

What role is culture playing in an ideology?

Is a mideology context specific?

What can Ubuntu tell us about ideologies?

Is the free market ideological?

What new learning strategies should be adopted in a new learning environment?

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FOR IDEOLOGIES IN SOUTH FRICAN HIGHER EDUCATION: CONTEXT AND CONTENTS

Laetus O K Lategan & Kobus Smit (Editors)

TECHNIKON FREE STATE STUDIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION



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Higher Education is becoming increasingly complex. Simultaneously, Higher Education institutions are facing many new challenges. Principles such as equity, redress, democracy, non-racism, non-sexism, development, quality, effectiveness and efficiency, academic freedom, institutional autonomy and public accountability are the order of the day. Extremely important issues are, amongst others, the following: New policy developments (such as the SAQA Bill, the NQF, the Higher Education Bill, the Science and Technology White Paper, the Labour White Paper, etc.); the Higher Education paradigm shift from teaching to learning; new delivery modes (especially resource-based learning packages, technology); the urge for quality promotion and quality assurance; disadvantaged students; new governance structures; the funding of institutions; collaboration between different Higher Education institutions in the form of consortia; pathways between Higher Education and Further Education; etc.

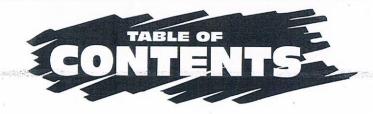
An underlying threat to all these new challenges is ideologies in Higher Education. Ideology is very often understood as domination. In order to address the issue of ideology in Higher Education, the Technikon Free State, in collaboration with the Department of Philosophy at the University of the Free State, presented a seminar on this theme. As a result of the seminar, the presenters were asked to document their research.

From the presentations delivered at the seminar, it was clear that this topic should be viewed from two angles. The one is the context of the new Higher Education landscape in South Africa and the other is various examples of ideologies in Higher Education. The papers were therefore grouped in two different volumes.

This volume addresses the landscape (context) within which ideologies in South African Higher Education should be understood. It should be read in conjunction with the volume on Ideologies in Higher Education (Technikon Free State Studies in Higher Education No. 1).

My sincere appreciation for the dedication of the editors, Profs. Laetus O.K. Lategan (Technikon Free State) and Kobus Smit (University of the Free State) who also acted as the peer reviewers of this volume. I am also extending my gratitude towards the Central Research Committee who plays an integral role in the development and promotion of research on our campus.

The best way in which a scholarly community can thank people for their dedicated work is to



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THE TYRANNY OF THE NEO-CAPITALIST FREE MARKET ECONOMY: IN THE GRIP OF THE MOST DANGEROUS IDEOLOGY?

B J van der Walt

While we in South Africa are not yet fully liberated from the old apartheid ideology, we at the moment uncritically accept a new - perhaps even more dangerous - ideology: the neocapitalist free market ideology! Another proof of the fact that we - because we are religious by nature - cannot live without ideological captivity?

This chapter will concentrate on the following four main points in order to help us recognise this ideology and its dangers:

- Why it is an ideology and a very dangerous one?
- · An analysis of its main characteristics.
- Why it is unacceptable from a Biblical perspective?
- · How it should be challenged.

1. A DANGEROUS IDEOLOGY

1.1 The nature of an ideology

Every human being lives - consciously or unwittingly - according to a worldview. A worldview could briefly be described as the network of beliefs which shape the way in which we view and experience reality (cf. Van der Walt, 1994:39-55 for a detailed analysis).

The danger with any worldview - also a Christian one - is that it can become absolutised, closed, dogmatic, "hardened", because it is not prepared to listen to the voices of reality (creation) and the Word of God. When this happens, a worldview has deteriorated into an ideology.

My own definition of an ideology - there are many attempts to describe this phenomenon (cf. Nürnberger, 1979b:6 and Goudzwaard, 1984) - reads as follows: "Ideology, which usually comes into being in a threatening situation, is a substitute for true religion, with as its highest ideal an all-encompassing purpose, to the attainment of which any (power) means may be used, norms adapted, sacrifices demanded and a specific image of the enemy propagated" (Van der Walt, 1994:357).

This definition can be analysed in detail (Van der Walt, 1994:358-367), but the most important points for our present topic are the following:

- Neo-capitalism is a substitute for true, Biblical religion, it is a secular religion.
- Its all-encompassing *purpose* is to restructure the whole of society according to the model of the free market economy.
- The means through which it wants to achieve its goal is global domination.
- It requires great sacrifices even when they are dehumanising.
- Its norms/values clash with the basic Biblical directives for human life.

If something is not conceptualised according to God's will (revealed in creation and in the Bible), it cannot be beneficial. But let me mention specific reasons why I regard neocapitalism as a most dangerous ideology.

1.2 The dangers of the free market ideology

Like every ideology, the free marketing ideology is *deceiving*, because the impression is created that, after the ideological cold war (between the two superpowers, viz. the capitalist US and the socialist USSR), political and economic agendas are no longer ideologically motivated. This new ideology is - especially after the collapse of socialism - *unchallenged*, it is "the ideology of no alternatives".

It enjoys *global domination*. It is perhaps the most powerful ideology of all times, which reigns supreme. The impression is created that, after decolonisation, imperialism is gone. In fact the old colonial imperialism was only replaced by post- or neo-colonial imperialism which is no less powerful and oppressive. The only differences between the two are the following: The old colonial imperialism was formal and the political domination was mainly from Europe (as the centre of power). Contemporary neo-imperialism is informal and economic domination is from the US as the new centre of power. (For more details, see Fowler, 1995 - different sections of his book.)

Like any kind of ideology, neo-capitalism *presents itself with a good face*. It is regarded as the only self-evident solution for the world's problems. This explains why the "underdeveloped" countries so easily accepted the capitalist-inspired idea of development. For the West it was a legitimising concept, which gave them the right to continue their economic involvement - exploitation - of the south. For the non-Western world it seemed to be an open concept (it did not refer to political programmes) as well as an optimistic idea (with the promise of a better future than the colonial past).

Neo-capitalism is also a *seductive* ideology, because (as a secular religion) it does not present itself as competitor or the open enemy of other religions. It permits, even encourages, the practice of religion (e.g. Christianity) in *private* life and the church, but determines what happens in *public* life. This dualism between "private" and public" is unacceptable in an integral Christian perspective.

Neo-capitalism *gradually infiltrates* our hearts and minds because it seems to make good sense. Without noticing, its virus paralyses our hearts and blurs our perspective on life. When we ultimately realise that we and our institutions have been secularised, it is already to late.

Lastly, this ideology - like all ideologies - can never fulfil its promises. It presented itself as a lighthouse, which could guide the newly independent nations out of the "dark world of

underdevelopment" towards the "light of development". But today the light is still flashing just as far away as ever, receding into the dark! B. Goudzwaard and H. de Lange (1994:1-5) convincingly indicate the failure of this economic ideology when they draw the attention to the following six paradoxes, inherent in the system:

- The scarcity paradox: Unprecedented abundance with unprecedented scarcity.
- The povery paradox: Increasing wealth with increasing poverty.
- The care paradox: Greater resources with declining care for people and environment.
- The labour paradox: Rising need for labour with widespread unemployment or underemployment.
- The health paradox: Improved medical technology with increasing disease.
- The time paradox: More labour saving devices with less time to choose what to do.

These dangers clearly indicate why it is of the utmost importance to recognise, to know this ideology - our second main point.

2. THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEO-CAPITALIST FREE MARKET IDEOLOGY

In describing its features we will distinguish between (i) its governing belief (or "mother idea"), (ii) a number of justifying or supporting beliefs and (iii) the slogans by way of which the ideology is propagated. (Especially with respect to the first two points I have learned a lot from Fowler, 1998.)

2.1 The basic idea

The basic belief of this ideology is that the (idealised) free market is the saviour of the world. The fact that it is a belief, a secular religious belief, can clearly be seen from the following:

- One has to trust the free market.
- It is above human critique or control.
- Anything is permissible in the name of this ideology.
- In spite of its name (*free* market) it is not free at all. There is no freedom *within* the market, e.g. equality between buyers and sellers or even between sellers. What is actually meant, is the freedom *of* the market to dominate all areas of life in every country! There is no freedom of choice!
- · Its merits may not be questioned.
- It has its own gospel of sin (underdevelopment), conversion (to its beliefs), redemption (through Western developmentalism) and gratitude (living according to the laws of the free market).

An example *par excellence*, the incarnation of this ideology, is the powerful World Bank. An excellent study of its religious-ideological presuppositions and its influence on our own continent is provided by Mihevc (1995).

2.2 The four supporting beliefs

They are the following:

The beneficience of the impersonal market forces. Long ago, the father of modern

economy, Adam Smith, believed in the "invisible hand" (of God) which will see to it that the market will not only benefit the already rich. This belief has today become secularised, but it did not disappear. Therefore the development of the market has to be maximised. The market as such is something good. It is not necessary to measure it against values or norms - it has itself become the norm, a hyper-norm!

- The compatibility of economic interests with other social interests. The free market is not only good by nature, it is regarded as the saviour in every area of life. Therefore it has the right to extend the scope of its operations into every sector of society. Only fix the economy, then all other areas will flourish! Commercial operations is believed to be the most efficient way to advance any social good. Therefore, all non-economic societal relationships should be subordinated to commercial interests, because it will not compromise, but advance their goals. This is a totally new phenomenon, because in previous world history the commercial (economic) aspect was regarded as only one facet of life. One example is that, according to this ideology, it is believed that (higher) education will be more effective if it is commercialised, when commercial management practices ("efficiency") is employed.
- Abundant and ever expanding consumption of the goods and services of the market output is regarded as "the good" life. Everyone should have as much as possible of the good things which the market provides, because it makes life easy and enjoyable. Satisfaction of desires not needs becomes the measure of life in its fullness. Thus it is believed that life can continuously be improved simply by having more. The question is never asked whether man can live by bread alone, or whether welfare is the same as wellbeing. In spite of this, the media daily propagate this ideological, egoistic belief about human fulfilment: I must feel good, my sense of well-being is most important!
- Quantitative criteria are accepted as indicators of human "development" or well-being.
 In accordance with "the more, the better", mathematically measurable data are considered to be reliable indications of the level of consumption and therefore fulfilment.
 "What cannot be counted, does not count!"

There is no awareness that numerical norms (to count correctly) can only provide us with the correct numbers. They never indicate what is ethically, religiously, juridically etc. - or even economically - good or bad for us as human beings. They cannot measure quality in other areas of life than the numerical. Life expectancy, for instance, cannot simply be measured by the number of years a person lives (the time between his/her birth and death) because it reveals nothing about the quality of life enjoyed during that period. Education cannot be measured by simply counting the enrolment ratio's and not taking into account the quality of the education, e.g. lack of equipment, poorly trained teachers/lecturers etc. in South Africa.

2.3 The slogans

With a variety of slogans this ideology is propagated daily on different levels: in the media, in development planning, in scholarly articles, in academic textbooks etc. A few examples of these slogans are: "progress", "achievement", "excellence", "efficiency" and "competition". They are elevated to the status of values or norms that should guide our behaviour in accordance with the belief in the free market. In actual fact they cannot be norms, but should be normatively judged!

The idea of "progress" is thoroughly discussed (also from a distinctly Christian perspective) by, for example, the following writers: Bury (1955), Goudzwaard (1979), Griffioen (1987) and Nisbet (1980). I will briefly criticise another slogan, viz. competition, because it is regarded today as the "gospel", supposed to cure all economic ills.

It is true that, on the one hand, *good* competition can eliminate waste, laxity, inefficiency and raise the standard of performance. On the other hand, *bad* competition (competition subjected to no norms) can be a frightening, brutal taskmaster. Consider the following obvious points: According to this value there are only two categories of human beings, viz. winners and losers; there is no guarantee of quality because the winner is not necessarily the best - there are ways to win!; people become each other's opponents - to be beaten or even eliminated; it is therefore destructive of good human relationships; the weaker competitor is simply forgotten, rejected or eliminated - justice is not a consideration; competition causes a terrible rat race, even anxiety; it never ends; it encourages the conviction that, because one has failed economically, you are a total failure as a human being; it not only prohibits the realisation of other imporant values, but it clashes with the basic message of the Gospel (cf. Phil. 2:3-4); it is not even economically efficient - as its adherents believe - but inefficient, because it eliminates diversity in the market place - only a few winners overcome the struggle for survival!

2.4 Summary from a worldview perspective

Every worldview (and its distortion in the form of an ideology) contains the following six basic elements: a conception about God, norms, mankind, society, nature and time or history. A brief summary of these six components in the case of the free market ideology are:

- Conception of God (what is regarded as absolute): Live as if God does not exist or matter (in public life); secular self-redemption through belief in benevolent free market.
- Norms/values: Development, competition, achievement, excellence, efficiency, consumption, selfishness, greediness = subjectivism. This reslut in relativism, utilism, hedonism and egoism.
- Mankind: A one-dimensional being ("nothing more than an economic being") instead of multi-dimensional.
- Society: The great diversity of societal relationships commercialised (= totalitarianism).
- Nature (environment): Exploited (not cared for) to the utmost.
- Time and history: Time is a scarce commodity to be used (not enjoyed) and history a
 process of linear progress the future better than the present and the past.

2.5 The outcome

Not only in the "underdeveloped" and "developing" world, but also in the so-called developed world, we can today clearly see the results of this powerful, but destructive, ideology. It may promote human well-being in *one* aspect, but it diminishes and threatens it in *most* other respects.



The southern parts of the world (which the West is trying to develop according to the capitalist model) is experiencing terrible suffering because of illness, poverty, starvation, malnutrition, loss of dignity, etc. In the northern countries there is growing dissatisfaction, because of the increasing inequality between rich and poor, the chronic physical diseases associated with an affluent lifestyle, increase in mental diseases like depression, drug abuse, the escalation of violence (in different forms) and the crisis in care, because the "caring" professions are not regarded as "productive", without "market value" - you have to buy it, if you can afford it! The neo-capitalist free market ideology has created a sick, a very sick society!

These developments lead to distorted values and a distorted society built on these values. Norms or values are the response of the human being to what he regards as the highest authority in life. The capitalist ideology serves another power in the place of our highest Authority, the real God, viz. Mammon. Its norms, therefore, reflect obedience to this substitute god.

2.6 The challenge

How should we challenge such a powerful, global, unchallenged, but questionable, misleading ideology? It will not be enough to indicate its failures, as we have briefly tried to do. Because it is an ideology, people not only *believe* in it, but will *keep on* believing in it in spite of the overwhelming evidence of its failure. They will *rationalise* their belief by calling its detrimental results "unfortunate side effects", "growing pains" or "short-term problems", necessary to reach the - ever vanishing - utopian goal. As indicated in our definition of an ideology, it requires unbearable sacrifices - in this instance on the altar of Mammon. In challenging this powerful ideology, we will therefore have to concentrate, not on its *merits or results*, but on the ideology *itself*.

Because all human beings are deeply religious by nature - an ideology is a religion - one faith can only be efficiently rejected if it is replaced by another faith. We therefore need an alternative faith to challenge this ideology, as well as alternative values, founded in this new faith. I am proposing the Christian, Biblical faith in the place of contemporary neo-capitalism - our next point.

3. THE BIBLICAL ALTERNATIVE

We have to break out of the passive acceptance of this secular faith, refuse it as a framework for discussion and develop our own values, founded in the Gospel. (The secular religious - ideological - presuppositions of contemporary Western developmentalism is clearly revealed in the studies by Van Ufford & Schoffeleers, 1988 and Zeylstra, 1975.)

It is an urgent task because (South) Africa will move backwards if it follows the free market ideology. It is also of vital importance because of many Christians' uncritical endorsement of the free market economy - which they even try to prove to be the Biblically correct economy! (cf. Boer, 1984). Many of them (like Sherman, 1992) also embark on a one-sided vendetta against socialism, without realising that capitalism is also a secular ideology, the estranged twin brother of socialism, in no way better than the socialist ideology. The first overemphases the individual (his well-being and prosperity), while the other absolutises the community. We should be critical of *both* of them! (cf. Leatt, Kneifel and Nürnberger, 1986 and Nürnberger, 1979b).



What I personally regard as of the utmost importance are the following: We have to get our priorities straight and we need real norms to guide our conduct.

3.1 The correct priorities

Years ago K. Nkrumah, at the time of the independence of Ghana, proclaimed: "Seek first the political kingdom and you will receive everything else." Today this *political* ideology is replaced by an *economic* one. The free market ideology says: "Seek first the abundance of food, drink, clothing and the other consumer benefits of the free market and all the other social goods will follow." In fact it says: "You may also worship and thank God for the consumer goods, but you will only enjoy these if you agree to make the market your absolute priority."

This ideology clearly turns God's priority for human life on its head. The Bible urges: "Do not worry, saying: 'What will we eat?' or 'What will we drink?' or 'What will we wear?' ... But strive first for the kingdom of God and his righteousness and all these things will be given to you as well" (Matt. 6:31, 33).

Christ is not denying a place for the market, but He clearly says that we will never achieve well-being if we make the pursuit of market commodities our *prime* objective. We have to subordinate the market - like everything else - to his kingdom, his laws. Only then can we receive these things - by his grace!

When looking from this basic norm of God's kingdom at the abovementioned supporting or justifying beliefs of the neo-capitalist ideology, we realise how distorted they are and how necessary it is to emphasise totally different norms.

3.2 The real norms

As already stated, norms are our responses to whom/what we regard as our highest authority. Norms provide direction, they set limits, they tell us what ought to be done and therefore teach us real wisdom about good or bad.

3.2.1 The beneficience of the market

The basic religious choice here is between the so-called goodness of the impersonal, free market and the gracious goodness of a personal God: "No one can serve two masters. Either he will hate the one and love the other, or he will be devoted to the one and despise the other. You cannot serve both God and Money" (Matt. 6:24). Christ here clearly rejects the dualism of private-public according to which we try to serve Him in private, devotional life, but follow Mammon in our public conduct.

The market is not something impersonal on which we should simply rely. We create the market! It can be an instrument for our good. But if we develop it in defiance of God's norm for economic life (e.g. stewardship) as well as all his other norms for life in its diversity, it becomes oppressive and destructive - as is abundantly clear today. As already indicated, the "free" market, is not free at all. It can also be a very wasteful market.

We should especially be critical about the idea of a continuously growing and expanding

market, producing more and more. Firstly, continuous growth is an impossibility in a finite world with limited resources. The productivity of workers cannot be increased and the natural environment indefinitely exploited!

Secondly, growth as such is not beneficial (growth is not a norm but should be subjected to norms). It can be healthy, good or destructive, bad. Anti-normative growth is growth beyond the limits posted by God's norms. It resembles pathological, cancerous growth - which gradually destroys itself! Normative growth, on the other hand, is like a tree: At a certain stage it stops growing - to bear fruit! "No growth" is not a solution. Economic growth - within normative limits - is necessary to supply in our own basic human needs in order to fulfil our callings. Research has, however, clearly indicated (cf. the "threshold theory" of Max-Neef, 1991 and 1992) that economic growth can only improve human well-being to a point. Passing that point, it becomes destructive.

Welfare can therefore only be a means towards human well-being. If it is viewed as an end in itself (as in the free market ideology), it becomes an idol - with all the disastrous consequences of idolatry.

3.2.2 The compatibility of economic interests with other social interests

As already indicated, the belief of the free market ideology is that all social relationships will be served best if they adopt the organisational model of the "efficient" commercial organisation. Everything has to be commercialised!

A human being, for instance, is only valued in so far as (s)he can provide an input (production) as a "market unit" (sic!) and/or act as a consumer of the produce. This is a complete inversion of what the correct order should be: man now has to serve (because it became an idol) economic goals, instead of an economy serving mankind!

In the case of a business/commercial enterprise, it is necessary that the market output should be maximised, while the input costs should be kept as low as possible in order to reach the goal of financial profit. Efficiency, in this case, is the effective use of certain means towards an end.

Other societal relationships, however, are designed or ordained by God for quite different purposes or ends. We advocate (Van der Walt, 1994:259-336 and Van der Walt, 1995), over against both socialism and liberalistic, individualistic neo-capitalism, pluralism as the correct philosophy of society. Every societal relationship (marriage, family, school, church, state, business etc.) has its own unique God-given task which should be executed according to its own norm (e.g. troth in marriage, care in family life, justice in the state and stewardship in business).

This variety of societal relationships has an economic *aspect* (a marriage, family, school, church, state also needs money to survive!), but it is, unlike the market, economically *qualified*. (If you, for instance, view and structure your marriage or family as an "economic unit", it will soon be ruined!) For this very reason efficiency in the case of all these non-economic societal relationships will also imply something different than in the case of the market. We need other models of efficiency designed to serve their distinctive tasks or goals. Efficiency in their case does not necessarily mean reducing costs, because it may be

achieved at the cost of achieving their own, unique callings. Our conclusion is that we should not strive for the commercialisation, but rather the *de*commercialisation of contemporary society!

3.2.3 Abundant, ever expanding consumption of the goods and services of the market and gratification through the pursuit of our own desires

The supporting belief of the free market ideology in this case is that egoistic, self-gratifying consumption will bring happiness, well-being. And that the satisfaction of our desires or greed - viewed as needs - is the measure of the good life. Of course we cannot live without consuming food and drink, without shelter and clothes, but it should never be the one and all of our life and it will never provide real meaning and fulfilment. Christ clearly teaches: "Man does not live on bread alone" (Matt. 4:4).

We also do not need - because it is not good for us - abundant, ever expanding consumption (cf. Phil. 4:11 and 1 Tim. 6:8.) Christ warned us: "Be on your guard against all kinds of greed; a man's life does not consist in the abundance of his possessions" (Luke 12:15). The Bible is very critical about our (sinful) desires. The desire of the flesh (meaning *sinful* desire and not simply *sexual* desire!), of the eyes (everything we see advertised today) and for riches are not from God (1 John 2:16). It clearly rejects envy, greediness and selfishness - all "virtues" promoted by the ideology under consideration.

Don't misunderstand the Gospel. It is not propagating a grim life of no enjoyment or satisfaction: "... God ... richly provides us with everything for our enjoyment" (1 Tim. 6:17b).

God provides us with a new direction for the whole of life in his commandment of love (Matt. 22:37-40). Following this basic, central but also encompassing direction, guarantees life in its fullness (John 10:10b). It is not something sentimental (Hollywood style), but a love that gladly *serves* one another (cf. Gal. 5:13b en Phil. 2:4).

Our basic choice is the following: Either pursue the gratification of desire for more and more as a goal - and your desires will never be satisfied - or pursue service in love as your goal in life - and you will enjoy fulfilled desire and a satisfying, meaningful life. The last option is exactly Paul's advice to the rich of his time "so that they may take hold of the life that is truly life" (1 Tim. 6:17-19).

3.2.4 Quantitative criteria as indicators of "the good life" or human well-being

Because of the great diversity in creation, there are also a great variety of norms: numerical (mathematical), physical, psychic, economic, legal/political, ethical/moral and confessional. Numerical norms are not the only norms. They can also only give direction and set limits in one area of life: That of quantity. Simply by way of counting, one cannot decide on good or bad. More is not necessarily better. (I may have more apples than John but they may be worthless because they are rotten, while John's few apples are fresh!) Mere numbers cannot judge (by comparing what cannot be compared, e.g. money and art) the value of the many non-quantitative life aspects. I repeat: more should not automatically be regarded as good and less as bad.

3.3 A new social order

Personal values/norms lead to communal or social values. Distorted personal values inevitably yield a distorted society. (A house depends on its foundations.)

The same idea could also be explained in a different way: One serves an idol (god), one begins to look more and more like the idol one serves, one portrays its image, and one creates a society (e.g. marriage, family, business etc.) according to one's own image, which reflects the image of one's god. The same applies in the case of the ideology under discussion: The commercial interests of the market (Mammon) are *in control and are served*, the individual is *re-shaped* in accordance with commercial principles, and society at large is *redefined* to serve the priority of commercial interests. Money *remakes* society in its own image.

Commercial power shapes the social agenda in ways that subordinate all other social interests to its own view of society. It devaluates *everything* else apart from commercial interests! (It is just as dangerous as when political power is allowed to expand its control over society beyond the legitimate boundaries of state authority). This new global social tyranny of an economically driven society, is dehumanising, because it fails to provide a social environment in which human life in its rich diversy can flourish. (For how diverse, multifaceted and rich human life really is, see Van der Walt, 1997.)

A few examples may make this point clearer. As far as (higher) education is concerned, the following: Education, which once existed to nurture breadth and depth in understanding the whole of life, is now redefined as preparation for and participation in the commercial world; it becomes vocational or professional training. The result is one-eyed students, "educated" and equipped to maintain and advance the market kingdom, but more or less totally ignorant about life outside that kingdom. The *media* serves the same goals, reinforces the beliefs and values of the ideology and supports its interests. *Sport* deteriorated from relaxing social interaction into commercial entertainment, producing its millions for the professional players and the media covering the events. In the *state* administering justice is no longer a priority, but the regulation and administration of finances, co-operating or struggling against powerful multinational co-operations (cf. Antonides, 1978). Even *churches* tend to merely become the successful marketers of spiritual services!

Man today is distracted (by living from bread alone) from asking the really important questions of life, like what is good, true, meaningful? Many already believe that such questions are unanswerable anyhow or that they are insignificant, do not matter at all! Consequently we today live in a culture characterised by the superficial and trivial.

We urgently need a new society built on real values, in which there will be food, shelter etcetera, but not ever-increasing consumption. The word "enough" plays a positive role in such a society in which market growth is not rejected ("no growth" is not an option), but a society in which not any or excessive growth is considered beneficial. Good market growth happens when it serves broad human social interests - not merely narrow market interests!

4. A FEW PRACTICAL STEPS

Establishing a new kind of society in the place of the presently capitalistic-driven one, will require, apart from a consensus on different social values, also structural change. How can this be achieved?

The change will definitely not come from the centres of capitalistic, economic power (from "above"). It will have to come from the *people* and the *institutions* of society *outside* the state and the market. We urgently need a strong "civil society", a diversity of strong, well-organised social interests - the best safeguard against the use of political and/or economic power.

Finally achieving structural changes, may be a long and difficult process. It may, however, develop according to the following steps:

- Begin in the small-scale context of communities which are in our power to control. "Small is not only beautiful: (Schumacher, 1973) but also powerful!
- Reassess the values by which we live.
- Reject the dehumanising values of the free market economy in favour of Biblicallyinspired values.
- Adopt practices which reflect these values in everyday life.
- A groundswell of change can develop which may, in time, sweep through the whole of society, creating an irresistible momentum for change.
- Ultimately, large-scale structural change of society may become a reality.

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