private universities, in 2018 their number reached 75. The month of January 2019 saw the accreditation of 4 more universities. In 20 years, the number of accredited private universities increased by 2500%.

Philippines: The vast majority (88 percent) of HEIs in the Philippines are privately owned. There were 1,710 private HEIs in operation in the 2016/17 academic year, which include both religiously affiliated institutions (mostly Catholic schools) and non-sectarian institutions. Most of these institutions offer the same type of tertiary education programs as public institutions and are overseen by CHED. A Manual of

Regulations for Private Higher Education details specific guidelines for private providers. Many private HEIs in the Philippines are “demand-absorbing” institutions that fill a gap in supply created by the massification of education in the Philippines. Amidst limited capacities and low funding levels in the Philippine higher education system, these institutions offer those students who cannot get admitted into competitive public institutions access to tertiary education. It should be noted, however, that with the exception of top Catholic universities like Ateneo de Manila University, De La Salle University or the University of Santo Tomas, a majority of these institutions are smaller for-profit providers that enrol fewer than 1,000 students. The quality of education at many of these profit-driven institutions tends to be below the standards of prestigious public HEIs.

Private education account for 55% of the students in the Philippines. The number of HEIs with accredited education programs, which is not mandatory in the Philippines, increased by more than 40 percent between 2010 and 2016/17. The downturn in student numbers will affect HEIs and lead to declining revenues during the transition period (a fact that will primarily hurt private HEIs, since nearly all of their funding comes from tuition fees. As a result, CHED anticipates that approximately 25,000 staff, including faculty and administrators, will lose their jobs.

Russian Federation: After the legalization of private education in 1992, private HEI have grown steadily in Russia from 2000 to 2015, reaching the number of 366 accredited institutions (just over one third of HEI). “The number of students enrolled in these universities has also increased considerably: between 2000 and 2015 the number of students at private universities grew by 88 percent, from 470,600 to 884,700 students, but these are only 15 percent of all students - one third of HEI for 15 percent of students”. Today, private universities tend to supplement public education with more specialized niche offerings, rather than compete directly with the bigger state-funded universities. However, the

Russian government presently does not prioritize the development of the private sector, funding more public projects. Private education is expected to primarily gain traction in the sphere of non-formal and extra-system education.

South Africa: In 2014 there were 119 private higher education institutions, but they are way smaller than their public counterparts and are very specialized, they rarely provide multi-disciplinary teachings. In 2014, only 13% of students were enrolled in private universities. The Council on Higher Education and the South African Qualifications Authority are in charge of accreditations - private education should fit into an Accreditation Framework.

6.6 Ethical Impact

6.6.1 Diversity and Inclusiveness

Global: In 2015, global tertiary enrolments reached 213 million, however UN-ESCO estimates that 1 billion people need higher education but do not yet have access to it. In 14 years, the proportion of young adults entering undergraduate university programmes has increased by 25 percentage points, from 37% in 1995 to 62% in 2010. Meanwhile, rates for those entering more vocationally oriented programmes have remained stable, at 17%.⁷⁵

Nowadays, higher education is a mass phenomenon, that goes hand in hand with other trends such as social mobility, growing female participation, as well as democratisation and urbanisation processes and independence movements in the developing world. The shift towards post-industrial economies has also affirmed that an educated workforce is essential for economic development and has heightened the demand for white-collar workers in the public sector and service industries⁷⁶.

⁷⁵ Assessment of Higher Education Learning Outcomes, AHELO, Feasibility Study Report, Volume 1, OECD, 2012.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

Women made up 41% of higher education enrolments worldwide in 1970. They achieved parity with men in 2005 at the global level (despite some world regions lagging behind), and now slightly outnumber them with about 51% of global enrolments. The latest data from the OECD's Education at a glance underlines that this trend is more marked within OECD countries, with significantly higher entry rates for women relative to men, both in undergraduate university programmes (69 vs. 55% on average) as well as vocationally-oriented programmes (19 vs. 16%). In 2010, women also reached parity with men with regard to access to advanced research programmes, at entry rates of 2.8% for both.⁷⁷

Indonesia: In 2011, the gross enrolment ratio (GER) at the tertiary level (total tertiary enrolment as a percentage of the college-age population) was 25 percent (UNESCO, 2013). This is a lower percentage than all BRIC nations with the exception of India (20 percent), lower than the global average (31 percent) and lower also than most members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Nonetheless, the number of graduates in the country doubled between 2005 and 2012, according to data from the British Council, while the GER has risen significantly from just 12 percent a decade earlier (2001). And the government is focused on increasing access further, setting a goal of enrolling one quarter of the Indonesian college-age population in an institution of higher education by 2020. This represents an approximately quarter million annual increase in students over the next decade.

Data from Indonesia's Directorate General of Higher Education shows that there is significant inequality in the distribution of institutions throughout the country, with poorer regions having the fewest institutions of higher education, and a number of provinces within these regions having no public institutions at all. As an archipelago of more than 18,000 islands, distributing educational opportunities evenly is a tough task, especially with an estimated 700 different languages spoken across the country.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

Nigeria: Private accredited universities represent more than half (54%) of the higher education institutions in Nigeria, but they welcome only 6% of the student population. Most of these private universities have enrolment numbers below 2000 students. One of the reasons private universities are underpopulated is because their tuition fees are considered gigantic for the local population. All private universities in Nigeria are non-profit organisations and their goals are related to development, even if this seems to be in contradiction with the expensive tuition fees and lack of scholarships program that make it difficult to ensure equality in education. Some universities websites advertise student loans at somewhat advantageous interest rates. According to the statistics JAMB provides on its website, a total of 1,579,027 students sat for the UTME exam in 2016. 69.6 percent of university applications were made to federal universities, 27.5 percent to state universities, and less than 1 percent to private universities. The number of applicants currently exceeds the number of available university seats by a ratio of two to one. In 2015, only 415,500 out of 1,428,379 applicants were admitted to university, according to the data provided by JAMB. This admission ratio, low as it may be, is a significant improvement from 10 years ago when the ratio was closer to one in ten for university entry. But the admissions crisis continues to be one of Nigeria's biggest challenges in higher education, especially given the strong growth of its youth population. Nigeria's system of education presently leaves over a million qualified college Nigerians without access to postsecondary education on an annual basis.

Philippines: only 12 percent of students at state institutions come from low-income households.

South Africa: Black students are still underrepresented in the best universities and in graduate programs, although since the end of the apartheid South Africa has begun closing the educational attainment gap. The number of black students increased from 59% of all university enrolments in 2000 to 71% in 2015. The National Development plan for

2030 announced in 2011 wants to increase the proportion of black researchers from 28% in 2014 to 40% in 2018 and for women, from 36 to 50%.

6.7 Teachers and Corruption

Indonesia: Waste through corruption is considered a major issue within the Indonesian education system.

Kenya: Lecturer shortages continue to hinder growth in quality standards and lead to ever growing student to faculty ratios.

Nigeria: While corruption is a covert activity that is difficult to measure, Nigeria scores low on the global Corruption Perceptions Index published by the organization, Transparency International. The 2016 report ranks Nigeria at 136th place among 176 countries. Nigeria's education sector is particularly vulnerable to corruption. As corruption scholar Ararat Osipian noted in 2013, “[l]imited access to education [in Nigeria] has no doubt contributed to the use of bribes and personal connections to gain coveted places at universities, with some admissions officials reportedly working with agents to obtain bribes from students. Those who have no ability or willingness to resort to corruption face lost opportunities and unemployment.” In 2013, Transparency International reported that about 30 percent of Nigerians surveyed said they had paid a bribe in the education sector. The NUC has, in recent years, closed a large number of illegal degree mills. In 2013, it shut down 41 such entities, and in 2014 the Council closed an additional 55-degree mills while investigating eight additional schools. For current information on degree mills, the NUC has started to publish a “list of illegal universities”, most recently in 2016. Other government reforms and initiatives have sought to improve the Nigerian higher education system as well. These include the upgrade of some polytechnics and colleges of education to the status of degree-awarding institutions, the approval and accreditation of more private universities, and the dissemination of better education-related data. In 2016 alone, the federal government granted approval for the

establishment of eight new private universities. In 2013, the federal government announced plans to create six regional ‘mega-universities’ with the capacity to admit 150,000 to 200,000 students each. As of February 2017, however, there was no indication that this ambitious project would be realized in the near future.

Russian Federation: “Weak government institutions were a hallmark of the years immediately following the Soviet era. Many forms of systemic corruption went unchecked for years. As of 2017, Russia is ranked 131st out of 176 countries on the 2016 Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index. In 2016, Russia's general prosecutor recorded 32,824 corruption crimes, and estimated that corruption deprived the government of revenues totalling US\$ 1.3 billion in that year alone (likely a lowball estimation, given that officially reported cases only represent a fraction of all instances of corruption). The higher education system is particularly vulnerable to corruption: Instructors at poorly funded universities are routinely underpaid. Ambitious students seek academic advancement and, upon graduation, improved employment prospects; many are willing to pay instructors for better grades, revised transcripts, and more. Efforts to stem admissions-related and other forms of corruption are in place, but so far have had mixed results.

Prior to 2009, academic corruption challenges were particularly prevalent in university admissions. According to some reports, the total volume of bribes paid in connection to university admissions in Moscow in 2008 amounted to US \$520 million, with individual students paying bribes as high as \$5,000. The introduction of the EGE sought to take admissions decisions away from the universities and replace them with objective external criteria. Some experts reportedly claim that as many as 30 to 50 percent of doctoral degrees circulating in certain disciplines like law and medicine may either be fake or based on plagiarism, while other researchers assert that 20 to 30 percent of all Russian dissertations completed since the fall of the Soviet Union were purchased on the black market. The use of such suspect degrees is blatant, and not un-

common among politicians and higher-level civil servants. A 2015 study of the Dissnet Project, an organization dedicated to exposing academic fraud, found that one in nine politicians in the lower house of the Russian parliament had a plagiarized or fake academic degree”.

6.6.3 Employability and Vocational Education

Global: In many countries, the massification process has led to the emergence of new types of institutions within higher education, as alternatives to traditional universities, who are more focused on employability. The growth of a strongly employer-oriented non-university sector, closely integrated with the labour market needs of each locality and region, is indeed one of the most significant structural changes in recent times for higher education systems. Within the OECD, this movement started in France in the mid-1960s with the creation of Instituts Universitaires de Technologie (IUTs) based on the model of some of the United States’ vocationally-oriented junior and community colleges, followed in the early 1970s by Technical and Further Education Colleges (TAFE) in Australia, Fachhochschulen in Germany and Distrikthøgskoler in Norway. In the late 1970s, Portugal set up Polytechnic Institutes while the Netherlands created its Hogescholen (HBO) in the late 1980s. The 1990s saw the emergence of the Polytechnic sector (AMK) in Finland, the Universidades Tecnológicas in Mexico and the Swiss Universities of Applied Sciences. Finally, the Universidades Politecnicas and Universidades Interculturales emerged over the past decade in Mexico.

These new institutions were often established to create training opportunities for mid-level professionals needed for post-industrial and increasingly knowledge-intensive economies. By offering shorter programmes, they were better able to meet growing demands at a manageable cost. They were also able to respond to increasingly diverse needs of the labour market and regional development, and to accommodate the growing diversity of individual students’ motivations, expectations and career plans. However, providing a quantitative estimate of their im-

portance is difficult as there is no exhaustive register of these institutions worldwide, new providers are being established almost on a weekly basis, and the non-university sector is far from being homogenous.

Indonesia: The Boston Consulting Group released a report in May 2013 suggesting that Indonesian companies will struggle to fill half of their entry-level positions with fully qualified candidates by the end of the decade due to low upper secondary and tertiary enrolment rates and substandard quality standards. The engineering field is expected to experience the worst shortages, with the shortfall of engineering graduates projected to increase to more than 70 percent in 2025 from a 40 percent shortage in 2013. And while the report suggests that shortages will not be as severe at senior levels, it says that many at that level will lack the global exposure and leadership skills needed to succeed. In light of the many challenges facing the tertiary sector, alongside the rapidly increasing demand for tertiary places and the unmet needs of the labour market, the Indonesian government is currently focused more on expanding vocational programs than it is traditional academic training. The government is working to establish 500 community colleges within the next four years. More than 30 have already been established with a similar number ready to open soon. These colleges are largely focused on training for jobs in manufacturing, nursing, automotive technology and other trades. The government is also supporting universities looking to establish a generation of technical colleges.

Nigeria: Half of these private universities are founded by religious groups, emphasizing ethical and value-driven education. Vocational training is part of most curricula, but at the same time, employability and is a main issue, as each university advertises its involvement in current global issues and its presence on the job market. High unemployment among university graduates is also a major problem but does not appear to be a deterrent to those seeking admission into institutions of higher learning. In 2016, the online magazine Quartz reported that a

staggering 47 percent of Nigerian university graduates were without employment, based on a survey of 90,000 Nigerians.

Philippines: 89 percent of students were matriculated in bachelor-level programs and another 4.8 percent in pre-bachelor programs in the 2016/17 academic year. Graduate level enrolments are still small: Only 5.2 percent of students were enrolled in master's programs and less than one percent in doctoral programs. The most popular fields of study in 2016/17 were business administration, education, engineering and technology, information and technology and medical studies. Of the more than 2.2 million students enrolled in these subject areas, about 41 percent chose business administration and almost 33 percent pursued education studies. Engineering, information technology and medical studies accounted for 20 percent, 18 percent and 9 percent, respectively. Humanities are not on high demand.

Russian Federation: The popularity of basic vocational education declined rapidly after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The fact that employment was more or less mandatory during Soviet times meant that 98 percent of graduates from basic vocational programs were employed in the Soviet Union. Today, employment prospects are more precarious. The number of graduates from lower-level vocational programs has declined by 43 percent between 2000 and 2013 alone, from 762,800 to 436,000, as per the statistical data provided by the Russian government.

South Africa: South Africa has a very important issue of high youth unemployment rates, thus technical and vocational training (TVET) has become of strategic importance. In 2015 there were 1 million students enrolled in tertiary institutions and 800,000 in post-secondary vocational training. There were 50 public and 291 private TVET in 2015, but the private institutions only accounted for 11% of students. Public institutions are usually larger but provide the same certificates and qualifications as private ones. Development of the vocational and technical domain is a priority for the government that want to respond to the eco-

conomic need for skilled labour. Employability is a primary issue in South Africa.

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PART B
VOCATION

HIGHER EDUCATION AS VOCATION: VALUES AND CHARACTER

Joseph D. Galgalo, Kenya

Values and character in higher education or any level of education for that matter, is undeniably the single and all-time most important aspect of the entire process of formal education. Generally, persons who attend colleges or universities would have gone through years of formative education and are emerging young adults by the time they begin their studies in an institution of higher learning. They are, nevertheless, still at a developmental stage that is foundational for career choices, character formation and intellectual growth. What they learn at this stage can shape their view of life, commitment to values and their social aptness and influence, positively or negatively, for the rest of their lives. A lot, therefore, depends on their formation, because these dispositions directly determine their usefulness to themselves and others with regard to the quality of service or contribution they can make to society. In this regard, it is imperative that a tried and tested framework and processes of formation are developed and applied if desired results of formation are to be realized.

In my ten years of service as the Vice chancellor of a private Christian university, I developed a firm bias for prudent application of policies in order to avoid arbitrariness or uneven handedness in the making of important decisions. Clear goals and policies are great pillars in the

promotion of a structured and sustained way of inculcating core values. It must not be overlooked that to achieve the highest possible ideals of character formation, nothing should be deemed as trivial or inconsequential. The observance of mundane things such as acceptable etiquettes including dress codes, decorum in the conduct of formal meetings, prudent use of time, appropriate use of words – all have direct correlations to how values are shaped or developed overtime. Such mundane things are key building blocks that undergird the formation of important values such as integrity, respect, accountability, problem solving skills, conscientious stewardship of resources, and responsibility. This impresses upon us the absolute importance of values and character formation in higher education. Let us pose here for a minute and ask: ‘what is *Character Education* and what do we have in mind when we talk of values in higher education?’

7.1 Values and Character Education are Different

Let us clarify from the onset that there is a difference between *values education* and *character education*. Whereas, *values education* is primarily about the quality of students’ intellectual formation and critical growth in acquisition of knowledge, *character education* is about the methodology or the manner in which students are taught with the ultimate goal of influencing their personal disposition, attitude to life and quality of their character as social, relational beings.⁷⁸ There is the assumption here that there are attitudinal dispositions and behaviours that in principle portend universal ethical values. The most basic of these is humanness expressed best in the value of love, peace, empathy and

⁷⁸ See, *Character Education: An Historical Overview*, in the International Journal of Educational Leadership Preparation, Volume 4, Number 1 (January - March, 2009); available at: <https://cnx.org/contents/Cm9f2UkA@2/Character-Education-An-Historical-Overview> See also: Doyle, D. P. (1997). *Education and Character: A Conservative View*. Phi Delta Kappan, 78(6), 440-443; and

compassion, which if extended by one and all to other human beings carry great potential towards promoting harmonious co-existence and general appreciation of the dignity of human life. The bottom line is that, through *character education* students' quality of thinking and character formation can be infused with values, which in principle are of universal nature, and through which the world can be a better place.

The value judgment attached to any value may be influenced by a host of factors – upbringing, cultural or social orientation, simple logic or situational dictates. Since thought processes can impede or influence certain actions, life choices and beliefs, it is imperative that the delivery of character education takes cognizance of such and other background issues and develop pedagogies, which can lend credence to principles of universal ethical values in character formation. As curricula are designed, mainstreaming of character education should be borne in mind. In this regard, we should consider the simple goal of character education, which as Aynur Pala aptly puts it, is to “foster ethical, responsible and caring young people by modelling and teaching good character through emphasis on universal values that we all share.”⁷⁹

The understanding of the meaning of character differs from one context to another, and definitions are often influenced by specific social and cultural settings. James C. Sarros and Brian K. Cooper quoting Hillman's definition of character observes that, “character [is] an invisible source of personal consistency” and “deep structures of personality that are particularly resistant to change.”⁸⁰ The Merriam Webster dictionary defines character as a “mark [or] distinctive quality” derived from Greek root *character*, which literary connotes distinctiveness and

⁷⁹ “The Need for Character Education,” in *International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanity Studies* Vol 3, No 2, 2011 ISSN: 1309-8063 (Online) pp. 22 - 32, see p.25, at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/267824613>

⁸⁰ “Building character: A leadership essential,” in *Journal of Business and Psychology* 21(1), pp.1-22 DOI: 10.1007/s10869-005-9020-3 September 2006, p.2 available at <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/225767573>

quality, which distinguishes an entity giving it an identifying mark.⁸¹ The definition also emphasizes that quality is an essential attribute of character thereby assigning it a value tag, an indicator of the character as an entity fit for purpose. Webster also explains that, “[t]he Greek noun itself is derived from the verb *charassein*, meaning “to sharpen, cut in furrows, or engrave.”⁸² This means a person is character. It is the sum of the substance that makes up a person. Character therefore determines our actions and values and makes us who we become. The process of ‘becoming’ can be molded; and desirable traits or values can be engraved in character. A thief, for example, is defined as such based on the thieving actions and loss of values such as lack of respect for other people’s belongings, lack of appreciation for hard work – which shows how character hinges on actions and values. This impresses upon us the importance of ‘character education’ the means by which young minds can be moulded for character formation.

7.2 Leadership and Character

Borrowing from Nida Temiz⁸³ helpful analyses of leadership and character, we draw attention to three pertinent and most important views of *character education*. First of this is the submission by Howard, Berkowitz and Schaeffer (2004) who explain “character education as an initiative to cultivate individuals to make ethical judgments and to perform on them.” Secondly, an equally helpful definition cited by Temiz is one by Beachum, McCray, Yawn and Obiakor (2013) who see character

⁸¹ Available online at: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/character>

⁸² Merriam-Webster, *ibid.*, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/character>

⁸³ Nida Temiz, “An Example of ‘Character Education’ Course Design in the Light of ‘Experienced Centred’ Design for Higher Education” in *Journal of Education and Practice* www.iiste.org ISSN 2222-1735 (Paper) ISSN 2222-288X (Online) Vol.7, No.36, 2016) available at: <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1126535.pdf>

education as “the explicit teaching of positive values by teachers, which is supported by the school (p. 470).” Thirdly, Lickona, (1996) points out, that character education refers to the concerted efforts of various stakeholders such as parents and institutions of learning to inculcate in “the young people [a disposition] to attach importance to values and act the values.”⁸⁴ Building on these varied views of character education, we submit that, character education is a process of character formation with the goal to inculcate strong and clear ethical and moral values of universal relevance in young people in preparation to make them useful for a transformative and empowering service to humanity. Character education, in other words, is about producing responsible citizens able to embrace the principles of servant leaders and make positive contributions to society. Based on this understanding and observable benefits, we contend that values and character formation in higher education, must be taken as integral to the whole learning experience if the knowledge and skills acquired have to be effective in the development of the whole person.

The importance of character education, therefore, cannot be over-emphasized. As Thomas Lickona states, “down through history, education has always had two great goals: to help people become smart and to help them become good.”⁸⁵ True to this observation, the purpose of general, formal education has been to impart knowledge, challenge the mind to discover, create or innovate greater things, form character and thereby bequeath a better world to the posterity. Knowledge is not an end in itself but must have an ethical and moral character, and be able to add value to people and enhance humanity’s common good. Institutions of higher education, largely in keeping with established traditions but also

⁸⁴Temiz, *ibid*, available at: <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1126535.pdf>

⁸⁵ Thomas Lickona, “The Return of Character Education” (1993), p. 8 in *Educational Leadership*, November 1993 | Volume 51 | Number 3; Character Education Pages 6-11 available at: <http://www.ascd.org/publications/educational-leadership/nov93/vol51/num03/>

in genuine recognition of this important role of general education in view, have commonly crafted mission statements to emphasize the importance of character education stressing the need for “the development of the capacity to think clearly about moral issues and to act accordingly” (Whiteley, 1998, p. 11).⁸⁶ Institutions’ mission statements are developed with the noble goal of building intellectual capacity and advance academic acumen but also boost moral reasoning, and build natural capacities arising from ‘learned’ authentic humanness evidenced in applied knowledge and skills, which naturally influence moral and ethical decisions and actions. Molly MacElroy, citing Martin Buber (1946) states, “[g]enuine education of character is genuine education for community”.⁸⁷ This value can be imparted through character education, if properly designed and applied at the right time during the formative developmental stages of the learner.

A glance through history shows that the importance attached to the place and role of *character education* in the institutions of higher education has been less than steady to say the least.) Thomas Lickona, for example, observes that the regard for character education was at all time low for most part of the 20th century. Rise in science shaped a culture that generally dichotomized cognitive development and character formation.

7.3 Distinction of Facts and Values

The philosophy of logical positivism, arriving at American universities from Europe, asserted a radical distinction between *facts* (which could be scientifically proven) and *values* (which positivism held were mere expressions of feeling, not objective truth). As a result of positiv-

⁸⁶ Cited in Molly MacElroy, *Educating for Character: Teaching Values in the College Environment*, available online at: <https://www.uvm.edu/~vtconn/v24/macelroy.html>

⁸⁷ Molly MacElroy, *ibid*, 14.

ism, morality was relativized and privatized — made to seem a matter of personal “value judgment,” not a subject for public debate and transmission through the schools.⁸⁸

Such dominant cultural trends valued and nurtured the neutrality of value education, propping the argument to keep matters of personal morality and ethics out of school. The cultural biases that saw value judgments as subjective, influenced the minimalization of any religious views or character education in the design and delivery of academic programs. In the West, for example, as Lickona again observes, “in the 1970’s and 80’s it became the overriding concern of values education that programmes should not favour any particular religious or philosophical point of view.”⁸⁹ This trend, more or less the norm in the West, also provides the dominant curricula model for education in Kenya. This is because most curricula in Kenya are contextualized adaptations from the West, inherited together with the practice of formal schooling and its structured program of learning from colonial days.

7.4 St. Paul’s University: Integral Education

At St. Paul’s University in Kenya, such dichotomy between character education and values education is completely bridged in the interest of integral education aimed at the formation of the whole person — through educational formation that attends equally to both matters of the mind and the heart. The university’s core documents including the vision statement, mission and philosophy are all designed with this in mind — to build character and competence. Two pillars in this regard, have been evolved to underpin the identity of the university, that is, aca-

⁸⁸ Thomas Lickona, “The Return of Character Education” (1993), 6 in *Educational Leadership*, November 1993, Volume 51, Number 3; Character Education 6-11, available at: <http://www.ascd.org/publications/educational-leadership/nov93/vol51/num03/>

⁸⁹ Lickona, *ibid*, 6.

ademic excellence and Christian spiritual formation. The vision of the university, for example, states: “A university of academic excellence based on Christian principles,” and the mission is to: “Develop servant leaders ... through creative methods of education, ... and Christian spiritual formation.”⁹⁰ Note that in both, as is the case also with the philosophy and the identity statements, [not reproduced here], the twin pillars of ‘Christian character formation’ and ‘academic excellence’ are captured. To achieve the goals of character education, the university offers mandatory common courses and has also mainstreamed Christian moral and ethical teachings in all the courses taught at the university for the furtherance of the same. This is not just about the university making a statement about its Christian identity but also to take a position about cultural relativism or value judgments in the belief that universal ethical values can be imparted for the common good of humanity. Through existing tracer surveys, the benefits of this approach to education can be verified, and where necessary adjusted.

We contend that neutrality in character education or moral values is sheer escapism and difficult to achieve. What is wrong or right may be left to the purview of legal domain, but even as such, legal decisions must be based on some values such as justice, truth, proportionality and fairness. In this regard, character education is absolutely necessary in a world often defined by conflict and competition. A person empowered to think, feel and act in ways sensitive to the need of other humans can serve in ways to build synergies, collaborations and fair dealings, which all work together to make the world a better place.

In the Kenyan context, generally speaking, three powerful forces influence ethical judgments and moral choices: i) religion [and nominal adherence and incipient secularism being a large part of it]; ii) materialism and iii) ethnicity. These three, together form the foundation and building blocks of most Kenyan’s moral universe and identity. Whereas

⁹⁰ St. Paul’s University, see the web version at: <https://www.spu.ac.ke/new/index.php/vision-mission>

religion is a choice or at a deeper level, a compelling conviction; ethnicity is a given, a natural determinant of who we are or the substance of our primary identity marker. The Kenyan society consists of a number of ethno-nations, some large some small. Ethnic groups and their fraternities have become powerful political and social tools especially in the hands of political leaders. In the circumstances, ethnically shaped moral universe narrowly determines wrong and right, without consideration of either negative or positive impact of such collective ethnic-thinking beyond the larger context of the tribe. Because of the ethnically framed parochial universe in which the communities by and large operate, ethno-politics and predispositions primarily shape most Kenyan's social contracts and especially, the management of public affairs. Sometimes, not even such personal matter as the choice of a marriage partner is left to the individual. The family, and by extension the clan and the tribe reserve the power to 'bless' or overrule any choice. Whereas an innocent outsider looking in from the outside may see such conduct of affairs as controlling and an infringement of personal rights, and therefore wrong, the community insider may judge such intervention as the right thing to do for the good of the tribe.

7.5 Ethnic Norms Instead of Meritocracy

By the same moral logic, leadership positions, that get to control national resources, the direction of national politics, legislations, policies and development agenda are largely determined. In such a society, meritocracy becomes secondary to ethnic moral norms. Much, including career opportunities and political appointments depend largely on one's ethnic identity and influence. Exceptions are either by way of tokenism in the name of inclusivity, or made to serve a favour or secure certain interests. The Kenya institutions of higher learning is a microcosmic mirror of this crass national situation. From the appointments of the top leadership in most institutions to the composition of the students en-

rolled therein, a culture of ethnically determined decisions are apparent. The lower levels of the school system are ostensibly skewed by design, against nationalization. Secondary schools have overtime been localized to the point that very few students are enrolled outside their home counties except a limited number of privileged lots who get called up to the so-called national schools. After secondary school, it is unfortunate that they carry on the same ethnic mentality and congregate according to their ethnic affinities – drawn together by common language, shared moral universe and ethnically determined identity. This formation has far reaching detrimental implications for national unity and cohesion than has been acknowledged. Universities Student elections, for example, are often not contested along ideological divides but are largely determined along the lines of ethnic associations and alignments. The students are not to blame for using ethnicity because from their context, this is the only thing they know as the winning card.

This means one thing: Since, “people of all ages continuously develop their identity by what they see, experience, and reflect on in their environment”⁹¹ St. Paul’s University believes it is never too late to introduce *character education*. By conscientious application of the above named two pillars – academic excellence and Christian spiritual formation, the university has proved that *character education* can shape a different kind of identity, a collective social vision; and a liberating, alternative moral universe. Students are welcomed into a new community, introduced to new ways of thinking and charged with freedom to explore and learn, and to take responsibility for all their actions. Purposely designed rigorous mentorship programs are provide a roadmap for this formation. The learning experience is crafted to critically interrogate the parochial ethnic moral universe and introduce them to new learning and social orientation. Knowledge, skills and attitudes, are not

⁹¹ MacElroy, Molly (2003) "Educating for Character: Teaching Values in the College Environment," *The Vermont Connection*: Vol. 24, Article 3. Available at: <http://scholarworks.uvm.edu/tvc/vol24/iss1/3>

imparted simply in conformity to complete a prescribed course of study for the purpose of earning academic qualification, but also carefully delivered in order to stimulate alternative ways of doing things arising from appreciation of universal ethical principles. The result of this educational processes is more than rewarding. With the embrace of a broader thinking and critical approach to issues, most students are evidently able to envision an accommodative moral view built on the faith in the possibility of a world of authentic humanness. This is a broadened social vision, which is able to break the commonplace parochial moral universe of the tribe, and opens up a different universe where values of merit, hard work, honesty and compassion are cultivated for personal fulfilment and greater good for all humanity.

Besides religion and ethnicity, materialism is another major framer of moral logic. Negative ethnicity and our skewed moral universe largely informed by ethnicity is not the only source of Kenya's present-day myriad of challenges. Extreme poverty, lack of access to quality education or basic health care, insecurity and largely dysfunctional government agencies and various arms such as the judiciary are mainly as a result of runaway sleaze, pilferage and impunity, which generally seem to have the effect of driving the common citizen to despair and general behaviour of irresponsibility. Arising out of this situation is a growing culture of unbridled greed and the attitude to pursue material gain by whatever means. Such attitude is particularly prevalent among the youth, perhaps an indicator of a generation that is growing up with little sense of universal ethical and moral principles.

In January 2016, *The East African Institute* (EAI), published a survey report, titled: '*The Kenya Youth Survey Report.*' The report documents, values that youth hold dear based on a survey which, "revealed that 50 per cent of youth in Kenya do not care what means one uses to make money as long as they do not end up in jail. This [included] 30 per cent who exuded the belief that corruption is profitable; [and] 35 percent [said were] ready to give or receive a bribe." The survey makes one in-

interesting observation, that: “These statistics contradicted the high level of faith anchored values that 85 percent of the youth [said to] profess.” The survey also observed that, these confessions were made by the sampled youth, “Despite wealth coming third ... after faith, family (60 per cent) and work (30 per cent),” in that order.⁹²

This means that a high percentage of youth, as high as 50% were ready to compromise their faith if confronted with a choice between ‘gaining wealth by whatever means,’ or ‘remaining true to the teachings of their faith.’ This trend is also reflected in what the young people, particularly those in the universities engage in as part of what commonly has come to be called *side hustle*. It has been observed that some of the different means through which some students, particularly from poverty stricken families or orphans struggling to finance their studies and earn money to meet their basic needs would include but not limited to gambling, hawking, gigs to earn money from performing in events, writing academic projects and assignments for payment, modelling, shacking not for love but as a way to secure financial support in return for sexual favours usually from an older and endowed person commonly referred to in the street language, as the ‘sponsor’ or ‘blessor.’⁹³ A study commissioned by Lake Victoria Commission under the auspices of the East African Community (EAC)/AMREF Lake Victoria Partnership EALP Programme, for example, reveals that:

Poverty and economic opportunities were identified as major factors for early sexual debut and unprotected sexual activity, encourage cross-generational and commercial sex, amplify other risky behaviours such as alcohol and drug abuse leading to unplanned pregnancies and drop-out

⁹² Source: <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/business/article/2000188557/survey-kenyan-youth-okay-with-getting-rich-through-corruption> published in January 2016.

⁹³ See for example, “Sometimes, Sex Ain’t Wrong at all,” A BBC Documentary, online at: <https://www.capitalfm.co.ke/thesauce/must-watch-student-exposes-odd-side-hustles-and-sponsor-culture-in-kenyas-universities/>

of college especially among orphans, girls and students from poor families.⁹⁴

Evidently, one of the key challenges that the young in our context contend with is the all-consuming spirit of materialism. Driven by the desire to overcome demeaning poverty, but also under pressure from a pervasive culture of consumerism, a warped view of education as a means to an end is developing. Conflicting views abound, which tend to reduce value in ‘educational pursuit’ to attainment of qualifications where certificates have come to be seen as tickets for social mobility, lucrative jobs and status. This utilitarian view of the value of education needs to be countered and corrected. We, therefore, emphasize an integrative approach and recommend that character education is imperative in order to achieve a holistic growth of the learner and to form a responsible citizen with greater appreciation for ethical and moral values. The integral approach adopted by St. Paul’s University, designed with the need to counter these social ills in mind, gifts a model of its kind. It systematically offers character education to inspire spiritual, intellectual and social growth, planting a moral compass to help one envision a moral universe, which is better for the whole of humanity.

We acknowledge that the road towards effective character education is full of numerous pitfalls. Increasing secularism, for one, is ever suspicious of values systems biased towards specific religious traditions. Emphases on embrace of diversity, advocacy for pluralism, the push for religious ideas to the periphery of public affairs and many such trend collude to undermine the place and significance of character education. In our context, for example, prevailing realities such as ethnic identities powerfully inculcate a parochial moral and ethical view to help one meet particular needs. We agree with that, “To overcome the problems of character education, a learning strategy is needed ... [for example], eve-

⁹⁴ Report, “HIV Sero-Behavioural Study in Six Universities In Kenya,” 2010, p.79 (Cf. p.38) available at: <http://www.repository.eac.int/bitstream/handle/11671/684/>

ry education unit has to have their own character-building programs integrated with all intra-curricular and extracurricular activities.”⁹⁵ The task of the curricula must be broader than any narrow indoctrination of a particular religious views or bias. It must embrace a broader approach with the wider citizenry in mind, and emphasize general ethical and moral principles with universal value with regard to its pertinence and applicability. As Suherman again says, citing Thomas Lickona,

“Character education is a potent medium to motivate democratic living, which becomes the reflection of human character grown in each individual in the context of collective living. In a democratic society, every person has a moral commitment in terms of living together, such as respecting their own rights and the rights of others, following the norms and rules, participating in togetherness, believing in the benefits of living together, and so on.”⁹⁶

To give credit where it is due, most institutions of learning in Kenya, identify and impart core values in light of the institution’s vision and mission. These institutions also develop many methods to guide the imparting of desirable values. There are, however, observable challenges in bridging the gaps that exist between ‘principles’ and ‘practice’ when it comes to how, on one hand, these values are understood and on the other, the commitment or true application of these values in life. Motivated by the need to bridge this gap, most universities run mentorship programs and consciously design curricula to mainstream character education. There are also pressing needs, which beyond enforcement of discipline, demands other interventions. Most institutions are, for example,

⁹⁵ Ayi Suherman, “The Implementation of Character Education Values In Integrated Physical Education Subject In Elementary School,” in SHS Web of Conferences 42, 00045 (2018): <https://doi.org/10.1051/shsconf/20184200045>

⁹⁶ Ayi Suherman, “The Implementation of Character Education Values In Integrated Physical Education Subject In Elementary School,” in SHS Web of Conferences 42, 00045 (2018): <https://doi.org/10.1051/shsconf/20184200045>

concerned with unethical practices such as exam cheating, financial scandals, ethnic intolerance, sexual harassment, truancy or a growing concern about radicalization or possible recruitment in terror groups or sectarian causes. The Kenyan case is not unique. As Dalton and Crosby contend, the general situation is similar across the globe such that, “[w]hether it is concerned [about], increasing materialism and consumerism, and declining social capital, the college campus today is often at the crossroads of many compelling moral issues. This situation makes it especially difficult to avoid some responsibility for the cultivation and support of students’ moral values and behaviors.”⁹⁷

7.6 Academic Excellency and Christian Spirituality

It is in this light that I make this submission. What is needed in my view is the mainstreaming of character education at all level of formal schooling. This must be structured and imbedded in the curriculum, giving priority to a holistic approach to the education of young minds, beginning with curriculum design to the delivery of learning. The St. Paul’s University model has been tried and tested and over time, proved effective for influencing the formation of character able to rise above parochial and divisive worldviews and embrace more humane and universal perspectives of values.

As mentioned above, two key pillars undergird our philosophical approach and quality assurance of our programs: First, *Academic excellence* through research, quality teaching and mentorship; and secondly, *Christian spiritual* formation, through a whole host of student support regime including mentorship program, robust chaplaincy service and counselling support. The broader context of the later is carefully crafted

⁹⁷ Jon C. Dalton & Pamela C. Crosby (2011) Core Values and Commitments in College: The Surprising Return to Ethics and Character in Undergraduate Education, *Journal of College and Character*, 12:2, DOI: 10.2202/1940-1639.1796 <https://doi.org/10.2202/1940-1639.1796>

to support students' activities such as sports and clubs, which promotes a deeper understanding among the students and appreciation for one another through shared interests, with potential for forming new, broader and more accommodative views of identities. The aim of these efforts is to achieve the goal of a holistic education that prepares the person in an integral way for effective service, which at St. Paul's is emphasized through the motto: 'service to God and humanity' as the ultimate purpose of every human being. Authentic humanness, a state of being or a disposition of a character who is empowered to render meaningful service to both God and humanity, is difficult to attain without a purpose driven character education.

THE VOCATION OF AN ASSISTANT

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8.1 Introduction

Individuals have varied perceptions about the work that they do. This includes their thoughts on the importance of their role and its impact in an institution or the society at large. Attitudes toward one's occupation influence how employees perform their duties. Perceptions not only affect work output but also have an impact on motivation, work satisfaction and the overall behaviour of an employee at work.⁹⁸

Attaching significance to one's work is subjective in most cases. This is because individuals are responsible for defining the meaningfulness and purpose of their work. Attaching meaning to one's occupation goes beyond the job description issued by the employer which in most cases outlines duties of an employee but not the expected outcome of their service.

The word 'assistant' in the business environment has various definitions. It is described as a supportive paid role that requires training and

⁹⁸ Brief, A. P., & Nord, W. R. (1990) Meanings of occupational work: A collection of essays. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

specific academic skills.⁹⁹ It has also been likened to caretaking and nurturing.¹⁰⁰ Cambridge dictionary describes an assistant as someone who helps someone else do a job. Assistants are also described as persons who support high-ranking senior officers in managing their offices and professional lives.¹⁰¹ One common aspect of the role of assistants as illustrated by the different definitions is that it is an occupation that entails service to others.

This chapter focuses on the role of assistants in higher education. It refers to assistants to the chief executive officer (CEO) and other high-ranking officers who manage institutions of higher learning. In university and college settings, assistants serve in the offices of the vice chancellor, deputy vice chancellors, principals, faculty deans, registrars, directors, heads of departments and other heads of institutes or divisions.

In considering whether the role of assistants is a profession or a calling, there is need to examine what the role entails versus what it ought to entail. How we think about the role, what it is and what it should be, provides the conceptual framework for discussions in this chapter.¹⁰² This is because the way assistants view their role impacts how they serve. Their perceptions of their occupation also shape their views on going beyond the call of duty, career expectations, measures of success, professional goals, institutional identity and relationship with the institution. The employer's perception of the role of an assistant also plays a part in influencing the work output of the employee.

⁹⁹ O. Chimezie, *Professionalism in the Secretarial Profession*. International Educative Research Foundation and Publisher, 54-62, 2015.

¹⁰⁰ I. Kennelly, *Secretarial Work, Nurturing, and the Ethic of Service*, National Women's Studies Association Journal (NWSA), VOL. 2, 170-192, 2006.

¹⁰¹ Indeed.com, *What is the definition of Assistants in Business?*, Retrieved from Indeed for Employers: <https://www.indeed.com/hire/c/info/definition-of-assistant>, 2020.

¹⁰² D. Adom, *Theoretical and Conceptual Framework: Mandatory Ingredients of a Quality Research*. International Journal of Scientific Research, 438-440. 2018.

The focus of this chapter is why the role of an assistant should be regarded as a vocation and not just a paid occupation. Considering the role of an assistant as a profession on one hand and a vocation of the other hand provides a conceptual framework which aims to provide both clarity and direction.

8.2 The Profession of an Assistant

Professionals are described as persons holding certain academic qualifications, belonging to a professional body and possessing key competencies to carry out a specific job.¹⁰³ Oxford Dictionary describes profession as a paid occupation, especially one involving prolonged training and formal qualification. Likewise, Cambridge English Dictionary defines professionalism as the qualities possessed by trained or skilled persons. Based on these definitions, professionalism encompasses a variety of things including education, training and experience. Mariam Webster's dictionary takes a different perspective and introduces the aspect of vocation. It links profession with calling whereby profession is defined a whole body of persons engaged in a calling.

Professionals are characterized by great responsibility. The professional is tasked with critical duties and obligations to the employer and clients.¹⁰⁴ Professions are also characterized by accountability which means that they have to produce quality work. Professionals are expected to use their training to help them carry out their duties. This is why the aspects of educational background and key competencies are emphasized in every profession. For instance, assistants require computer skills to help them carry out their tasks. Another key distinction of

¹⁰³ O. Chimezie, *Professionalism in the Secretarial Profession*. International Educative Research Foundation and Publisher, 54 – 62, 2015.

¹⁰⁴ A. Rutledge, *Defining Design Professionalism*. Online Edition. Retrieved from Design Professionalism: <http://designprofessionalism.com/defining-design-professionalism>, 2011.

professions is that they are guided by a specific code of ethics, usually distinct from occupations. For example, the code of ethics for doctors is different from the one that accountants subscribe to.

The profession of assistants has been in existence dating back to historical times.¹⁰⁵ In the Roman empire, young, educated men known as scribes played the role of taking dictation and also acted as personal advisers to the rulers. At the time, the scribes used chisels on stones and wax tablets as their tools of trade. The role of an assistant required one to have multiple skills including ability to speak different languages. In 1890, trade and commerce expanded and the need for assistants grew as wealthy merchants engaged confidants to handle their private engagements and confidential correspondences. The role of assistants was exclusively performed by men until the late 1800s when women were allowed to work in offices and took up secretarial roles using the newly-invented writing machines.

Assistants also existed in Biblical times. An example is Joseph who was appointed as Potiphar's personal assistant, also referred to as his personal attendant.¹⁰⁶ The Disciples of Christ played the role of assistant whereby they helped Christ in His ministry. They were trained to carry out His mission in the world and continue executing His mandate even after His departure from earth. In the book of Acts, chapter 19 Paul refers to his assistants, also called personal helpers in other versions of the Bible.¹⁰⁷ These are examples of the different roles that assistants played during biblical times.

In today's world, assistants (also known as personal assistants, personal secretaries, executive assistants/secretaries, administrative assis-

¹⁰⁵ International Association of Administrative Professionals. (1998). *History of the Secretarial Profession*.

¹⁰⁶ Genesis 39: 4: Joseph found favour in his eyes and became his attendant. Potiphar put him in charge of his household, and he entrusted to his care everything he owned.

¹⁰⁷ Acts 19:22 He sent two of his helpers, Timothy and Erastus, to Macedonia, while he stayed in the province of Asia a little longer.

tants, office managers et al) use computers, internet, phones and other advanced technologies to manage offices. Unlike the past where assistants were limited to taking dictation and doing routine work such as typing, today's assistants are tasked with preparing correspondences, planning meetings and events, interacting with clients, visitors and key stakeholders.

The advancement of technology has greatly influenced the changing role of assistants. However, their part as project managers, event managers, diary managers and still remains. The demands on assistants have also evolved as they are now required to possess multiple skills including the ability to multitask.¹⁰⁸

The profession of assistants also entails working with a number of unique individuals in different situations. An assistants' job has been described as a long psychology field study on human behaviour. It requires working with different personalities, handling emergencies, planning events which require bringing people together, salvaging the unsalvageable, fixing what appears to be unfixable and doing all this while observing confidentiality.

The job of a personal assistant can be described as fluid as it involves varying duties depending on the institution. Even within organizations, different assistants have varying roles. For instance, in a university, the assistant to the CEO and the faculty deans' assistant are likely to have very different roles. The assistant to the CEO's service is likely to extend to the CEO, key stakeholders of the university including the chancellor, council, trustees, board of management, students and all members of staff including faculty. On the other hand, the faculty deans' assistant is mainly tasked with working with students and lecturers, handling exams, timetables and other duties specific to academics.

¹⁰⁸ S. France, S., *The Definitive Personal Assistants and Secretaries Handbook. – A best -practice guide for all secretaries, Pas, office managers and executive assistants*. London: Koogan Page, 2009.

Assistants in higher education are expected to provide full administrative and secretarial support to different senior management staff to ensure the offices that they are assigned to run smoothly. Key tasks include managing the senior officer's diary, making travel arrangements, handling correspondences and managing the office system including databases and filing. Assistants are also expected to assist senior officers in carrying out research, following up on reports and ensuring key action points are implemented. In addition, assistants' responsibilities extend to producing reports, preparing presentations and briefings. In offices where the assistant is not working with a receptionist, the responsibility of receiving and attending to guests also falls under their docket. Other key roles of assistants include organizing meetings, luncheons, events, retreats and conferences.

In terms of skills, organizations differ in terms of required educational background with some seeking to employ assistants who are degree holders and others opting for diploma holders. However, one of the key competencies required by most organizations is ability to use electronic office equipment which include computers, printers, scanners and telephones.

To consider the role of an assistant as a profession is to first acknowledge that it is a paid occupation. Secondly, there is a level of expertise that is required to successfully carry out the role of assistant. This include competence in use of computers, secretarial training, project management, communication, events management and public relations training. As professionals, assistants are required to not only carry out a number of roles but to also do them well and according to standards set by an organization. Accountability means that assistants should be relied upon to carry out their tasks diligently and also ensure that their work output is of high quality. Fourthly, like in any profession, the element of choice means that the assistants selected this profession from a variety of options.

Lastly, there is a code of ethics for this profession. Although assistants in higher education may have a different code of ethics as compared to those working in other industries, there are specific values mandatory for all assistants irrespective of the industry in which they work in.

8.3 The Ethics of an Assistant

The word ethics is derived from the Greek word, ethos, which refers to the character of an individual or a community.¹⁰⁹ Ethics can be described as values that individuals rely on to guide their decisions and therefore actions.

Code of ethics in organizations help provide guidance on how staff should apply policies, programs and make decisions. It is a rational construct built upon a foundation of values.¹¹⁰ Having a code of ethics for an organization is important for various reasons. It helps to provide a basis for day to day decision making, protects company reputation, ensures legal considerations are adhered to, helps retain good employees and attracts a loyal customer base. It also creates a good, conducive work environment. A code of ethics also helps ensure that fairness, uniformity and high standards are maintained at the workplace.

It is important to acknowledge that every profession is governed by a code of ethics but the effectiveness of these principles depend on the personal values of individuals. Without personal values, any professional can find ways of justifying contravention of the code of ethics.

¹⁰⁹ C. Singh & M. Prasad, *Code of Ethics in an Organization*. International Journal of Application or Innovation in Engineering and Management, Vol. 6, Issue 5, 138 - 142. 2017.

¹¹⁰ A. Rutledge, *Defining Design Professionalism*. Online Edition. Retrieved from Design Professionalism: <http://designprofessionalism.com/defining-design-professionalism>, 2011.

Administrative ethics refers to values such as honesty, professionalism and loyalty that are either present or absent in an employee.¹¹¹ An assistant is perceived as being ethical if they possess and practice given values that demonstrate integrity. On the other hand, ethics of service is specific to professions that entail service to others.¹¹² Assistants in higher education serve a number of people including the senior officers that they are assigned to, board of management, council and trustees, staff, students and guests. Like in most professions, the standard duties are listed on the job description but other details on how to perform those duties are assumed. For example, the assistant may be tasked with attending to visitors. However, it goes beyond the job description for an assistant to have a pleasant personality, smile and exude warmth when dealing with guests. This is what it means to possess ethics of service.

There are various theories of ethics but one that best suits the role of assistants is utilitarianism theory. This theory states that the ethical choice is one that will result in greater good for the majority. When making ethical considerations as guided by the utilitarianism theory, one must consider whether an action is right or wrong. Consequences of decisions are then measured in terms of positive outcomes which determine whether the choice made was right or wrong. The theory focuses on results of actions. Similarly, the assistant's role dictates that focus should be on the recipient of the service and the impact of the service they receive. Assistants are expected to conduct themselves in a manner that will result to the best outcome which is the success of the institution.

¹¹¹ J. Ibieta & S. Joshua, *Ethics in Nigerian Public Sector: A Discourse*. Public Administration and Social Review. Pp 46-59. 2013.

¹¹² I. Kennelly, *Secretarial Work, Nurturing, and the Ethic of Service*. National Women's Studies Association Journal (NWSA), VOL. 2., 170 - 192. 2006.

Assistants in higher education are expected to possess high standards of morality and personal probity.¹¹³ One of the key competences that employers seek from assistants is ability to handle sensitive information and maintain confidentiality. The title ‘secretary’ originally referred to what is today is the post of assistants. Secretary is a word derived from the Latin word ‘secretum’ which means ‘keeper of secrets’. This illustrates the confidentiality aspect of the position of assistants. It calls for assistants to be highly ethical as they constantly handle sensitive information and deal with issues of confidentiality. They are expected to be trustworthy. For instance, an assistant working with the faculty dean is expected never to reveal students’ information unless officially authorized. It matters not if the student is a relative or friend; confidentiality has to be maintained.

Assistants are also expected to be loyal to their bosses. This means never selling out the boss despite any promised rewards. Loyalty includes not bad mouthing the senior officer no matter your personal differences. It means not disclosing any sensitive information despite personal grievances or frustrations with the boss.

Credibility and honesty are important values for any ethical assistant. Assistants are required to be truthful no matter the circumstances. For example, honesty means accepting responsibility for mistakes made in your line of work. It also means not taking credit for someone else’s work.

Assistants have a number of people depending on them. They are therefore expected to be reliable. For example, they are required to always be punctual to work. It would be irresponsible to leave students and guests unattended because one is absent from their workstation during work hours. Reliability also entails diligently carrying out one’s tasks and in good time.

¹¹³ O. Chimezie, Professionalism in the Secretarial Profession. *International Educative Research Foundation and Publisher*, 54 - 62. 2015.

Despite having personal morals and a code of ethics to guide employee's conduct, there are still a number of challenges in the workplace that threaten the ethics of service. The workplace has become increasingly competitive with employees all seeking to climb the career ladder as fast as possible, accumulate titles and earn higher salaries. In higher education, most assistants strive to transit to academic roles which are perceived as more prestigious and rewarding. Virtues of honesty and hard work are no longer revered like in the past.¹¹⁴ Competitiveness has resulted to aggressiveness and backstabbing in pursuit of the bottom line which is personal success. The shift in the workplace due to competitiveness is more apparent with the frequency with which young people in administrative posts change employers and careers.

There are number of factors that can challenge the ethics of an assistant in higher education. One of the main challenges is not maintaining confidentiality. Many are the times when assistants are requested by other employees and stakeholders to divulge sensitive information. Other times, the assistant may be tempted to break confidentiality and share sensitive information with close confidants. Another challenge to ethics of an assistant is corruption. Bribes can be offered in exchange for special favours from assistants such as access to a senior officer, a tender or other privilege the assistant is privy to. Another challenge to the ethics of most assistants is the misuse of workplace resources such as time, telephone and computers to do personal work.

Access to official resources such as letterheads, seals, electronic signatures without authorization is another way that assistants can contravene the code of ethics. There are also workplace distractions in form of fellow staff members, visitors, or students who may try to engage the assistant in unproductive activities such as gossiping.

¹¹⁴ N.T. Tisdale, *Seize the Day: Vocation, Calling, Work. Yale Divinity School Publication*, 5 -7. Retrieved from Yale Divinity School. 2012

8.4 The Vocation of an Assistant

Vocation denotes a sense of meaning or purpose derived from a work role giving the worker a feeling of fulfilment and satisfaction. This can be in reference to attaching the meaning of work to what one has been called by God to do, or work being something that allows one to make good use of their God-given skillsets. It is an employment that offers the employee satisfaction both spiritually and psychologically. Vocation denotes a calling that extends beyond self, hence requiring the individual to use their skills to undertake a given work with a sense of purpose and meaning.

Vocation is also aptly described as an occupation that one pursues mainly due to its benefits for others as opposed to benefits to self. Although earning an income from a vocation is not wrong, it should not be the main motivation.

The Bible has various examples of what it means to be called by God. Romans 8:28 speaks about being called according to His purpose. This verse refers to believers who are living in service to Christ. Another Biblical calling is the call to work. God created people to work. He commands them to work as instructed in Exodus 20:9 where labour is to take place 6 days a week. 2 Thessalonians 3:10 describes work as a prerequisite to eating. Those who do not work will not eat. In Genesis, God creates Adam and puts him to work in the Garden of Eden. Based on these scriptures, it would be correct to say that we are all created to work. God has called us all to work even if he doesn't explicitly define the kind of work that we should all do.

Theologically, vocation involves an inner calling that arises from an individual's faith. In this case, a person is called by God to play a certain role. For assistants, this means that going beyond service of humanity to service of God in response to His calling. Vocation can also be understood non-theologically to refer to a life's calling that is distinct to spe-

cific roles or functions.¹¹⁵ Following this description of what it means to be called, it would be correct to assume that people can get into the profession of assistants out of a sense of duty and in acknowledgement of the need for support services in the education industry and not just for the monetary gain.

As a vocation, assistants are called to integrate moral, spiritual and professional values in the execution of their jobs. This signifies that carrying out their role is a moral obligation. In looking at the role of an assistant as a vocation, it is acknowledged that this task goes beyond self because the call to serve also comes from beyond self. Assistants are called by God to serve and fulfil their mandate in life by taking up this role.

The vocation of an assistant acknowledges those in the profession called to serve and those expected to be served. Those who are called to serve, are supposed to place service to others over service to self.¹¹⁶ It is a high responsibility that goes beyond a paycheck at the end of the month. In serving the different senior officers in an institution of higher learning, the assistant is likely to serve people from different backgrounds. This includes students, staff and other stakeholders from different religious, socio-cultural and economic backgrounds. It also means being in service of people of different morals. However, an assistant is still expected not to compromise on their moral responsibility but instead serve all internal and external publics equally.

The vocation of an assistant draws focus away from employees themselves to those being served.

¹¹⁵ J.A. Buijs, Teaching: Profession or Vocation. *Catholic Education: A Journal of Inquiry and Practice*, Volume 8, Issue 3, 326 - 345. 2005.

¹¹⁶ D. Pitaloka, *The Role of Secretary in the Face of Business Competition in the Company*. University of Jakarta. 2016.

8.5 Vocation or a Profession: Discerning the Difference

A job is designed to meet your financial needs. However, a vocation goes beyond meeting financial needs, ensuring that your work meets the purpose for which you were called by God. If you view your job as a calling, you are likely to give it more seriousness and commitment. Indeed, those who view their occupations as vocations tend to treat their employment as worthy and requiring dedication as a service to God.

One way to discern what God has called you to do is by assessing what needs to be done to make the world what God intends it to be. You might not be in a position to address all the needs. Therefore, you have to begin with your space and see what needs to be done.

Skills and gifts can help you discern whether your work is a calling or simply a profession. God gives us skills and talents to enable us to complete the work that he wants us to do. In 1st Corinthians, Paul explains the role of spiritual gifts in helping us all work in the church. In considering that all work is the done for the Lord, we can deduce that the Spirit has given us skills necessary to carry out our roles in different fields of service and not only the church.

Although scripture is not clear on the professions that we are called to work in, it is clear on the fact that we are all commanded to work. We do see many examples of how God directs people to certain careers. Bezal and Oholiab were called to build the Tabernacle in the

Old Testament. They were equipped with the skills to help them carry out this task. Scripture reminds us that the Holy Spirit is our guide. Similarly, the gifts of the Holy Spirit offer us the ability to perform certain actions that can lead to a profession.

It is possible to consider the role of assistants as both a vocation and profession. The two need not be mutually exclusive because one can earn a living while fulfilling the call to serve. As discussed in this chapter, viewing the role of an assistant as a profession draws focus on training, expertise, accountability and code of ethics. Perceiving the role of assistant as a vocation means looking at it as a higher calling to serve

others. Remuneration needs not be overlooked in considering it as a calling, however, it should not be the sole motivation behind the job.

The vocation of assistants, therefore, refers to personal commitment and a focus on service. It means concentrating on the ones who benefit from the service of the assistant. This shifts the focus from what the assistant gets from the role, to the contribution that they make and so calls for assistants to look beyond themselves. It entails moving away from thoughts of, *what is in it for me?* The role of assistant as a vocation requires a shift in thinking whereby one needs to consider this profession in terms of service to be offered to others.

8.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, the role of assistant in higher education is more of a vocation than a profession. The remuneration package is attractive, but the rewards of the job are bigger than the paycheck. The assistant role is one of service and as a vocation, the job focus is the impact of the service delivered. It is a calling that requires adherence to high levels of integrity as illustrated in this chapter. It requires doing one's job with commitment and diplomacy despite personal biases. It also calls for adherence to the Code of Ethics and individual values.

In acknowledging the assistants' role as a vocation, both the employee and employer must regard the profession as important and worthy of commitment. Management's appreciation of the role of assistants as a vocation will help motivate the staff to also treat their work with the esteem it deserves.

In considering this role as a vocation, assistants are then called to change their attitudes about their work and how they deliver the service that they are mandated to provide.

Nevertheless, as we consider the role of assistant as a vocation, it is important not to neglect the aspect of professionalism even as we elevate the values attached to vocations.

THE VOCATION OF A REGISTRAR

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9.1 Introduction

This paper uses St. Paul's University (SPU) as a case and seeks to describe the setting up of an academic university registry that is robust, vibrant, efficient, committed and adheres to the ethical principles of integrity, truth and honesty. Principles are not side-lined, but rather are inculcated in the staff that are working in the section. In addition to the establishment of an academic registry, the paper also discusses ethical issues related to the transition from a theological college to a university.

So how did I land in the Registry? By profession, I am a trained administrator. I enrolled for a Master of Science in Management degree specialising in International Business from the Arthur D. Little Management Education Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA (now Hult International Business School), and later enrolled for a Master of Arts in Theology: Community Care and HIV/AIDS degree offered by University of Wales, Lampeter, and facilitated through St. Paul's United

Theological College (SPUTC), under the St. Paul's Institute of Lifelong Learning Programme (SPILL).

After graduating, I was hired at SPILL to run the programme as a senior assistant registrar. It was a small segment which required careful planning and follow up as it provided a link between the University of Wales; a fully-fledged University and SPUTC; with one master's degree programme namely a Master of Arts in Theology: Community Care and HIV/AIDS. As a link between the two institutions, I was involved in maintaining student records, materials preparation, monitoring and evaluating student projects. My duties also included preparing timetables and arranging for orientation, updating student financial status including tutoring, guiding and helping the students¹¹⁷ until they obtained their certificates. The work entailed integrity, honesty, discipline and commitment to ethical values that I embodied. The lessons I learnt from managing this one programme, were crucial as I later began to set up the Academic Registry of the college when it was accredited as a fully-fledged Christian Ecumenical University chartered as St. Paul's University in September 2007; an event I had the opportunity to attend.

The question can therefore be asked—is ethics important in the practice of being a registrar? Ethics is extremely important in every profession. Finding my profession was not simply about finding a job but rather finding my purpose and passion. My passion was to manage and organize and finding my job at St. Paul's University fitted the bill. A regard for ethical principles contributed greatly to the quest to develop a functional and efficient academic registry. The tasks I was to perform and my personality have been well fitted. The indication was, that being at St. Paul's University was based on the call. I believed it was something that I was good at and could therefore contribute to the University and to the community at large. The Christian environment would enable me to put into practice both duty as I would be expected to follow laid

¹¹⁷ Job Description, John Downing, MA/PGD in Pastoral Care & HIV/AIDS Programme, May 2006

down rules and also exercise freely my conscience to do the right thing such as being trustworthy, self-disciplined and dependable.

9.2 Small Beginnings: Transitioning from St. Paul's United Theological College to St. Paul's University

The significance of an academic registry in a university is its role in the management of student progression from application through to enrolment and eventual graduation. Equally important is its role in the implementation of academic policies and regulations; all aimed at enabling a university to perform its functions well. It is in this light that the academic registry became a crucial requirement as the transition from a college to a university took place. Having said this though, a registry is contextual according to the ethos of the university—that is, the values, beliefs and practices that characterize the institution. It is also these characteristics that endear a university to clients.

The roles for the academics registrar are articulated in the University Statutes¹¹⁸ but not so on how to set up a registry. The statutes offered me the rules but not the nitty gritty of how to put it together, meaning I had to interpret these rules in order to set up the office. The latitude this offered was a challenge. For this reason, I opted not to engage in teaching; which did not resonate well with all. However, I did agree to trade off my three-days a week schedule and accepted the terms as a full-time employee. A constant work challenge that I remember vividly included responding to the frequently asked question of “What does the registry do?” Explaining the functions of the registry to internal stakeholders as well as clarifying roles to differentiate those of the registry staff from those of the departmental staff was constantly done. In those early days, with a staff of three, a lot of hours were spent on setting up the structures such as defining job roles, setting up procedures and processes, including a lot of documentation. Time was also spent on attending to

¹¹⁸ Statutes for the St. Paul's University (n.d.).

academic related needs from students who presented themselves physically. Those were our days of small beginnings.

With an established academic registry having transitioned from a college to a university set up, we now moved into the next phase. This encompassed growing the registry in harmony with the overall university expansion. As the university grew and set up new campuses in Nairobi, Nakuru and Machakos, the Academic Registry responded likewise by increasing space, systems and staff. Space was not a major challenge, but staffing was. This required recruiting, selecting and training staff—no one comes in having a certificate in registry. Hiring of staff was done above board; it was done honestly and transparently. This growth saw the Academic Registry increase staff to the current twelve and with representation in all our four campuses.

I cannot but acknowledge that this growth was a result of the dedication and commitment made in the foundational stage. The Bible in Zachariah 4:10¹¹⁹ continually reminded me of the importance of obedience and commitment to the call and not to despise small beginnings. Like Zerubbabel and those with him rebuilding the new temple upon their return to Jerusalem following exile in Babylon were instructed not to get discouraged by the work “for the LORD rejoices to see the work begin....” Our small beginnings were significant to God even when we could not envision the bigger picture.

9.3 Admissions

As a fully-fledged University Academic Registry, the functions comprise student admissions, administration of examinations, being custodian of student records and determining academic policies; functions requiring utmost integrity and discretion. For student admissions, the principle of beneficence has applied. Beneficence refers to actions or

¹¹⁹ King James et al., *The Holy Bible* (World Publishing Company, 1979).

rules aimed at benefiting others.¹²⁰ The admissions process makes sure that student admissions are tailored to suit both the student needs and the programme requirements and where such a fit is not suitable, an alternative remedy is sought such as advising a student to choose an alternative programme or to enter at a lower level appropriate to their qualifications. Sometimes the alternative is not always pleasant, but honesty sometimes does pay especially when a student comes to thank you for advising them correctly. More so upon completion of their studies even though it may have taken longer due to starting at a lower level. Honesty too at times comes at a cost. For example, when a potential client opts to go elsewhere. This is painful especially at a time like this where universities are facing challenges in low student enrolment which impacts finances. This challenge is particularly severe in small universities like St. Paul's University, that face strong competition particularly from the public universities which are supported by the exchequer.

With the growth of the university an increase and diversification of programmes to the current thirty-four undergraduate and postgraduate programmes¹²¹ and over twenty certificate and diploma programmes, and a youth mentorship programme for the Form Four leavers came added responsibility. The effect of this on us as staff was the added responsibility of keeping abreast on the requirements of the new programmes in order to competently help and guide applicants and students according to their interests and in keeping with the individual programme requirements. We also abide by the regulations set by the regulatory authority namely the Commission for University Education (CUE) as well as the Admissions Policy¹²² used by the University to self-regulate. The policy defines and clarifies the admission criteria into

¹²⁰ Tom Beauchamp, 'The Principle of Beneficence in Applied Ethics (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy)', Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2019, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/principle-beneficence/>.

¹²¹ Self-Assessment for Institutional Quality Audit: 2020, pg. 20

¹²² St. Paul's University Policy on Academic Admissions No. 025 of 2015

the academic programmes. Our compliance to the regulations is necessary in order to be truthful in dealing with our clients as well as to build an environment of trustworthiness, which are core ethical values.

9.4 Examinations

Another major linkage between the Faculties and the Academic Registry is in the area of examinations. Examinations are an integral part of any university as they mark the peak of academic activities in any given semester. They offer a forum for the university to assess student competencies and skills in various programmes as delivered by faculties. In the university, the Examinations Office, domiciled in the Academic Registry is charged with the responsibility of processing, producing and dispatching the examinations to the campuses. The Examinations Office does not set exams. Rather it makes sure that examinations coming from the departments come intact and after ensuring proof-reading and formatting to conform to the university examinations standards adequate quantities are produced and dispatched to the campuses.

It is also the responsibility of the Examinations Office to ensure that exams reach the campuses and are received untampered. As staff, the integrity of the process and administration of examinations is taken with the seriousness it deserves. That notwithstanding, the Examination Office staff is guided by the Examination Regulations.¹²³ The physical office is out of bounds to students and staff not involved in examination processing. The office has a system in place which is able to detect and track any unauthorized changing of marks. These measures in themselves may not be sufficient to secure the process, so above this, all members of the Academic Registry must exercise integrity by being accountable, honest and confidential. By doing so, we would be keeping our promise to be morally upright in our line of duty. Like Sir Thomas

¹²³ St. Paul's University Examination Regulations, Revised 2020

More in Robert Bolt's "*A Man for All Seasons*"¹²⁴ the Registry staff must be men and women who are prepared to deal with a wide variety of situations calmly and efficiently even in a crisis. We must prove to be reliable and trustworthy. Despite external pressures, every member of the Registry must follow their conscience and act correctly even when others choose a less honourable path. We must all be men and women of all seasons. In practical terms, this means issues pertaining to conflict of interest should not arise even though registry staff are also engaged in teaching. We have to choose to abide by ethical standards including non-maleficence, that is not to intentionally inflict harm by for instance "cooking marks", having "sexually transmitted grades" or by engaging in duo relationships with students. Observance of these matters ensures fairness to students and also to employers who would otherwise employ graduates who are not "fully-baked" and thereby we would fail them and not live up to their expectations.

Examination periods are not only stressful to the students but to me as well. These are the periods where anything could go wrong despite all necessary measures being in place including tightened security. Thankfully, in the fourteen years of my service to the university, no examination grades have had to be withdrawn due to unethical practices on our part. As staff, we have conducted ourselves in an exemplary manner with utmost discretion and professionalism as custodian of student marks, giving the exams office its credibility.

9.5 Graduation

The highlight of any Academic Registry is in the successful execution of the university's graduation ceremonies and the processes thereafter leading to the issuing of certificates to graduates. The same ethical principles that apply in examinations handling apply when handling

¹²⁴ Robert Bolt, *A Man for All Seasons: A Play of Sir Thomas More* (Heinemann, 1996).

graduations. Linkages between various stakeholders such as the faculties, finance office, the library, the studios, accommodation department including volunteer students are necessary to ensure smooth clearance of graduands and eventual graduation ceremonies. It is always a grand occasion seeing our students achieve their goals and excitedly looking forward to starting or advancing their careers and on the path to realizing their dreams. At the same time, it also evokes some nostalgic feelings as one recalls memories of them over the years and the realization of how fast time has passed.

The graduation period is one marked with a beehive of activities. The flurry of activities ranging from meticulously ensuring students are cleared for graduation, the excitement and delight of seeing the selflessness of staff and student volunteers issuing graduation attire, labelling seats, helping to arrange the graduation square giving and eventually ushering guests is a delight. Everyone gives of themselves to ensure that the ceremony is memorable for their fellow graduating students. The dedication, diligence and willingness to serve are qualities that undoubtedly hold up to our motto to “Serve God and Humanity”. Each graduation ceremony for me has been memorable, however, the 29th graduation ceremony in the year 2020 will always stand out in my mind. It is one that pushed us to uncharted grounds as it was a virtual graduation, occasioned by the closure of learning institutions by the government due to the COVID-19 pandemic. For the first time, the excitement of students, their families and friends was absent as they followed the proceedings away from the main campus—we missed them. All was not lost though as we had our first pioneer students in the Doctor of Philosophy in Theology programme graduating and who were allowed to attend physically. With all necessary precautions taken the few dignitaries, guests and staff graced the occasion. During this period, the role of technology to clear, process and keep students updated on graduation preparations was again appreciated as they could access the status of their clearance online. Moving from office to office seeking clearance with manual

forms was now a thing of the past. In addition, students, their families and friends were able to follow the ceremony both on television as well as on social media and to add icing on the cake, were able to see their names projected on visual media.

Though many see the graduation ceremony as the end of the work for the Academic Registry, this is not so. The vetting and preparation of transcripts and certificates is undoubtedly the most important and sensitive activity as it ensures that certificates are only printed and issued to the rightful graduates. The entire exercise requires not only meticulous planning and execution, vigilance and accuracy, but utmost honesty and trustworthiness. Gladly, no certificates have been stolen or unaccounted for during my period of service. As mentioned earlier, even with well-designed systems and staff working in seclusion during the printing of certificates, these measures on their own are not fool-proof. Moral values such as truthfulness, dependability and sticking to one's moral and ethical principles and values are necessary in order to protect individual dignity as well as the reputation of the University.

9.6 A Testimony of Growth: Technological Advances

The Academic Registry was instrumental in the establishment of an automated student management system and the staff embraced it enthusiastically as it would diminish the manual systems of registration, student data storage and retrieval, and the decentralized management of examination results. With the manual system, there was a lot of dependency on the Academic Registry staff. Students, using the "pink form", required units to be booked for them and relied on the staff to accurately transfer the requests into the system. The same dependency was observed when students needed any changes on their study for example, wanting to drop or add units, change mode of study or campus, defer a semester or exams including having access to result slips or information on their course progression. The over-dependency on the registry staff

constantly saw heavy traffic of students in the Academic Registry. All these situations were remedied with technological automation.

As the University grew, so too did the need for more effective and efficient systems to support the processes. The early systems were basic, mainly storing examination marks and generating transcripts. However, as user requirements became advanced the need to integrate processes particularly between student management and the Finance Office became essential. Due to this, the University upgraded to an Enterprise Resource Management Project (ERP) system which enabled some integration of the two offices but after several years this still did not entirely meet all our needs, making it yet again necessary to move to the current system which is more robust.

The road to embracing technological advancement was bumpy. As is well known, change brings about challenges and the introduction of the automated student management system was no different. The systems gave lecturers more autonomy as they could now enter the examination marks directly into the system without going through secretaries and thereby fully owning the marks. Access to the marks ceased being decentralized and was now readily available to the relevant parties allowing for transparency and accountability. However, resistance to the technology uptake was notable from various quarters. The need to preserve the culture, an aversion to technology arising from limited exposure to computers, including the fear of not being to adapt to the new ways, particularly by the more mature staff and students were the major contributors to this resistance. The younger population though was more adaptable and willing to explore. For the technologically challenged, a lot of support in terms of training and hand-holding was undertaken; a sign of compassion for our colleagues. Being responsible and available to our brothers and sisters, allowed for understanding and transparency ultimately bolstering morale. The support included having student ambassadors who were technologically savvy helping their student counterparts in the computer labs throughout the semesters while for staff, an

ICT and Registry team was on call. Slowly, and with a lot of patience the hurdle was overcome. Another challenge was the migration of data from the old system into the new Enterprise Resource Management Project (ERP) without compromising examination grades. It took considerable time for data verification by the secretarial support team to accomplish the task.

Advanced technology also allowed students to have more autonomy, a core principle of ethics, as they were able to take greater control of their studies. They are now able to book, add or drop their units, view their results and programme progression, financial statements and transcripts online as well as to evaluate their programmes and more recently print their exam cards at their convenience.

More recent, in response to student needs, the introduction of a mobile phone application (SPU Student APP) was introduced where again the Academic Registry was in the forefront. The application offered students further independence by enabling them to access their student portal. The student portal is a platform that facilitates students to independently manage their academic activities as relevant information such as the academic calendar, programme roadmap (progression), examination results, student requisition forms, financial statements and timetable are contained within it. The application made the students more accountable of their studies and valued. In addition, the University was able to reach out to a much wider student population as students not able to afford laptops were now embraced.

The flexibility and convenience were remarkable; more so as the APPs implementation coincided with the 27th graduation ceremony in 2018. The graduands were able to view their names on the graduation list as they cleared for graduation. The large crowds jostling by the notice boards to confirm whether their names were on the list particularly during the graduation rehearsal day lessened significantly. Using their phones, students were able to confirm their inclusion in the programme

as well as identify their sitting positions. Such technology opened up more transparency that built trust and satisfaction from the students.

Even with automation, the role of responsibility, trustworthiness, reliability and diligence would still need to be adhered to. As the saying goes, “garbage-in garbage-out”, without correct or accurate input of data, the reports generated would not be useful. The growth in technology was needs-driven and in keeping with the University’s strategic plan which recognized that “with the changing landscape, the automated future is in technology, hence the decision for greater corporate focus on technology”¹²⁵ despite the high cost of investment including that of training of staff and students. The decision has enabled us to move with the times and be more efficient and competitive for example, being able to have students continue and complete their studies online even with the closure of learning institutions occasioned by the worldwide COVID-19 pandemic.

9.7 University Motto: Service to God and Humanity

In embracing the University motto; “to Serve God and Humanity”, my service as an administrator in the Academic Registry, has been essentially to serving God wholeheartedly. My work is a blessing and through it I have managed to extend the blessing by serving others, gaining inspiration from the scripture that says: “Therefore, my dear brothers and sisters, stand firm. Let nothing move you. Always give yourselves fully to the work of the Lord, because you know that your labour in the Lord is not in vain.”¹²⁶ I have chosen to lead by example, sought to exhibit fairness and honesty as well as being sensitive to the needs of our clients. Through serving students, staff, external clients and of course my family, I am able to serve God which is my purpose. It is from this that I derive satisfaction and find fulfilment. In addition, I do what I can

¹²⁵ Strategic Plan 2016 – 2025, iii.

¹²⁶ Holy Bible, New International Version, 1 Corinthians 15:58.

to encourage staff to further develop themselves in their area of service as well as academically. Also, the Academics Registry being a people-oriented office is the first stop for both parents and students and deals with different types of crises ranging from personal, academic and financial issues. Many a times I have sat down with students and parents going through challenges to pray with and encourage them.

Through service, the Lord has blessed the works of my hands. I have grown with a growing university (the university theme for the year 2010/11) and the time is now approaching to hand over the mantle/baton to someone else, to bring in new ideas and move the Academic Registry to even greater heights. When the time comes, I as a faithful servant, will move on gratefully into another station of duty for as Rick Warren rightfully says, “a faithful servant never retires”.

9.8 Conclusion

Sometimes we may not appreciate the advances made until one pens it on paper. Looking back on the years, I now see that my vocation has been marked with independence and fidelity to the university evidenced by my long service. This would not have been possible without the support, faith and trust of my supervisors namely the Deputy Vice Chancellors and the Vice Chancellors who believed in me. It is with great satisfaction to see how far both individually and collectively we have come. From the humble beginnings as an Assistant Registrar engaged in a single programme and initiating manual student management systems to now the Deputy Registrar with operational and automated systems in place and with increased staff. From the small graduation ceremonies to the current grand ceremonies with over two thousand graduands. On reflection, and seeing from where I started, I have come to appreciate the scripture from Luke 16:10 that states: “Whoever can be trusted with very little can also be trusted with much....”¹²⁷

¹²⁷ Holy Bible, New International Version, Luke 16:10.

THE VOCATION OF PARENTS OF STUDENTS

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10.1 Introduction: Taking our Youngsters and Youth Seriously – and Parents' Responsibilities

It is expected of every parent to take their children at whatever age seriously. This is a recognition that all our youngsters and youth as all our children are fully human and that they have a right to be treated as such. Like all human beings they are created in God's image and are endowed with certain inalienable basic human rights that cannot be taken away from them or denied them by any individual or authority anywhere. Such rights and freedoms belong to all human beings from birth until death. These rights may however be restricted for anyone in certain circumstances, whenever they threaten or infringe on the equal rights of others. These basic rights include the right to life and to being treated as a human being with dignity, fairness and respect. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognizes at least five basic human rights,

namely the right to equality as a human being, the right to freedom from discrimination, the right to life, liberty and personal security, the right to freedom from slavery and the right to freedom from torture and degrading treatment. Other rights include freedom of speech, the right to a fair trial and equality before the law, among others.¹²⁸ Christians believe that these rights are grounded and rooted in the Biblical narrative of Creation, and the Biblical teaching of God and his nature. The foundational non-negotiable basis of human dignity and natural law ultimately depends our understanding of God's nature and moral character, and of God as the source, guarantor and sustainer of human value.

Children at whatever age are to be recognized as full human beings and equal to all other human beings. These beliefs and values form the basis of our relationship with and treatment of children. Children should be taken seriously since their value is guaranteed by God, the Creator of everything and the proto-parent of all humans without exception, who accordingly bear the divine image.

10.2 Every Child Matters

It follows from the above that every child matters. The 'Every Child Matters' slogan has greatly contributed in bringing to light the dangers and risks to children's well-being such as the risk of being abused, of being bullied, of being subjected to underage work in homes, of being used to care for the sick and disabled relatives, or the risk of illegal and exploitative work in farms and fields, or in factories and industry, street vending, or the risk of becoming victims of the drugs and sex industry, the risk of becoming criminals, or of taking part in armed conflict or hostility. All these risks and dangers are real, and African children as well as children in other lands are widely and commonly known to be victims.

¹²⁸ *The UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights*

These illegal and cruel activities against children infringe on their right to life and become real barriers to the realization of their full potential. A child's sense of self-worth, self-esteem, self-respect and individual dignity is undermined through these activities. No child should be allowed to be a victim of these heinous crimes and deeds.

In bringing up and raising children, it is imperative to build and enhance our children's sense of self-worth, self-esteem and self-respect and their sense of individual dignity. Self-esteem is indispensable to our personal well-being, happiness and success. It is indisputably an essential human need. Self-esteem has been defined by Nathaniel Branden as "the confidence in our ability to think, confidence in our ability to cope with the basic challenges of life, and confidence in our right to be successful and happy, the feeling of being worthy, deserving, entitled to assert our needs and wants, achieve our values, and enjoy the fruits of our efforts."¹²⁹ Self-esteem is undeniably central to an individual's well-being and development, as well as their success and contributions. As Branden notes, "The level of our self-esteem has profound consequences for every aspect of our existence: how we operate in the workplace, how we deal with people, how we are likely to rise, how much we are likely to achieve – and in the personal real, with whom we are likely to fall in love, how we interact with our spouse, children, and friends and, what level of personal happiness we attain."¹³⁰ Branden considers self-esteem to be a basic human need – that makes an essential contribution to the life process, that is indispensable to normal healthy development and that has survival value. Self-esteem as Branden understands it requires the practice of self-acceptance, self-responsibility and self-assertiveness and ensues in the practice of living consciously, living purposefully as well as the practice of personal integrity. Self-esteem is arguably indispensable to an authentic, fulfilled, happy existence. The needs for nur-

¹²⁹ Nathaniel Branden, *Six Pillars of Self Esteem*, New York: Bantam Books, 1995.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

turing a child's self-esteem cannot be gainsaid. Branden reminds us that, "[h]ealthy self-esteem correlates with rationality, realism, intuitiveness, creativity, independence, flexibility, ability to manage change, willingness to admit (and correct) mistakes, benevolence, and cooperativeness. Poor self-esteem correlates with irrationality, blindness to reality, rigidity, fear of the new and unfamiliar, inappropriate conformity or inappropriate rebelliousness, defensiveness, over-compliant or overcontrolling behavior, and fear of or hostility towards others....The implications for survival, adaptiveness, and personal fulfilment are obvious. Self-esteem is life supporting and life enhancing."¹³¹

Parental nurturing should therefore aim to prepare the young to transit from the initial stage of total dependency to a state of self-respect and self-responsibility as well as psychological, intellectual and financial independence. Successful upbringing focuses on sharpening the survival skills and competencies of the young in a hostile and difficult world.

Parental nurturing needs to have this as its goal aim. This entails – nurturing our youngsters and youth's self-esteem in the non-hostile environment of home and close family members. The environment of home and family should facilitate the instilling of a sense of security and safety, through touch, love, acceptance, respect, visibility and recognition as well as through praise and positive criticism. It entails encouraging and promoting beyond the family and home the value of self-esteem as something to central in our educational institutions – from elementary to advanced, from basic to tertiary. It entails promoting and encouraging self-esteem in our workplaces, and in our all meeting places.

10.3 Formation and Education

A wholesome life-enhancing and empowering formation and education of children and young adults must proceed from the above recogni-

¹³¹ Ibid.

tion of who humans in general, and our children and young adults by extension are, and more specifically as created in God's image and of infinity value. The self-worth and dignity of humans and of our children and youth in particular is non-negotiable. The primary goal and purpose of formation and education in all our institutions of learning, elementary to advanced, must be the inculcation and instilling of this key value of the dignity and sanctity of every human life as well as the self-worth and self-respect of every individual.

The responsibility for this task is first and foremost parental but also communal and institutional. As is well recognized the process of nurturing and raising the young squarely falls on the shoulders of parents, and of the extended family as well as of the community and the supporting social institutions. Primary and secondary socialization throughout the life-course are the means through which we all become members of our respective communities, acquire basic values and lifestyles consonant with them. Primary socialization allows close relatives, parents, siblings, close family friends, that is, the so-called significant others to influence and mould the identities of their young, as well as of one another. Children and young adults grow up to reflect the communities of which they are a part, and moreover where they get to spend most of their time. As the widely known African saying popularized by Jane Cowen-Fletcher, by Hillary Clinton, and others goes, "It takes a whole village to raise a child."¹³² The community in which anyone grows provides the basis and foundation for what they later become. The village and neighbouring villages are a central part of the secondary socialization process that similarly also exerts a huge influence on the formation and education of all members of the community, and especially the young. The immediate social and cultural environment are key and crucial features of this process. Leading social institutions that are a part of this environment – religious, political, economic, legal and educational, among others are all implicated. The recognition and acknowledgement that forces of

¹³² Jane Cowen-Fletcher, *It Takes a Village*, New York: Scholastic Inc 1995.

globalization are unavoidably having a huge impact in transforming local networks and relationships as well as social and cultural realities is irresistible. These forces are powered via the social media and bring with them influences and global content from the industrialized and secular world of the leading Western nations. The cultural wars waged from these centres have a global reach. These have the power to ride on the back of local social media influences and their local content. The overall non-neutral agenda of the diverse and plural media is undeniable and arguably implicated in cultural wars. A culture war is defined as the struggle for dominance and hegemony of values, beliefs and practices among the diverse groups in a society or community. These wars cut across various religious, cultural, economic and political conflicts and fault lines involving morality, world views and lifestyles. The formation and education of the young takes place in the context of the above.

10.4 Laying the Foundation

The responsibilities of raising children and young adults to be self-supporting, responsible citizens and leaders in the community and in society rests primarily on parents, and secondarily on the extended community, the wider community and her institutions – religious, educational, legal, economic and political. To the parents belongs the first duty of laying the foundations for identity formation, self-esteem and self-respect, having a name and knowing their family relations and their nationality, i.e. resolving issues of identity, community and a moral compass. A young person’s sense of self or their self-concept is formed in the context of the everyday interactions, conversations, games, exchanges and feedback from parents and family members in the course of life. The sense of self or self-concept is as Nancy Van Pelt puts it: “the mental picture of oneself formed by feedback accumulated from others over the years and through the experiences of life.”¹³³ Moreover she

¹³³ Nancy Van Pelt, *Train up a Child*, Grantham, Lincolnshire, UK, 2009.

notes that, “[p]eople who possess self-respect like themselves, have confidence in their abilities, and are satisfied with their life and work. Since they have confidence in their abilities, they are able to try to risk attempting new things. If they encounter failures, they have ability to deal with them without whipping themselves mercilessly with guilt. They can move out of a failure pattern and begin anew. Those with self-respect not only feel innate value, but also know they have an important contribution to make in life. They feel loved and therefore, can genuinely love others. Because they feel good about themselves, they are able to respond positively to people and life situations.”¹³⁴

Parents have an ineluctable duty to help create a loving, caring and safe space and environment for the nurture of their young. A safe environment is not always easy to secure, in view of threats, dangers and risks lurking all around us; including those from the internet and cyber space, in terms of its moral content as well as in terms of its shadowy, pernicious and amoral characters waiting to lure the innocent and unwary in cyberspace. Parents are expected to safeguard their young against such dangers and provide safety nets. They are expected to create awareness and knowledge of all known dangers, threats and risks; and to provide counsel and advice as necessary for their prevention, avoidance as well as their elimination. It is the duty of parents to provide necessary feedback, filters and support systems intended to safeguard the youth. The aim is to guide them and help them gain and develop confidence and faith in themselves, and courage to safely navigate their way around all the surrounding dangers lurking in their immediate environment.

It has been said that parents are the most important factors in the young person’s early and later development. While fathers are important, mothers are indisputably the single most important factor in the life of the young. They exert more influence than all others. This is not to say that the influence of fathers should be discounted. Both mothers

¹³⁴ Ibid.

and fathers have their inputs in the formation and education of the young. It is best to see both these inputs as complimentary and essential. Thus, inculcation and instilling of the values of self-respect and self-esteem must be reinforced by both parents as well members of the nuclear family, and the extended family as well. Robert Brooks and Sam Goldstein identify key ingredients which they frame as “guideposts embedded in the mindset of parents who foster resilience in their youngsters.”¹³⁵ These ingredients and guideposts form the basis of discussion in their seminal and instructive book. Among the guideposts they deem important are the following: being empathic; communicating effectively and listening actively, changing negative scripts, loving our children in ways that help them to feel special and appreciated; accepting our children for who they are and helping them to set realistic expectations and goals; helping our children experience success by identifying and reinforcing their ‘islands of competence’; helping children recognize that mistakes are experiences from which to learn; developing responsibility, compassion, and a social conscience by providing children with opportunities to contribute; teaching our children to solve problems and make decisions; and disciplining in a way that promotes self-discipline and self-worth, among others.

10.5 Home as the Battleground for Attaining Victory

The above ingredients which constitute the “guideposts embedded in the mindset of parents” should perhaps be considered the requisite parental mindset, world view and modus operandi for fostering resilient and flourishing youngsters and youth. The ground and field for carrying this out is none other than our homes and close family circle as already noted. This is where the seed planted by the sower falls (Matthew 13.3-9), and where hopefully “some seeds fell on fertile soil and produced a

¹³⁵ Robert Brooks and Sam Goldstein, *Raising Resilient Children*, New York: McGraw Hill, 2001.

crop that was thirty, sixty, and even a hundred times as much as has had been planted.” Our homes are the ground, the environment for the nurture of its members and especially its youngsters and youth. The home is where we model who we are, where we live out our authentic selves. Members of the home including the younger members can see through the appearances to who we truly are, through our hypocrisies and lies to the truth about our true selves. Bill Carmichael has captured this succinctly in his fine 1997 book, *Habits of a Healthy Home – Preparing the ground in which your children can grow*, as follows: “Turning out good children is not something we do as parents, it is an environment we create. Healthy homes concentrate more on the why than on the how.”¹³⁶ In Carmichael’s view a good home should be able to provide answers to some basic questions often asked about life. These include questions regarding our security: Am I safe? Am I accepted? The questions regarding our identity: Who am I? Questions regarding our moral compass and our axiology: What are the rules? Is life good? Am I loved? And questions about community and destiny: Where do I belong? And Why am I here? Carmichael argues that these questions find a more satisfying answer in a healthy home. Such a home he argues, needs to be “a place of refuge, a place of formation, a place of boundaries; a place of celebration, a place of connection, a place of legacy, and place of purpose.” He contends that, “[i]n the end it’s the soil, the environment of home, that makes it happen. Refuge provides the place and lets us know we’re safe. Formation provides the virtues and gives us tools to become. Boundaries provide the context and let us know the rules. Celebration provides the joy and lets us know us know that life is good. Connection provides belonging and lets us know we’re loved. Legacy provides the roots and lets us know from whence we came. Purpose provides the reason and lets us discover our calling.”¹³⁷

¹³⁶ Bill Carmichael, *Habits of a Healthy Home – Preparing the ground in which your children can grow*, Wheaton, Illinois: Tyndale House Publishers, 1997.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

And so we all need a place to call home, a place of belonging, where I am affirmed, where I am accepted, where my privacy is honoured; where I experience a sense of peace, where a climate of simplicity is fostered; a place where the life of her members is fully and warmly celebrated, but especially the life of her youngsters and youth, celebrated with creativity and laughter, with song and dance, with contentment, with traditions, with ceremony; and bonding, where all her members connect through togetherness, through touch, through commitment; through work and play and hospitality; a place where we truly communicate with those we love; where we embrace our past, where we come to grips with our own mortality, telling our stories, belonging to each other, giving children a lasting inheritance.

It is in our homes where youngsters and youth experience self-respect and self-esteem, so essential to their successful formation and education. This happens primarily in the home through the loving and affirming words of members of the nuclear family as well as all those around them, and best expressed through their warmth, acceptance and love shown in their everyday actions and deeds. It is through this everyday and dynamic exchange that the young grow up to develop and experience the essential ingredients deemed necessary for their well-being, namely - a sense of belonging and identity, a sense of uniqueness, and the happy and satisfying feeling of being loved, feeling a sense of significance and firmly on the journey to resilience, thriving and flourishing. These feelings create the conditions for a healthy and satisfying and robust rounded development of the young.

10.6 Understanding, Identifying with, and Empowering

Parents are encouraged to be aware and sensitive of the physical, emotional, mental and spiritual needs of their youngsters and youth, in order to better help them and empower them for *growth* and *change*. They can only do this by getting close to them, identifying with them and endeavouring to understand them. This is best done in the context of

a full unconditional acceptance and non-judgmental appreciation of them as they are. Unconditional acceptance and affirmation opens the door for free and unhindered communication, and for an openness that allows for trust and deeper understanding.

Parents are especially urged to discover or identify the types of intelligences and competencies that their children may exhibit and so encourage them to develop and grow their gifting and talent. It is important that parents affirm and celebrate their children's gift and support the development of them. It is the youngster or youth's gift and type of intelligence that will guide their career path and development. Parents need to identify their children's area of strength and talent and walk with their children to better invest in the flowering and flourishing of a particular gift. The now discredited practice of forcing youngsters and youth to pursue their parents career path or preference, or that of some celebrated relative, is certainly not in the interest of the young person. Rather it is the potential in the youngster or youth that need to be identified for actualization or realization. Career guidance and counselling in educational institutions should support the parents in assisting the young to opt for the best options that are consonant with their innate intelligence and gifting.

When youngsters are fully accepted, affirmed, supported, encouraged and celebrated for their innate character, talents and gifts, this sets them free and unleashes in them an interest to explore and discover, to master and control, to be creative and inventive, to deconstruct and construct. The possibilities for transformation and ingenuity are thereby unleashed.

The lost arts of listening with our ears, watching and observing with our eyes, touching with our hands, smelling with our noses, among others, are what we need to know, appreciate and affirm in our young people, in order to support the optimal actualization of their God given potential and talents. As the saying goes, listening is more than hearing. We need to listen for meanings and for feelings. Listening should con-

nect and bond. Listening should help us to go beyond the surface to the deeper meanings and intentions of our conversations. It should take us beyond the mere words to the inner core of our interlocutor. And so, it should be when we communicate with our young. Better communication and listening will help parents better understand, identify with and empower the young in their chosen paths, vocation and professions.

Transformative and empowering parents will avoid an autocratic, judgmental parenting style or *laissez-faire* antinomian approach in seeking to support them in their quest for authentic existence. They would rather benefit from a middle way that defends and offers strong support. An approach that reflects this stance, as captured succinctly below¹³⁸:

- “Balances freedom and responsibility;
- Teaches control and guides the child;
- Accepts criticisms and suggestions;
- Encourages thinking before acting;
- Allows the child to ask questions and form opinions;
- Believes happiness is a by-product of self-esteem, confidence, assuming responsibility for choices, and being productive;
- Insists that the family operate as team;
- Is consistent;
- Refuses to rescue child from natural consequences;
- Is for cooperation, respect and trust.”

This compact list of suggestions contains much that needs to be distilled and comprehended. It offers some fine counsel on how to help, guide and walk with the young on their journey to safe discovery and to their destiny.

¹³⁸ Pat Holt and Grace Ketterman, *Choices Are Not Child’s Play – Helping Your Kids Make Wise Decisions*, Wheaton, Illinois: Harold Shaw Publishers, 1990..

10.7 Differently Gifted

It is important to appreciate the diversity and pluralism around us. God created diversity and pluralism right from the outset. He ensured that we are surrounded by an infinite diversity and pluralism wherever we look. This diversity is manifested both at the micro-level within and at the macro-level without. We see it all around us in every sphere of life. The diversity applies to the variety and diversity of people, nationally and globally. The diversity and pluralism of the types of people in our global home is vast and exceeds the usual diversity based on the stereotypical three colours of human skin. Similarly, the variety and diversity of our abilities, talents, gifts, competencies and skills is astounding. The reality is that everyone is gifted, but differently gifted. Moreover, some types of gifts remain as potential and are rarely actualized. Some talents are never fully exploited. Our Lord Jesus parable of the talents in the Gospels is a case in point. The theory of multiple intelligences first proposed by the Harvard developmental psychologist, Howard Gardner in his celebrated book, *Frames of Mind – The Theory of Multiple Intelligences*, recognized the diversity and variety of human intelligences. He suggested the following types of intelligences as follows¹³⁹:

- a) *Verbal-Linguistic* – refers to people who are good with words, and good at writing and speaking, memorizing and tend to be writers and journalists, lawyers, lexicographers, linguists, translators and interpreters, etc. (2004, chapter 5: pp73-98).
- b) *Musical-Rhythmic* – refers to people with strong musical ears, and a strong sense of musical patterns and tones, musical rhythms and structure, musical sounds. Those so gifted tend to enjoy singing and playing musical instruments, and opt for ca-

¹³⁹ Howard Gardner, *Frames of Mind – The Theory of Multiple Intelligences*, New York, NY: Basic Books, 1983, 2004, 2006.

reers as musicians, composers, singers, conductors. Examples include famous people like Ludwig Beethoven, Johann Sebastian Back, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Louis Armstrong, John Coltrane, Miles Davies, Fela Kuti, Toumani Diabate, among others. (2004, chapter 6:99-127).

- c) *Logical-Mathematical* – refers to people with a love of numbers, good at reasoning, pattern recognition and relationships, grasping abstractions, gifted with a knack for consistency and spotting contradictions. They tend to be scientists, mathematicians, computer and data scientists, engineers, accountants, and related professions. Examples include such famous people like Karl Friedrich Gauss, Gottlob Frege, Kurt Godel, David Hilbert, Alan Turing, Ludwig Wittgenstein, among others (2004, chapter 7:128-169).
- d) *Visual-Spatial* – refers to people gifted in visualizing things and good with directions, pattern recognition, maps, charts, videos, pictures, drawing, painting, visual arts, etc. Architects, artists, engineers, interior designers, photographers, etc are examples of people so gifted (2004, chapter 8:170-204).
- e) *Bodily-Kinesthetic* – refers to people who are good at moving their body or using their body or parts of their bodies to perform skills, play complex games, make complex moves or patterns, solve problems or fashion products. They tend to be dancers, athletes, surgeons, basketball, football players, i.e. people like Pelé, Michael Jordan, Misty Copeland, James Brown, Rudolf Nureyev (2004 chapter 9:205-236).
- f) *Interpersonal-Intrapersonal* – refers to people who love being around people, interacting with others, are good at understanding people, their emotions, feelings, motivations, intentions, conflicts and misunderstandings. They tend to be good at understanding non-verbal and symbolic communication. They

tend to be psychologists, sociologists, counselors, politicians. Examples include famous people like Sigmund Freud, Carl Jung, Jean Piaget, Carl Rogers, W.E.B. Dubois, Albert Bandura, Mother Teresa, among others (2004, chapter 10:237-276).

- g) *Naturalist* – refers to people who love nature and the environment and are gifted at recognizing the huge diversity of plant and animal types – the fauna and flora. They tend to be naturalists, botanists, zoologists, oceanographers, meteorologists, astronomers, geologists. Examples include people like Charles Darwin, Louis Leakey, Jane Goodall, Jacques Cousteau, among others. (Included in Gardner’s 2006 edition of his earlier 1983, 2004 book).

Recognizing this variety and diversity of giftedness is undoubtedly important for parents and teachers, since it encourages the appreciation of how different we all are. An awareness of this diversity leads to an avoidance of dumping everyone in the same pot, or stereotyping individuals. It leads to a better appreciation of strengths and weaknesses, differences and the essential reality of complementarity. It underscores our need for one another. It highlights the importance of recognizing that different students may be helped or hampered by different learning styles, depending on their gifting and competencies or intelligences. It helps to understand that not all can be physicians, or engineers, or scientists, or professors, mechanics, or cooks or farmers, or pilots or sailors or long-distance drivers. Everyone is key and everyone is needed. Everyone’s contribution is dispensable. Others capture diversity in terms not of intelligences but in terms of personality types – for example the popular so-called “four fundamental personality types” – *the sanguine, the choleric, melancholic or phlegmatic*, or the well-known Isabel Myers – Katharine Briggs 16 Personality Types based on Carl G. Jung’s theory of personality (See for example Isabel Briggs Myers, with Peter B. My-

ers).¹⁴⁰ These attempts and others that intended to understand personality are certainly helpful in underscoring human diversity and variety. This is the basis of understanding and appreciating the diversity of human gifting and competencies. We can only conclude that while everyone is differently gifted, everyone can contribute uniquely for the good of the whole. Embracing this truth and keeping it ever in mind in the formation and education of the young will prevent us from wrecking lives and careers and livelihoods.

Parents need to be especially sensitive to the diversity and variety in the character of their children, realizing that every child is different, every child is special, every child is differently gifted, even in something as common as being left handed, or being born dyslexic, or being differently abled or disabled. Parents have the awesome task of communicating and practicing these important realities in the lives of the young, from the very onset of their lives. Their contribution is critical and indispensable in demonstrating to their young the fact of their uniqueness and relevance, communicating to them in word and deed the important and unique contribution that every individual is destined to make and can make for the good of the whole.

10.8 Choices and Decisions Have Consequences

The choices and decisions parents and their youngsters and youth make certainly and undoubtedly do have consequences and it is a matter of crucial importance. The famous narrative poem *The Road Not Taken* by Robert Frost first published in 1916 – with the memorable lines cited below has much to teach us about decision making:

¹⁴⁰ Isabel Briggs Myers with Peter B. Myers, *Gifts Differing – Understanding Personality Type*, Palo Alto, California: Davies-Black Publishing, 1980, 1990.

“Two roads diverged in a yellow wood, And sorry I could not travel both and be one traveler,... I took the one less traveled by, And that has made all the difference.”¹⁴¹

Reflecting on Robert Frost’s poem suggests that normal decision making may be boiled down to four steps as described in Chip and Dan Heath’s book, *Decisive: How to Make Better Choices in Life and Work*. They refer depict these steps as four treacherous villains, i.e. as the “Four Villains of Decision Making”.¹⁴² The steps are given as follows:

Step One – You encounter a choice.

Step Two – You analyze your options.

Step Three – You make a choice.

Step Four – Then you live with it.

Interestingly there is a villain treacherously poised to afflict each of the four steps, as indicated in the italicized half of the following four stages, as follows:

Stage One: You encounter a choice. But narrow framing makes you miss options.

Stage Two: You analyse the options. But the confirmation bias leads you to gather self-serving information.

Stage Three: You make a choice. But short-term memory will often tempt you to make the wrong one.

Stage Four: Then you live with it. But you’ll often be overconfident about how the future will unfold.

To get out of this trap or conundrum, they propose four considerations, best remembered as WRAP. The four considerations are helpful if factored in the decision-making process. WRAP is a mnemonic standing for:

¹⁴¹ Robert Frost, *The Road Not Taken*, first published in 1916

¹⁴² Chip and Dan Heath, *Decisive – How to make Better Choices in Life and Work*, New York: Random House Books, 2013,18.

W – Widen your options, to avoid getting trapped in a narrow frame. Go for a multiple track or multiple options. Focus on a “this and that” rather than a “this or that”.

R – Reality test your assumptions by considering the opposite, rather than hunting for what confirms initial assumptions and preferences. Zoom out, get the big picture before zooming in for the close picture.

A – Attain Distance Before Deciding. Overcome short term emotion. Honour core priorities

P – Prepare to be wrong. Bookend the future, by considering a range of outcomes from very bad to very good, i.e. the possible consequences of the chosen action.

The above guidelines presented by Chip and Dan Heath provide a sound basis for evaluating situations typical of where we often find ourselves when making choices or decisions and include – carefully examining the spectrum of options or possibilities. The choices made have consequences and thus have the power over one’s destiny. Decisions and choices should, in the final analysis, be consistent with one’s values and long-term commitments. The moral framework or compass underlying the decision-making process is key. Parents are expected to patiently and consistently guide their young. This can only be accomplished when parents are close to their children.

Parents need to be sensitive to the needs of their offspring in order to better help them. They need to be aware of the differences between the different age groups and their needs. Jean Piaget, a Swiss developmental psychologist identified four stages of cognitive or mental development, namely – the sensorimotor stage: from birth to two years, involve the infant’s knowledge of the world through movements and sensations. The preoperational stage – from ages two to seven years, children learn to use words and picture to represent objects and tend to be egocentric. During the concrete operational stage – from seven to eleven years, children start thinking inductively about concrete events, and also be-

come less egocentric. During the formal operational stage: ages twelve and up – adolescents and young adults are able to think abstractly and hypothetically, reasoning deductively about moral, social and political matters. Piaget found out from his research that children are not miniature adults, but rather evolve slowly towards adulthood through a series of stages. The earlier developments involve body movements and actions. Later developments involve mental and logical operations and their applications to real world problems.¹⁴³

Lawrence Kohlberg's theory on the other hand is concerned with stages of moral development. Six stages are proposed. The first stage describes where moral behaviour is understood in terms of obedience and punishment, and the child's desire to avoid punishment by obeying rules. The second stage focuses on satisfying personal needs and receiving rewards, the 'what's in it for me?' stance or the 'you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours' mentality. This is an instrumental orientation. The third stage focuses on winning affection and social approval, by being a good boy or nice girl. The fourth stage is a law and order orientation where children blindly accept rules believed to be the same for everyone. The fifth stage understands rules and laws as tools for serving human ends, and as social contracts. The sixth stage is the highest stage and involves thinking of ethical rules and laws as having universal application and validity, focusing on such ideas as equality, dignity and respect.

These models of human development have been contested and alternative theories proposed. However, for purposes of this presentation/paper the focus has been on Piaget's cognitive development and Kohlberg's moral development theories to highlight the danger of ignoring cognitive and moral developmental differences among the various age groups. Other theories such as Sigmund Freud's theory of psycho-social development, Erik Erikson's theory of psycho-social develop-

¹⁴³ S.A. McLeod, "Jean Piaget's Theory of Cognitive Development", Simply Psychology. <https://www.simplypsychology.org/piaget.html>

ment, B.F. Skinner's behavioural theory, Albert Bandura's social cognitive theory or Lev Vygotsky's sociocultural theory, among others highlight aspects of the diversity and variety alluded to in this paper. For reasons of space, attention was not given to them. All the theories mentioned above, are in agreement in clearly indicating that children have varying needs and levels of understanding at various stages, and that it is important that parents remain sensitive and aware of them. They highlight further the theme of diversity and variety touched on in this paper, and the need to attentively and sensitively respond to the needs of youngsters and youth as they transition through the various changes, life crises, conflicts and challenges as they seek and struggle to offer guidance and counsel.

10.9 Parents: Discipling, Coaching and Mentoring

The challenge for parents to walk alongside their youngsters and youth in navigating the uneven terrains and journeys to self-discovery and growth toward their chosen vocations and professions is both complex and challenging. The call of parents is to coach, mentor and disciple their youngsters and youths, by being present rather than simply going through the motions, not simply by instructing but by modeling. The role and responsibility of the coach is "to observe, identify the problem, demonstrate good practice, propose solutions and monitor remedial action."¹⁴⁴ The competence, skill, demonstration and acquisition of the coach contribute to the quality of the outcomes. A good coach is able to confidently say – "watch what I do; follow my instructions or do as I say; see that it works; practice; teach others"¹⁴⁵ While coaching focus on skills and technical aspects, mentoring focuses on attitudes, values, vision and the whole person. Coaching is usually short term; mentoring

¹⁴⁴ Bryn Hughes, *Discipling, Coaching, Mentoring*, Eastbourne, UK: Kingsway Publications, 2003.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

is long term. Coaching focuses on position, competence and demonstration, mentoring focuses on relationship and trust. Coaching tends to be prescriptive and experiential, while mentoring is non-directive and reflective.

Coaching and mentoring are complimentary. Modeling perhaps best combines both. Modeling involves life and example. It is leading practically through apprenticeship, as with a master and an apprentice, or master and disciple. True masters through the example of their lives offer the most powerful model, pattern, picture of how to live, what to follow and what imitate. Modeling takes place in a life lived together in the home and in community. It happens over time and in varied situations and places as masters seek to model values – of love and forgiveness, of truth and integrity, of humility and hard work, of self-control, patience and persistence, creativity and playfulness, of joy and laughter, of generosity and hospitality, of risk taking and high expectations, of involvement and participation, of expertise and knowledge, of excellence and wisdom, among others. These do not come easy.

This in the final analysis is the ideal expected of us as parents – to walk alongside their youngsters and youth as friends, as master and disciple, as coach and coachee, as mentor and mentee, as partners and teammates in the game of life on the journey of life. It was not supposed to be easy, but by the grace of God and in His strength, we are encouraged to embark on the journey.

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PART C
ELECTIONS

CAMPUS POLITICS AND ELECTIONS: MY EXPERIENCES AS A STUDENT LEADER

*Thomas Nudi, Former President Student's Association
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11.1 Power is the Ability to Act

Power is not a material possession that can be given, it is the ability to act. Power must be taken; it is never given.¹⁴⁶ This are not my words but the words of William Horatio Powell an American author and actor who was a major star at Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. William Powell argued that you cannot sit pretty and wait for people to give you power rather you must be proactive and position yourself for power. The biggest question however is not whether power is given or taken but the means to which one ascends to the positions of power. Do the ends justify the

¹⁴⁶ William Powell. *The Anarchist Cookbook: Foreword*. (New York: Lyle Stuart, 1971), 27.

means? This is the elephant in the room that underscores whether a fair and free election has taken place; be it at the campus level or at the national level.

A few years ago, early in my life on campus in 2016, I decided to take a bold step and venture into campus politics for an elective post. I must admit with nostalgia that this was one of the best decisions I have ever made in my entire life, as it transformed me as a person and it unleashed my inner potential. Many people including close confidants and school mates saw this as a pipe dream and an exercise in futility as I had no financial muscle, was not well groomed, was not an eloquent speaker and was not from a well-off family. My dad was a school driver and my mum made a living from small businesses.

The widely held belief was also that you could not win an election without bribing people with money and lowering your personal values and principles. However, I was determined, and I wanted to change the narrative and prove the skeptics wrong that indeed it is possible to win an election fair and free without compromising your integrity. For many years I had been disappointed with the type of bad and poor leadership at the national level in most of our African countries, with my country Kenya not an exception. This type of poor governance had a ripple effect on the politics and elections of our institutions of higher learning. This is because most of the young leaders at campus level tend to regard national leaders as role models and emulate their way of doing politics.

I was yearning for change both at the national level and at the university level and I believed that we as the people should not wait for change to come but should set an example and be that change that we want to see in our countries. Most of our countries have a deficit of servant leaders and leaders who are transformational and bold enough to positively affect the lives of people and leave the world better than they found it. Our national politics and leadership have been associated with negative allegations of poor governance such as bribery and corruption which is a pandemic that is hitting most of our countries. Other social

evils such as tribalism and nepotism, racial discrimination, land grabbing, impunity, police brutality, murder, and siphoning of public funds and resources are also prevalent.

My personal mantra became “If it is to be it is up to me” and I decided that instead of always complaining about poor leadership why don’t I take the bold step and vie for those leadership positions and begin the process of changing the narrative from my campus level. One of my mentors Rev. Samuel Githinji who is our University Chaplain at St. Paul’s University always challenges me that, “If you want to become a preacher start preaching now and do not wait for tomorrow.” As an aspiring national leader, I decided that I must start preaching the gospel of servant leadership and transformational leadership while still on campus if we are to have any hope of changing our country in future and changing the narrative of bad and poor leadership.

The words of another mentor of mine Professor Joseph Galgalo who is our University Vice Chancellor at St. Paul’s University always ring in my mind: “Until the day the lion will learn how to write, the story will always favour the hunter.” This statement takes us back to where we began about power being taken and not given however the ascendance to power should be through a fair, free and legitimate process. To bring the point home I vied for an elective position for my first time as a sports and entertainment director on campus in the year 2016 and won a fair and free election through selling my manifesto to the students —without bribery and compromising my integrity, values and principles such as honesty.

The journey had just begun and the following year in 2017, I decided to challenge myself for the seat of the student president. Through God’s grace I won the elections without compromising my integrity, again proving critics wrong that indeed it is possible to win with honesty and integrity. After my first term in office as the student president I decided to make history in my university and ran for a second and final term as the students’ president back in 2018 and by the grace of God, again I

won in a fair and free election making me the first president to serve for two consecutive terms having been elected by a popular majority through a secret ballot.

Indeed, the stage was set for a new dawn in our campus politics and the belief that an honest and transparent candidate could win the elections fair and free while maintaining their values and principles became a reality through the example of St. Paul's University Students' President emeritus Thomas Nudi. The name became a household name and an example to be emulated by many students, giving many other upcoming and aspiring candidates the hope that indeed it is possible to be elected while upholding your principles and values. Every year our university always has a theme that we ride on as an encouragement which is drawn from Bible verses and is given to us by our university vice chancellor.

I remember vividly the 2017 theme that was given to us by Prof. Joseph Galgalo from Psalms 18:32 which says, "It is God who arms me with strength and makes me succeed."¹⁴⁷ This theme became part of my personal mantra and it has always encouraged me in good times and in bad times. Everything that happens in our lives was purposed to happen by God and it is never a coincidence. It is a higher calling to be a leader and serve the people and we need to pray that the holy spirit opens our eyes to see and our minds and hearts to fathom the plans that God has set for our lives here on earth. Oliver Wendell Holmes once said that, "Every calling is great when greatly pursued." And it is also said that many are called but few are chosen.

I believe that leadership is a calling from God and it is meant to ensure that God's will is done here on earth as it is in heaven and we are vessels used to fulfill His work which is service to the people and our societies. Through serving humanity we in turn serve God in the process as we cannot claim to love and serve God whom we do not see and hate

¹⁴⁷ New International Version. Holy Bible: Psalms 18:32. (Japan: Biblica. Inc, 2011), 552.

and not serve our neighbours whom are around us. During my last tenure in office as the president of the student union I was privileged to scoop several national awards due to my exemplary and servant leadership which helped transform the lives of the students and the community at large.

Most notably was the University Student Leaders Awards (USLA) in 2019 under the hospices of Africa Youth Leadership Forum (AYLF) where representing my university of choice St. Paul's, we emerged the top position beating over seventy universities in Kenya including the old and big names in the higher education sector. St. Paul's University was on top of the country. All this was thanks to the grace of God, teamwork from my fellow leaders and students and the unwavering support from the University management led by our able Vice Chancellor Prof. Joseph Galgalo. Emerging position one in the entire country was a great achievement in the history of our university.

Another notable award was the Utumishi Bora Awards in the same year 2019-Leadership category that I won for exemplary leadership and transformational agenda in the society. The award was under the hospices of Kenya Christian Professionals Forum (KCPF) and once again St. Paul's University was on the map. The focus has now shifted to the national level through trusting in God's timing and the process, believing that it is God who holds our future in His hands.

11.2 Fair and Free Elections

Elections have been used since time immemorial and as early in history as ancient Greece and ancient Rome, and throughout the Medieval period to select rulers such as the Holy Roman Emperor done through the imperial election and the pope of the Roman Catholic Church done through the papal election. An election therefore is simply a formal group decision-making process by which a population chooses an individual or a group of people to hold public office. In institutions of higher

learning the student body elects representatives to be their voice to the administration and champion for their rights, freedoms and grievances.

11.2.1 Purposes of Elections

The purposes and functions of students' elections in our institutions of higher learning include the following:

- *Legitimacy of the Students' Government:* Elections are held to enable the student council leaders to legitimize their rule. Legitimacy of the student government affords representatives the opportunity and power to exercise certain rights on behalf of the students.
- *Accountability of the Students' Government:* Elections serve as a means of checking the excesses of the student's representatives in government. When students feel that their aspirations and wishes are not being taken care of by their elected leaders then they can effect a change of leadership during their elections.
- *Political Participation:* Elections gives the students an opportunity to participate as voters or office seekers through declaring their candidature for a vacant position.
- *Communication Link:* Elections serve as a means of communication and representation between the school administration and the students. Through this process the students are able to air out their grievances and the decision makers can be able to address the raised issues amicably. Through the passing of certain school policies that affect the students, communication plays a very major role to inform the stakeholders.
- *Institutional Patriotism:* Elections encourage a sense of identification and belonging when it is fair and free. Students become proud of their institution and their elected leaders and feel that their say is important.
- *Political Education:* Elections raise the political awareness and consciousness of the students in the institutions of higher learning. Parties and candidates present their manifestoes and it enables the electorate to discuss political and other pertinent issues that affect them

extensively, thereby providing an opportunity for the resolution of controversies and arrival of some form of institutional consensus. It also prepares the students for the national elections as they become more proactive.

- *Smooth Leadership Succession:* This is realized through fair and free elections by voting for preferred candidates.
- *Opportunity to Test the Popularity of Leaders:* Elections are held periodically to test the popularity of the leaders and their supporters and political parties if they exist. It is also a platform of bagging the bragging rights in campus.

Across the world, elections have always been a very emotive issue that touches the hearts of many people and some have been peaceful while others have caused tears, character assassinations, violence, injuries, grudges and even deaths in some extreme cases. People who were once friends end up becoming enemies. This unfortunately has been witnessed in both campus politics and national politics. Many leaders have gone to extreme levels to ensure that they clinch their aspired positions of power at whatever cost including compromising their principles values such as honesty and integrity. In most African countries and institutions of higher learning, holding fair and free elections is not only a pipe dream, but also a mirage that does not see the light of day. In chapter six of the 2010 Kenyan constitution it talks about Leadership and Integrity¹⁴⁸ and the people who are fit to hold public offices as these offices are meant to serve the people. This means that there are some certain attributes and attitudes that are seen in a person that eventually propels them into leadership. *Honesty, hard work, teamwork, trustworthiness, empathy, integrity, accountability, commitment, risk taker, ambitious* among others are some of the positive attributes present in an upcoming leader.

¹⁴⁸ The Constitution of Kenya. Chapter 6: Leadership and Integrity. (Kenya: National Council for Law Reporting, 2010), 48.

Over the years history has shown us that most of our elected national leaders, once upon a time in their early lives, held leadership positions during their junior and senior education levels. The same is true for most appointed national leaders and corporate leaders. I am reminded of the words of the great Nigerian writer by the name Chinua Achebe in his book, *Things Fall Apart*, “[t]hat a chick that will grow into a cock can be spotted the very day it hatches.”¹⁴⁹ Most of these leadership traits are seen in their early stages of life.

11.2.2 Challenges of Elections

The following are some of the problems and challenges that prevent an election from being “fair and free” in our Institutions of Higher Learning and they take various forms such as:

- *Lack of an Informed Electorate* - The students who are the electorate may be poorly informed about the issues affecting them or even the candidates. Due to a number of reasons, such as lack of interest in politics or viewing politics as a dirty game, many tend to shy away from the whole process.
- *Lack of an open Political Debate* - In some institutions of higher learning freedom of speech is curtailed by the school administration favouring certain viewpoints or administration propaganda. The students who seem to be very vocal and championing students’ rights may be summoned and even taken to face the disciplinary committee on allegations of incitement. However, we have some good school administrations that listen and give students a right to air out their grievances.
- *Unfair Rules*-When you have a bad administration in place there will be a lot of gerrymandering, exclusion of unfavoured candidates from eligibility for office, needlessly high restrictions on who may vie for an elective position just to deter some certain candidates

¹⁴⁹ Chinua Achebe, *Things Fall Apart: Chapter 8*, London: Penguin Books Limited, 2013, 66.

who seem to be very radical against the status quo. These are experiences that I have witnessed in other institutions of higher learning from my fellow leaders as we have forums and networks where we engage with each other and learn how other systems work and operate.

- *Bribery*-Cases of candidates and their campaign teams bribing voters and the electoral commissioners is a common phenomenon at the campus elections. Some bribe the students and the bribery comes in many forms such as money handouts, buying of food, buying of both alcoholic and soft drinks depending on the student preference, promises of school tenders if elected into office among many other forms. These tactics have sometimes worked for or against the candidates.
- *Tribalism and Ethnicity*-Some of the student leaders have learnt this from their counterparts who are the national leaders and have used this strategy to divide students along tribal and ethnic lines which is very unfortunate and in bad faith. Tribal cocoons gang up against others and it no longer becomes an issue of ideologies and the content of character but where you come from in terms of tribe and ethnic affiliation.
- *Campaign Interference*-The destruction of campaign materials such as posters, banners is a strategy used by opponents who fear fair and free elections. Their aim is to destabilize their competitors and make themselves invincible. In some institutions we have heard of kidnappings taking place so as not to allow the opponents do proper campaigns.
- *Intimidation*-Voter intimidation is common especially in the public institutions where some candidates hire goons to intimidate the students to vote in a particular way. Some go to the extent of using violence if you argue a contrary opinion to theirs. Harassment of opponent campaigners is also a major occurrence from these goons for hire.

- *Character assassination*-During the campaign period a lot of innuendos and propaganda is peddled against candidates just to taint their names. In some cases, the allegations may be true but in most cases the strategy is to exaggerate the facts and cast a shadow of doubt on their character. Some of these tactics include painting the candidate as a drunkard and irresponsible person, a drugs abuser, a womanizer, an academic dwarf, a proud and an arrogant person, a person who lacks empathy among others.
- *Tampering with the election mechanism*-Like ballot access rules, manipulating thresholds for electoral success are some of the ways the structure of an election can be changed to favour a specific faction or candidate. This can also include confusing or misleading voters about how to vote, violation of the secret ballot, ballot stuffing, tampering with voting machines, destruction of legitimately cast ballots, voter suppression, voter registration fraud, failure to validate voter residency or campus, fraudulent tabulation of results, and use of physical force or verbal intimidation at polling places.

11.2.3 Are Free and Fair Elections with Ethical Standards Possible?

The question therefore begs, “Is it possible to have fair and free elections while upholding high ethical standards, delivering as an aspiring leader and maintaining the same standards even after being successfully elected into office?” The values and principles that a leader subscribes to are very important and they should be positive. Is a leader born or made? This question has always been a point of discourse with people amplifying different views. Personally, I believe that leaders are both born and also made. It is a combined effort. Dr. Myles Munroe once said, “Don’t be a pigeon if you were born to be an eagle.” All of us are born to be like the great eagle and unless we discover the power that is bestowed in us by God we will always remain and feel insignificant and we will never realize our greatest potential.

We all have a unique part in life to play and make a difference. As Robin Sharma argues in his book, *The Leader Who Had No Title*, you

don't need to have a title, power or wealth for you to be a leader. We are all leaders in our own respective rights¹⁵⁰ whether in a small or a big way. We are born with leadership attributes and it also takes effort to sharpen the leader in us by consistent improvement of our unique inner and outer endowments given to us by God.

Another great philosopher also argued that not all famous people are great, but all great people are famous. And greatness is measured by service and service is the amount of sacrifices made to impact the people we lead and the society at large. Therefore, leadership is all about service to the people.

Different institutions of higher learning have their own way of doing student politics, campaigns and even elections. In most public institutions of higher learning in Kenya, elections are a bit different compared to their counterparts in the private sector. Some go the delegates way and others the popular majority vote way. This is due a number of reasons such as the number or population of students in most public institutions of higher learning are larger compared to private universities. Most public universities also have more branches and affiliate colleges compared to private schools.

By having fair and free elections from the campus level ensures that confidence is built and strengthened and the relationship between the students, the student leaders and the university administration becomes healthier and cordial. This will in turn prevent the bad blood that has been witnessed in some of our institutions where students have gone on strike, damaged school property and in some cases, have been injured in the process. Student unrest has led to delayed completion of studies for some students as result of an interruption of their study years and has even caused some institutions to close indefinitely.

¹⁵⁰ Robin Sharma, *The Leader Who Had No Title: A Modern Fable on Real Success in Business and in Life*, New York: Free Press, 2010, 43.

11.3 Characteristics of a Fair and Free Election in Institutions of Higher Learning

Fair and free elections are important principles that characterize a credible electoral system as elections are at the core of any political system. In a fair and free election, every student who is eligible and willing to vote has the right to register as a voter and vote. In addition, all votes cast are counted, and the results demonstrate the will of the electorate. Below are six important aspects that depict fair and free elections:

- *Secret Ballot*- The secrecy of the ballot means that during an election each vote cast remains anonymous and voters mark ballot papers in a private space to prevent any attempts of voter coercion.
- *Violence and Corruption Free*- For elections to be seen as fair and free, they need to be free of violence, intimidation, improper influence or corruption. There need not be fighting or use of force with the intention of swaying voters to vote in a certain way. Those involved in the electoral process should also avoid any misconduct that would amount to bribery and corruption.
- *Conducted by an Independent Body*- Elections should be conducted by an independent body for them to be considered free and fair. Different institutions have different methods and laws of conducting their elections. This needs to be followed to the letter.
- *Transparency*- Transparency is critical in building trust and confidence of stakeholders and the general student population that an election process is indeed fair and free. A transparent election is one that is open and can easily be inspected or observed by relevant stakeholders including political parties, observers and even voters. The stakeholders should be able to confidently verify there were no irregularities in the process of conducting elections.
- *Neutrality*- Elections should be conducted in an impartial, neutral, efficient, accurate and accountable way. There should be no bias by the administrators and all aspirants should be treated equally with fairness and respect.

- *Accuracy*- Accuracy should also be observed to ensure tallying of all votes cast is done correctly so that the results are a true reflection the will of the people. Institutions responsible for managing elections need to carry their responsibilities as expected and be accountable to the public for elections to be fair and free.

11.4 Conclusion

Trust is the most important thing when it comes to a fair and free election as both the candidates and the electorates need to have faith in the entire process and in the electoral commission. Stephen R. Covey in his book, *The Speed of Trust* argues that trust is the one thing that changes everything. He says that trust is very important in any organization and also in our personal lives so as to achieve success. The five waves of trust that Covey emphasizes are; *Self Trust, Relational Trust, Organizational Trust, Market Trust* and *Societal Trust*. When it also comes to leadership and politics trust is key as it will determine what kind of a relationship shall exist between people and therefore it is important to maintain it at all levels of our lives.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ Stephen R. Covey, *The Speed of Trust: The one thing that changes everything*, New York: Free Press, 2006, 1-384.

THE ROLE OF CHURCHES IN NATIONAL ELECTIONS. THE CASE OF DR CONGO FROM CONFLICT TO PARTNERSHIP

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12.1 Introduction: Presidential Elections 2006-2018

Since 2006, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has faced recurrent conflict situations surrounding presidential elections despite the signing of the Global and Inclusive Agreement in 2002, following the Inter-Congolese Dialogue held in Pretoria which recognized sovereign, free and transparent choice of leaders for the Congolese people. During the three experiences of elections in the DRC (2006, 2011 and 2018), tensions are noticeable between the church and the state because of non-monitoring of previously signed agreements between the government and the opposition for peaceful, transparent and democratic elections.

In 2006, when the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) declared Joseph Kabila winner over Jean-Pierre Bemba, tensions rose, there were contestations against frauds, violence was recorded, conflicts between the two rival groups heightened and deaths were recorded in some cities

of the DRC. The Catholic Church, through the CENCO, called the two protagonists to focus on dialogue and peace in the higher interest of the nation.

In 2011, the same scenario made its upsurge. Tensions arose after the proclamation of Joseph Kabila's victory over his challenger Etienne Tshisekedi. There were disputes, arbitrary arrests and many people died claiming the victory of the opposition until a presidential oath ceremony was organized at the loser's home. The Catholic Church is still against the power in monitoring the electoral process. The same was true in 2018. What is absurd in these elections is the Protestant Churches, Revival Churches and Independent Churches remain silent, and some tend to support the power by opposing the Catholic Church. Thus, the voice of the church is weakened because of inter-ecclesiastical opposition. As a result, it lacks an effective message to give to the Congolese population.

During these three experiences, tensions did not leave the population without unfortunate consequences in terms of human rights violations, protestations, arbitrary arrests and death. Facing this situation of conflict, what should be done? Should the church withdraw from political affairs and deal solely with religious affairs? An anticipatory answer would be for the church to redefine its prophetic mission as a voice of the voiceless for the establishment of justice, democracy and peace in the DRC, and develop partnership with the state in a spirit of collaboration.

The approach pursued in this reflection is descriptive through the presentation of what happened between the church and the state relationship, their responsibilities and the partnership they must foster in order to achieve peace in the country. It is important to notice that the church-state relationship in the DRC is not only contemporary but also of the past. The story traces the situation from the advent of president Mobutu Sese Seko to power where the church began to raise its voice against the government. However, this reflection focuses on the period

and process of the presidential elections from October 2016 to December 2018.

Realizing this work, I was inspired by personal observation and electronic sources related to the theme to explore the church-state relationship in the DRC in order to learn what is at the root of the tension. While another part of the reflection is based on looking to the Bible to understand the nature of the relationship that should characterize the church and the state, in terms of their responsibilities for the well-being of the population and peace in the country.

12.2 Church-State Relationship During the Presidential Elections 2018

12.2.1 Historical Overview

After having noted the failure of dialogue of the political agreement signed in Kinshasa under the convocation of Joseph Kabila on October 18th 2016 and the mediation of the African Union through his envoy Edem Kodjo, the Catholic Church interceded to find an agreement between the governing power and the opposition to get the country out of social and political crisis. It was on December 31st, 2016 that a comprehensive and inclusive agreement was signed at the Kinshasa Interdiocesan Centre known as the “Accord de la Saint Sylvestre” (New Year’s Eve Agreement), setting the elections for the end of 2017 and specifying the concepts to be used, the respect for the Constitution, the institutions and their functioning during the pre-electoral and electoral period, the electoral process, the political relaxation, the mechanism for monitoring the implementation of the political agreement and the electoral process, and the form and value of the political agreement.¹⁵²

¹⁵² Radio Okapi, *Accord de la Saint Sylvestre: On ne parle pas seulement du processus électoral*, in <https://www.radiookapi.net/2017/12/25/actualite/politique/accord-de-la-saint-sylvestre-ne-parle-pas-seulement-du-processus>, consulté le 25.02.2019.

In spite of this agreement, the church-state tension continued because the government did not want to put into practice all the resolutions made. The debate focused more on the verification of the electoral file at the Independent National Electoral Commission (CENI) server and the voting machine described as a “thieving machine”.

The more open tension is visible after the provisional proclamation by the Electoral Commission of Felix Tshisekedi as the winner of the elections on December 31st, 2018. The Catholic Church declared aloud to “know the name of the winner of the presidential election to better ask the Independent National Electoral Commission (CENI) to proclaim the results in the respect of truth and justice.”¹⁵³ This statement opens a conflict between supporters of Tshisekedi after Fayulu was declared loser but winner according to the Catholic Church that claimed to have evidence from its observers sent throughout the DRC. Earlier, on 2 January 2017, Cardinal Monsengwo Pasinya described the security forces and Congolese authorities as mediocre and must give up.¹⁵⁴

Thus, the Catholic Church developed a sceptical attitude towards the electoral commission and the power established. For this reason, the church was absent from the handover and swearing of the new president. Meanwhile, other religious groups, the Protestants and the Revival Churches, have leaned towards observance. Their silence would be understood as participation and acceptance of this false declaration. Nevertheless, even so, there was the case of a Protestant pastor at the commemoration mass of the 17th anniversary of the death of Laurent-Désiré Kabila on January 17th, 2018, where Rev. Dr. François-David Ekofo Bonyeku, dared to raise his voice against the government. The reverend

¹⁵³ Agence France-Presse, *L’Eglise se mêle des élections en République Démocratique du Congo*, <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1144922/republique-democratique-congo-elections-conference-episcopale-cenco-resultats>, consulté le 26/02/2019.

¹⁵⁴ Kinshasa Times, *Menacé, le pasteur Ekofo s’en va en exil aux USA*, <http://www.kinshasatimes.cd/menace-le-pasteur-ekofo-sen-va-en-exil-aux-usa/>, consulté le 26/02/2019.

risked his life by taking this stance and narrowly escaped, fleeing on a UN flight to exile in the United States, with no hope of returning home.¹⁵⁵ This created a cold tension between the Catholic Church and other religious groups in the country. Yet they are all supposed to accomplish together the common mission entrusted to them by God.

12.2.2 Causes of Church-State Conflicts

The reflection focuses on the causes of the conflictual relationship between the churches, the Electoral Commission and the ruling power.

a) Opacity of the Electoral Commission

Since the electoral practice began in the DRC, the electoral commission has always been condemned for its opacity. This worsened in the last elections of 2018 where the electoral register was condemned for supposedly containing fictitious voters and the use of voting machines was restricted or refused.

The Sentry reports that, so far, the preparations for the elections have been marked by adversity: multiple postponements, lack of transparency and allegations of corruption, ethical violations, and alleged government intrusion into the technical aspects of the preparations. This report explores a series of alarming developments in the electoral process, including allegations of corruption in the award of contracts related to voter registration, a lack of transparency in the financial management of the National Independent Electoral Commission (CENI), outstanding issues regarding the integrity of voter lists, and the presence of security breaches in electronic voting machines. Taken together, these factors seriously question the credibility of the electoral process and, more

¹⁵⁵ Alain Diasso, *Rapport Etat-Eglise: le pasteur protestant David Ekofo en exil forcé*, <http://www.adiac-congo.com/content/rapports-etat-eglise-le-pasteur-protestant-david-ekofo-en-exil-force-79145>, consulté le 26/02/2019.

broadly, question the possible past and present manipulation of certain technical aspects.¹⁵⁶

From the above, it can be seen that CENI is accused of a significant lack of transparency in terms of organisation, finance and even in the way it prepares for the elections. The opposition supported by the church denounced these facts by calling on CENI to be transparent for peaceful and democratic elections. On several occasions, the population has risen up against these facts, but has always been a victim of the atrocities of the ruling power.

a) *Hidden agenda of the central government and doubt of the opposition*

The silence of the ruling government, its fierce reaction to demonstrators denouncing the misdeeds of the CENI and its impossible concern to call on the CENI for a possible change, showed that the ruling government has a hidden agenda that it wants to accomplish. As an illustration, the impossibility of consensus on the use of voting machines and the revision of the electoral register, deemed unfit and likely to have a positive impact on the Joseph Kabila's candidacy from the parliamentary group, Front Commun pour le Congo to the detriment of the opposition. Unfortunately, this situation has caused scepticism to develop among the opposition and the church about a peaceful electoral process.

b) *Non-respect for human rights*

No public manifestation was organized without facing atrocities from the ruling power. People have always been reprimanded by force. In most cases, human rights have not been respected. As an illustration, the right of speak, for peaceful demonstration and for life. Lay Catholics, joined by some Protestants, organized peaceful marches that resulted in serious human rights violations by the government force. The par-

¹⁵⁶ The Sentry, *Elections en RDC: reports et signaux d'alarme*, Septembre 2018, 1. Voir aussi <https://afrique.lalibre.be/app/uploads/2018/09/the-sentry.pdf>, consulté le 26/02/2019.

ishes of the Catholic Church have been victims of many atrocities by the so-called “force de l’ordre”. Cardinal Monsengwo Pasinya says:

“We want proof of this: the fact of preventing Christian faithful from entering the churches to participate in the Eucharistic celebration in the various parishes of Kinshasa, the theft of money, telephones, the pursuit, the systematic search of people and their belongings in the church and in the streets, the entry of soldiers into the residencies of some parishes under the pretext of seeking out the sowers of unrest, the killings, the live and point-blank shooting of Christians holding Bibles, rosaries, crucifixes and statues of the Virgin Mary in hands.”¹⁵⁷

d) Insecurity

The DRC is known for cases of insecurity perpetrated by several organized rebel groups in the east of the country, not for conquest of power but for looting the country’s wealth. The population is often the victim of their atrocities namely, forced labour including the enrolment of children in army groups, sexual slavery and rape of women, and killings of all kinds. Faced with this deplorable situation, the church has always attracted the attention of the state to put an end to these barbarities. However, the state’s inactivity has given rise to suspicion of its complicity in people’s suffering because of what M. Berdal and D. M. Malone call the “greed model”¹⁵⁸ based on natural resources leading to conflict and war for enrichment.

Natural resources are the basis for fuelling conflicts and wars in the country because money must be found for the purchase of weapons, the

¹⁵⁷ Radio Okapi, Cardinal Monsengwo: Il est temps que les médiocres dégagent et que règnent la paix et la justice en RDC», <https://www.radiookapi.net/2018/01/02/actualite/politique/cardinal-monsengwo-il-est-temps-que-les-mediocres-degagent-et-que>, consulted le 26/02/2019.

¹⁵⁸ M. Berdal and D. M. Malone (eds.), *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000.

financing of rebels and the spread of terror among the population. The provinces of North Kivu, South Kivu and Ituri are victims of insecurity perpetrated by uncontrolled armed groups without any objective. They loot, rape and slaughter the innocent population.¹⁵⁹ Today there are several cases of internal displaced people and refugees in neighbouring countries, Europe and the USA. In most cases, women and children are victims.

e) *Corruption*

Since June 30th, 2009, President Joseph Kabila has launched the “zero tolerance” operation to put the justice and economic sectors characterized by several cases of corruption, in order. It had become a slogan not in the sense of demonstrating the will to change the situation but a

¹⁵⁹ Foreign armed groups known: Les Forces démocratiques alliées (ADF-NALU), les Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda (FDLR, FDLR-FOCA, FDLR-RASTA, FDLR-RUDI), et l’armée de résistance du Seigneur (LRA), les Forces nationales de libération du Burundi (FNL), Front du Peuple Murundi (FPM), Front du Peuple Murundi-Alliance Divine pour la Nation (FPM-ADN), Forces Démocratiques Alliées (FDA). These are the foreign rebellions that have been raging in the DRC since the 1990s and remain active until this day.

Internal armed groups: **APCLS**-Alliance des patriotes pour un Congo libre et souverain, NDC – Nduma Defense of Congo, UPCPIFPC – Union des Patriotes Congolais pour la Paix/Forces Populaires, PARECO, Forces de défense locale Busumba (FDL), Front de défense du Congo (FDC), Union des patriotes congolais pour la paix (UPCP/FPC), Mouvement d’action pour le changement (MAC), Mouvement populaire d’autodéfense (MPA), Forces de défense des intérêts du peuple congolais (FDIPC), Kata Katanga, Forces de défense nationale (FDN), M18, M26, FRPI-Forces de résistance patriotiques en Ituri, MRPC-Mouvement de résistance populaire du Congo, M23 Mouvement du 23 mars 2009 ex CNDP, ALEC – Alliance pour la libération de l’est du Congo, MRE-Mouvement pour la revendication des élections, Kamwina Nsapu, several groups are called Maï-Maï (Mazembe, Nyatura, Yakutumba, Malaika, Simba, Raïa Mutomboki, Shetani, Jackson, Kifuafua, FDC – Forces de défense congolaise, Folc, MCC-Mouvement congolais pour le changement, URDC, ...).

kind of mockery because corruption is always perceived as an easy way to quickly get justice and richness. It was believed that fear of punishment would reduce corruption in the country. However, the Congolese have lacked a model to follow in order to change their behaviour. Nevertheless, the church has always denounced cases of corruption without being heard. François Misser affirms that the National Episcopal Conference of Congo (CENCO) and its Justice and Peace Commission denounced the plundering of natural resources, leonine mining contracts, pollution, and the trafficking of red wood involving members of the presidential family.¹⁶⁰

Corruption is decried in all areas of the state, especially in the justice and elections sectors. It is one of the subjects that divide church and state. The electoral commission and then the constitutional court were accused of being corrupted by agreeing to proclaim Felix Tshisekedi as president of the republic by rejecting the appeal of the losing candidate Fayulu without convincing reason. The presidents of the electoral commission and the constitutional court have been accused of corruption and obstruction of the democratic process. This prompted the public's revolt leading to material damage and loss of human life at the organisation of senatorial elections.

For the Episcopal Conference, “anything can be bought”, diplomas, voters' cards, voting, work inside government, justice, etc. Corruption is sometimes mitigated by the terms *madesu ya bana* (children's beans), motivation, sweet, commission, follow-up fees, bribe, *mungiya poli* (file opening fees), scout, *kata mudomo* (cut off the mouth or close the mouth and pass the file, return fees), *boma moto* (extinguish the fire), *kanga miso* (blindfold), etc. This practice has become somehow normal in all sectors of government with repercussions in some churches and schools. Hence, with money you can have everything.

¹⁶⁰ François Misser, «L’Eglise congolaise contre Kabila», in *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Avril 2018, 22.

f) *Interpersonal and inter-ecclesiastical conflict*

When the Catholic Church fights by condemning evils that gnaw the country, other churches look passively. Moreover, when the scolding is directed against an active member of the government who is of Christian faith, the whole church remains behind him despite the reality of misconduct. Therefore, tension arises between churches. One church rises up against the other over the bad-mouthing of a faithful member. Sometimes this situation leads to the eruption of interpersonal conflicts between members of different churches.

12.2.3 Consequences of the Church-State Conflict

The consequences are many. We will focus our attention on major consequences.

a) *Challenging the legitimacy of institutions and their leaders*

The church-state conflict negatively affects institutions and their leaders. On many occasions, voices are still heard rejecting the results published by the electoral commission. Disputes are being heard everywhere against the institution, because of lack of transparency in handling electoral results. Thus, it loses its legitimacy and treated as if corrupted. The loss of confidence from the population results claims the resignation of electoral commission staff. Freddy Mulongo reports that Father Donatien Nshole had declared that the Congolese people were distraught. A shrewdness is set up to confuse people. Even those who torpedo the agreement do so in the name of the agreement. This behaviour has caused the population to lose confidence in the country's institutions. The Catholic Church in the DRC has been cheated by the occupation and imposture regime.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ Freddy Mulongo, «RDC: L'Eglise Catholique seule à sauver le Congo», <https://blogs.mediapart.fr/freddy-mulongo/blog/040119/rdc-leglise-catholique-seule-sauver-le-congo>, 28/02/2019.

b) People's revolt

The church-state conflict is at the root of some population upheavals. The prime example is that the church organized marches to request the holding of elections and asked the President Joseph Kabila not to run as a candidate because his mandate had ended. However, the demonstrators were facing the reaction of the police. Cases of arbitrary arrests, injuries and deaths have been recorded. In some areas, militia groups were created against the government army. These include Mbudi Dia Kongo, Kamuina Nsapu and others in the eastern part of the country. As a result, there is an upsurge in endless wars that aggravate the suffering of the innocent people.

c) Human rights violations

When the church-state relationship is strained, there is human rights violation in the sense that the state decides to close its ears so as not to hear the voice of the churches and does what it wants. Unfortunately, its actions tend, in most cases, to abuse human rights supported by the country's constitution. As examples, the prohibition of sit-ins or public meetings in the name of disturbing public order, the ban on opposition and international radio stations (RFI), the prohibition of certain international journalists from travelling across the country and the disconnection of internet access to prevent the population from communicating with one another. At times, freedom of worship is not observed due to the over-militarization of places of worship which are incompatible with power.

Christian priests and pastors in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) have become increasingly concerned about their safety. The kidnappings, threats, pressures and harassment to which they have been subjected for some time now are increasing.¹⁶²

¹⁶² Ibrahim Cisse, «RDC: les religieux chrétiens de plus en plus inquiets», <https://www.cath.ch/newsf/rdc-religieux-chretien-de-plus-plus-inquiets>, le 01/04/2019.

d) Death

Several people have already died in the DRC during demonstrations repressed either by the military or by militiamen. As a result, in some areas many women have been widowed and orphaned children are forced to live on the streets without hope of living. Many children are forced into banditry, drug taking, sexual slavery by militiamen, hard labour in mines or families, and other circumstances that put them at risk. Moreover, women for survival enter the sex trade which puts them at risk of contracting sexual transmitted diseases. Therefore, the HIV/AIDS prevalence rate is high in some parts of the country. Some women, like children, are subjected to sexual slavery by armed groups, and are victims of several forms of violence imposed either by society or by men.

To avoid death, many internally displaced people and refugees without identity are registered abroad. They express the desire to return to their places of origin, but insecurity persists. These displacements cause certain risky behaviours to develop among the displaced. For example, because of famine, a person may engage in theft, immorality or burdensome work.

e) Division between churches

The situation prevailing in the DRC stems from the division between the different churches, especially between the Catholic Church and the Church of Christ in Congo (ECC) that brings together the Protestant churches. As previously reported, this division is remarkable in the sense that the Catholic Church tends to take a position behind a candidate while the Protestant Churches, in silence, leave the people free to choose whomever they want. It is good to make an ecclesiological analysis of these religious groups.

12.3 Various Ecclesiologies and Politics in the DRC

The attitude of the churches during the elections of 30 December 2018 was diverse. Not all churches behaved in the same way. There were those who presented an imposing attitude as donors of lectures to politicians, others had taken a position in favour of a political party or candidate and still others, instead of imposing themselves or taking a position, preferred to let their followers freely choose their membership in a political party or support the candidate of their choice. This has given way to different ecclesiologies.

12.3.1 Ecclesiology of Supremacy

The ecclesiology of supremacy is the one in which the Church sees itself as superior to the State by imposing on it the obligation to scrupulously follow its orders. The Church substitutes herself as a lecturer and controller of the State and its institutions from which she expects obedience. This attitude is mainly observed in the Catholic Church. It derives from a historical tradition of the Church of Rome with the pope being both a political and religious leader. Several leaders of the Catholic Church inherited this tradition in the world seeking to impose its supremacy over the State. This fact is confirmed by the speech of Pope Benedict XVI that, unlike Pope John Paul II who had banned all political activity in the Church, stipulates, “[t]he word of the bishops was expected in the face of political problems affecting electoral processes, injustices and human rights.”¹⁶³

¹⁶³ «En Afrique, l’Eglise catholique s’engage dans le champ politique», in *Le Temps*, <https://www.letemps.ch/opinions/afrique-leglise-catholique-sengage-champ-politique>, Consulté le 06/02/2019. This was encouraged in the 2009 Special Assembly for Africa, under the theme “The Church in Africa in the service of reconciliation, justice and peace”. The following resolution was adopted: “The voice of the bishops [...] resonates in times of social crisis as that of a watchman over the city. In the face of political problems relating to consultations, elections, injustices, human rights violations, etc., a prophetic word on

The Catholic Churches found in places other than the Vatican face a different form of governmental organization that does not allow the supremacy of the Church over the State. Leonardo de Chirico points out this managerial complexity in these terms:

The Roman Catholic Church is a complex institutional entity. It is the only Church that is also a sovereign state (the Vatican) with its own political, financial, legal and diplomatic structure. It is the only ecclesial body that can address other states on an equal footing. When signing agreements with a state in the form of a composition, for example, it does so in accordance with the rules of international law in force between sovereign states. The pope is both the head of the church and the head of the state. During his international visits, he is received as a head of state and not simply as an archbishop or any other church representative. Although small and symbolic, the church, like any other state, also has an army. It skilfully plays on this dual identity (ecclesial and political), which is not only the fruit of its long and complex history, but also an indication of its dual institutional nature: church and state. Theology and politics are so intertwined in the Catholic system and its operation that it is impossible to separate them.¹⁶⁴

This dual identity cannot be applicable in all countries of the world, particularly in the DRC where the constitution declares that the Congolese state is secular based on the principle of separation between the state and the church. However, in the DRC, when the Church, in the name of religious freedom, raises its voice over the State, there is clash of powers. The observation reveals that ecclesiastical leaders feel more dependent on the pope than on local state authorities. They acknowledge the pope's power but protest against local state power. Thus, the Church

their part is a response to the people's thirst for justice and peace. Their courage and boldness make them living illustrations of the "salt of the earth" and the "light of the world" (Laurent Larcher, *Op. cit.*, p. 21).

¹⁶⁴ Leonardo de Chirico, «La doctrine sociale de l'Eglise catholique romaine», in *Théologie Evangélique*, Vol. 6.1, 2007, pp. 55-56.

is always on the side of the opposition. The newspaper *Le Temps* supports it as follow:

Today, the link between Pope Francis and the African bishops is very strong. Among the cardinals that composes his G8 to reform the governance of the Church, he has chosen Cardinal Laurent Monsengwo, who embodies the Church's opposition to Joseph Kabila in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). After having played the role of mediator in the DRC and presiding over the agreement on the new timetable for the presidential election at the end of 2017, the episcopate noted the bad faith of the Kabila clan and decided to denounce these machinations. He supports the demonstrations against the regime organized by the Catholic faithful accompanied by their priests.¹⁶⁵

The high number of Catholic believers in the country, 40% of the Congolese population, tends to increase this ecclesiological supremacy over the State with the hope that their uprisings can positively impact the achievement of the Church's objectives. Nevertheless, the Catholic Church forgets that, despite the large number of believers, not all of them belong to a political party. Believers are scattered throughout the various political parties found in the country. Their unanimity is far from being reached. There is sometimes manipulation of the lower church by the upper church for unknown purposes.

In accordance with social doctrine, the Catholic Church actively engages in politics for the promotion of civil rights, reconciliation and control of the management of natural resources through denunciations that are not welcome for the government. The Church rises as a third voice to address politics and defend the population.

Another attitude of supremacy is manifested in the desire to control all the key institutions of society. It is characterized by the principle "ours as leader not the others". Any organization led by others must be

¹⁶⁵ «En Afrique, l'Eglise catholique s'engage dans le champ politique», in *Le Temps*, <https://www.letemps.ch/opinions/afrique-leglise-catholique-sengage-champ-politique>, Consulté le 06/02/2019.

boycotted. This desire to rule and dominate others develops a selfish attitude leading to a negative reaction to everything others do. A convincing example is the Catholic Church's opposition to the appointment of the Protestant Corneille Nangaa as head of the electoral commission. In this regard, the RFI notes the following: "The majority of the country's eight religious denominations, as required by the law, proposed Corneille Nangaa, executive secretary of the electoral commission, to replace Father Malumalu as head of the body in charge of organizing the elections. The only problem was that the Catholic Church, a major religious denomination in the DRC, withdrew from the vote, regretting that there had not been a real debate around this candidacy."¹⁶⁶

12.3.2 Position Statement on Ecclesiology

The history of the DRC presents the Catholic Church, which in most cases has a partisan attitude in favour of the opposition. In the case of the 2018 presidential elections, the Church took position to support Martin Fayulu, stating that he was the winner and asked the electoral commission to present the results provided by the Church's observers. This provoked reactions and uprisings from the population. In the newspaper *Africa News*, the pro-presidential majority Joseph Kabila, denounced the partisan, irresponsible and anarchic attitude of the Episcopal Conference (CENCO), which the day before requested to know the winner of the presidential election in the Democratic Republic of Congo.¹⁶⁷ Such an attitude is deplorable for the church, which should be "au milieu du village" (in the middle of the village) for reconciliation. But, as reported by journalist Laurent Larcher, the church quickly moved from the role of mediator to active critic and even opponent of the regime, according to

¹⁶⁶ RFI, «RDC: Corneille Nangaa proposé à la tête de la Céni», <http://www.rfi.fr/afrique/20151022-rdc-proposition-nouveau-president-ceni-corneille-nangaa>, 07/03/2019.

¹⁶⁷ <http://fr.africanews.com/2019/01/04/elections-en-rdc-le-pouvoir-denonce-l-attitude-partisane-de-l-eglise-catholique/>, 04/03/2019.

the Kabilists, by developing extremism against the power.¹⁶⁸ This extremism has not left the church without consequences. Laurent Larcher gives the following information:

Throughout 2017, the church was under attack. Among the most serious incidents, those of the weekend of 18 and 19 February, which struck the church in several regions. The first of these was the ransacking of the major seminary of Malole of Kananga, in Central Kasai. In Kinshasa, leaflets calling for the destruction of Catholic schools and churches began to circulate. Saint-Dominique church was then attacked by militiamen during the mass. As per Cardinal Laurent Monsengwo, the Catholic Church is intentionally targeted to torpedo its mission of peace and reconciliation. In June 2017, a note from the Apostolic Nuncio deplored the violence against the church in Kasai: 60 parishes affected, 34 religious houses, 31 Catholic health centres, 141 Catholic schools, the bishopric of Luebo destroyed, two bishops in exile (Luiza and Luebo). Finally, on New Year's Eve 2017 in Kinshasa, the protest march organized by a group of lay Catholics triggered a violent reaction from the security forces, killing between five and seven people, arresting six priests and surrounding 134 parishes.¹⁶⁹

On the basis of the above, the Church considers itself a political party opposed to the government and state institutions. Yet, the Church is led by the word of God to address socio-political problems. She is a movement, a revolutionary spiritual force that challenges all social slips and militates for change and the well-being of the people. In this sense, she cannot rise up as an opposition movement to thwart the existing political system or propose another. The Church has a duty to reflect,

¹⁶⁸ Laurent Larcher, *L'Eglise en République Démocratique du Congo (encore) face au pouvoir*, Paris, IFRI/Sub-Saharan Africa Centre, 2018, 19. See also https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/larcher_eglise_rdc_2018.pdf, consulted on 11/03/2019.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

based on the established legal system, on which option would benefit the people in relation to biblical realities.

Pope John Paul II affirms, according to social doctrine, that the Church does not propose economic and political systems or programs. But the Church is “an expert in humanity”, and this necessarily leads her to extend her religious mission to the various fields in which men and women carry out their activities in search of the happiness, always relative, that is possible in this world, in accordance with the dignity of the person.¹⁷⁰ Magloire Ndongmo affirms that the Church, instead of setting itself up as an opposition party:

Just seek to accompany peoples on the paths of the search for collective well-being. That is why the Church has subscribed to democracy, not as a regime she would like to establish, but as a regime that gives nations the opportunity to define their own destiny, and through which she accompanies them. In this sense, the Church does not dictate a line of action to her clerics on their interventions in the political field. She just says that its role is to support people in their construction. Therefore, although a Catholic political doctrine is developed and proposed to all particular churches, it is clearly indicated that it is each local church which, with particular reference to the local reality, will be able to apply the political and religious principles contained in this doctrine.¹⁷¹

The partisan attitude is reflected in the desire to unite opponents in a single opposition candidature to face the “Front Commun pour le Congo” (FCC) candidate. Mediacongo.net reveals that the Catholic Church has tried to play good offices between the main opposition leaders by

¹⁷⁰ Jean Paul II.

¹⁷¹ Magloire Ndongmo, *L'église catholique et le processus démocratique au Cameroun: une analyse de la participation des archidiocèses de Douala et de Yaoundé*, Douala, Université de Douala, 2013.

encouraging them to rally around a common candidature against the foal of the outgoing power.¹⁷²

This position, which was considered uncomfortable by the Church, which, in a secular country, could show a neutral attitude between the opposition and the ruling power. But the Church was focused on one part. Because of this partisan attitude, Congo's history shows that the Catholic Church has always failed its many attempts at reconciliation and peace in the political sphere. In the present case, CENCO continues to increase her calls for the “vérité des urnes” (truth of the ballot boxes) to the international bodies (United Nations Security Council and European Union). As an example, during his presentation to the UN Security Council, the CENCO representative confirmed that they used a statistical projection to determine the winner of the presidential elections, as noted above. He claims that they used a sample of 10% of the polling stations, or less than 8,000 out of 18,000 polling stations, to determine the voting trend throughout the DR Congo with a margin of error of less than 3%, and then validated their methodology by another sample of around 71% of the polling stations. Never have CENCO electoral experts compiled 95% of real votes.¹⁷³

This way of thinking and drawing conclusions which are publicly presented at the international concert is to be discouraged for the Church that must base herself on the truth of facts. This assumption, based on surveys and random samples taken from a few polling stations, cannot represent the same situation throughout the country. “Such methods are used for polls and not to certify the reliability of a real vote expressed by voters in different provinces. In view of all the above, we can highlight and note that the method used by CENCO is “misleading”. This method is likely to cause confusion and division within the DR Congo. This

¹⁷² Media Congo, «Présidentielle au-delà de la victoire de Félix Tshisekedi», https://www.mediacongo.net/article-actualite-46453_presidentielle_au_dela_de_la_victoire_de_felix_tshisekedi.html, consulté le 07/03/2019.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

result cannot be a basis for contestation for the reasons stated above. It is not spiritualism that is at issue here, but a political and sociological context.¹⁷⁴

Following the Catholic Church's declaration that it knew the winner of the elections and its request to the electoral commission (CENI) to publish, in full responsibility, the results of the elections in accordance with truth and justice, a tension has arisen between CENCO and CENI. According to Lucie Sarr, CENI considered that CENCO's statement was likely to poison the population by preparing an uprising for which CENCO alone would be responsible. The ruling coalition joined CENI in strongly condemning CENCO's partisan, irresponsible and uncontrolled attitude, arguing that CENI is the structure empowered to proclaim the results and that these statements seriously violate both the constitution, the electoral law and the charter of good conduct signed by all political parties for peaceful elections.¹⁷⁵ Since then, oral and written communications between CENCO and CENI have multiplied, both accusing each other of maintaining irregularities that would irritate the population. In fact, the Catholic Church throughout the world supports CENCO. Radio Okapi reports that the Belgian episcopate has supported the CENCO's efforts by calling for respect for human rights, inviting the European Union and the entire international community to commit themselves without delay using all the means at their disposal to deplore the fact that the Catholic Church in the DRC is being pursued by part of the public authorities.¹⁷⁶ Other countries such as Germany, France, the United States and some members of the African Union have proposed,

¹⁷⁴ Idem.

¹⁷⁵ Lucie Sarr, «En RD-Congo, l'Eglise résiste à la pression du camp Kabila», <https://africa.la-croix.com/en-rd-congo-leglise-resiste-a-la-pression-du-camp-kabila/>, Consulté le 08/03/2019.

¹⁷⁶ Radio Okapi, «Tension entre l'Eglise et le pouvoir en RDC: l'épiscopat belge apporte son soutien à la Cenco», <https://www.radiookapi.net/2018/01/12/actualite/politique/tension-entre-leglise-et-le-pouvoir-en-rdc-lepiscopat-belge-apporte>, consulté le 08/03/2019.

in collusion and support of CENCO, the “recount of votes that would appease everyone and lead to the presentation of an uncontested president.”¹⁷⁷

What is absurd is that the church, instead of allowing the losing candidate the privilege to exercise his or her constitutional right to appeal to the Constitutional Court, takes the lead in doing so on the candidate's behalf. This is sufficient proof of Fayulu's favoured status. Such bias is far from an approach that would bring a peaceful and serene climate to politics. On the contrary, the relations of the Congolese people continues to blur with the constant brandishing of Martin Fayulu Madidi's victory.

Despite Felix Tshisekedi's swearing in, the Catholic Church's struggle continues for the truth of the ballot boxes. On 26 February 2019, according to *Jeune Afrique*, Cardinal Monsengwo, on his visit to Brussels, declared that “it was Martin Fayulu who won the elections”. According to the cardinal, to declare today the first opponent of the Kabila regime after the disappearance of Etienne Tshisekedi, this is the problem by denouncing a secret agreement between Kabila and Tshisekedi.¹⁷⁸ This first declaration of the Catholic Church, instead of bringing peace, continues to divide the population. The Baluba people of Kasai, where Felix Tshisedeki came from, are in conflict with the people of Bandundu, Martin Fayulu's province. Quarrels and injuries are still recorded in the city of Kinshasa.

CENCO's Bishops are now divided. Some preferred definitive recognition of the election of the new President Felix Tshisekedi. This is the case for Bishop Emmanuel Bernard Kasanda of Mbuji-Mayi who organized a mass on January 13, 2019 to consecrate to God the new

¹⁷⁷ Hubert Leclercq, RDC: pour la Ceni, c'est Tshisekedi ou Kabila et rien d'autre», <https://afrique.lalibre.be/30726/rdc-pour-la-ceni-cest-tshisekedi-ou-kabila-et-rien-dautre/>, consulté le 08/03/2019.

¹⁷⁸ Jeune Afrique, "DRC: Martin Fayulu won the elections, says Monsengwo," <https://www.jeuneafrique.com/741540/politique/rdc-cest-martin-fayulu-qui-a-gagne-les-elections-affirme-mgr-monsengwo/>, accessed on 08/03/2019.

president and all the other elected members of the provincial and national deputies. A surprising celebration as CENCO continues to question this victory.¹⁷⁹ We would be tempted to say that this bishop behaved in this manner because the new president is from this province and belonged to the same tribe. On the other hand, for the bishop, this is the very first time in the country's history that a worthy son of Kasai has been raised to the highest office. This is why it was necessary to entrust one's mandate to the protection of God.¹⁸⁰

According to this attitude of some bishops, CENCO insists on the unity of bishops and calls division a demon. However, Laurent Larcher states the following:

The Congolese Church is not an exception when it comes to the diversity of the socio-ethno-political realities of the Congo. The six archdioceses do not form a homogeneous whole. Each one espouses, with more or less distance, the point of view of the communities in their territory. There are even bishops who are related to leading political actors. Bishop Gérard Mulumba of Mweka (Kasai Occidental) is the younger brother of the late Étienne Tshisekedi.... Although the violence of the crisis unites the Church in the same disapproval, there is a dividing line between moderates and anti-reformers that cuts across the political and

¹⁷⁹ Lucie Sarr, «En RD-Congo, un évêque célèbre une messe pour la victoire de Félix Tshisekedi», <https://www.la-croix.com/Religion/Catholicisme/Monde/En-RD-Congo-eveque-celebre-messe-victoire-Felix-Tshisekedi-2019-01-15-1200995501>, consulté le 11/03/2019.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.* From the above, several people were distraught about this division within CENCO. This behaviour against certain decisions of the Church is not the first. During the marches organized by the lay commission, some Catholic dioceses such as Bukavu, Goma and Beni-Butembo did not comply by forbidding their faithful not to obey this slogan and risk their lives. These bishops are considered pro-Kabila. One of the bishops from the East said: "We are not on the Monsengwo line. We do not approve of his overly direct way of opposing the regime and sending the faithful out into the streets, facing police forces firing live ammunition.

cultural fabric of this immense country separating East and West. We are divided within CENCO. You never know exactly what each other thinks. There is also mistrust between us. But we are trying at all costs to maintain some form of consensus among ourselves.¹⁸¹

The East-West split, Swahili-Lingala divide, affects relations between Catholic clergy in the political sphere. “The Eastern clergy adopts a more moderate attitude in this crisis, not because of sympathy for Joseph Kabila but because of mistrust or historical rivalry with the Western clergy. The West is inhabited by a feeling of superiority over the East.”¹⁸² That is why, in the 2006 elections, there was a clash between Father Malumalu and the Western episcopate led by Cardinal Etsou, originally from Equateur province. The same applied to Father Malumalu after his appointment as head of the electoral commission in 2013 to replace Pastor Ngoy Mulunda, from the East, who was opposed by Cardinal Monsengwo from Equateur.

¹⁸¹ Laurent Larcher, *Op. cit.*, 23. The churches in the West are much more hostile to Joseph Kabila than those in the East. And it is also necessary to distinguish between those who opt for negotiation and dialogue and those who adopt a more clear-cut position. The first led the New Year's Eve agreement, starting with the Bishop of Kisangani and CENCO President, Bishop Marcel Utambi, an experienced negotiator. In 2003, then Bishop of Mahagi-Nioka, he had found a way out of the conflict between the Hemas and the Lendus in Ituri, his home province (he is ndo by his father and of culture alur by his mother). But in Kisangani, where he replaced Bishop Monsengwo in 2009, he is criticized. Lucha has always found him too accommodating to the regime. However, since the failure of the New Year's Eve agreement, it has taken a firmer tone. But CENCO is still reacting to the blatant statements of Bishop Monsengwo, the strong Methodist. Facing Kabila from the East, he adopted a firmer position with words without moderation than against Mobutu from the West. He has sometimes decided alone without consulting CENCO.

¹⁸² *Ibid*, 25.

12.3.3 Ecclesiology of Free Choice

It is an ecclesiology that leaves Christians free to engage in a political party of their choice and to freely choose the leaders of the desired government institutions. This is the attitude that has largely characterized the Protestant churches, the revival and the independent churches. Therefore, except in rare cases, these churches did not make public statements during the electoral process. Their silence was misunderstood as support of the ruling power because they did not support the actions of the Catholic Church. Father Guy-José Leta warns other confessions:

“To all those who, for thousand and one reasons, attack the episcopate, in particular other leaders of religious denominations grouped within the Commission of Integrity and Electoral Mediation (CIME), to observe the great spirit shown by the Catholic Bishops and their Secretary General and, above all, the determination to defend the truth even at the cost of their lives. To defend the truth even at the cost of one's life is what Christ teaches us.”¹⁸³

The religious denominations grouped within CIME have never declared themselves to be against defending the people and promoting the human rights contained in the Catholic Church's approach. A notable example is the signing, on 24 December 2018, of a joint communiqué by CENCO and the Church of Christ in Congo (ECC) for transparent, credible and peaceful elections in the DRC.¹⁸⁴ Moreover, one of the facilita-

¹⁸³ Guy-José Leta, «Comprendre le combat de la Cenco», <http://fizimedia.com/2019/01/comprendre-le-combat-de-la-cenco/>, consulté le 08/03/2019.

¹⁸⁴ Lire le contenu de ce communiqué conjoint sur <http://www.diacenco.com/communique-conjoint-de-la-cenco-et-de-lecc-pour-des-elections-transparentes-credibles-et-apaisees/>. Le communiqué de presse conjoint est retrouvable sur <http://www.diacenco.com/communique-de-presse-conjoint-des-missions-dobservation-electorale-en-rdc/>. Déclaration conjointe: <https://africandailyvoice.com/2018/12/26/rdc-protestants-catholiques-insistent-respect-decembre/>.

tors in a CIME seminar states that the Catholic Church was invited but has given up waiting until the end of the training sessions because the Church would not have been in the leadership of CIME.

The ECC claims to have deployed 10,000 observers during the elections, but has left it up to the electoral commission to fulfil its promise, made before God and before the nation, to offer the nation the truth and nothing but the truth of the ballot boxes. The Protestant body also took note of the provisional results proclaimed while asking the court to rule according to the law, appealing for calm and the promotion of peace. However, this attitude of the ECC was not appreciated by some people who wanted them to support the fight initiated by the Catholic Church to defend the losing candidate whose votes were stolen. *Africanews* gives the following details:

In a statement to the press, the Church of Christ in Congo (ECC, the main Protestant force in the DRC) takes note of the provisional results published by the electoral commission, as well as the fact that these results are not unanimously accepted by all stakeholders. The ECC, therefore invites those who feel aggrieved in their right to bring their case to court and asks the competent jurisdictions, guarantor of justice, to speak the truth on these electoral disputes in order to guarantee social peace. It also urged political actors and the population to preserve social peace and national unity for the higher interest of our common destiny. The ECC denounced the triumphalism of some and the discontent of others over the publication of the provisional results of the presidential election of 30 December, which proclaimed Felix Tshisekedi, the opposition candidate, as winner with 38.57% of the votes, in front of another opponent, Martin Fayulu (34.8%).¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵ Africanews, «Contentieux électoraux en RDC: les protestants demandent à la justice de dire le droit», <https://fr.africanews.com/2019/01/14/contentieux-electoraux-en-rdc-les-protestants-demandent-a-la-justice-de-dire-le/>, consulté le 11/03/2019. Lire aussi <https://www.jeuneafrique.com/705153/politique/>

This information proves that the ECC has not remained silent about the prevailing politics in the DRC, but preferred to keep neutrality while asking people involved in politics to play their role for peace. In addition, the Kimbanguist Church, which in 2016 recalled and affirmed Simon Kimbangu's prophecy that a young president, Joseph Kabila, would rule the DRC, found itself closed-mouthed.

12.3.4 Ecclesiology without Lessons

Criticisms against the Catholic Church have shown that it is not in a position to lecture others. President Joseph Kabila, in his press conference on his 17 years in power, said the Catholic Church should not be involved in the electoral process and that Jesus Christ has never chaired an electoral commission. Kabila's advice: Let us give back to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's. When the two are mixed, it's dangerous. The result is always negative.¹⁸⁶

The fact of switching to the opposition by providing a claimant support suggests a church in deviation which, instead of wanting peace, brings division. This behaviour contradicts the words of the political scientist Dieudonné Wamu Oyatambwe. For him, the Catholic Church is an essential part of Congolese life. The Church is highly regarded and respected, not because all Congolese are believers, but because it is credible and organized, much more so than the Congolese State. Thus, the Church is there when the State is not. The church is everywhere and has been for a long time. Even when there was no communication system as we know it, people communicated via the dioceses. It is not sur-

contentieux-electoraux-en-rdc-leglise-du-christ-au-congo-demande-a-la-justice-de-se-prononcer/.

¹⁸⁶ RFI, «En RDC, le président Joseph Kabila s'est exprimé lors de sa première conférence de presse à Kinshasa depuis 5 ans et sa réélection contestée. Le président Joseph Kabila a donc décidé à la surprise générale de s'exprimer pour les 17 ans de son accession au pouvoir», <http://www.rfi.fr/afrique/20180126-rdc-kabila-prend-parole-presse-5-ans-silence>, consulté le 11/03/2019.

prising that such an institution can announce the results a few days after the elections, as its information network is highly developed.¹⁸⁷

The harsh, rude, authoritarian and uncourteous words spoken towards CENI and the country leaders have only blurred the line between church and state, and contributed to tarnishing the image of the Church. This language, which was no different from what an opponent could say, negatively affected the reputation of the Church. One example is the language of Cardinal Monsengwo, who called the country leaders “the mediocre ones”. These words have been described as unjust and offensive, which take the Church out of her role. Nevertheless, Alain André Atundu, spokesman for the presidential majority, considers that:

“the statements unfortunately suggest that the church is leaving her role of being in the middle of the village to take up the fact and cause with the followers of the takeover by violence on the street and outside the democratic means.”

It is the role of the church to be in the middle of the village, not to take up the cause. However, here, the church has replaced the opposition, which is in a state of shipwreck, and has offered it a rescue pole through the sleeve, which opportunely is a show of support to the radicalized political opposition.¹⁸⁸

Ecclesiology without lesson is what incites people to hatred and violence. Several testimonies suggest that Cardinal Monsengwo was involved in the manipulation of the lay coordinating committee to organize marches against Kabila because they have always shared the same analysis, the same goal, and so useful they are to each other.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Caroline Hick, «RDC: l’Eglise Catholique en première ligne contre Joseph Kabila», https://www.rtf.be/info/monde/detail_rdc-l-eglise-catholique-en-premiere-ligne-contre-joseph-kabila?id=10115233, consulté le 11/03/2019.

¹⁸⁸ Propos recueillis par RFI, <http://www.rfi.fr/afrique/20180105-violences-rdc-polemique-entre-le-pouvoir-eglise-catholique>, consulté le 11/03/2019.

¹⁸⁹ Laurent Larcher, *Op. cit.*, 25.

12.4 Strategies for Peace

The Church and the State are two institutions whose responsibilities converge for the well-being of the population under their governance. As they are called upon to manage a population, it is in everyone's interest to develop strategies that can converge on the establishment of lasting peace and the promotion of human dignity in the country. This section will focus on presenting the responsibilities of the Church and the State for peace. However, the emphasis will be on the partnership that they must develop for the benefit of the population.

12.4.1 Strategies for Peace: Responsibility of the Church

The mission entrusted to the Church is unique and common to all religious denominations. It is about making disciples, baptizing converts and teaching them to observe the law of God (Mt 28:18-20). Any religious denomination that wishes to be apostolic must focus on these aspects common to all Christians. The primary mission is to bring people to the knowledge of Christ for salvation. It is not a question of presenting the ecclesiastical tradition, but rather of bringing them to Christ, taking into account all sectors of life. Hence the holistic mission.

a) Unity of churches for a common mission

According to John 17:21, Jesus prays that the disciples may be one. As the Church of Christ is composed of several members, Christians are called to unity for the transformation of the world. To achieve this, churches must develop ecumenism, that is, unite without discrimination to achieve what has been entrusted to them by the mission leader. They must collaborate to achieve the common mission entrusted to them by Christ. Church divisions are a scandal to the world. Churches often fall into the sin of looking at themselves with the glasses of adversaries, protagonists in relation to historical tensions that have nothing to do with the will of God.

A partnership ecclesiology is essential for churches. It encourages mutual recognition and the desire to work together to address the problems faced by the population. Their unity will produce a powerful voice that can influence change in the country and uproot the tyranny of government leaders. The purpose of this unity is not to form a political party against the government, but to establish a constructive partnership that can contribute to the well-being of the population. Nor is it about the Church's conquest of power.

b) Prophetic mission of the Church

The prophetic church is called to assume the role of a prophet charged with a message from God for the people, that is, one who communicates to the people the will of God on this or that matter in daily life. Ung'eyowun Bediwegi specifies that to become a prophet is to be part of the divine project. The called person will not fear walking in the night when he has to suffer on behalf of YHWH. The prophet is the man who knows how to count on YHWH in the heavy task he is entrusted with, because he recognizes himself as weak... (Jeremiah 1:18-19).¹⁹⁰ The prophet is invested by God to be his voice to the people. The prophet's attitude is to rely on God who established him for a mission. Likewise, the Church was instituted by God to carry out a task in the world. His voice is God's voice for humanity. The prophetic role challenges him in his service.

The Church must recognize that in her prophetic role there are constraints that can discourage her in her mission. Ung'eyowun Bediwegi notes that

“to be a prophet is to be called to carry God's message in a given historical context. This word can put the prophet in an uncom-

¹⁹⁰ Ung'eyowun Bediwegi, «Le profil de Jérémie comme prophète», in L. Santedi Kinkupu et A. Kabasele Mukenge, *Une théologie prophétique pour l'Afrique: mélanges en l'honneur des Professeurs D. Atal Sa Angang et R. Dettaes*, Kinshasa, FCK, 2004, 49.

fortable situation, plunge him into permanent insecurity. His only weapon remains his faith in the Creator God of the world who watches over his people and over all nations.”¹⁹¹

Although there are difficulties, the assurance is that the prophet is not alone in carrying out the mission entrusted to him. He is always assisted by God who has asked him to speak to the people on his behalf.

The prophetic role of the Church does not mean covering abuses but denouncing them in order to achieve justice. She must not cross her arms when violence is seen, because it is her members who are perpetrators, victims and affected. However, to be able to denounce the evil in the society, the prophet (Church) must present himself as a free, courageous man of irreproachable conduct.¹⁹²

This attitude helps the Church to be ready to say no to any violence. Kwasi Ugira advises that the Church learn, through non-violent means, to say no to anything that contributes to the degradation of the society. He proposes the renaissance theology to reduce violence.¹⁹³ As illustration, the case of Jesus is a talking model in relation to the prophetic role that the Church must play as her imitator. Jesus’ attitude was inspired by his eschatological radicalism, which was reflected on one hand in a vigorous criticism of existing institutions, and on the other hand in the rejection of resistance movements which, by their purpose, divert the interest of the future kingdom, and in the use of force, violating the exigencies of absolute justice and love.¹⁹⁴ Jesus only denounced evil without organizing an army to get rid of the government in place.

All the prophets energetically assumed the prophetic task of denouncing the abuses observed at the socio-political and religious levels.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 51.

¹⁹² Ung’eyowun Bediwegi, *Op. cit.*, 44.

¹⁹³ Kwasi Ugira, «La théologie de la renaissance afro-congolaise: préalables et perspectives», Conference presented the 18th April 2008.

¹⁹⁴ Oscar Cullmann, *Jésus et les révolutionnaires de son temps*, Neuchâtel, Delachaux et Niestlé, 1970, 77.

They have succeeded in doing so because they have led a sincere life without any symbiosis or syncretism. Samuel Amsler rightly writes: “It would be hard to see an Amos denounce the misdeeds of wheat merchants (Am 8,4ss) if he did not conduct his own cattle breeding in all honesty (Am 7,14ss).”¹⁹⁵ This is why the Church must match her actions with what she proclaims.

The Church's involvement in the performance of its prophetic task must be concretized in the defence of the vulnerable, the neglected or oppressed in society. It is to them that the liberating actions must be directed for the renewal of the society. Ngindu Mushete specifies the prophetic role of the Church:

Since the knowledge of God is a work of justice, conversion to God requires conversion to men who suffer from oppression in all its forms (social, political, cultural or spiritual). This means that we must move beyond indifference and neutrality to defend the poor and exploited. Such an option, it must be said, imposes a double duty:

1) The prophetic denunciation of social injustices (in the Church as in the global society). Like the prophets of Israel and their followers, Christ's witnesses must defend, protect, raise awareness and mobilize the poor by denouncing the source of their poverty, namely institutionalized injustice.

2) The second duty that flows from this is solidarity with the poor to promote from within the integral liberation following Christ's example (2 Cor 8:9). In this context, charity for one's neighbour becomes a political commitment, in the obvious/noble sense of the term, to find an effectiveness that goes beyond the stage of exclusively private or individual aid.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ Samuel Amsler, *Les Actes des prophètes*, Genève, Labor et Fides, 1985, 53.

¹⁹⁶ Ngindu Mushete, «Élément de la spiritualité libératrice», in Engelbert Mveng, *Spiritualité et libération en Afrique*, Paris, Harmattan, 1987, 62.

The prophetic Church must be awakened to see the suffering of its members and be ready for action. This state of awakening allows her to criticize everything that happens within and next to her in the light of the scriptures. The function of the Church is essentially critical, since the Gospel that the Church proclaims in words and deeds is essentially critical, bearing both God's judgment, his condemnation and his redemptive grace. Her critical ministry is essential for the conservation and harmonious development of society.¹⁹⁷

It must therefore be able to objectively analyse the state of the society in which she operates, to know in depth the problems facing her believers and to determine strategies for liberation. In fact, Bernard Häring's idea should be noted: "The Church, founded by Christ our peace, will only be a prophetic voice in a world of self-destruction if it fully and organically proclaims the Gospel of peace in all its consequences."¹⁹⁸

A prophetic Church must continue to play her role as the voice of the voiceless, so that everywhere human dignity is recognized for all people being always at the centre of all programmes.¹⁹⁹ Frédéric de Coninck insists that it must be a testimony addressed to the power structures that differently reign without sharing.²⁰⁰ A prophetic church is one that speaks, cries and makes itself heard as God's voice for the people to whom it presents God's will and precepts. It needs men like Martin Luther King, Desmond Tutu, Nelson Mandela, Mahatma Gandhi and other non-violence activists to reform and revolutionize the society. For "the

¹⁹⁷ André Biéler, *Une politique de l'espérance : De la foi aux combats pour un monde nouveau*, Genève/Paris, Labor et Fides/Centurion, 1970, 109.

¹⁹⁸ Bernhard Häring, *La théologie morale: Idées maîtresses*, Paris, Cerf, 1992, 171.

¹⁹⁹ Jean Paul II, *Exhortation apostolique post-synodale sur l'Eglise en Afrique et sa mission évangélisatrice*, Ottawa, Bibliothèque Nationale du Canada, 1995, 77.

²⁰⁰ Frédéric de Coninck, *La justice et la puissance: Dire et vivre sa foi dans la société d'aujourd'hui*, Québec, La Clairière, 1998, 91.

role of the prophet is essentially to say in the name of God, what is at stake in the present; it is to denounce sin and warn of these possible consequences; it is to invite the king and the whole people to conversion by respecting the covenant and the law; it is finally to nourish the hope of the people by directing their gaze towards the future realization of God's promises. In all these roles, the prophet is a "watchman", a witness of God's covenant and fidelity."²⁰¹

c) Political or ecclesiastical authority

The electoral period was characterized by a lot of power confusion through the Church's reactions to politics. At one point, it was difficult to distinguish political authority from ecclesiastical authority because of mutual interference in responsibilities. Sometimes the State did what the Church could do and vice versa. For example, the Church obliges the State to hold elections on any date it wishes, without taking into account feasibility. Thus, many meetings and resources lost to make political decisions, forgetting that God's mission needs resources and time for its growth. However, the role of counsellor in courtesy and constructive collaboration are needed to the Church. Francis Schaeffer advises that the Church's responsibility is to find the right balance between structure and freedom in her community decisions and actions.²⁰² It must develop an attentive ecclesiology that builds on the foundation and exercises authority in dialogue.²⁰³

It is important that the Church and the State establish a partnership for the management of God's people. It is not a separation, but a com-

²⁰¹ Kabasele Mukenge, «Prophétie et engagement politique en Jérémie. Eléments pour une actualisation», in L. Santedi Kinkupu et A. Kabasele Mukenge, *Une théologie prophétique pour l'Afrique*, Kinshasa, FCK, 2004, 34.

²⁰² Francis Schaeffer, «La pratique de la liberté dans la vie communautaire», in *Revue Reformée*, N° 223, 2003, 50.

²⁰³ Tharcisse Gatwa, Rwanda, *Eglises victimes ou coupables? Les Eglises et l'idéologie ethnique au Rwanda. 1990-1994*, Yaoundé/Lomé, Clé/Hoha, 2001, 284.

mon work for the common good. Where the state cannot, the Church can and vice versa. The Second Vatican Council established that in their own field, the political community and the Church are independent of each other and autonomous. But both, although in different ways, are at the service of the personal and social vocation of the same people. They will more effectively exercise this service for the good of all and seek healthy cooperation among themselves.²⁰⁴ However, the Church must serve as a model for the State in her administration to be able to give advice. Tharcisse Gatwa points out that conversely, when the Church lives in peace in the sphere of established power, she cannot formulate a direct message against evil. In this case, the Church ceased to be the salt of the earth, Christianity was reduced to folklore.²⁰⁵

The Church must possess a social dynamism that is quite particular to her without being confused with secular revolutions. It must be distinguished from them by her goals and the means to be used to bring about a change in the critical situation in society. Jesus showed a realistic and nuanced attitude towards political power. He recognizes his right to citizens (Lk 20:25) but also declares that earthly power is different from that in which he is king (Jn 18:36) and cannot dominate his own (Jn 19:11). Paul recognizes public power as God's instrument to lead to good. To resist it is to do so against the authority of God (Rom 13:1-7; Tt 3:1; 1 Pet 2:13-14).²⁰⁶ However, it should be noted that God has established the public institutions whose power must be recognized. While the leaders of these institutions must comply with God's orders and aim for the good of all. The suffering of the population is an abomination before God. Being on mission in the world, the Church must seek peace in compromise with public power by putting into practice the political theology which consists, according to Aloys Evina, in speaking of the

²⁰⁴ Laurent Larcher, *Op. cit.*, 21.

²⁰⁵ Tharcisse Gatwa, *Op. cit.*, 215.

²⁰⁶ Aloys Evina, «Les chrétiens et la politique», <https://www.chretiens.info/47541/les-chretiens-et-la-politique/>, consulté le 12/03/2019.

God of Jesus by trying to highlight the relationship between the Christian message and the present world. It is concerned with the promotion of the person and his or her liberation in Jesus Christ in the political community. It does not separate the liberation of man through salvation in Jesus Christ from the temporal liberations to all the servitudes unworthy of a son of God. Her critical and liberating function is the characteristic of the whole Church as God's people. It refers to the human and political dimension of God's people. For a constructive challenge, based on an ideal of justice and human liberation, must necessarily succeed in the political sphere.²⁰⁷

*d) Church-State Relationship for Peace*²⁰⁸

The Church and the State are two institutions established by God for his glory and for a mission among his people. He instituted the Church to make his will known to the people and help them put it into practice for spiritual transformation. She ensures the spiritual progress of the people and watches over the depravity of morals. While the State is instituted to ensure justice, peace and the well-being of the people. God acts through these two institutions as the primary leader. As a spiritual Father and Head of the Church, God controls everything that happens in the Church and intervenes for its support, growth, stability and the knowledge of his will found in the Bible. As King, he reigns over all nations through human kings who must exercise their office being mandated to ensure concord and discipline according to God's instructions. Thus, these two institutions depend on God for their functioning.

The Church and the State have the responsibility to lead God's people to a destiny determined by God himself. This responsibility consists in materializing God's will in the people's life. Thus, the management they possess does not depend on a man but on God who specifies the

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Kahwa Njojo, *Ethique de la non-violence: Etudes sur Jésus selon les évangiles*, Genève, Globethics.net, 2013, 529-533.

way to manage. This implies that they are all servants of God who must accomplish their respective missions in full fidelity to the Supreme Master. This mission obliges them to put themselves at the service of the people. They are asked to provide a service in their daily work because, as André Biéler noticed, “work that does not involve service is not a true work”.²⁰⁹ They are called to do the will of God that the Bible communicates (2 Chr 19:5-7) through service to the people. As servants and representatives of God on earth, it is the Master’s orders that must legislate the management of the people. It is a sin to refuse to comply with these orders and to establish laws that are contrary to biblical aspirations. They must recognize that they will be accountable to the owner they serve. Hence, they must work closely with him.

From the above, there is the problem of secularization of the State, which should normally be governed by believers chosen by God, who know and practice God’s will. This problem is also at the root of the increase in violence because for the sinners who govern, violence is normal, something good that must always be directed towards the other. It is essential to apply “theopolitics” or “political theocentrism” for good governance. Politics centred and controlled by God ensures the well-being of the population. For “theopolitics” to find its meaning, the State is obliged to collaborate closely with the Church, which must present to it God’s will in the management of people, following the example of some kings in the Bible who have governed well in close collaboration with the prophets.

The Church therefore has a prominent role to play in the political order retrieval. She must actively be involved in restoring good governance and fighting against the oppression of the people because, “an entirely alienated man is an animal or a automaton, an inhuman, atrophied

²⁰⁹ André Biéler, *Calvin's Economic and Social Thought*, Geneva, WARC/WCC, 2006, 363.

being who cannot participate in the life of the State or contribute to its expansion”, wrote Bertrand Dejardin.²¹⁰

The Church and the State must commit themselves and get involved to ensure the holistic well-being of the entire population without discrimination. Their actions must target the subjects of contempt of dictators, the victims of massacres, those forced into refuge and displacement, the sale of weapons, those dying of hunger and cold, those manipulated by currents of ideas with obscure interests, the victims of violence and injustice, the unidentified, etc. In doing so, the Church no longer sees politics as an area that she must manage herself by putting it at her service, but as a great human reality that goes back to God's creation of a man called to flourish, not in isolation, but within and through the mediation of communities. The ethics lived and communicated by the Church will be a factor in the development of political actors.²¹¹ It emerges that, without any ecclesiastical impulse, Christians can freely engage in politics as servants of God by vocation to this ministry for the transformation of the world. Their commitment to politics is not synonymous with being under the guidance of their spiritual guiders, but listening to each other, collaborating and working together for the emergence of a society in which human dignity is recognized.

e) Promoting non-violence for peace

Violence has become a commonplace in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The situation has worsened with the outbreak of war in several parts of the country. As noted above, there are several militia groups in the eastern part of the country. These wars developed the idea of violence characterized by a strong desire for revenge by responding to evil with evil. This situation negatively affects all sectors of human life, so-

²¹⁰ Bertrand Dejardin, *Pouvoir et impuissance: philosophie et politique chez Spinoza*, Paris, Harmattan, 2003, 404-405.

²¹¹ Aloys Evina, «Les chrétiens et la politique», <https://www.chretiens.info/47541/les-chretiens-et-la-politique/>, consulté le 12/03/2019.

ciety and even the Church. This impacts undesirably the spirituality which remains superficial. However, God recommends peace and wants his children to be able to seek it and establish it in the world for social and interpersonal harmony.

The Church must be involved in restoring peace by using non-violent means in advocating for the people. Her involvement is part of his mission as a messenger of God and the voice of the voiceless. She must be on the side of those who suffer to restore a healthy image of humanity.

f) Promoting gender equity and equality

Woman's rights and gender equity have their origin in the fact that man and woman were created in the image and likeness of God. To harm the life of one of them is to do so towards God, their creator. They all have the same rights that must be shared equally without discrimination on the basis of sex. However, there are social constructions that make women victims of all kinds of violence in society and in the church. It is important to return to the starting point in the way of creation and how God sees sex.

An expression in vogue in the Boga and Bunia circles in Ituri is "Women are made for cooking". Thus, it is forbidden for her to rise to the living room, because the living room is for the evolved, the men. In addition, boys must first be educated, while the girl is waiting for the wedding. Consequently, she has no right of decision. She is excluded from family meetings because she has nothing to say.

This inferior place given to women in society causes them to be targeted, manipulated and dehumanized. As a result, women are subjected to all kinds of violence that makes her vulnerable and exposed to trauma. Because of the violence, women experience sexual infections and unwanted pregnancies. The loss of women's identity and rights has made them illiterate, economically unproductive and disregarded or neglected in society.

Gender-based violence is propagated by the norms established by a society that dehumanizes women. From an early age, society teaches children roles that each sex must play in society. Masculinity weighs on femininity. Although they come from the same parents, male children grow up privileged in the family to the detriment of girls whose circle of activities is limited to cooking, orienting them towards marriage. In this way, the Church must seek to restore their rights, promote their identity, defend them at all levels and train them for their holistic development.

The Church must be aware that ending the global problem of gender inequality requires bold and creative methods that recognize the existence of gender-specific responsibilities and roles for individuals, as those roles have contributed to the disempowerment of women. Gender equality must be achieved to end the victimization of women..., explicitly highlighting the disparity in power relations that are based on biological differences between the two sexes. This could facilitate public policies that promote the rights of citizens, and transform unjust structures, thus encouraging fundamental inclusiveness for all human beings.²¹²

The role of the Church consists also of collaborating with the State so that a peace education course is included in the training curriculum at all levels (nursery, primary, secondary and university) without forgetting the training of parents in gender equity. Some organizations have focused on training mothers for emancipation, forgetting that Congolese society is male dominated where change in the family or in society depends on the will of men. If this is the case, the Church has an obligation to develop teachings on positive masculinity in order to change the critical situation of women because once men are convinced and persuaded by this message, gender equity is possible.

An important contribution from the Church would be to set an example. Many people are committed to developing gender-based violence in the name of the Bible and what is happening in the Church. In many

²¹² Fédération Luthérienne Mondiale, *Genre et pouvoir: une réflexion dans la foi*, Genève, Fédération Luthérienne Mondiale, 2010, 7.

churches, culture and misinterpretation of the Bible take precedence over the treatment of women. They affirm that the Bible is not against the situation of women in culture. Therefore, women should not hold a position in the Church despite her capacities. Yet, as a Christian, a woman has been saved just the same as a man, and received without discrimination the gift she must put into practice to fulfil her role in building the body of Christ. To deprive women of witnessing their faith is a way of encroaching on the body of Christ as it is dispossessed of certain members useful for the unity of the body and humankind.

The Church can be involved in the following activities:

- Ensure proper interpretation of the Bible in relation to violence against women;
- Train all social strata on gender-based violence;
- Train men in positive masculinity for gender equity;
- Demonstrate inclusivity by involving women in the ministries and activities of the Church according to their gift;
- Contribute to the dignity and promotion of women through their education in all sectors in order to facilitate their participation with equal dignity in all decision-making bodies;
- Contribute to the revision and updating of social norms that discriminate against women and put them in a state of suffering;
- Organize memory healing activities or counselling for victims of violence, i.e. ensure their psycho-spiritual and health care (access to care for rape victims);
- Assist victims of violence through job training for their social reintegration and economic independence;
- Equip Church members to defend and enforce women's rights;
- Support women in the knowledge and recognition of their rights at all levels;
- Combat early marriage of girls.

g) Protection of children

Like women's rights, children's rights are based on the same reality. They were also created in the image and likeness of God, and need to be treated with respect as a human being who must live peacefully. Christianity obviously draws its conception of a child from the Bible. On the one hand, he is an unfinished being who must be firmly educated (Prov 22:15; Eph 4:14); on the other hand, he is God's privileged one. That is why the Lord chose certain children as His messengers: Samuel (1 Sam 1:1-3), David (1 Sam 16:1-13), Daniel (Dan 13:44-50).²¹³ However, in the DRC, there is a crisis of values that makes the child a victim of several kinds of violence.

The situation of children in the DRC is so dramatic that sometimes some people wonder if being a child is a sin because of the violence experienced. Children experience malnutrition, rape; they are child soldiers, refugees, displaced or unaccompanied and living on the street, orphans, driven from their families by their parents over accusations of witchcraft, working in mines and as street vendors, sex slaves, people without identities, etc. Humanium states that the conflicts in the DRC mainly affect the children who are the first victims. Persistent conflict has led to the recruitment of children into armed groups. These children are often captured following the murder of their parents by these armed groups and then sent to camps, where they are trained in the use of weapons. They become child soldiers who must commit crimes against the population and sometimes even against their own family members. About 35% of the fighters in the DRC are children. For these children, the only education they receive is from war – a violent, dangerous and bloody environment. Their future prospects are then seriously affected.²¹⁴ Recruited girls are sexually exploited. These armed groups are at

²¹³ Présence Mariste, «Droit, enfant: de quoi parle-t-on?», <http://www.presence-mariste.fr/DROIT-ENFANT-de-quoi-parle-t-on.html>, consulté le 14/03/2019.

²¹⁴ Humanium, «Enfants en République Démocratique du Congo: concrétiser les droits de l'enfant en République Démocratique du Congo»,

the root of the rapes of girls in several villages. Rape is used as a weapon of war to destroy the population. Several cases of rape are reported across the country. This aggravates the rate of HIV/AIDS infections.

Facing this social slippage, the Church must develop a child theology for liberation. Holistic care of children must be an integral part of the Church's mission (Mk 9:36-37) by assigning competent people to take care of them (Deut 4:10; 6:7). As members of the ecclesial family, children need to be secured, supported and accompanied until they reach maturity. In doing so, the Church must recognize that all children, girls and boys, regardless of their origin and condition, are equal in rights within and outside the family. The Church, therefore has an obligation to take care of children in all circumstances. In other words, her involvement in their protection is part of her mission to make their voices heard – to respect and consider them as beings who need love, joy, peace, patience, kindness and solidarity.

According to UNICEF, children have the following rights²¹⁵:

1. The right to be protected against all forms of discrimination because of race, religion, origin or sex.
2. The right to have a name and nationality.
3. The right to adequate and healthy food.
4. The right to be cared for and to benefit from age-appropriate care and treatment.
5. The right to education.
6. The right to be nourished, housed and to grow up in good conditions.
7. The right to play, to laugh, to dream.

<https://www.humanium.org/fr/republique-democratique-du-congo/>, consulté le 14/03/2019.

²¹⁵ «Les 10 droits de l'enfant», https://www.fr.ch/sites/default/files/contens/sej/_www/files/pdf18/10_principaux_droits_de_lenfant.pdf, consulté le 12/03/2019.

8. The right to access information, to express opinion and to be heard.
9. The right to be protected from violence and exploitation.
10. The right to special protection for all refugee and/or disabled children.

The actions to be carried out:

- Develop a theology of the child that recognizes the rights of the child and addresses violence against children;
- Raise awareness and sensitize adults (parents, brothers, sisters, sisters, friends, churches and society) about children's rights in order to ensure proper care;
- Promote the protection of children and their safety at all levels;
- Ensure that the rights of children, boys and girls, are rigorously recognized and respected without discrimination;
- Equip Church members to defend and implement children's rights through awareness-raising sessions in which preventive measures will be taken for the protection of children;
- Address all violence against children, protect them and treat them in accordance with the law;
- Contribute to the holistic training of children in order to take over the future with dignity;
- Help the population recognize the place of children in society, family and church without discrimination despite their state of adoption or legitimacy through their involvement in decision-making about their lives at all levels;
- Identify and eradicate socio-cultural elements that violate children's rights (early marriage, separation of tasks within the family, etc.);

- Support and take care of child victims of rape, street children, orphans and demobilized children by creating protection centres for vulnerable children;
- Create literacy and skills training centres for children who cannot go back to school;
- Create orphanages for orphans and abandoned street children, i.e. have a space where children can feel loved, supported, integrated into society, empowered to contribute to the holistic development of their environment;
- Contribute to the protection and social reintegration of children through the operation all children in school for holistic training;
- Advocate with the State for free primary education to facilitate access to education for all because more than 50% of children aged 6 to 11 do not complete primary school, and the construction of good schools, decent salaries for teachers in order to avoid corruption in school environment. In addition, it is necessary to add the legal recognition of their right to vote, to apply for a job at their level, to own property, etc. as an adult;
- Advocacy for a non-violent discipline in schools;
- Combat the recruitment of children into armed groups and contribute to their demobilization, consider them as victims who need holistic assistance for their social reintegration into the community;
- Combat violence against children and their involvement in heavy labour to provide for their needs (services in mines, daily sale of items in the name of school fees or economic exploitation, begging on the road);
- Combat sexual exploitation of children (paedophilia, sexual harassment or prostitutes...) and their service in insecure places (hotels, bars, markets, etc.);

- Sensitize the State and the Church to promote the recognition of children's rights by granting them a family, dignity and identity through free birth registration, which does not exist in the country.
- Lack of identity makes children invisible and deprives them of their right to possess a nationality. However, it is important that the Church records, by means of a certificate card, all important events in the lives of children, such as baptism and confirmation, which can serve as a basis for the child's identification process;
- Assist the State to properly implement the rights of the child without complacency and fight against impunity;
- Facilitate advocates and decision-makers having open access to children in order to make their voices heard;
- Combat child trafficking because of their vulnerability in IDP camps;
- Ensure their educational and environmental supervision without gender preference for good growth in a peaceful climate. It is a question of ensuring their education and empowering them in the protection of creation for dignified behaviour;
- Facilitate access to childcare (outpatient care, vaccination, health education, etc.);
- Help children to know their duties and rights in order to assume their social, economic and ecological responsibilities...in accordance with their capacities by being defenders and actors of change in their respective communities (Col 3:20-21);
- Promoting children's participation for eco-responsibility in the Church and society;
- Involve children in all activities of the Church as members of the Body of Christ, i.e. promote their active participation

in the life of the Church through a liturgy in accordance with their vital realities and ensure a healthy environment in the Church and in society;

Churches in the DRC organize schools, have some health facilities and land that can contribute to the implementation of child protection programmes. They can be involved in advocacy to raise awareness of children's rights. However, they need to be supported by expanding the capacity of children to attend school, paying school fees, building and equipping health facilities, and providing socio-psychological and spiritual support.

12.4.2 Strategies for Peace: Responsibility of the State

As noted above, the Church and the State have similar responsibilities in terms of their involvement for the well-being of the population because both work on the same target. Nevertheless, the Church adds the spiritual dimension that positively influences the morality that the State cannot give. Apart from its involvement in gender equity, the right of the child and the establishment of a culture of peace through non-violence, the State must fulfil other responsibilities.

a) Dissemination of and compliance with legal texts

The DRC's legal texts are almost unknown to its population. The country has good laws governing all sectors, but their dissemination and implementation are problematic. As the laws are not known by the population, the State tends to violate their rights. No one can claim any infringement of rights because they are not sure of the law. However, for those who make an effort to claim on behalf of the legal texts, the State is tempted to change interpretation. This was also one of the reasons for the conflict between the Church and the State during the election period. The conflict was on the understanding and application of the texts.

When the texts are not known, the population lives in darkness without knowing their duties and rights as citizens. That is why the people agree to close their mouths about their suffering; their peaceful manifes-

tations are reprimanded, and they suffer injustices and bad conditions of all kinds because of their ignorance.

The State therefore has the responsibility to make the legal texts which legislate the life of the country, transparent. The State must ensure that laws are well-known everywhere by translating them into local languages. Once knowledge of the laws is widespread, the state must be the model in their exact application in accordance with the meaning intended by the legislator in order to avoid conflict. Compliance with these texts is an asset for the establishment as it creates peace and trust between the population and its leaders.

Citizenship education should be taught at school with more emphasis at the elementary level. The curriculum should adapt each concept to the learners' level, and must include important concepts of human rights and justice. In addition, a peace education course should be included at all levels of study. Knowledge is a powerful weapon; when given to the people, they can defend themselves against evil in the country.

It is not enough just to popularize legal texts but to also apply them correctly without favouritism or complacency. Bungishabaku Katho adds that it is necessary to facilitate the manifestation of the law in public order, to help the nation accomplish the divine project. To promote the well-being of the people is to judge impartially, protect the poor and oppressed (Ex 22:21; 23:9; Lev 19:13; Deut 23:16; 24:14). In Ps 72:1-2; v.4; v.12, the king received the commission to judge the people in righteousness, and above all, to be an advocate for the weak, the oppressed and all those who have been denied justice: this is the preferential choice for the poor.²¹⁶

b) Improving living conditions

According to reports from several non-governmental organizations, particularly UNDP, living conditions in the DRC are precarious. This

²¹⁶ Bungishabaku Katho, «Réflexion sur le début de la monarchie en Israël», in *Revue Théologique des Monts Bleus*, N° 06, 2004, 54.

precariousness of life is characterized by poverty, unemployment, lack of access to drinking water, electricity or health services for appropriate care, malnutrition, high infant mortality, less comfortable housing, limited access to education and lack of respect for equal opportunities between men and women. Despite being rich in natural resources, the population is still poor and the country's wealth benefits a minority—a geological scandal. It is unfortunate to see that a large part of the country is impoverished while the minority is made up of wealthy ministers, deputies, senators, the president and his agents. According to this state of precariousness Bungishabaku Katho proposes to promote a political, social and economic organization that would guarantee national or community prosperity benefiting all members without exception. This is not a society built on inequality and social injustice in which a minority enjoys all the property and rights of the nation and others are reduced to inhumanity.²¹⁷

The State must focus on the equitable distribution of the country's resources because the various rebellions registered in the country are linked to economic inequality. Everyone prefers to take up arms in order to exploit part of the country. Dieu-Merci Mbumba affirms that the daily struggle for survival encourages individualistic behaviour, "resourcefulness" rather than collective action. It arouses a deep feeling of injustice and anger towards the rich, but does not lead to revolt. Most of the time individuals in precarious situations remain inaudible. There is no longer any doubt that the precariousness of life remains a problem requiring therapy that can improve their social and economic well-being and that of their households.²¹⁸ This precariousness of life is sometimes caused by the absence of or low remuneration, unemployment, the diversion of funds allocated for social purposes and the lack of policies to improve social situation of the population.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 51.

²¹⁸ Dieu-Merci Mbumba, *La précarité des conditions de vie et la survie des militaires dans la ville de Bukavu*, Bukavu, ISDR, 2016, 11.

The State has the following responsibilities in improving living conditions:

- Improve the living conditions of the population by providing it with social security that takes into account purchasing power and well-being (adequate family indemnities and allowances, access to drinking water, food and electricity);
- Develop effective agricultural and livestock policies to ensure good nutrition to prevent overreliance on food importation;
- Get involved in the care of the vulnerable (widows, street children, orphans, people living with disabilities...);
- Create jobs for young people so as to remove the opportunity for armed groups to step in and solve the problem of unemployment;
- Create social funds for pensioners, savings and credit corporations;
- Establish a health system that allows everyone to get treatment and effectively implement a national strategy to combat maternal and child mortality from the causes;
- Establish a budget that effectively responds to all sectors of the population's life by closing the gap in terms of civil servants' remuneration;
- Improving habitation with access to decent housing;
- To work for peace, unity and national harmony by developing a culture of dialogue and non-violence;
- Advocate for good governance through the implementation of good policies, a regulatory framework that provides an enabling environment for growth, and the provision of effective public services that contribute to poverty reduction.²¹⁹ Corrup-

²¹⁹ Pierre Jacquemot, "La résistance à la bonne gouvernance dans un Etat africain : Réflexions autour du cas congolais (RDC)", in *Revue Tiers-Monde*, N° 204, 2010, 129.

tion, fraud, impunity and insecurity are signs of poor governance in the country;

- Enable the Congolese to exist by granting them an identity card.

c) *Restoration of State authority*

The Congolese government seems to have left its population in the hands of militiamen and rebels. The Eastern part of the country has long been the scene of killings and all kinds of violence. People are dying, women are being raped, and the presence of orphans and children on the streets have not inspired the government to set up stabilisation programmes which have instead become the responsibility of MONUSCO, which is also limited in its actions. The Congolese government is primarily responsible for the security of its people. It has no right to leave the responsibility to MONUSCO. According to Pierre Jacquemot, “in some provinces, the minimum State is actually the Church, Catholic, Protestant or Kimbanguist. She assures a form of governance and public services. She manages schools, universities, hospitals, health centres.”²²⁰

The State has almost abandoned its primary role in the security and well-being of the population. When other organizations (churches, NGO, MONUSCO) want to make up for this failure, tensions always arise. They are accused of interfering in the affairs of a sovereign country and are asked to pay exorbitant taxes. There is a lack of motivation that leaves the population without unfortunate consequences.

It is therefore necessary to carry out programmes to stabilize the country and restore State authority through:

- Disarmament of all armed groups;
- The demobilization and reintegration program for demobilized
- people by giving them realistic opportunities to reintegrate into the community;

²²⁰ Ibid., 141.

- Training of military and police officers in law and ethics in order to properly carry out their task of securing the population and their property. On the other hand, recalcitrant people must be revoked and put in prison;
- Deployment of security services and well-supervised law enforcement officers throughout the country;
- Installation without favouritism or political preference of the competent authorities to govern territorial entities;
- Renewal of the political class by replacing all those accused of wrongdoing with well-trained elites to run the state services;
- Safeguard the integrity and independence of the judicial sector through sufficient resource allocation and installation of well-trained judges capable of respecting the laws of the country to promote “zero tolerance” and facilitate easy access to justice for everyone;
- Good regional cooperation for mutual emergence through integrative programmes;
- Working in synergy with churches and civil societies for the well-being of the population through the creation of health facilities and schools accessible to all and state enterprises to support youth.

d) Democratization of government structures

The democratisation of government structures is essential to facilitating collective input on decisions that affect the general life of the country. These fully democratized structures would help to reduce a large number of violence related to the oppression of grassroots movements led by the people. Better representation will help bring attention to the people by giving them more power for the development and well-being of all citizens. Thus, being subordinate does not mean accepting all the suffering from the authority, but rather having sovereignty over the life of the country.

The democratic system must characterize state enterprises and entities in the way they work by serving the people who empower them to exist. However, the paternalistic spirit, inherited from Belgian settlers, continues to dot the heads of many leaders. When appointed head of a government structure, the name and attitude changes. There is the use of titles such as daddy, *Mwokonzi* (Lord), *Baba* (Father), etc. The concept of service is excluded; instead, there is a preference to be served. The State must develop a culture of service for the common good. It must discourage the principle of “closing one’s mouth” and forced obedience that creates a line of demarcation between authority and those under his control. However, it is important to develop inclusive leadership that focuses on communion and involves subordinates in decision-making about the life of the country.

*e) Restoring law and justice for social harmony*²²¹

In the previous parts of this work, we have discussed at length the notion of justice from both secular and biblical perspectives. The observation revealed that it must cross all sectors of human life because of its importance in harmonizing interpersonal relationships. It has long been undermined by the proponents of power who have replaced it with injustice and the development of the ego. This proliferation of injustice and the rise of egocentrism have caused dissension in societies.

A state that evolves without justice is half dead. It does not live because its population does not benefit from the justice that should be applied for its well-being. According to Kubulana Matendo, justice is the quality that makes a power, a title, an act, an event, an object conform to what the law, custom or the essence of beings require. This simply means conforming to the norm.²²² It is the duty of the State to be able to

²²¹ Kahwa Njojo, *Ethique de la non-violence: Etudes sur Jésus selon les évangiles*, Genève, Globethics.net, 2013, 469-470.

²²² Siméon Kubulana Matendo, «Justice et royaume messianique: Essai de relecture exégétique de la prophétie de Michée, Eléments d’une théologie de

properly apply justice in an impartial manner. In this way, it will put aside any impunity that acquits the perpetrators without judgement. State officials must themselves be exemplary to the population. If they compromise themselves in their administration, they must be judged, because justice does not only concern certain members of the population but all the inhabitants in the country without distinction.

Being mandated by God to apply justice, the State must put it into practice in all fairness, to share it to everyone according to the principle of equality of all before the law of the country and before God. That is to say, justice must be distributive to give everyone the same chance.²²³ In this sense, no one is exempt from justice despite their position or social rank. True justice applies to everyone regardless of what he or she is and does within his or her society. Olivier Abel reiterates that justice is what gives everything its place, its limit, the form in which the power of being is realized without going so far as to destroy it. It is the meeting of beings who remain different, separated, and between whom it is necessary to find adequacy, equality, mutual freedom and even fraternity.²²⁴

Evode Beauchamp points out that what is needed is justice that promotes order for both society and the universe.²²⁵ A justice that creates order is one that considers all citizens as equal despite their social differences, and contributes to the restoration of true democracy because, for Maurice Barbier, it is characterized above all by equal conditions between men. Each person must have an equal right and be treated in

l'espérance pour l'Eglise en crise», Thèse, Bruxelles, Faculté Universitaire de Théologie Protestante, 1998, 129.

²²³ John Rawls, *Théorie de la justice*, Paris, Seuil, 1987, 33.

²²⁴ Olivier Abel, «Pouvoir, amour et justice: Considérations à partir de Tillich, Ricœur et quelques autres», in *Etudes Théologiques et Religieuses*, Tome 72, N° 4, 1997, 545-546.

²²⁵ Evode Beauchamp, *Les grands thèmes de l'alliance*, Paris, Cerf, 1988, 161.

accordance with his or her works. Impunity becomes a terrible social evil that risks engulfing the country in the darkness of violence.²²⁶

The State must not only ensure that the wrongs committed are punished but also that they are repaired. Restorative justice is intended to be enforced. It makes an important contribution to peacebuilding. For example, returning the stolen item allows the owner to calm down and receive the thief in all sincerity. Forgiveness can take place, but the restitution of the item develops trust between the parties in conflict and cements reconciliation. In other words, it is not only a matter of acknowledging the fault committed, but also of being prepared to repair the damage. Reparation must not be, for the Christian, the goal pursued in reconciliation, but rather the fruit of true reconciliation and sincere confession on the part of the wrongdoer. Restorative justice discourages impunity. It reinforces the climate of mutual expectation by helping the wrongdoer change course and prevents others from falling into violence. But the State must be the model par excellence by guaranteeing justice to everyone, equipping the judicial system to do its work properly without discrimination and fighting against the commercialization of justice.

f) Revitalising civil society and human rights NGOs

We are talking about groups or associations that work independently of constituted groups (state or church) to establish human rights and promote change in the world. They organize themselves as a group to put pressure on the government for good governance and advocate on behalf of the population for its well-being. They defend the population against any exploitation and oppression by rulers and seek to assert the rights of the people. In this last task, they stand as representatives of the people, in service to them. These groups or associations are apolitical. That is why they cannot be supporters of the power-seeking opposition. They exist to defend the rights of the population, and so they must be

²²⁶ Maurice Barbier, *Religion et politique dans la pensée moderne*, Nancy, PUN, 1987, 190.

characterized by neutrality without favouring any particular person. Their position must be determined and conditioned by law and justice. To do this, they have an obligation to be the voice of the voiceless.²²⁷

The reality of the DRC reveals the presence of these groups, which sometimes have difficulty being effective because they are either suffocated by the political power, or they display a partisan attitude allowing those in power to use them, often due to fear of imprisonment or disappearance. To the detriment of the people, these groups are abandoning their role as defenders and are instead used to aggravate the people's suffering.

According to this compromise and fear, it is desirable that they must be revitalized by reminding them of their role and the actions to be taken on behalf of the population in promoting human rights in order to ensure democracy. Their empowerment through training sessions is an asset for effective work. However, it is important that actors are covered by a legal text guaranteeing their empowerment and freedom of expression in the performance of their duties. This is possible when an independent national human rights commission is established to report, in collaboration with the State and the international community, all violations throughout the country.

It is important that all civil society actors work in synergy in the light of their common objective. Anne Guion says that there are many active forces in the DRC. If all the voices can converge, the government may be worried.²²⁸ Working in private and pursuing personal interests does not allow for a positive impact of their actions on the ground. On several occasions, some actors have been accused of being corrupt or of playing the game to the advantage of the opposition in the search for money and

²²⁷ Kahwa Njojo, *Ethique de la non-violence*, 482.

²²⁸ Anne Guion, «Pourquoi l'Eglise Catholique dérange le pouvoir en RDC», in *La Vie*, http://www.lavie.fr/actualite/monde/pourquoi-l-eglise-catholique-derange-le-pouvoir-en-rdc-27-01-201887687_5.php, 06/02/2019.

posts. Neutrality must characterize their work in order to remain a powerful force for the benefit of the people.

12.5 Church-State Partnership

Being at God's service, State and Church must develop a partnership and collaborative relationship. They are not rivals – but partners for the good of the people, each in his own field. They must advise each other in order to provide a service that is appropriate for the people. The prophetic role of the Church does not give her the power to direct the politics of the country and choose its leaders, but to guide the people, without bias, to understand their responsibility for the life of the country and to defend their rights according to the legal texts by using nonviolence.

The Church must serve as model for the State in its way of working so that its advice is acceptable and practiced. It would be difficult for the political authorities to accept the messages of the prophets if the Church is also involved in the evils she condemns. The Church is challenged not to display a paternalistic spirit but to cultivate a partnership with the State in order to reach the expected result. Incitement of hatred amongst the population is an attitude to be discouraged. Therefore, it is preferable to cultivate love for all institutions through mutual cooperation to reform services in order to improve the living conditions of the people.

There are some activities that they can do in synergy:

- Denounce and prohibit the sale of arms to armed groups;
- Contribute to the demobilization of armed groups and care of demobilized people at all levels;
- Collaborate in the elaboration and promotion of legal texts, and ensure their correct application;
- Promote human rights in general and specifically those of women, children and human rights defenders (journalists, national or international NGOs and other institutions);

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- Combat socio-cultural practices or stereotypes underlying inequalities and violence in society (gender segregation, levirate, polygamy, early marriage, etc.);
- Work on policies that can establish sustainable peace in all sectors of the country's life;
- To be involved in changing the social situation of the population through the construction of schools and health facilities. However, the State must exempt the Church from all taxes on her actions;
- Support disadvantaged peoples such as pygmies;
- Collaborate in improving the living conditions of the Congolese people at all levels so that one sector is not elevated to the disadvantage of the other;
- Contribute to the protection of creation;
- Execute the strategic development plan;
- Work for gender equity and child protection by establishing a joint and independent national commission to combat gender-based violence;

CONCLUSION

In life, conflicts are inevitable and found in all areas of life. What is important to know is how to manage and avoid them: respecting boundaries and keeping within respective spheres of power. Anna Ntambua Kayembe affirms that the Church and the State occupy an important place, have a role to play and a weight in society.²²⁹ When their relationship is blurred, it adversely affects society as a whole. It is essential, in line with their mission to focus on the well-being of the population, develop a new collaboration style that, instead of promoting power struggles, develops a partnership of mutual aid.

The Church belongs to God and must follow God's instructions that the Bible communicates. The message must reveal God's will to the people. In this sense, there is an obligation to act impartially without bias or compromise in relation to the message she is supposed to present, which aims to tell the truth in love and whose purpose is peace. The partisan attitude and the spirit of taking a position in favour of a particular person or political party deprive the Church of credibility in society and generate endless conflicts, because that is incompatible with God's will and mission. Paul Avoki states that when a religion is in the service of power, it becomes easy to divert it from its transcendental ends to corruption and use it to justify the worst atrocities. When a country puts the spiritual at the service of the temporal, the situation degenerates.

²²⁹ Anna Ntambua Kayembe, «L'église et le pouvoir politique en République Démocratique du Congo: collaboration ou antagonisme», Mémoire de Licence, Kinshasa: UNIKIN, 2007, 58.

ates into unproductive conflicts in the management of public affairs. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, the problem often does not lie in the religions themselves, although some of them are inspired by texts that are violent and militaristic. In general, corruption and the misuse of religions for political purposes (the example is to be read in the attitudes of the Catholic, Protestant, Kimbanguist, Muslim and so-called revival groups in the pre-electoral period) stem from the absence of democratic political structures strong enough to guarantee the dignity and fundamental rights of individuals, regardless of any references to religions.²³⁰

²³⁰ Paul Avoki, «Influence de la religion dans la décision politique: cas des élections du 28 novembre 2011», Mémoire de Licence, Kinshasa: UNIKIN, 2012, 35.

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