

Towards a Decolonized and Africanized School History Curriculum in post- apartheid South Africa

Paul Maluleka

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Declaration of Original Work:

I, Paul Maluleka (student number: 519132), declare that **Towards a decolonized and Africanized School History Curriculum in post-apartheid South Africa** represents original work by myself and has not been submitted in any form to another university for assessment. Where use has been made of the work of others, this has been duly acknowledged in the text and a complete, alphabetised reference list has been provided. I fully understand that the Wits School of Education, Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand will take disciplinary action against me if evidence suggests that this is not my own unaided work or that I failed to acknowledge the sources of the ideas or words in my writing.

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Abstract

This study explores and discusses ways in which the School History Curriculum (SHC) in South Africa was designed by colonialists to depict their history favourably and how this continues to be the case after independence. The study also investigates ways in which the SHC could be decolonized and Africanized, especially where knowledge building is a concern. This is done both conceptually and empirically. Conceptually, a critical decolonial conceptual framework strengthened with Bernstein's Code Theory and Pedagogic Device, Maton's Epistemic-Pedagogic Device, and Legitimation Code Theory's Autonomy dimension were employed. Firstly, to highlight how the legacy of colonialism, apartheid, coloniality, and their monolithic epistemic nature, and to some extent, their alienating pedagogic and assessment practices, continue to underpin the SHC in post-apartheid South Africa. Secondly, to explore conceptual ways in which decoloniality could be applied in curriculum knowledge building and its structures in cumulative and principled ways. This was done to counter much of the knowledge blindness that characterize sociology of education including many of the calls for decolonization and Africanization. In turn, this was meant to reposition scholarship on decolonization and Africanization to also be vested in a sociological approach to knowledge and curriculum that is vested in investigating the relations within knowledge and curriculum and their intrinsic structures.

A qualitative research approach was adopted, and semi-structured interviews were used as methods of generating empirical data, with descriptive and interpretive elements of data analysis used to engage the data. Empirically, four in-service history educators from Gauteng and Limpopo Provinces were purposefully and conveniently selected. The purpose of interviewing in-service history educators was to gain insights into how they thought of the current SHC. Whether, according to them, calls to decolonize and Africanize the SHC were imperative and justified, and how they could be carried out.

Both the conceptual and empirical findings reveal that there is a need to decolonize and Africanize SHC in post-apartheid South Africa given that its knowledge base is still characterized by the legacy of colonialism, apartheid, and coloniality. To achieve this, both the conceptual and empirical findings pointed out the need to reimagine and construct epistemologies, ontologies and methodologies that not only move beyond universal explanations of the world; but embrace trans-modernist and pluriversal explanations of the

world. These are informed and shaped by time and the place, perspective, orientation, and situatedness of their authors.

Secondly, the findings of the study revealed how historical knowledge is both dialectically and intersectionally produced, recontextualized and reproduced in the three fields of practice. Interrogating critically who are the knowers that are legitimated and de-legitimated in all these processes, can enable us to better understand the colonizing gaze that continues to characterize the SHC. It can also allow us to better understand how these fields of practice can also be seen as spaces where de-legitimated knowledge and knowers are recentred and where decolonization and Africanization can happen. This would see the continued marginalization of indigenous knowledge systems, traditions, and cultural practices in the SHC at the altar of Eurocentric methods being disrupted.

Thirdly, the findings also pointed out that presently CAPS SHC does not have a settled African philosophy (of education): it is torn between two worlds, i.e., the universal and the particular. In a strict education for Africanization sense, the SHC in post-apartheid South African schools should be perceived first and foremost as a professional philosophical project that African philosophers in higher education devote their time and energy to. Second, a sage project that oMakhulu's as part of the broader school communities help in-service history educators and their learners through oral history and research projects to address problems and deal with issues facing locals. Last, but not least, it should be perceived as a hermeneutic project that brings philosophy down from the sky, i.e., helps both in-service educators and their learners to make practical sense of deep philosophical issues in post-apartheid South African schools.

Keywords: Africanization; African philosophy; CAPS; Curriculum knowledge; Decoloniality; Decolonization; Epistemic-Pedagogic Device; Fallism; Fees Must Fall; School History; South Africa.

Abbreviations

ANC – African National Congress

C2005 – Curriculum 2005

CAPS – Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement

CNE – Christian National Education

COVID-19 – Coronavirus Disease of 2019

COSATU – Congress of South African Trade Unions

CT – Code Theory

DEIC – Dutch East Indian Company

DOBE – Department of Basic Education

EPD – Epistemic Pedagogic Device

FMF – Fees Must Fall

HBU – Historically Black University

HMTT – History Ministerial Task Team

HWU – Historically White University

ID – Instructional Discourse

IHL – Institutions of Higher Learning

LGBTQIA+ – Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer/questioning, intersex, asexual and many other gender and sexual identities

LCT – Legitimation Code Theory

NECT – National Education Collaboration Trust

NP – National Party

NWU – North West University

OBE – Outcomes Based Education

PA – Positional Autonym

PD – Pedagogic Device

PCK – Pedagogical Content Knowledge

RA – Relational Autonym

RD – Regulative Discourse

RMF – Rhodes Must Fall

RNCS – Revised National Curriculum Statement

SABC – South African Broadcasting Corporation
SADTU – South African Democratic Teachers’ Union
SASHT – South African Society for History Teaching
SH – School History
SHC – School History Curriculum
SMK – Subject Matter Knowledge
SRC – Student Representative Council
UCT – University of Cape Town
UJ – University of Johannesburg
UP – University of Pretoria
WHO – World Health Organization
WITS – University of the Witwatersrand
WSOE – Wits School of Education

Dedication

***To the memory of my beautiful and loving mother, Goodness Ngonya Maluleka,
who never lived long enough to witness this Doctor of Philosophy in History Education
degree being conferred.***

*Xitlhokovetselo---Xixangaxile xa kenda maxexo, ntemelapi, pajila! Hi Van'wanati, Hi vadyi
va bangu, Hi va ka Xibabela tsurini, macimba ya tihuku, a ya lema rihlelo, va ka mafula hi
xivuri va tshika nyudzu. Mayeke-N'wanati-Maluleka! ----Nhlamuselo--- Xixangaxile -
Kokwani nkulu wa va ka Maluleka. N'wanati - Nambu lowu a va tshama kusihi na wona.
Maluleka - Vito leri ri huma eka rito "ku luleka" ku famba ka vanhu loko va longoloka .va ka
mafula hi xivuri va tshika nyudzu - Vari loko va ku ba hi xibhakela xi vava ku tlula hamula.*

To my beautiful and loving mother, your untimely transitioning cuts deep, I won't lie. You should be here with us witnessing me wearing that red gown. I am today because you were, because of you! You should be here with us preparing for your beautiful daughter's matric dance, her first day at university and ultimately her graduations too. You should be here with us enjoying your fruits of labour through me.

However, all your sacrifices as a single parent were never in vain. We will continue to honour you through how we live our lives.

I sincerely hope that we have made you extremely proud, and we will continue to do.

I promise to continue to take care, love, and guide your beautiful daughter, Ofentse Maluleka, so that she too can realize her own dreams! We love and miss you, Mma! May your beautiful and loving soul continue to rest in decolonial peace. May our ancestors in the world of the living dead welcome and guide you with the same grace and love you have always shown those of us who remain in the world of the living  

*To my late father, Oupa Aaron Mahlangu,
who also never lived long enough to witness this Doctor of Philosophy in History Education degree being
conferred.*

Mahlangu!

Mrhetjha

Mrhetjha mkhulu kwaNdzundza

Mkhalangana, SoMdubazi

Ndebele, SoThunya kaNdzundza

Ngusitlhama simhlophe njengenyawo

Litjhukutjhuku elasindwa kugijima njengetjongwe.

ULenjani nguNgwe

Ngulenjana kaNdzundza

Owadla uLenjana kaBukhukhula

Kwasala yena uLenjana kaNdzundza.

Yindlovu eyehla sinyovana entabeni

Ngokuhlonipha umboko wayo

Ndlov' ehlatjwa entanyeni

Ningayihlab' ehloko nganiyibangile

NguSoMdubasi kaNdzundza

Mrhetjha kaNdzundza!

Ndebele!!

Mkhalangana!! Mtungwa!!

Mkhalangana, when we were starting to get to know each other and build a father-son relationship, you then decided to join our ancestors. To say I am extremely hurt by this is an understatement. Rest knowing that I loved you too and will continue to do so! May you transition and rest in decolonial peace! ❤️🕊️

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Publications emanating from this doctoral research

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Maluleka, P. (2024) ‘Why should doctoral supervision be underpinned by Decolonial Love and a Pedagogy of Care? Reflections on my personal experiences as a doctoral candidate’, *#RoadToPhD – Finding and ending Book Project*, forthcoming.

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National Conference Presentations

- **Co-presented a research paper alongside Lesiba Tumishang Ledwaba**, entitled: *“Those are for Whites”: Students’ perceptions towards museums as tools for/of teaching decolonised heritage studies*, at the 20th Annual National Oral History Conference hosted by the National Archives and Records Service of South Africa in partnership with the Oral History Association of South Africa, and Gauteng Provincial Archives, Maropeng Cradle of Humankind World Heritage Centre, 9 – 13 October 2023.
- **Presented a research paper**, entitled: *“Why should university teachers consider centering decolonial love in their teaching and research work”* at the 10th South African Education Research Association hosted by Rhodes University, Blue Lagoon Hotel, East London, 31 October - 3 November 2023.
- **Presented a research paper**, entitled: *“Teaching and Learning Sensitive and Controversial Issues or Topics in History through and with Decolonial Love”* at the 2022 Annual National Doctoral Conference hosted by National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, Birchwood Hotel in Johannesburg, 1 – 3 November 2022.
- **Presented a research paper**, entitled: *Teaching and Learning Sensitive and Controversial Issues or Topics in History through and with Decolonial Love* at the 34th Annual South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) Conference, entitled: ‘History Teaching in and beyond the formal curriculum’, hosted at the University of Stellenbosch, Robben Island Museum and Genadendal Museum, Western Cape, 29 – 30 September 2022.
- **Co-presented a reflection paper with Bhengu, S.**, entitled: *Voices of Graduate Students: Reflections on Supervision during the Covid-19 Pandemic in South Africa*, at the 8th Postgraduate Supervision Conference hosted at the University of Stellenbosch from the 15th to the 18th of March 2022.
- **Presented a research paper**, entitled: *Fallism as decoloniality: Towards a decolonised School History Curriculum in postcolonial-apartheid South Africa* (20 October 2021), at the 4th African Association for History Education (AHE-Afrika) Conference in conjunction with the University of Zambia, School of Education, Department of Language and Social Sciences Education (History Education Section). The Conference is titled: *‘The State of History Education in Africa’*, and it will take place from Wednesday 20, Thursday 21, and Friday 22 October 2021.
- **Presented a research paper**, entitled: *Is decolonial knowledge powerful knowledge?* at the 2021 Virtual Annual National Doctoral Conference hosted by the National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, from the 2nd to 4th November 2021.
- **Presented a research paper**, entitled: *Teaching in the Time of Crisis: A Decolonial Take of My Experiences of Online Teaching at a Rural University in South Africa*, at the 2021 Higher Education Learning and Teaching Association Southern Africa (HELTASA) Conference, titled: ‘Sivela phi? Sipi? Siya phi? Shape-shifting: past experiences, current realities and future possibilities’. This took place from the 6th to the 10th of December 2021.

International Conference Presentations

- **Presented a research paper**, entitled: *The continued erasing of LGBTIQ+ histories in post-apartheid School History Curricula* at the 5th African Association for History Education (AHE-Afrika) International Conference hosted by the School of Education and the Department of Educational Communication and Technology, and the Department of History, Political Science and Archaeology, Kenyatta University, 2 – 4 August 2023.
- **Presented a research paper**, entitled: *A personal anecdote of teaching and learning through and with decolonial love at a South African University* at the International Conference “Negotiating the Fabric of the African University: Global Trends and Local Realities”, hosted by the University of Western Cape, University of Cape Town, Stellenbosch University, 12 – 14 September 2023.
- **Co-presented a research chapter with Ramoupi, N.L.L.**, entitled: *Towards a decolonized School History Curriculum in post-apartheid South Africa through enacting Legitimation Code Theory* (21 October 2021), at the 4th African Association for History Education (AHE-Afrika) Conference in conjunction with the University of Zambia, School of Education, Department of Language and Social Sciences Education (History Education Section). The Conference is titled: *‘The State of History Education in Africa’*, and it will take place from Wednesday 20, Thursday 21, and Friday 22 October 2021.
- **Panel Chair** on *Researching Knowledge, decolonisation and the quest for inclusivity and Social Justice* with Professor Aslam Fataar (Stellies); Dr Mlamuli Hlatshwayo (UKZN) & Dr Hanelie Adendorff (Stellies), at the Third International Legitimation Code Theory Conference, hosted at the University of the Witwatersrand – School of Education, Johannesburg, 1 – 5 July 2019. The discussion can be viewed here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SK9eQ3Lk_9M

Invited seminars/public lectures:

- **Panellist alongside Moshibudi Motimele and Prishani Naidoo**, entitled: *100 years of the colonial university in Africa? Colonial Traces – Time, Space, Place and The University*, hosted by the Wits University’s Society, Work & Politics Institute, 30 March 2023.
- **Co-launching a book with Hlatshwayo M. N.**, entitled: *“Decolonising Knowledge and knowers: Struggles for University of Transformation in South Africa”* (2022) at the 9th annual conference of the South African Education Research Association, entitled: ‘Education in Transition: Challenges and Opportunities’, hosted by the Faculty of Education, University of the Western Cape, 26 – 28 October 2022.
- **Co-launched a book with Hlatshwayo M. N., Adendorff, H., and Backie, M.**, entitled: *“Decolonising Knowledge and knowers: Struggles for University of Transformation in South Africa”* (2022) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa (06 October 2022).
- **Co-launched a book with Hlatshwayo M. N., and Backie, M.**, entitled: *“Decolonising Knowledge and knowers: Struggles for University of Transformation in South Africa”* (2022) at the Wits LCT Hub, University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa (24 August 2022).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Introduction and overview of the study

1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	Background and contextualization	2
1.3	Rationale and motivation of the study.....	8
1.4	The research problem	11
1.5	The purpose and focus of the study.....	12
1.6	The research questions	14
1.7	The objectives of the study.....	15
1.8	The significance of the study	15
1.9	The challenges and limitations of the study	17
1.10	The structure of the entire thesis	19

Chapter 2: Conceptual and theoretical insights

2.1	Introduction	21
2.2	An epistemic break: A critical decolonial conceptual framework	21
2.2.1	Colonialism and coloniality	22
2.2.2	Modernity/Coloniality.....	22
2.2.3	Intersectional inequalities in the colonial or apartheid matrix of power.....	23
2.2.4	Ecologies of knowledge (i.e., pluriversalism and transmodernism) and the Euro-western episteme	23
2.2.5	Language and Culture	25
2.2.6	Delinking.....	26
2.3	Using the Master's tools to dismantle the Master's house	27
2.3.1	Basil Bernstein's Code Theory	28
2.3.2	Classification and Framing.....	30
2.3.3	Basil Bernstein's Pedagogic Device	32
2.3.4	Karl Maton's Epistemic-Pedagogic Device	35
2.3.5	Legitimation Code Theory	39
2.4	The relevance of my conceptual and theoretical frameworks	42
2.5	Conclusion.....	44

Chapter 3: Conceptual genealogies, meanings, and debates

3.1 Introduction	45
3.2 Understanding Euro-western modernity	45
3.3 Understanding colonialism	52
3.4 Understanding coloniality	53
3.4.1 Coloniality of power	54
3.4.2 Coloniality of knowledge	56
3.4.3 Coloniality of being	58
3.5 Understanding Decoloniality	59
3.6 Understanding Fallism as Decoloniality	63
3.7 Understanding Decolonization	67
3.7.1 Discourses on Decolonization: Global Perspectives	67
3.7.2 Discourses on decolonization: Local (South/African) perspective	70
3.8 Africanization and African philosophy	71
3.8.1 Understanding Africanization	71
3.8.2 Understanding African Philosophy	74
3.9 Understanding forms of curriculum and knowledge	79
3.9.1 Curriculum conceptualization	79
3.9.2 Different types of curricula	84
3.10 Discourses on different forms of knowledge	86
3.10.1 Everyday knowledge	87
3.10.2 School knowledge	88
3.10.3 African Indigenous Knowledge Systems	91
3.10.4 Bernstein's knowledge structures (of school history)	93
3.11 Conclusion	96

Chapter 4: School history curriculum in South Africa: Pre-1652 to date

4.1 Introduction	97
4.2 Indigenous Southern African Education: Pre-1652	97
4.3 Education during colonial-apartheid: 1652 – 1994	99
4.4 Education in democratic South Africa: 1994 – to date	104
4.5 Conclusion	112

Chapter 5: Research design and methodology

5.1 Introduction	113
5.2 Research design	113
5.2.1 Research paradigm	114
5.2.2 Ontological and epistemological assumptions.....	114
5.2.2.1 Ontological assumptions.....	114
5.2.2.2 Epistemological assumptions.....	115
5.3 Qualitative research approach	116
5.4 Research methodology	118
5.5 Research methods.....	119
5.5.1 Pilot interviews.....	119
5.5.2 Semi-structured interviews	120
5.6 Sampling.....	121
5.6.1 Purposive sampling	122
5.6.2 Convenience sampling	123
5.7 Sampling size	123
5.8 Data organization and analysis.....	124
5.8.1 Organizing the data	125
5.8.2 Transcription of data	125
5.8.3 Reading through, and interpreting the data	125
5.8.4 Coding and analysing the data	125
5.9 Ethical considerations.....	126
5.10 The protection of the in-service history educators and their schools' identities.....	126
5.10.1 Anonymity.....	126
5.10.2 Confidentiality.....	126
5.10.3 Informed Consent.....	127
5.10.4 Right to withdraw.....	127
5.11 Ensuring the quality of the study findings: Trustworthiness.....	127
5.11.1 Credibility.....	128
5.11.2 Transferability	128
5.11.3 Dependability	128
5.11.4 Confirmability	129
5.12 Conclusion	129

Chapter 6: Data presentation

6.1 Introduction	130
6.2 Profile of research participants	130
6.3 Presentation of data	131
6.3.1 Data generated from the semi-structured interviews.....	132
6.4 Conclusion	140

Chapter 7: Interpretation, analyses and discussion of findings

7.1 Introduction	141
7.2 Interpretation, Analysis and discussions of main findings	141
7.2.1 Conceptual findings interpretation and discussions	141
7.2.2 Semi-structured interviews interpretations and discussions.....	145
7.3 Conclusion	150

Chapter 8: Recommendations and conclusion

8.1 Introduction	151
8.2 Summary of the findings	151
8.3 Limitations of the study	153
8.4 Recommendations	153
8.4.1 Towards a decolonized and Africanized SHC underpinned by an all-inclusive ecology of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view.....	153
8.5 Recommendations for future research.....	154
8.6 Conclusion of the study	155
9.1. Reference list	156
10.1 Appendix A: Schedule of questions for semi-structured individual interviews	188
10.2 Appendix B: A letter to the school principals and school governing body chairpersons	189
10.3 Appendix C: A letter inviting in-service history educators to form part of this study ...	190
10.4 Appendix D: School principals and School Governing Body Chairpersons' informed consent	191
10.5 Appendix E: In-service history educators' informed consent	192
10.6 Appendix F: Ethics clearance, Limpopo Province	193
10.7 Appendix G: Ethics clearance, Gauteng Province.....	194
10.8 Appendix H: Ethics clearance, Wits University	195

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This thesis explores the possibilities of decolonizing and Africanizing the post-apartheid School History Curriculum (SHC) in South Africa with a focus on knowledge building. Decolonization of curriculum knowledge in this study is understood a process that leads to the Africanization knowledge – where indigenous experiences, knowledge, histories, values, and artefacts also constitute the basis of knowledge base of the SHC. Therefore, The idea is to explore how decolonisation and Africanization can be inserted, in cumulative and principled ways, into the curriculum and its structures (Fataar, 2022). This conceptual and qualitative research study was also enriched by active data generation and collection which included employment of semi-structured interviews with in-service history educators from Gauteng and Limpopo Provinces.

The thesis is three-fold. Firstly, a critical decolonial conceptual framework is employed with the view of bringing to light the legacy of colonialism, apartheid, neoliberalism, and a pervasive coloniality that continue to underpin the post-apartheid SHCs in South Africa. This conceptual framework is also employed to investigate and examine how decoloniality can be productively inserted into the SHC with the view of challenging and dismantling the very legacies mentioned above and a pervasive coloniality with the view of creating an SHC underpinned by an all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view (Dussel, 2012; Santos, 2014; Maluleka, 2021a; Fataar, 2022). Secondly, since this thesis is located in History Education; it is also partly located within the Sociology of Education and Knowledge, I adopt aspects of the Legitimation Code Theory (LCT) as my theoretical lens. The logic behind this is informed by needing to move the decoloniality, decolonization, and Africanization towards a scholarly approach that is informed by a sociological approach to knowledge and curriculum that is interested in exploring the ‘relations within’ knowledge and curriculum and their intrinsic structures (Lilliedahl, 2015). I strengthen this theoretical framework by also adopting Basil Bernstein’s (1975) Code Theory (CT) and Pedagogic Device (PD), and Karl Maton’s (2014) Epistemic-Pedagogic Device (EPD). This enabled me to contribute to

addressing the knowledge question posed by the decolonial and Africanization intellectual projects. Thirdly, the African philosophy of education is engaged to unpack its implications for the SHC. This is because the philosophy of education that underpins the current SHC of South Africa, the CAPS doubtful and indefensible as it aids “differences of content and is at the crossroads” (Maluleka and Mathebula, 2022: 65-6).

It is worth noting that I am aware of “the complex cultural, political, and social constructs of knowledge across the African continent” (Fataar and Subreenduth, 2015: 107). Hence, I have refrained from providing fixed definition of African knowledge systems. Therefore, for this study, I used phrases such as Africa-centeredness historical perspectives, African-centred intellectual traditions, African-centred knowledge forms, and Africa-centeredness discourses and epistemologies to refer to the epistemologies and knowledge canons of colonized people of the Africa.

Therefore, in a sectionalized manner, this introductory chapter commences, first with the background and contextualization of the study. Second, the rationale and motivation of the study are articulated. Third, the research problem, the purpose, and focus of the study are expressed. Fourth, the research questions, the aims, and objectives of the study are outlined. Fifth, the conceptual and theoretical framings, as well as the research design and methodology of the study are articulated. Sixth, the significance of the study, as well as the scope and delimitation of the study are expressed. This is then followed by the challenges, and limitations of the study. Lastly, the structure of the entire thesis is outlined.

1.2 Background and contextualization

The background to this study is provided by three contexts. First, calls by the governing party African National Congress (ANC), and the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) in 2014 for a compulsory SHC in South Africa. Second, the appointment of the History Ministerial Task Team (HMTT) in 2015 by the Department of Basic Education (DoBE) Minister and the subsequent outcome in the form of a Report¹ published in 2018 that pronounced the ‘need’ to have a “compulsory Africa centeredness” SHC. Third, the black-led student and worker protests of 2015 – 2016 which I happened to be part of in higher education in post-apartheid South Africa and internationally under the banner of #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall.

¹ Department of Basic Education, 2018. *The History Ministerial Task Team Report*. Accessed on 05 July 2022: <https://www.education.gov.za/Resources/Reports.aspx>

It is important to first start by highlighting that calls to make the SHC compulsory are vastly different from calls for decolonizing and Africanizing SHC. Proposals made by the ANC and SADTU mainly argue for a compulsory SHC. The HMTT report focused on both calls because the “Africa-centeredness” SHC pronounced in the report can be read to mean or refer to a decolonized and Africanized compulsory SHC. Similarly, calls for a fee-free quality decolonized education in IHL by us students suggest a decolonized and Africanized SHC, even though this was not explicitly expressed in our messaging. Therefore, it should be noted that this thesis does not seek to argue for the making of a compulsory SHC in post-apartheid South Africa. Although it considers that some in South Africa tend to associate calls for a compulsory SHC to also mean calls to decolonize and Africanize the SHC. What this thesis does to some extent, is highlight the interwovenness between the two calls. It also presents possibilities for decolonizing and Africanizing the SHC with a particular focus on knowledge building and structuring centred on a kind of decoloniality approach that challenges Euro-western modernity and coloniality through the embracement of ecologies of knowledge that centre Africa-centeredness perspective and lead to the Africanization of the SHC. Hence, its theoretical lens is derived from theories originating from the global North, i.e., LCT and E(PD).

So, the calls for a compulsory SHC intensified during and after the xenophobic and afrophobic attacks on some African persons living in South Africa in 2008; as well as incidents of overt racism expressed on various media platforms and numerous service delivery protests (Maluleka, 2018). These calls were made on the premise that a compulsory SHC would remedy the situation (Davids, 2016). This is because more than two decades into democracy, South Africa still “lacks social cohesion, [and] a sense of nationhood” (ibid: 84). Notably, SADTU, the biggest educator union in South Africa, and an ally of the governing party, the ANC under the tripartite alliance which includes a trade union federation, the Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU), was the first to make calls for a compulsory SHC. In 2014, SADTU published a document, entitled: *The Importance of Teaching History as a Compulsory Subject*, in which it argued for the teaching of School History (SH) that sought not only to address epistemological injustices of the past but also to teach it in “conjunction with the democratic constitution that seeks to build a South Africa inclusive of everyone who lives in it, black and white. This [school] history should be taught to advance nation-building, healing of wounds, bridging the gap between the South African rich and South African poor, [to] realize a developmental state, able to compete in a globalized world.” (Davids, 2016: 88). They argued that a compulsory SHC can expose more learners to shared African histories (Kukard, 2015).

Thus, learners and South Africans, in general, would start viewing other Africans in a more humane way (Maluleka, 2018), which has not always been the case due to the legacy of colonialism and apartheid that led to South Africa's sense of exceptionalism (Mamdani, 1996, 1998). In other words, learners and the general South African public would first be conscientized that South Africa is on the African continent and that they are Africans, like other Africans. Secondly, they would begin to appreciate the role played by other African states in the liberation struggle against the colonial and apartheid regime, especially since the colonial and apartheid history curriculum did not teach African histories in a 'positive' way or at all. In turn, by studying these African histories, they would stop being xenophobic and/or afrophobic. This would also turn them into patriotic citizens who can appreciate the journey we have travelled as a country and who are willing to contribute to building the post-apartheid nation that has been envisaged through the 1996 constitution (Davids, 2016).

It can also be assumed that SADTU's call for a compulsory SHC was because of the pre-1994 SHCs that were conceptualized and taught in an ideologically biased manner in favour of the colonialism and apartheid at the expense of the oppressed African majority. Additionally, SADTU's call was also a result of the limitations of the post-1994 SHC, i.e., Curriculum 2005 (C2005), an Outcomes-Based Education (OBE) implemented in 1997, the Revised/National Curriculum Statement (R/NCS) of 2002 and CAPS of 2011/2. These curriculums failed to fully confront and challenge the embeddedness of Eurocentrism, neoliberalism, and coloniality characterized by patriarchy, homophobia, misogyny, sexism, tribalism, regionalism, epistemic xenophobia or colonization, epistemic deafness, discrimination, segregation, inequality, ecocide, ethnocide, epistemicide, culturicide and linguicide that were inherited and continued through the SHC (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a, 2018ab; Seroto, 2018).

Interestingly, proposals put forward by SADTU were later communicated by two high-ranking government officials in South Africa. First, it was Mme Matsie Angelina Motshekga, the current Minister of DoBE who argued for a compulsory SHC for all learners as part of citizenship education at the senior secondary school level. She was quoted as saying "a country that chooses to hide its heritage and historical footprints from its children takes the risk of having them repeat the mistakes of their predecessors" (Mail & Guardian, 2014). The Minister was further quoted saying that "... we need to equip our youth with an accurate account of our history for them to make educated decisions regarding their own future" (Phakathi, 2015). Her statements were accompanied by the announcement that government plans to make SH a compulsory subject in the FET phase (Mail & Guardian, 2014). These pronouncements were

then followed by statements by the then State President, uBaba uJacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma, during a Gala dinner in Midrand with some parents in attendance. He called upon members of the public to support the government's efforts to have SH declared compulsory at all levels of the basic education system. The pronouncement was aired on the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) Television, Morning Live on 26th June 2015.

In 2015, the HMTT was appointed to work within specific points of reference. The South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT), a society of in-service history educators, history educator-training students, and history educationalists, released a statement on the points of reference. They argued:

Given the somewhat contentious position and status of Life Orientation in the FET curriculum, the Society draws the attention of the Task Team to the need to investigate what the inclusion of History in Life Orientation might do to the status and reputation of History as a whole and the existing elective FET subject History. Issues to investigate regarding the addition of History to the Life Orientation curriculum include that it might be counter-productive if it causes resentment among students [learners] because of the extra burden of work involved (which does not normally count towards admission to higher education); that it might have the (likely?) result that the numbers of candidates for History as an elective subject drop, as learners might be reluctant to take both the compulsory and the elective History; and that, given a possible resultant shortage of History educators, schools might take it upon themselves to stop offering History as an elective subject.

(SASHT, 2015: n.p)

In the same year, many students in IHL including me, protested for the decolonization, and Africanization of education generally and in IHL specifically. Mbembe (2015) characterized our protests as the “Fanonian moment [as] the mass of structurally disenfranchised people have feelings of being treated as ‘foreigners’ on their land. Convinced that the doors of opportunity are closing, they are asking for firmer demarcations between “citizens” (those who belong) and “foreigners” (those who must be excluded). They are convinced that as the doors of opportunity keep closing, those who won't be able to “get in” right now might be left out for generations to come – thus the social stampede, the rush to “get in” before it gets too late, the willingness to risk a fight because waiting is no longer a viable option” (Mbembe, 2015: n.p.). These moments were informed by “politics of impatience” – the moving away from “old

politics of waiting” with “a new politics of impatience, and if necessary, of disruption” (ibid.). Thus, Fanon’s ideas of decolonization were infused throughout varied student movements and protests at the time. Badat (2016: 14) on the other hand strongly argued that “we should also be careful to not pigeonhole and explain the student protest movement in terms of existing frameworks and theorizations, or to view them as simply replicas and mimicry of protest movements elsewhere”. However, what is certain is that these protests were not new (Fataar, 2018; Ntsebeza, 2018). They are a product of a long history of struggle for decolonization and liberation that was pioneered by the likes of Nkrumah’s (1965) warnings about what he coined Neo-colonialism; Nyerere’s (1968) articulation of African Socialism; Mudimbe’s (1988) critique of the colonial archive and library – just to name of few.

Through movements such as #TransformWits at the University of the Witwatersrand (WITS), the #RhodesMustFall at the University of Cape (UCT), #OpenStellenbosch and #Luister at the University of Stellenbosch (US), #UPrising at the University of Pretoria (UP), the Black Students’ Movement at Rhodes University, the #October6Movement at WITS and University of Johannesburg (UJ), #BlackStudentStokvel at Nelson Mandela University (NMU), #TransformPukke at North-West University (NWU), as well as the #FeesMustFall (#FMF) which manifested nationally (i.e., in all universities) and many other movements. We as students, workers, and some progressive academics made a series of demands. These included the importance of access to public universities; insourcing of essential service staff; curriculum decolonization, transformation, and Africanization; the role of indigenous knowledge systems and their marginality; improving teaching and learning; the institutional inequality and fragmentation between historically Black and historically white universities. The often-forgotten experiences of LGBTQIA+² and disabled/differently-abled students and staff. The intersectional role played by space and institutional culture in alienating and othering Black students and others; the need to transform and make inclusive our teaching and learning practices. The role of space and spatial justice in rendering those with different ontologies, “space invaders” (see: Badat, 2016, 2017; Nyamnjoh, 2016ab; Heleta, 2016, 2018; Hlatshwayo and Shawa, 2020; Maluleka, 2021b). As students informed and guided by our individual and collective convictions, we were able to expose the myth in the notion of the ‘rainbow nation’ and the slow pace where transformation is concerned. We understood “that knowledge is power and those who control the knowledge and curriculum will control the economy, the society,

² LGBTQIA+ is an acronym for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, Asexual and other descriptions and/or different sexual identities.

and the future itself”. We also knew that “if you want a different reality, a different world, you have to change the one you have. No one else will do it for [us], not even those who have made promises in the past and those who were supposed to do it, but for whatever reason, did not.” (Heleta, 2018: 59-60).

In other words, in questioning the utility of the ‘rainbow nation’, we argued that the pitfalls of this notion were that it sought to only highlight a heavenly image that comes as a result of a rainbow without necessarily highlighting the violent storms that made it possible. This brought into sharp focus questions about the decolonization of the curriculum in IHL and basic education. We were able in these debates to, consciously and unconsciously, highlight the important role that could be played by SH in the decolonial and Africanisation projects. Thus, we sought to “return to the source of indigenous cultural resistance in examining the question of educational transformation.” (Cabral, 1973: 163) to re-humanize the dehumanized in and through the SHC (see Freire, 1970). These are colonized Other whom Fanon described as the *wretched of the earth* who live in the “zone of non-being” (Mignolo, 2007) – “between No Longer and the Not Yet” (Santos, 2014: 10). This is because coloniality continues to socially produce what journalist Nat Nakasa³ called “natives of nowhere”, who are inferior, irrational, primitive, and African. These are colonized people who are separated from their being, culture, and indigenous identities (Kumalo 2018). This systemic and institutional marginalization has resulted in them being pariahs who are *homeless, de-homed, unhomed, and worldless* (Madlingozi, 2018).

Therefore, in the process of attempting to contribute to the rehumanizing of the dehumanized; I sought to “[re] humanize this world which has been forced down to animal level by imperial powers” (Fanon, 1961: 79), and create what Fanon terms a new human. This re-humanized being is both black and white, colonizer and colonized. In the black human or *the oriental other*, like Fanon, I envisaged a “fully conscious” human being free from coloniality and all its weakening effects. In the white human, like Fanon again, I too envisaged a human being free from all biases and the weakening effects of the abyssal imperial attitudes. This is a liberatory project against coloniality and all other forms of oppression that characterize the SHC and society generally in post-apartheid South Africa that this thesis sought to contribute towards. Thus, Nursey-Bray (1980: np) noted that “... for Fanon [and many radical thinkers of his time,

³ Nathaniel Ndazana Nakasa (1937–1965), better known as Nat Nakasa, was a South African journalist who worked during apartheid.

present and before], the end product... is nothing less than the creation of a new set of human possibilities, not just for the colonized, but for all mankind”.

1.3 Rationale and motivation of the study

I actively took part in the WITS #FMF student protests that took place from October 2015 until October 2016 during my reading for both my Bachelor of Education with Honours and Master of Education degree in History and History (of) Education. In this section, I reflect on how my involvement in these protests is part of the rationale and motivation behind my research and writing of this thesis. This I do by, first reflecting on my experiences with school and university curricula before 2015 – 2016. Secondly, I reflect on how the #FMF protests and other similar protests with different hashtags at other universities during the same period across the country and the world made me aware of the often hidden and brutal epistemic violence and injustices contained in curricular and other hidden ills. We have been subjected to these as black students and learners in schools and IHL because of colonialism, apartheid, as well Eurocentrism and coloniality. Thirdly, I also reflect on the shortcomings of some scholarship on the decolonization and Africanization of education, especially where curriculum knowledge building and structuring are a concern.

In 1997, an excited seven-year-old me from Soshanguve, situated North of the administrative Capital of South Africa – the City of Tshwane, became part of the first cohort of learners across the country to be taught under C2005 (OBE). My experiences of C2005 then, as a learner, when I reflect now – are not that pleasing. Apart from the fact that my primary school, like many across the country, was under-resourced; we still had dedicated educators. But the constraints that came with this curriculum made their jobs difficult. Thus, my memory of that curriculum is that of group work – *pass one, pass all*, as we used to say. We were always in groups and expected to come up with our content to learn. And whether you participated in the group activity or not; you would still pass. Educators were merely facilitators of knowledge. In Human Social Sciences (HSS), especially in its history component, we were never taught to question what was being presented to us. For instance, people like the last President of apartheid South Africa, Frederik Willem de Klerk, were absolved for their involvement in murdering innocent people or parading over an evil system. They were thus presented to us as *heroes* or *big men*⁴ deserving of the “prestigious Nobel Peace Prize” and thus they needed to

⁴ Naidoo in her Masters’ dissertation, entitled: *An analysis of the depiction of “big men” in apartheid and post-apartheid school history textbooks, explores the notion of “big men”*. She characterizes the notion to refer to men that have “throughout history [sic] dominated the discourse in the subject. [sic]

be thanked and celebrated for ending apartheid. In 2002, when the RNCS curriculum was introduced, I was in Grade 6. The experiences I had under RNCS were like those I had under C2005, the group work continued, including the uncritical learning of history. In 2009, after repeating Grade 10 in 2007, I finally completed Grade 12 with excellent grades that enabled me to enroll at WITS.

In 2010, I enrolled for a Bachelor of Education majoring in History, English, and Social Sciences at the Wits School of Education (WsoE). It took me five years instead of four to complete this degree. The reasons behind the prolonged completion of my first degree included: the failure of the basic education system to fully prepare us (African learners) for higher education, as well as the inability to relate to the content we were taught and the way it was taught at university. Many of my friends and I then considered the knowledge to be *too white* – novices as we were in the academy. I remember in a History of Education lecture offered in my final year; my friends and I protested the lecturer's exclusion of great African thinkers on his list of prescribed and recommended readings, which was dominated by white male authors. Unaware of the fact that the mere inclusion of African thinkers in a reading list to allow *subalterns to speak* did not constitute decolonizing and Africanizing, we asked our lecturer why thinkers such as Amílcar Cabral, Kwasi Wiredu, Claude Ake, Amina Mama, Oyèrónké Oyěwùmí, Frantz Fanon, Flora Nwapa, Cheikh Anta Diop, Walter Rodney, Pumla Dineo Gqola, Pinkie Mekgwe, Ama Ata Aidoo, and many others were not part of his list. This was the beginning of our questioning of *what* was taught to us, *how* it was taught, *why* was it taught, and *who* teaches it. In Freire's (1970: 80) words, we were asking the following questions “*for whom? and on whose behalf, they are working?*”. We were also “exerting pressure for the development of materials that are written by Africans and speak to African conditions and experiences” in our curricula that are taught in both higher and basic education without necessarily making references to decolonization and Africanization (Ntsebeza, 2018: 6).

When the #FMF protests started at WITS on Wednesday, 14th October 2015, I was enrolled for an Honours degree in Education majoring in Issues in History Education and Curriculum Studies at WsoE. On that day, I was part of a group of students mobilized by the Student Representative Council (SRC) to protest the University's proposed 10.5 % fee increase for the 2016 academic year. In time, the protests widened from protesting the fee increment to calls

and [thus] at times one perceived history to be only about men, and not only ordinary men but “big men”.” (Naidoo, 2014: 34).

for expanded fee-free decolonized higher education. This was what students across all South African public universities were demanding. Using various modes of expression, we highlighted the failures of university management, policymakers, and the state in decolonizing, Africanizing, as well as transforming our universities, especially the various curricula that we were expected to engage with. Some of us even proposed ways, using various modes of expression, in which university curricula could be decolonized and Africanized. These proposals also indirectly spoke to ways in which basic education especially the SHC can be decolonized and Africanized, because one cannot decolonize and Africanize higher education and leave basic education in its colonial and apartheid state and expect fundamental radicalized change to happen.

Equally, scholars writing on decolonization and the Africanization of education (both basic and higher education) continued to comment on the need for an education that is informed by this philo-praxis.⁵ However, these “writing[s] on decolonizing [and Africanizing] education in South Africa since 2015 has focused almost exclusively on definitions and meanings” (Hlatshwayo, Adendorff, Blackie, Fataar, Maluleka, 2022: 2). These debates also focus on “a delinking type of argument that emphasizes Africa-centred discourses and epistemologies” or “on whether decoloniality should be framed as part of a broader inclusive ecology of knowledge approach” (ibid: 2). Thus, less insight is offered on *how* this philo-praxis could be applied to knowledge building and structuring in the curriculum. In other words, less is said about *what* and *which* conceptual tools and *how* those tools can be used in the knowledge-building and structuring process informed by decolonial scholarship and the African philosophy of education.

These are glaring research gaps, which include, the failure of both basic and higher education to afford me as an African child the opportunity to *see and feel myself* more in the subject content that was taught to us (Godsell, 2019). In other words, I could not relate to the subject content due to its Eurocentric nature. Equally, the decolonial scholarship’s inability for years to address the curriculum knowledge question meaningfully and productively has resulted in these glaring research gaps that this study sought to contribute to filling. So, “without addressing the curriculum question, decolonization will remain located at the symbolic level” (Hlatshwayo *et al.*, 2022: 2).

⁵ Philo-praxis is short for Philosophy and practise. Decolonization and Africanization are both philosophies and practises.

Therefore, the contribution that this study makes is around repositioning of decolonial and Africanization scholarship where the curriculum question is a concern. In other words, it is about contributing to a discourse that attempts to have decolonization and Africanization inserted in curriculum knowledge building and structuring processes in principled and productive ways. Those who will benefit from this are in-service educators, their learners and the general South African public. This is because a more cognitively, epistemically and socially just SHC would come out of these efforts.

1.4 The research problem

South Africa has been in a protracted struggle for decolonization and Africanization of its societies in general, and its education and the SHC in particular. This is a struggle that is yet to transcend. Thus, the problem emanating from this study is a result of three sources. The first, has to do with the fact that the curriculum knowledge that underpins the SHC currently is still very much written from a Euro-western canonical line or gaze. As a result, the knowledge(s) of indigenous Africans continues to be discursively marginalized. With this continuation, we have come to witness the abundance of racism, alienation, xenophobia, patriarchy, sexism, Afrophobia, misogyny, and subversion of local experiences. We have also witnessed further entrenchment of colonial discourses in the psyche of South Africans through education and the SHC. This is well documented in the HMTT Report (2018) in which the SHC in contemporary South Africa is seen as continuing to re-enforce colonial mentality among South Africans. Thus, there is an urgent need to productively insert decoloniality into curriculum knowledge-building and structuring processes that would result in a meaningful, and transformative decolonized and Africanized SHC underpinned by an all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view.

The second source of the problem that underpins this study is a result of a dominant decolonial narrative that has emerged in South Africa after the historic 2015/16 student-worker protests that were dubbed the #MustFall protests. This dominant narrative is what I call a nativist delinking approach that recentres decolonial and Africa-centeredness discourses, ontologies, and epistemologies relatively separate from Euro-north and American-centric ones (Hlatshwayo *et al.*, 2022). So, there is a need to transcend this narrative by employing an all-inclusive ecology of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view, in our attempts to decolonize and Africanize the SHC. Equally, one also needs to appreciate that “both these dominant narratives fail to counter much of the knowledge blindness informed by a false dichotomy advanced by positivist absolutism and constructive relativism that defines the

sociology of education, including many of the calls for decolonization [and Africanization]” (Maluleka, 2021a: 68). Hence, the conceptual and theoretical frameworks that anchor this study assisted me in coming up with ways to transcend the Eurocentrism that characterizes the current SHC in South Africa, as well as the nativist and narrow provincialism of knowledge.

The third source of the problem that underpins this study has to do with what appears to be the continued marginalization and exclusion of in-service history educators in official discourses around education policy formation, and academic curriculum knowledge building and structuring processes (see Govender, 2008). These are the very same in-service history educators expected to implement recommendations that come out of the academic and policy formation deliberations. Therefore, to transcend this problem, I argue that in-service history educators must be actively involved in any official process that has a bearing on how they come to do their work. This includes deliberations on decolonizing and Africanizing the SHC. I argue for involving in-service history educators because the union leaders tasked with representing the views of those who elected them; often do not do so. For instance, SADTU’s (2014) document on compulsory history curriculum in South Africa mentioned earlier does not make mention how in-service history educators were consulted during the research process. Yet, the paper’s argument is presented in a way that suggests in-service history educators affiliated with SADTU endorse what is argued in the paper.

Therefore, to avoid a situation whereby both in-service history educators and history learners continue not seeing “themselves in the historical literature” contained in the SHC (Godsell, 2019: 22), and another situation whereby some learners continue not to choose history as one of their preferred subjects because of its alienating content. Through this study, I sought to devise ways in which decolonial scholarship and African philosophy of education can be productively and meaningfully inserted into curriculum knowledge-building and structuring processes that concern the SHC. Equally, I also sought to gain deeper insights into in-service history educators’ views on how they think the subject they are responsible for teaching can be decolonized and Africanized. This would, in turn, promote a kind of cognitive, epistemic, and social justice approach through SH that is “undeniably grounded in efforts at circumventing provisions that seek to uphold ostracism and exclusionary practices” (Hlalele, 2012: 111). It would also be a way for me to contribute to filling in this glaring knowledge gap that exists.

1.5 The purpose and focus of the study

Feminist scholar, and social activist, bell hooks’ collection of essays, entitled: *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (1994), invites the oppressed, dispossessed, and violated to be aware

of and challenge the “*white men’s gaze*”⁶, its power and ability to perpetually enforce white colonization and oppression against them via the general media, the academy, the school, and its (SH) curriculum. In the South African context, the white men’s gaze constructs the colonized youth, socially and discursively, as “natives of nowhere”⁷ (Kumalo, 2018). Hence, Franz Fanon in his most influential book: *Black Skins White Mask* argues that:

The importance of the gaze is that it allows a dominant group to control the social spaces and social interaction of all groups. Blacks are made visible and invisible at the same time under the gaze. For example, when Black youth are seen it is often with a specific gaze that sees the “troublemaker” “the school skipper” or the “criminal”. Thus, they are seen and constrained by a gaze that is intended to control physical and social movements. The purpose of the gaze is that it should subdue those who receive it and make them wish to be invisible.

(Fanon, 1961: 19)

In challenging this “*white men’s gaze*”, hooks in an essay: *The Oppositional Gaze: Black Female Spectators*, published in the same book, proposes developing an alternative gaze, the “*Oppositional Gaze*”⁸, to see, engage, reinterpret, reconstruct, and represent a different world. The oppositional gaze could be read to refer to decolonization and Africanization in the South African context. So, this different world is important to hooks because the oppressed, dispossessed, and violated, especially its youth, are expected in a world created by white men, to grow and learn as *the oriental Other* (Said, 1978; hooks, 1994). Like *the oriental Other*, the oppressed, inferiorized, excluded, racialized, and dehumanized youth, are constructed and presented in the general media, the academy, the school, and its (SH) curriculum, as having a “status as outsiders [that] becomes the point from which other groups define their normality” (Collins, 2009: 77). Therefore, the oppressed youth need to look at themselves differently,

⁶ The ‘white men’s gaze’ is a phrase attributed to African thinkers such as Toni Morrison, Ralph Ellison, and James Baldwin. It “assumes whiteness as the primary referent of power, prestige and progress across the world. [sic] that white is always right, and [Euro-]West is always best” (Pailey, 2019: 5).

⁷ The phrase “Native of nowhere” was coined by the Nathaniel Nakasa, a black-African journalist during apartheid. He used it to describe his forced exile out of South Africa on an exit permit. This made feel as though he was a native of nowhere, because he was now *homeless, de-homed, unhomed and worldless* (Madlingozi, 2018).

⁸ hooks (1994: 116) describes the “Oppositional gaze” as “a site of resistance for colonized black people globally. Subordinates in relations of power learn experientially that there is a critical gaze, one that “looks” to document, one that is oppositional. In resistance struggle, the power of the dominated to assert agency by claiming and cultivating “awareness” politicizes “looking” relations—one learns to look a certain way to resist.

because “there is power in looking” (hooks, 1994: 115). In a South African context, the oppressed youth, for more than three decades into a democratic dispensation, can begin to look at themselves differently and thus gain power in doing so. This can happen only if the SHC is decolonized and Africanized.

Read alongside hooks’ collection of essays, Toni Morrison’s novel, *The Bluest Eye* (1970), is also a crucial text in the reimagining, reconstructing, and developing of a different world. This is the case because Morrison’s novel is about understanding the root cause of self-hate by the oppressed youth, through the case of her classmate, and its effects on them as individuals and as a collective. Morrison asks on page 210 of the novel; “*Who told her [classmate]? Who made her feel that it was better to be a freak than what she was? Who looked at her and found her so wanting, so small a weight on the beauty scale?*”. This is Morrison questioning and challenging the general media, the academy, the school, and its (SH) curriculum in perpetuating white superiority and black inferiority. It is an attempt to “peck away at the gaze that condemned her” (ibid: 210). In other words, a critique of racism, patriarchy, hetero-normativism, homophobia, misogyny, sexism, poverty, materialism, and white standards of beauty is expressed in the general media, the academy, and the school and its (SH) curriculum.

Therefore, the purpose and focus of this study, drawing from hooks, Morrison, and decolonial and Africanization scholarship in general, is to contribute to the “peck[ing] away at the [white men’s] gaze” and development of an “oppositional gaze” meant to meaningfully contribute to a SHC in South Africa informed and shaped by a kind of decolonial scholarship and African philosophy of education aimed at reinterpreting, reconstructing, and representing the past in an inclusive manner informed and shaped by time, the place, perspective, orientation, and the situatedness of the participants (Hlatshwayo *et al.*, 2022).

1.6 The research questions

The main study research question is:

- a) How can the current SHC that is still very much written from a Euro-western canonical line or gaze be decolonized and Africanized to reflect an all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view?

The main research was aided by the following questions:

- b) What are the views of in-service history educators on the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa, especially since they are often marginalized and excluded in official discourses around education policy?

- a) Do in-service history educators think it is important decolonize and Africanize the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa?
- b) How can in-service history educators contribute to decolonizing and Africanizing the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa?

1.7 The objectives of the study

The objectives of the study are as follows:

- a) To investigate the importance of decolonizing and Africanizing the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa to be more inclusive, at level of knowledge building and structuring.
- b) To gain insights into in-service history educators' views about the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa.
- c) To understand whether in-service history educators value the importance of decolonizing and Africanizing the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa.
- d) To gain insights into how in-service history educators think the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa can be decolonized and Africanized.

1.8 The significance of the study

The significance of the study is informed and shaped by its approach to data collection and production, as well as engagement with the said data. Additionally, its significance also comes from its elected conceptual and theoretical frameworks.

Moreover, the in-service history educators interviewed here contributed immensely to the significance of this study since their involvement in the study, enabled them to be part of discourse – *a policy dialogue*⁹ concerned with curriculum knowledge building and structuring. That involvement would, in turn, result in a decolonized and Africanized SHC that is cognitively, epistemically, and socially just and inclusive. This policy dialogue highlights the collective effort needed in dismantling Eurocentrism, Euro-western modernity and coloniality embedded in the SHC for an ecology of knowledge approach that productively recentres Africa-centeredness perspectives into knowledge building and structuring processes that underpin the SHC. This is what Achebe in *Things Fall Apart* (1959), as well as Wa-Thiong'o in *Weep not, child* (1964); *The River Between* (1965), and *A Grain of Wheat* (1967) emphasized. These texts recapitulate the need for a stable foundation that holds a family together. This would, in turn, result into a single family, a community and then a nation working

⁹ A "Policy dialogue comprises activities of direct or indirect communication that can mediate interactions among stakeholders in a constructive manner, giving voice to and optimizing outcomes for all parties engaged." (Jacob and Alvarado, 2011: 2).

together under a shared vision and purpose (Hevešiová, 2014). Hence these texts can be thought of as literature that is epistemically and politically committed, and that uses forms of novel writing as a medium to advance an anticolonial argument. (ibid.).

There have been similar dialogues in the past. For instance, in 2013 the National Education Collaboration Trust (NECT) of South Africa, published a document: *Making Schools and Teachers Effective: Education Dialogue South Africa*.¹⁰ This dialogue was “intended to facilitate engagement between society’s social partners and government to ensure a common vision for education” (ibid: 1). Working towards decolonizing and Africanizing the SHC and ultimately the entire education system, such dialogues need to be intensified – and this study contributes to that process. This contribution is through pursuing a detailed elaboration of decolonization and Africanization to understand how they can be used and applied in curriculum knowledge-building and structuring processes underpinning the SHC.

Secondly, the conceptual and theoretical frameworks developed also proved to be significant as tools to reveal how colonial and apartheid education contributed and still contribute to the side-lining, silencing, and marginalization of African-centred knowledge forms within the SHC. This has led to what Santos refers to as cognitive in/justice¹¹ that upholds the status quo of abyssal epistemology¹² (Santos, 2007; 2014), and thus “fails to recognize (1) different ways of knowing; (2) the relevance of such knowing within particular socio-cultural and political educational contexts; and (3) how the failure of formal education to include the different ways of knowing within the school and university-based knowledge systems create epistemological inequity, imbalance and conflict within educational and societal structures” (Fataar and Subreenduth, 2015: 107).

Equally, these frameworks have also enabled this study to not only revive, but also reconstitute, and recentre African-centred intellectual traditions in curriculum knowledge building and structuring processes. While also embracing a kind of decolonial and Africanization approach that recentres a post-abyssal epistemology (Santos, 2007, 2014): “space to pluralize, problematize and critically incorporate African-centred epistemologies and a critical

¹⁰ The National Education Collaboration Trust (NECT). (2013). *Making Schools and Teachers Effective: Education Dialogue South Africa*. Accessed on 30 January 2020, from: <file:///C:/Users/27783/Pictures/DialogueSA%20Booklet%20March2014.pdf>

¹¹ Refers to dialectical recognition and disregard of different knowledge forms and their co-existence.

¹² Refers to euro-western epistemological global dominance.

appropriation of black-centred discourses in education, curriculum, learning and teaching on the African continent” (Fataar and Subreenduth, 2015: 118).

1.9 The challenges and limitations of the study

All academic studies have challenges and limitations that arise from their research design, conceptual and theoretical frameworks, and other factors. The following section articulates the challenges and limitations I encountered whilst conducting this study. Thus, there were several major challenges and limitations I have experienced whilst writing this thesis – that I discuss below.

The first challenge I experienced, which is arguably the most impactful and unforgettable of them all apart from living through a deadly global pandemic, was the untimely transitioning of both my dear parents, Goodness Ngonya Maluleka and Oupa Aaron Mahlangu, to the world of the living dead at the beginning of 2022. This tragic loss at such a crucial stage of my thesis write-up meant that I had to take a step back to process everything and reflect on whether it was even worth it for me to continue with this thesis because life as I knew it, was never going to be the same again. I had to quickly learn to navigate this life without my loving parents, whilst attempting to complete this thesis. It was extremely hard; it continues to be hard. However, I hope wherever they are – they are both proud of the fact that I did not give in to the dark feelings or emotions of depression, and I have since learned to live this physical life without their presence. I know very well that they are always with me everywhere I go.

The second challenge or limitation I experienced that further delayed me from completing this thesis even further was when I got extremely sick after my parents' transitioning. This was a sickness that western medicine failed to explain or cure. It was only African traditional medicine that could explain and cure what I was experiencing. Thus, I was essentially forced through this sickness to *return to the source of my ancestors' wisdom and knowledge for me to live again*. So, to cut the long story short, I suffered yet another dark episode in my life and I am proud to say that: *I am alive and well!*

The third challenge that had a bearing on my finishing of this thesis was the global coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic. The spread of the virus to other parts of the world, including South Africa, forced governments to lockdown their countries and institutions. These lockdowns were necessitated for the following reasons:

- i. Initially, the absence of vaccination medicine to combat the virus, and later the refusal of the global North to share covid vaccine patents with the rest of the world, especially the global South.
- ii. The need for citizens to self-quarantine and practice social and physical distancing to prevent the spread of the virus. Thus, flatten the curve of the number of people already infected by the virus.

In South Africa, the national lockdown was announced by President Matamata Cyril Ramaphosa¹³ on the 23rd of March 2020 under the Disaster Management Act 57 of 2002.¹⁴ It was initially meant to commence at the midnight on Thursday, March 26 until midnight on Thursday, April 16. However, this was later extended for various reasons.¹⁵

Therefore, the impact of the lockdown on this study meant that different ethics committees that I have applied to for ethics clearance were forced to either reschedule their meeting dates or cancel them altogether until further notice. This meant I could not obtain ethical clearances at the time that I had planned. Thus, I could not interview the participants at the times I had scheduled to interview them.

The fourth challenge or limitation of this study was the limited literature¹⁶ on how the SHC in the South African context can be productively decolonized and Africanized, especially when it comes to curriculum knowledge building and structuring. This challenge extends to the limited literature on views of in-service history educators on what would make a decolonized and Africanized SHC. Furthermore, the small sample size of participants under study was another limitation, which meant that the data collected and generated was limited to that small number of participants and their experiences and views on decolonizing and Africanizing the SHC. Thus, generalizations and comprehensive conclusions could not be drawn from the data. However, since the study is qualitative, and does not aim at generalizing, the conclusions

¹³ Watch President Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa announcing the lockdown here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LegaUR1A0Jg>

¹⁴ South Africa's initial national lockdown regulations can be accessed in various national department website. However, it should be noted that these regulations were amended by various departments based on their departmental mandates.

¹⁵ President Cyril Ramaphosa's speech on measures to contain Coronavirus and the extension of the National lockdown can be accessed here: <https://www.gov.za/speeches/president-cyril-ramaphosa-extension-coronavirus-covid-19-lockdown-end-april-9-apr-2020-0000>.

¹⁶ In hindsight, this was also an opportunity to contribute to knowledge void that exists.

presented only apply to the participants under study because the contributions reflect their views and experiences of how to go about decolonizing and Africanizing the SHC.

The fifth challenge or limitation of this study was my inability to access campus due to the national lockdown. This meant working from home with unreliable internet connectivity and a lack of access to library resources. This affected my writing of other chapters that make up this thesis. The other limitation relates to time in general because limited time on its own could have hindered the generalized and comprehensive conclusions of the study.

Lastly, the sixth challenge or limitation of this study was the archival research that was to be conducted, which is considered more complicated, complex, and time-consuming compared to library and internet research (Ndille, 2016). Apart from lockdown restrictions and regulations, some of the documents referred to in this thesis were not digitized. This meant physically engaging with documents that were at times mixed up, poorly archived, and in a high state of decay.

1.10 The structure of the entire thesis

I have structured the thesis into chapters arranged around various thematic areas within which it is possible to trace the continued colonization and marginalization of African knowledge forms in knowledge building and structuring that has resulted in epistemicide. It is also possible to trace how, to some extent, the following decolonial questions posed by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015: 23) have been addressed: How can the dis-membered people [in the SHC] be re-membered? How can they re-launch themselves from the world of “non-Being” into the world of language and knowledge?”. Therefore, a summary of the structure of the thesis is presented below:

Chapter one provides discussions around the overview of the study. In this chapter discussions are centred on the background and contextualization of the study; rationale and motivation of the study; the research problem; purpose and focus of the study; the research questions; aims and objectives of the study; the significance of the study; scope and delimitation of the study; challenges and limitations of the study, and the layout of the study.

Chapter two outlines the conceptual and theoretical frameworks employed. These include a critical decolonial conceptual framework, Bernstein’s CT, Maton’s EPD, as well as aspects of LCT are employed as a theoretical framework.

Chapter three deals with conceptual genealogies, meanings, and debates i.e., origin, history, and development of concepts such as Euro-western modernity, colonialism, decolonization, decoloniality and Africanization, curriculum, and knowledge.

Chapter four is a literature review of the SHCs in South Africa from pre-1652 to date. Through my elected conceptual and theoretical frameworks, I discuss how the SHC was colonized under the colonial-apartheid rule. Furthermore, I discuss how after the formal end of colonial-apartheid, coloniality through the SHC, continues to side-line African-centred knowledge forms and ways of being “despite post-1994 educational reforms moving towards *Ukuhlambulula* of the SHC from its colonial-apartheid past with the hope of re-establishing *seriti sa MaAfrika* (Mphahlele, 2013)” (Maluleka and Ramoupi, 2022: 65).

Chapter five outlines the research design and methodology of the study.

Chapter six outlines presents the data for this study.

Chapter seven interprets, analysis and discusses the main findings of the study.

Chapter eight outlines the conclusions, and recommendations of the study. It further makes suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL INSIGHTS

2.1 Introduction

I have already argued in chapter one that the scholarship on decolonization, de/coloniality, and Africanization often fails to sufficiently articulate their position on the complex process of how knowledge within a curriculum comes to be classified, framed, and structured and evaluated (Bernstein, 1975, 1996, 1999, 2000). In other words, how knowledge gets to be organized, sequenced, and paced (ibid.). This can also be said about some discourses in the sociology of education, because “sociological analyses of education have largely been focused on different kinds of ‘relations to’ education, typically relations of class, ethnicity, and gender to curriculum and pedagogic practice. By contrast, ‘relations within’ education, its intrinsic structures, have rarely been [considered]” (Lilliedahl, 2015: 42). Therefore, in this chapter I discuss the conceptual and theoretical insights framings that I employed in this study. I also unpack how these assisted me to investigate how decolonization, de/coloniality, and Africanization could be inserted in curriculum knowledge building and structuring beyond the ‘relation to’ education (i.e., knowledge and curriculum) by also considering ‘relations within’ education and its intrinsic structures.

Therefore, I begin by outlining my critical decolonial conceptual framework. This is followed by an outlining of my theoretical framework which consists of Bernstein’s CT, Maton’s EPD, and some aspects of LCT.

2.2 An epistemic break: A critical decolonial conceptual framework

In this section, I outline some key themes drawn from decolonial theories. These consists of the difference between colonialism and coloniality, the correlation between modernity and coloniality, the multi-dimensional inequalities that constitute the colonial matrix of power or apartheid matrix of power¹⁷, the basis for Euro-western universalism, and arguments for ecologies of knowledge (i.e., pluriversalism and transmodernism) that incorporates, but surpasses the Euro-western episteme (Maluleka and Ramoupi, 2022). I also explicate the

¹⁷ "apartheid matrix of power" to distinguish South Africa from other postcolonial states without apartheid experiences.

significance of language and culture, and the need for delinking from current Euro-western geopolitical ways of knowing and thinking.

2.2.1 Colonialism and coloniality

I deal with the difference and relationship between colonialism and coloniality in detail in chapter three of the study. So, colonialism should be understood as a phenomenon that was introduced by global North in the global South. Colonialism was presented and justified as a ‘civilizing’ mission meant to bring about ‘development’ when in fact it characterized and brought about tribalism, homophobia, misogyny, subjection, patriarchy, sexism, regionalism, epistemic xenophobia, epistemic deafness, discrimination, segregation, inequality, and genocides (i.e., culturecide, epistemicide, ecocide, ethnocide, and linguicide) (Rodney, 1973; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018ab; Seroto, 2018).

However, coloniality survives colonialism. This is because,

It is maintained alive in books, in the criteria for academic performance, in cultural patterns, in common sense, in the self-image of peoples, in aspirations of self, and so many other aspects of our modern experience. In a way, as modern subjects, we breathe coloniality all the time and every day. (Maldonado-Torres, 2007:243).

In other words, coloniality is the darker *side* or *underside* of modernity that influences a way of being and thinking that is hidden frequently, and needs to be unmasked (Mignolo, 2011).

So, these concepts enabled me to understand how education, especially the SHC, was and continues to be used as a tool not only to suppress and sideline African ways of knowing and being. These concepts also were able to highlight the continued dehumanization of the colonized Other through the SHC.

2.2.2 Modernity/Coloniality

I also, in greater detail, deal with the difference and relationship between modernity and coloniality in chapter three of this study. However, what is important to mention here is that modernity is inseparable from coloniality (Maluleka and Ramoupi, 2022). Modernity can be understood as the paradigm in which Europe was mythically conceived to be “the most advanced moment on the linear, unidirectional, continuous path of the species” (Lugones, 2007: 192). Modernity “provides a rhetoric or narrative of progress”, which only applies in Europe and nowhere else in the world (Christine and McKinney, 2017: 5). This is because

modernity is based on colonialism, or, more precisely, a coloniality and its colonial or apartheid matrix of power (ibid.).

So, the modernity/coloniality project can be traced to and is characterized by the four genocides/epistemicides of the long sixteenth century, which speak to the gruesome genocides of colonized and oppressed people of the global South (Grosfoguel, 2013). This was achieved through the naturalization of war and normalization of dominations, oppressions, and suffering (Mpofu, 2017), and the ability of modernity/coloniality to refashion itself by hiding what it truly is – an evil, globalized system (Sithole, 2014).

Therefore, understanding these concepts and their relationship enabled me to better understand how inequalities and injustices, especially those associated with knowledge production, continue to find expression in the SHC. Moreover, understanding this concept also enabled me to come up with ways in which it could be dismantled.

2.2.3 Intersectional inequalities in the colonial or apartheid matrix of power

Decolonial theorists construct the colonial or apartheid matrix of power as four synchronized technologies of subjectivation, which are intersectionally intertwined (Maluleka, 2021a; Christie and McKinney, 2017). These synchronized technologies of subjectivation include the control of the economy; the control of authority; the control of gender and sexuality; and the control of knowledge and subjectivity (Mignolo, 2009). I unpack these in greater detail in chapter three of this study.

The concept colonial or apartheid matrix of power allowed me to investigate, understand, and explain why knowledge inequalities are associated with the legacy of colonialism, apartheid, neoliberalism, and modernity/coloniality. It also enabled to explore and recognize how these inequalities extend beyond the dismantling of official colonial administrations and why they have been so hard to shift (Maluleka and Ramoupi, 2022). These inequalities also find expression through the SHC, especially where curriculum knowledge building and structuring are concerned. However, understanding this concept also enabled me to find ways of contributing to dismantling this coloniality, especially where SHC is a concern.

2.2.4 Ecologies of knowledge (i.e., pluriversalism and transmodernism) and the Euro-western episteme

Some decolonial theorists have, over the years, argued for the centring of an all-inclusive, ecologies of knowledge approach (Santos, 2014). This is because of two things. Firstly, this approach to knowledge attempts to dismantle the hegemony of Eurocentric knowledge

traditions, theories, canons, perspectives, and concepts (Fataar, 2022). In other words, it opposes the universalism proposed by the Euro-western episteme (Maluleka and Ramoupi, 2022). Secondly, this approach to knowledge insists that the situatedness of knowledge and its knowers be recognized.

Therefore, an all-inclusive, ecologies of knowledge approach is a “pluriversal epistemology of the future; an epistemology that delinks from the tyranny of abstract universals” (Mignolo, 2007: 159). It is a pluriversal epistemology because it attempts to dismantle epistemic sexism, deafness, racism, and xenophobia by acknowledge all parts of the world as sources of knowledge, ideas, theories, concepts, and canons. Thus, this approach to knowledge calls full incorporation of all knowledge systems of the world with a view of creating a future knowledge space that is inclusive and can be used for knowledge building and selections for any school curriculum, especially SHC (Fataar, 2022).

Moreover, this all-inclusive, ecologies of knowledge approach is for transmodernity, which recognizes and embraces epistemic diversity and pluriversality as opposed to epistemic universality (Grosfoguel, 2013). This because transmodernity is for a shared universal project that seeks to dismantle capitalism, patriarchy, imperialism and coloniality (Grosfoguel, 2013); and the acknowledgment of the fact that all forms of knowledge and their knowers are situated. Thus, there is no transcendent subject with a “God’s eye view on the world who can ascertain universal truths independent of historically- and culturally-specific situation” (Moya, 2011: 82).

So, an all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view, continues to be advanced by decolonial theorists because the Global South continues to be reduced to a passive consumer of Euro-western epistemologies, theories, knowledge canons, and concepts. However, this does not mean that the Euro-western episteme, theories, knowledge canons, and concepts should be simply discarded (Maluleka and Ramoupi, 2022). Thus, decoloniality is concerned with delinking from Euro-western scholarship, rather than reform it. It is also concerned with intersectionality and ecologies of knowledge as its epistemological approach (Santos, 2014; Fataar, 2022). That is why I employed these concepts – to better understand how an all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view could inform a decolonized and Africanized SHC in post-apartheid South Africa.

2.2.5 Language and Culture

Culture and hierarchies of language are also crucial aspects of the colonial or apartheid matrix of power (Maluleka and Ramoupi, 2022). This is because their centring within the colonial or apartheid matrix of power has resulted in linguistic and cultural imperialism. Linguistic and cultural imperialism is the idea that certain languages and cultures are more dominant than others. This usually results in linguicide and culturecide (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018).

So, decolonial theorists have since insisted that there is a need to recentre indigenous African languages and cultures in the education system, especially the SHC. This is because there has been an impression created that colonial languages and cultures are better suited for any educational experience and any other experience or interaction as opposed to indigenous languages, especially in the global South. This has since resulted in monolingual myths (McKinney, 2010, 2013, 2017; Makalela, 2015ab).

However, there has been a movement to decolonize these monolingual myths and recentre African indigenous languages and cultures in academic discourses in African universities, schools, and their curriculums. This movement began in the 1970s at the University of Nairobi, Kenya. It then found expression at Makerere University in Uganda, later at the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and the University of Ibadan, Nigeria (Chaka, Lephalala, Ngesi, 2017). This movement includes first-generation writers such as Sembene Ousmane, Chinua Achebe, Christopher Okigbo, Wole Soyinka, Kofi Awoonor, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, and Ama Ata Aidoo while the second-generation writers include Nurudin Farar, Isidore Okpewho, Festus Iyayi, Femi Osofisan, Jack Mapanje, Frank Chipasula, Tanure Ojaide, and Mandla Langa; and the third-generation writers include Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, Sefi Atta, Vonani Bila and contemporary younger writers (Chaka *et al.*, 2017: 213).

So, understanding how languages and cultures play out in the colonial or apartheid matrix of power is very important because, as Ramoupi has argued that post-apartheid South Africa is yet to recentre indigenous African languages and cultures in its education system in ways that are productive and meaningful:

The post-1994 governments of South Africa stated in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) that indigenous official African languages must be in the curricula of the education system. But ... reflect that this constitutional mandate has not been accomplished in the twenty years of South Africa's liberation. (Ramoupi, 2014: 53)

Therefore, the concepts of language and culture were also explored in order to understand how indigenous African languages and cultures were displaced from the official curriculum, especially the SHC. Beyond this, these concepts were employed in order to understand how African languages and cultures can be recentred in the official curriculum, especially the SHC.

2.2.6 Delinking

Epistemic disobedience, prefaced by Quijano's (2007) *epistemological de-colonization* and Mignolo's (2007) *delinking*, is one of the key concepts of decoloniality. It is used to overcome challenges resulting from the colonial or apartheid matrix of power towards different ways of knowing and being (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018). This implies the challenging to Euro-western canonical line or gaze that hides its locus of enunciation by claiming to be objective, totalizing, and universal (Grosfoguel, 2013). It also means *geo- and- body* politics necessitate the importance of disobedience in coming up with alternative ways of producing knowledge outside of Euro-western normative frameworks (Maldonado-Torres, 2004). Thus, those who have been dehumanized and depersonalized into *damnes* (cursed people) become central actors in theorizing their existence (Fanon, 1961).

So, to engage in epistemic disobedience as proposed by decolonial theorists, is to delink from dominant Euro-western thought, rationality, and ideology, "rather than the constant search for "newness" (Mignolo, 2011: 45). It is about the disruption of universalism through changing the "terms of the conversation" (ibid: 24). Decoloniality is the heart of delinking, because:

Decolonization itself, the whole discourse around it, is a gift itself, an invitation to engage in dialogue. For decolonization, concepts need to be conceived as invitations to dialogue and not as impositions. They are expressions of the availability of the subject to engage in dialogue and the desire for exchange. Decolonization in this respect aspires to break with monologic modernity.

(Maldonado-Torres, 2007: 261)

This can be achieved by recognizing that Euro-western epistemologies and their knowers are situated and provincial to Europe and the West. Thus, historiographies contained in the current SHC in South Africa should be viewed as situated, because the historians that have constructed them and the approaches they have used are situated in certain historical and social realities that are underpinned by Eurocentrism (Maluleka and Ramoupi, 2022). Beyond delinking from Eurocentrism, there is a need to adopt a knowledge approach that is inclusive of all knowledges and epistemologies of the world (Fataar, 2022). So, I also employed delinking to understand

how an all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view can be achieved.

Lastly, it is worth stating that in my articulation of this conceptual framework, I have struggled to show how a decolonized and Africanized SHC could be classified, framed, and structured. This is because debates about decolonization and Africanization often fail to sufficiently articulate their position on the complex process of classifying, framing, and structuring of curriculum knowledge. That is, how curriculum knowledge gets to be organized, sequenced, paced, transmitted, and evaluated. This can also be said about some discourses in the sociology of education (Lilliedahl, 2015).

Therefore, in the next section, I discuss Bernstein's CT, Maton's EPD, and LCT to highlight how they can be used to reposition the decolonial agenda underpinned by a sociological approach to knowledge. This approach is vested in investigating the "relations within" knowledge and their intrinsic structures towards addressing the knowledge question posed by the decolonial intellectual project and Africanization (Maluleka and Ramoupi, 2022; Lilliedahl, 2015).

2.3 Using the Master's tools to dismantle the Master's house

"The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House" is a provocative admonishment that Audre Lorde, an activist and scholar of multiple identities and a human/gay rights advocate, delivered to a feminist conference in 1979 and was later published in 1984. In both her address and the published conference proceeding, Lorde criticized the conference's organizers for excluding race, age, class, sexuality diversity and ethnicity from its topics and speakers. Lorde was also criticizing the inabilities of Euro-western Western strategic frameworks for dismantling Euro-western structures of empire. By extension, Lorde was also cautioning the colonized against using Euro-western strategic frameworks in their attempts to dismantle Euro-western structures of empire.

In this study, I opted to go against Lorde's warnings and use *the Master's tools to dismantle the Master's house*. I do this aware of the fact that it might come across as problematic to do so given the reasons that Lorde and others have raised. However, as already mentioned, the decolonial approach that I adopt in this study is an all-inclusive decolonial approach. This is an approach that attempts to transcend our often-nativist understanding of knowledge. Thus, I use *the Master's tools to dismantle the Master's house* to transcend the seemingly particular, opposite and irreconcilable Euro-western centred and Afro-centred schools of thought. I also use these tools not exclusively or divorced of African modes of thought, problem-solving, and contestation.

Therefore, in this section I discuss my preferred theoretical framework which consists of Bernstein's CT, Maton's EPD, and LCT.

2.3.1 Basil Bernstein's Code Theory

The sociological work of Basil Bernstein like that of Pierre Bourdieu shines a spotlight on the role that education systems and their curriculums play in reproducing the status quo characterized by modernity/coloniality that in turn reproduces sociocultural, political, and gender, race, economic, class, epistemic, and ontological differences. Like Bourdieu, Bernstein proposes ways in which this status quo can be transcended to avoid “the wastage of working-class educational potential” (Bernstein, 1961: 308). One of the ways Bernstein proposes this transcendental process is through the use of ‘Code Theory’. This theory has profound implications for how we come to think about and make sense of pedagogy, curriculum, knowledge, power, and control. A ‘code’ is understood as an “orientation to meaning” (Maton and Muller, 2007: 6), which can be considered a “regulative principle, tacitly acquired, which selects and integrates” (Bernstein, 1990b: 15). Bernstein’s ‘code’ resembles Bourdieu’s concept of ‘habitus’ because both refer to how dispositions become internalized, both are mediators of authority and power, and both are embedded in family relations (Harker and May, 1993).

So, Bernstein’s CT illuminates how schools or education can independently shape learners’ identities and their view of the world:

What the school [or education] does, its rituals, its ceremonies, its authority relations, its stratification, its procedures for learning, its incentives, rewards, and punishments, [and] its very image of conduct, character, and manner, can modify or change the pupil’s role as this has been initially shaped by the family. Thus, the number of pupils initially involved in a particular role can be modified or changed by the school itself.

(Bernstein, 1975: 48-49)

Like Bourdieu (1967, 1974, 1977ab, 1989, 1990), Bernstein views education, especially SH, as the primary social classifier in society. This, he argues, is transmitted through the three message systems, namely curriculum, pedagogy, and assessment. In other words, curriculum refers to specialized legitimated knowledge, pedagogy refers the transmission of that curriculum, assessment refers to how that transmitted curriculum comes to be realized (Bernstein, 1975).

So, these three systems make sure that education “...an agency of socialization and allocation” (Bernstein, 1975: 199), and it is through these three message systems that sociocultural,

political, gender, race, economic, class, epistemic, and ontological differences are reproduced. Additionally, Bernstein's CT would argue that a subject like SH is, in the main, used through the three message systems by *the powerful* in any society to control, classify, transmit and reproduce what they consider to be legitimate knowledge that ought to be learnt in schools, as well as values and attitudes they consider acceptable which should be learnt by everyone in that particular society. Thus, it is through education, especially the SHC, that injustices facing most people in the world, especially those found in the global South, find most expression. That is why Bernstein (2000) asserts that education is at the centre of reproducing distributive injustices in any society.

Conversely, Bernstein is also of the view that education, especially SHC, can be used to transform any society and thus counter the reproduction of distributive injustices:

Education can have a crucial role in creating tomorrow's optimism in the context of today's pessimism. But if it is to do this then we must have an analysis of the social biases in education. [This is because these biases] lie deep within the very structure of the educational system's processes of transmission and acquisition and their social assumptions.

(Bernstein, 2000: xix)

Therefore, I employed Bernstein's CT to form part of my theoretical foundation and general theoretical orientation for the decolonization and Africanization of the post-apartheid SHC in South Africa. This is because CT is concerned with pedagogy, curriculum, knowledge, power, and control. Below I unpack the concepts of "classification" and "framing" I derived from the CT, and I use in this study. I also discuss his PD immediately thereafter. All of this is then strengthened by Maton's (2014) EPD. This, in turn, assisted me in investigating how a decolonized and Africanized SHC informed by an all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view can be realized. This also enabled me to investigate how knowledge building and structuring process, especially the 'relations within' knowledge and its intrinsic structures that underpin the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa can be disrupted and collapsed for decolonized and Africanized 'relations within' knowledge and its intrinsic structures that are inclusive (Lilliedahl, 2015).

2.3.2 Classification and Framing

Bernstein, through the concepts of “classification” and “framing”, provides one with a special language for the description of pedagogic discourse (Hoadley, 2005). This is because these concepts are useful in analyzing power and control in pedagogic settings (Bernstein, 1990, 1996). They enable one to grasp and explore any changes that can be made concerning both knowledge and pedagogy. Bernstein (1975: 88) defines classification as “the degree of boundary maintenance between content”. That is, the strength or weakness of the boundaries which exist between different categories such as academic subjects, agents and spaces agencies, contexts, discourses, or disciplines. This means that classification can be *relatively* stronger (C+) or weaker (C-):

Where classification is strong, contents ... [i.e., categories such academic subjects, agents and spaces agencies, contexts, discourses, or disciplines.] will be well insulated from each other by strong boundaries. Where classification is weak, there is reduced insulation between contents, for the boundaries between contents, are weak or blurred.

(Bernstein, 1971: 49)

In other words, C+ refers to the structure of a curriculum extremely differentiated and separated into specific academic disciplines and subjects (Gerassi, 2016). This then enables academic subjects and disciplines to differentiate themselves from each other. Thus, any form of multi-disciplinarity, interdisciplinarity, or merged disciplinarity is discouraged in this instance. Moreover, C+ maintains that a boundary exists between knowledge that is formal, scholarly, and specialized and ‘everyday’ knowledge that is informal, non-scholarly, and non-specialized. In Bernsteinian's (1999) understanding of *knowledge structures*, specialized knowledge would fall into what he calls *vertical discourse*. That is, the knowledge that is considered formal, scholarly, and specialized. It is mainly reproduced at universities, research institutes, and centres. ‘Everyday’ knowledge would fall into what Bernstein calls *horizontal discourse*. This is knowledge that is considered to be informal, non-scholarly, and non-specialized. It is the knowledge that is normally reproduced outside academic spaces. I pick up and discuss, in detail, different forms of knowledge and knowledge structures in chapter three.

C- does the opposite of C+ because it collapses the boundaries in curriculum structures that differentiate and separate specific academic disciplines and subjects. Thus, C- encourages any form of multi-disciplinarity, interdisciplinarity, or merged disciplinarity between academic subjects and disciplines. It also creates room in the curriculum structure for ‘everyday’

knowledge to be integrated with formal, specialized, and scholarly knowledge. These have profound implications for how we think of and about how a decolonized and Africanized SHC can be achieved. For instance, C- collapses the power relations that exist between educators and their learners when C+ is in place. That is, the integrations of specialized knowledge and ‘everyday’ knowledge challenge the distinction between educators and learners and, by way of extension, their relations of power and each other (Bernstein, 2000). In other words, where C+ means that there are clearly defined pedagogic identities between educator and learner, while C- means defined pedagogic identities are poorly defined or blurred (Gerassi, 2016). Moreover, the fact that under C- learners are considered active participants in knowledge production, as opposed to *tabula rasas* under C+, challenges the pedagogical distinction between educators and learners, and by extension specialized knowledge and ‘everyday’ knowledge. However, in our attempt to decolonize and Africanize through integration; we should make sure that we do not ‘*over-socialize*’ the intended knowledge outcome of this process (Young, 2008; Young and Muller, 2010). This is because over-socializing of knowledge would result in the “generic competencies such as learning how to learn and critical thinking replace the stipulation of content” (Bertram, 2019: 127). We have already witnessed this approach to integration in post-apartheid South Africa with the introduction of C2005-OBE (Hoadley, 2018), which has led to the disappearance of specialized knowledge in the curriculum (Bertram, 2019). Therefore, the theoretical framework adopted in this seeks to contribute to renewed calls to *bring specialized knowledge back* into the curriculum (Bertram, 2019; Allais, 2014; Wheelahan, 2010; Young, 2008). However, the specialized knowledge proposed under this study is informed by an all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view.

Framing, on the other hand, refers to level of control that both educators and their learners have over the selection, organization, pacing, and timing of the knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship” (Bernstein, 1977). That is, the control of meaning in pedagogic communication (Maton, 2010). This control often “...regulates the form of its legitimate message” (Bernstein, 1990: 100). and addresses “the strength of the boundary between what may be transmitted and what may not be transmitted” (Bernstein, 1975: 89). This means that framing is concerned with how knowledge construction is controlled and how that knowledge is then selected, sequenced, transmitted, paced and evaluated (Hlatshwayo, 2018). Similar to classification (C-/ +), framing can also be *relatively* stronger (F+) or weaker (F-) too.

F+ means that educators have full control over and of pedagogic processes and can determine what is legitimate or valid knowledge (C+) and what is not (C-). That is, what knowledge can be deemed specialized or ‘everyday’. This makes F+ an educator-centered approach to teaching and learning because educators have more control over the selection, pacing, sequencing, and evaluation of the knowledge (C+/F+). F- is the opposite of F+. Under F- the approach to teaching and learning is learner-centered as opposed to educator-centered. Thus, learners instead of educators have more control of the selection, pacing, sequencing, and evaluation of the curriculum, and can determine to some extent which knowledge to focus on and which one to ignore (C-/F-).

Therefore, classification and framing are significant aspects of my theoretical framework in that they assisted me in gaining insights into how, analytically, modernity/coloniality embedded in post-apartheid SHC is classified and framed. Beyond this, the two concepts assisted in showing how a decolonized and Africanized SHC underpinned by an all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view can be framed and classified.

I now turn to another theoretical aspect of Bernstein’s theoretical work, that is, PD, and how it relates to my overall theoretical orientation or framing.

2.3.3 Basil Bernstein’s Pedagogic Device

Basil Bernstein was one of the most influential theorists in the sociology of knowledge. He introduced the PD to understand how knowledge is constructed and transmitted in three fields of practice that are hierarchically related and governed or regulated by distinct operative logics (Maluleka & Mathebula, 2022). These fields consist of *the production field* (a site where specialized knowledge is constructed, usually, but not exclusively, at universities), *the recontextualization field* (a site where the specialized knowledge from the production field is recontextualized by people such as curriculum designers and textbook writers in partnership with the state into officialized curriculum documents and textbooks), and *the reproduction field* (a site where the specialized knowledge from the production field is recontextualized in the recontextualization field is then reproduced by mainly in-service educators and lecturers through various pedagogical choices in their classrooms and lecture venues).

The device is also governed by three rules, namely: the distributive, recontextualizing and evaluative rules, which, in turn, govern the three respective fields of practice discussed above. In terms of the rules governing the PD, Bertram (2020: 4) notes the following:

Distributive rules specialize forms of knowledge, forms of consciousness and forms of practice to social groups. They establish who gets access to what knowledge, that is, to which privileged and specialised ways of classifying, ordering, thinking, speaking and behaving (Ensor, 2004).

Recontextualising rules constitute specific pedagogic discourses. Pedagogic discourse is seen as a grammar which underlies the three fields of the pedagogic device (Bernstein, 2000). Pedagogic discourse is a rule that embeds two discourses: a discourse of knowledge and skills of various kinds and their relations to each other (called the instructional discourse), and rules that create social order (called the regulative discourse). Bernstein (2000) notes that the rules of the instructional discourse refer to the selection, sequence, pacing and evaluative criteria of the knowledge. [and the regulative discourse pivots on the implicit, hidden and assumed morals, ethics and values that shape and influence curriculum design decisions].

The third field of practice is the field of reproduction, where teachers transmit and evaluate knowledge. It is in this field that teachers can enact the relative autonomy of education, depending on the extent to which teachers can interpret and adapt the official curriculum. Teachers' pedagogic practice is informed by both instructional and regulative discourses that are relayed in the official curriculum and textbooks, as well as by their own experiences of learning and beliefs about the purposes of teaching.

Table 1 depicts The arena of the PD (Maton and Muller, 2007: 18; Bertram, 2020: 3).

Table 1: The arena of the pedagogic device

Field of practice	Production (where knowledge is produced)	Recontextualisation (where knowledge is selected and sequenced into curriculum documents or textbooks)	Reproduction (where teachers transmit and evaluate knowledge)
Form of regulation	Distributive rules	Recontextualising rules	Evaluative rules
Kinds of symbolic structure	Knowledge structure	Curriculum	Pedagogy and evaluation
Typical agents	Academics, professional historians	Official Recontextualising Field (ORF): Curriculum writers, Pedagogic Recontextualising Field (PRF): teacher educators, textbook writers	Teachers
Typical sites	Research papers, conferences, laboratories	Curriculum policy, textbooks, learning aids	Classrooms and examinations (assessment tasks)

Therefore, the usefulness of Bernstein's PD lies in its ability to profoundly explain the interrelatedness that is often embedded and exists between pedagogy, knowledge, power, and control, as well as how all of these manifests in knowledge-building and structuring processes. Equally, its other usefulness lies in its ability to visibilize and visualize the often invisible and hidden regulations that govern what is communicated through curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation at all levels of the education system with the view of reproducing the status quo. That is, the reproduction of dominant socio-political, cultural, and institutional values i.e., coloniality/modernity in post-apartheid South Africa's case presently. Beyond this, the framework provided me with a lens to work from in my attempt to contribute to towards dismantling Eurocentrism, and modernity/coloniality in knowledge building and structuring processes. In other words, the PD provided me with a special language to describe how

knowledge is produced, structured, and reproduced in a context characterized by modernity/coloniality and how this characterization can be transcended for a decolonized and Africanized characterization.

I now turn my focus to Maton's EPD.

2.3.4 Karl Maton's Epistemic-Pedagogic Device

Maton (2014), drawing from PD, developed the EPD to argue that the fields of practice are not only interrelated but are *dialectical* and *intersectional* too. Figure 1 below depicts The arena of the EPD (Maton, 2014: 51)

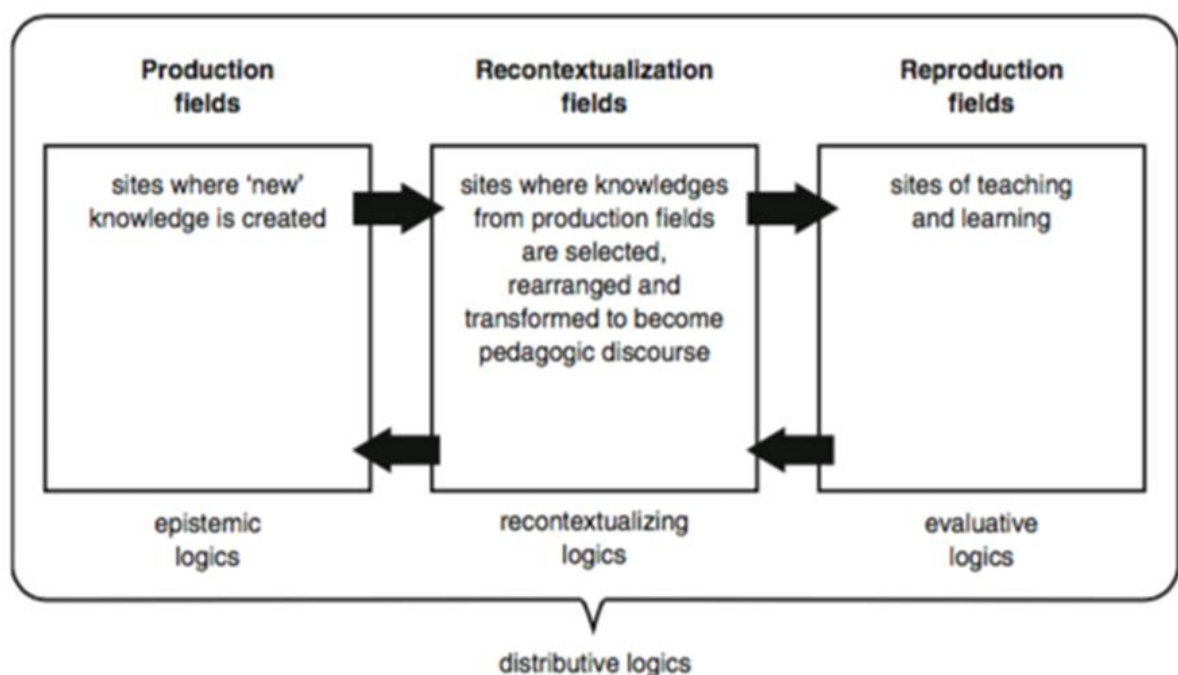


Figure 1: The arena created by the epistemic-pedagogic device (EPD)

This implies that specialized knowledge can no longer be regarded as only emanating from the field of production controlled by only a few legitimated knowers. In other words, specialized knowledge does not always or only move from the field of production to the field of reproduction through specific pedagogic discourses embedded within the recontextualization field (Maluleka, 2021; Hlatshwayo, 2022). This then means that specialized knowledge can be conceptualized, developed, and produced in any of the three fields of practice and dialectically and intersectionally moved from the specific field to other fields that make up the field of practice. For instance, knowers in either the reproduction or recontextualization can

also conceptualize, develop, and produce specialized knowledge that can be dialectically and intersectionally moved to the production field to contribute to intellectual knowledge-building.

So, EPD afforded me a new perspective into *who* can conceptualize, construct, develop and produce specialized knowledge. And *where* can this specialized knowledge be produced, *how* and *why*. This is certainly in line with the decolonial scholarship proposed by this study because, questions such as; *whose knowledge, whose voice, whose framing, whose narrative, whose language, whose writing, whose terminology, whose worldview, and definitions of reality*, are what underpin this decolonial scholarship (Bam et al., 2018; Godsell, 2019).

However, Hlatshwayo (2022) argues that it is also important to acknowledge the unreliability of the EPD, especially if taken verbatim rather than heuristically. This is because calls to decolonise education and knowledge “tend to be ‘messy’, complex, dialectical, intersectional *and often transcend narrow fields of practice* in calling to our attention the need to move beyond formalised disciplines, canons and fields” (Ibid: 50, italics – own emphasis”. This position by Hlatshwayo is particularly powerful and useful because it compels us to think deeply about specialised knowledge conceptualised and produced by oMakhulu, whom I mentioned earlier. This is specialised knowledge that is thought of outside the three fields of practice that constitute education or the academy as per E(PD). It is also specialised knowledge that decolonial scholars are saying should be recentred, recontextualised, academised, pedagogised, and reproduced.

Although, the EPD is silent when it comes to how specialized knowledge conceptualized and produced outside the three fields of practice can be recentred into the three fields of practice with the view of recontextualizing, academicizing, and pedagogising it. I am of the view that the EPD can still be a useful tool or framework in aiding this endeavour. For instance, many black-African students and learners in post-apartheid South Africa are either raised by their oMakhulu or have had the privilege of living amongst them. Because of this, these students and learners have had the privilege of learning valuable indigenous knowledge forms or sage philosophy¹⁸ from these critical sages (i.e., oMakhulu) (Odera-Oruka, 1990ab, 1991; Ndofirepi, 2013). These students and learners are taught the importance of acknowledging and embracing the mind/body/spirit/soul as constituting one metaphysical being in the world that

¹⁸ Sage philosophy is practised by indigenous knowledge producers or critical sages (i.e., oMakhulu) influenced by learning from their culture and other cultures (see Maluleka & Mathebula, 2022). These critical sages “engage in a process of reflective philosophical evaluation of thought which is often rigorous (see Ndofirepi, 2011).

is also able to access *the world of the living dead – the ancestral realm* (Ramose, 2015; Tamale, 2020). So, these students and learners bring this knowledge they learnt from their oMakhulu into our lecture rooms and classrooms (i.e., reproduction field) as part of their lived experiences, and they are simply told that this knowledge everyday knowledge. That is, knowledge that is vague, incoherent or muddled, and jumbled or disorganised (Bernstein, 1996, 2000), therefore, it cannot be engaged. The rejection is as result of the embeddedness of cartesian duality that separates the knower from knowledge in our education and teaching and learning spaces.

However, by enacting the EPD, we stand the chance of making sure that the indigenous knowledge that those students and learners come with during teaching and learning (i.e., in the reproduction field) is recontextualized in the recontextualization field and is then dialectically and intersectionally moved to the production field with the view of creating and establishing an education underpinned by an all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view. This is important to do because the likes of Odera-Oruka (1972), Wiredu (1980), Okere (1983), Bodunrin (1981, 1984), Hountondji (1996, 1997), Imbo (1998), Botha, (2007), Oyeshile (2008), Letseka (2000, 2012), and more recently, Ndofirepi and Cross (2017) Mathebula (2019, 2020), Maluleka and Mathebula (2022), Maluleka and Ramoupi (2022), have already established that indigenous knowledge is also specialized, legitimate and is produced by legitimate knowers. Thus, it should be engaged as such too.

Secondly, another way in which the EPD could be enacted decolonially is through rethinking what constitutes the production field, its epistemic logics, and its legitimate knowers. Currently, this field in post-apartheid is dominated by a colonizing knowledge canon that favours knowledge contributions by “dead white men” who are considered as the “fathers” or “founders” of modern thought (Pett, 2015; Hlatshwayo, 2019). So, in complementing the recontextualization of indigenous knowledge forms brought by students and learners through the reproduction field, knowers in the production field need to stop regarding oMakhulu as “information mines” especially when carrying out research projects that involve them and move towards regarding them as legitimate knowers too – “co-creators of knowledge” (Maluleka & Ramoupi, 2022: 77-8). That way, restrictive boundaries of what constitutes the production field would be relaxed or collapsed for an alternative production field that recognizes that universities are not ivory towers that are considered to be, and that specialised knowledge can be produced elsewhere by different legitimate knowers.

Thirdly, the EPD could be enacted decolonially at the level of recontextualization field and its recontextualizing logics. Hlatshwayo (2022), whom I agree with, presents a convincing argument in this regard. He argues that those of us who are propose for this field to be decolonized will need to also consider that recontextualizing logics are often governed by diverse understandings of what constitutes academic freedom, personal and institutional autonomy, as well as different academic identities that inform academics' selection, sequencing and pacing of curriculum. Therefore, "the promotion of decolonial knowledge as fundamental to the recontextualising logic will need to grapple with the challenges that academic freedom brings, as well the individual identities that academics have, alongside the nature of the target knowledge." (ibid: 59).

Lastly, another useful way in which is the EPD could be decolonially enacted is through the reimagining and rethinking of what constitutes its entire distributive logics. Recently, Hlatshwayo argued that "the distributive logics of the academy do not contain themselves only to the formal curriculum" (Hlatshwayo, 2022: 54). This is because they constitute what Apple (1971) calls the "hidden curriculum", that is, ideologies that are taught informally, and usually unintentionally, but inform the education system and its curricula in many ways. In decolonial terms, hidden curriculum is regarded as constituting the "darker side" or "underside" of Euro-western modernity that is often hidden and should be unveiled or unmasked (Dussel, 1996; Mignolo, 2011). This is a site where the legacy the of colonialism, apartheid, a pervasive coloniality and its power matrix often find expression (Hlatshwayo, 2022). This site is constituted by other operative logics of the academy/school that include, but limited to, students/learners' codes of conduct, university/schools' visions, mission statements, institutional culture(s), university/school practices and ceremonies and so on (Maluleka, 2021a). So, reimagining, rethinking, as well as challenging entire distributive logics of the EPD that constitute the "'truth', encapsulated in a 'traditional' and 'well-established' canon" (Hlatshwayo, 2022: 49), should entail the recentring of alternative knowledges forms, such as indigenous knowledge forms, in a inter/trans/cross-disciplinary approach to education and knowledge (Gordon, 2015a). This would, in turn, create an education system underpinned by knowledge spaces that enable all participates to engage with "multiple perspectives and alternative theoretical frameworks from which to re/read their lived experiences, experiences of the past, what is presented as common-sense realities, and the dominant Eurocentric and canonical forms of knowledge." (Fataar & Subreenduth, 2015: 115).

So, for this study, I also draw from the EPD's dialectical and intersectional posture. I focus on all the fields as sites to which decolonization, decoloniality, and Africanization can be used to inform and shape curriculum knowledge-building and structuring processes that underpin the SHC.

I now move to discuss LCT.

2.3.5 Legitimation Code Theory

LCT is considered to be a “sociological framework motivated by social justice and knowledge-building issues” (Winberg, McKenna, and Willmot, 2020: 2). LCT is a framework comprising four sets of concepts or “dimensions”, which include Specialization, Semantics, Temporality (which is still under advanced testing) and Autonomy (Maton, 2014; Maton and Howard, 2018, 2020) which is enacted in this study. These dimensions allow for knowledge practices to be revealed, their organizing principles to be conceptualized and understood, and their effects to be explored (Maton, 2014a). These dimensions “also enable researchers and practitioners to get at what lies beneath what is seen and experienced on the surface, for example, the curriculum” (Maluleka and Ramoupi, 2022: 69). Each dimension conceptualized through *legitimation codes* (Specialization codes, Semantic codes, Temporality codes, and Autonomy codes). These codes enable analyses of different aspects of knowledge practices (Maton, 2016). Hlatshwayo *et al.* posit that:

In addition to analyzing knowledge practices in curriculum, the use of these dimensions and their conceptual tools also affords [one] a means of achieving the kind of self-reflexivity that Santos *et al.* (2007, p. xxi) hold ‘the first step towards the recognition of the epistemological diversity of the world.

(Hlatshwayo *et al.*, 2022: 5)

Therefore, I have enacted Autonomy in this study with the view of examining the motives behind the content section for the SHC under the colonial apartheid rule and in post-apartheid South Africa. This is because Autonomy is powerful, in that, it can reveal the basis of integrating different forms of knowledge (Maluleka and Ramoupi, 2022). Maton summarizes the Autonomy dimension as follows:

Autonomy explores practices in terms of relatively autonomous social universes whose organizing principles are given by autonomy codes that comprise relative strengths of

positional autonomy (PA) and *relational autonomy* (RA). These are mapped on the *autonomy plane* and traced over time on *autonomy profiles*.

(Maton: 2016: 243)

Moreover, Maton and Howard assert that:

The dimension of Autonomy begins from the simple premise that any set of practices comprises constituents that are related together in particular ways [sic] put another way, the concepts examine how practices establish different degrees of insulation around their constituents and the ways those constituents are related together.

(Maton and Howard, 2020: 28-9)

These different constituents may include actors, ideas, and institutions that are related through explicit producers, tactic conventions, and explicitly stated aims. Therefore, these issues are analytically distinguished as:

- PA: Between relations and constituents positioned within a context or category and those positioned in other contexts or categories
- RA: Between the relations among constituents of a context or category and the relations among constituents of other contexts of categories.

(Maton and Howard, 2020: 29)

Put simply, PA explains the strengths of relations that underpin content and are think about as admissible in a specific context or text (Maton and Howard, 2018). Whereas RA explains the strengths of relations concerning what purposes are regarded acceptable in a certain context or text (ibid.). In other words, PA concerned with the insulation of content, whilst the RA is concerned with the insulation of the purpose to which the content is put. Both can be relatively weaker (-) or stronger (+); where weaker implies less insulation and stronger implies greater insulation (Maluleka and Ramoupi, 2022). These, as already stated, can be unearthed on the Autonomy plane, giving four principal autonomy codes as shown in Figure 2 below:

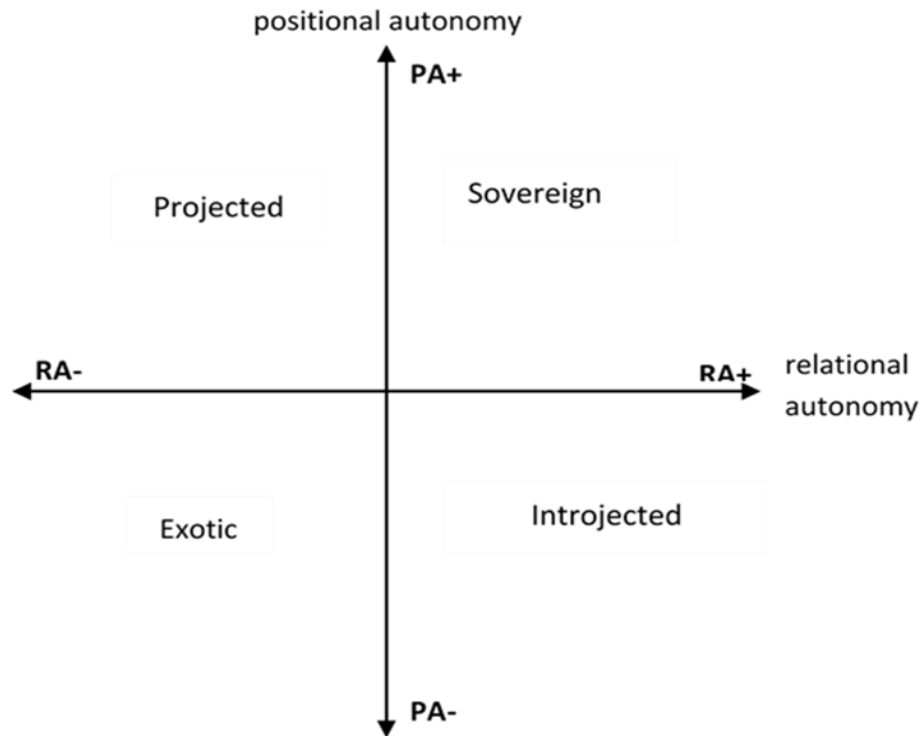


Figure 2: The autonomy plane (Maton and Howard 2018: 6).

These four main autonomy codes can be summarised as follows:

- For *sovereign codes* (PA+, RA+) status is accorded to strongly insulated positions and autonomous principles. What is valued emanates from within the context or category and acts according to its specific ways of working: internal constituents for internal purposes.
- For *exotic codes* (PA-, RA-) legitimacy accrues to weakly insulated positions and heteronomous principles. What is valued are constituents associated with other contexts or categories and ways of working from other contexts or categories: external constituents for external purposes.
- For *introjected codes* (PA-, RA+) legitimacy resides with weakly insulated positions and autonomous principles. What is valued are constituents associated with other contexts or categories but oriented towards ways of working emanating from within external constituents turned to internal purposes.
- For *projected codes* (PA+, RA-) status resides with strongly insulated positions and heteronomous principles. What is valued are constituents from within that are

oriented towards ways of working from elsewhere: internal constituents turned to external purposes.

(Maton and Howard, 2018: 7)

So, in the next section, I outline the relevance of my preferred conceptual and theoretical framings.

2.4 The relevance of my conceptual and theoretical frameworks

In this section, I outline the relevance of my preferred conceptual and theoretical frameworks. I begin by focusing on the relevance of my preferred conceptual framework, followed by outlining the relevance of my preferred theoretical framework.

So, I preferred the critical decolonial conceptual framework because of the following reasons. Firstly, I preferred it because of its critique of Euro-western social concepts, theories, and knowledge traditions, and their inability to fully recognize and embrace the Othered ways of knowing and being of peoples with alternate worldviews (Hlatshwayo *et al.*, 2022). Secondly, I went for this conceptual framing because of its ability to advance and recentre social concepts, theories, and knowledge traditions of the colonized Other. This was particularly important because all these Othered social concepts, theories, and knowledge traditions “point to real social mechanisms in the sense that they evidence more profound ways of thinking, valuing, and being” (ibid: 3-4). This is why it is counterproductive, and epistemically unsound, to reject Other ways of knowing and being simply because of their source. This often means losing some insights into the mechanisms that inform them, such as *where* and *how* they were created and *why* (Fataar and Subreenduth, 2015). Lastly, I preferred the critical decolonial conceptual framework because it was able to illustrate the distortion of the colonial lens that continues to underpin curriculum knowledge building and structuring process that inform and shape the SHC in post-apartheid South Africa, and the need to work away from it towards a more inclusive decolonial lens.

To reiterate, the theoretical framing of this study consists of Bernstein’s CT, Maton’s EPD, and LCT. As stated in chapter one, this theoretical framework was developed to investigate relations within knowledge and their intrinsic structures that underpin the SHC with the view of addressing the knowledge question posed by the decolonial and Africanization intellectual projects. So, the relevance of this theoretical framework is outlined below.

Bernstein's CT was incorporated into the theoretical framework for the following reasons. Firstly, it was used because it challenges what is considered to be a 'shared' value system within modernity/coloniality. Secondly, the CT enabled me to investigate how ways in which dominant value systems within schools work towards interfering with or supporting student learning. Also, how they could be transcended for more value systems to be considered where curriculum knowledge building and structuring underpinning the SHC is a concern. Thirdly, CT enabled me to also investigate how these dominant value systems are being maintained and reproduced. Maintained, implicitly by *the powerful* class in society through education generally, and the SHC in particular, and how they could be transcended to be more inclusive. Lastly, CT also enabled me to investigate and understand why the three message systems, especially curriculum, continue to be used as the primary 'social control' classifier. In other words, why a curriculum like the SHC, continues to be used to reproduce sociocultural, political, gender, race, economic, class, epistemic, and ontological differences?

Maton's EPD was relevant to this study for the following reasons. In the main, EPD's relevance is a result of its understanding of Bernstein's PD and Bourdieu's "Fields of Struggles" as being not only interrelated but dialectical and intersectional too. Thus, this understanding has enabled me to investigate how, for instance, fallism as a scholarship and the scholarship of oMakhulu could be recentred in discourses concerned with knowledge building and structuring that underpin the SHC. In other words, the EPD enabled me to investigate and understand the struggles over the decolonization and Africanization of knowledge building and structuring in (South) Africa and the global South generally as not only located in one field of practice, i.e., the field of production. Rather, what EPD has highlighted is the fact that these protracted struggles over the decolonization and Africanization of knowledge building and structuring are located in all fields of practice, and many times transcend these narrow fields of practice "in calling to our attention to the need to move beyond formalized disciplines, canons and fields" (Hlatshwayo *et al.*, 2022).

LCT's relevance to this study was a result of the following reasons. Firstly, LCT's Autonomy dimension enabled me to investigate the imbalanced power relations that exist in the South African SHC, especially where knowledge selection, building, and structuring are a concern. Hence, I was able to trace, investigate and highlight how these imbalanced power relations have, through the colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid curricula, reproduced a SHC that is not epistemically and ontologically diverse. Secondly, it was through the use of LCT's Autonomy dimension alongside my conceptual framings and other aspects of my theoretical

framing that was able to investigate and show how we can work towards transcending these imbalances towards an SHC that is more epistemologically diverse.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented my preferred conceptual and theoretical frameworks underpinning this study. These include a critical decolonial conceptual framework, as well as a theoretical framework consisting of Bernstein's CT, Maton's EPD, and LCT. These framings assisted me in investigating, firstly, how the SHC in post-apartheid continues to be characterized by the legacy of colonialism, apartheid, and presently, neoliberalism and a pervasive colonality and its power matrix. Secondly, these framings also assisted me in investigating how the scholarship of decolonization, decoloniality and Africanization be inserted in the knowledge building framings and structures of the post-apartheid SHC in ways that are cumulative and principled with a new of establishing a SHC that is inclusive.

CHAPTER THREE

CONCEPTUAL GENEALOGIES, MEANINGS, AND DEBATES

3.1 Introduction

To understand the origins, history, and development of concepts such as decolonization, coloniality, decoloniality, and Africanization; one needs to first understand their root cause. This means understanding concepts such as Euro-western modernity, colonialism, and coloniality. This is because all these concepts are interlinked and inseparable (Shabangu, 2021). Therefore, in this chapter, I explain the genealogies, history, development, and debates of all these concepts, which I regard as key concepts underpinning this study. I begin by unpacking the concept of Euro-western modernity. I then unpack the concept of colonialism. Thereafter, the concept of coloniality and its three dialectical yet interrelated domains which include the coloniality of power, coloniality of knowledge, and coloniality of being are unpacked (Maluleka, 2021a). This is then followed by an unpacking of global and national trends and debates on decolonization, decoloniality, and Africanization. Lastly, I will also unpack notions of curriculum and knowledge because they too are equally key to this study.

3.2 Understanding Euro-western modernity

Firstly, it is important to note that decolonial theorists speak of a ‘modernity/coloniality project’ – a construct of the global North used as a way of rationalizing, naturalizing, and hegemonizing its perceived superiority from all fronts upon the rest of the world, especially the global South. In other words, the concept of modernity/coloniality was deliberately constructed by decolonial theorists to characterize the double-sidedness of the colonial project that decoloniality wants to dismantle to construct a world that embraces a plurality of all things. So, modernity cannot be thought of as separate from its opposite – coloniality. Coloniality and modernity in the modernity/coloniality project are constitutive of one another and thus entangled in ways that one cannot conceive and speak of one aspect of the colonial project without thinking and speaking of the other.

In this section, I discuss Euro-western modernity, which is underpinned by the rationalist¹⁹ doctrine of René Descartes (1596 – 1650), Baruch Spinoza (1632 – 1677), and Wilhelm Leibniz (1646 – 1716). For this study, I focus on Descartes’ intellectual project – whose work pioneered a new tradition of thinking in modern philosophy, especially in knowledge production generally and theories of the curriculum more specifically. This intellectual project has occupied philosophers and other scholars for many years. However, to understand Descartes work one needs to locate it within a specific epoch in Europe's history – the Medieval Age²⁰ and its subsequent end, as well as the emergence of the scientific revolution²¹ and the religious reformation²² of the sixteenth century on the other (Lushaba, 2016). However, given the limited scope of this thesis; I do not discuss these epochs in detail. Rather, I focus on Descartes work and its influence on knowledge production and theories of curriculum and how the said epochs informed and shaped his thinking.

Descartes intellectual project, the *Cartesian Dualism of the mind and the body* contained in the *Discourse on Method* and *Meditations on First Philosophy* is viewed by some as the bedrock of modern philosophy. Descartes has since been eulogized by the likes of Dreyfus and Kelly in the following manner:

[J]ust as Jesus established our Christian World with its saints and sinners, Descartes established our Modern World in which we understand ourselves as self-sufficient subjects standing over against self-sufficient objects.

(Dreyfus and Kelly, 2011: 137)

Lushaba argues that what appears to be Descartes’ considerable offering to what is considered modern philosophy is “the notion of the modern subject supposedly inhabiting the

¹⁹ Rationalism is a theory of knowledge which holds that reason, (in some sense), is the only road to genuine knowledge.

²⁰ The Medieval Age was an epoch in which to be European meant to be Christian. In other words, to be Christian meant “far more than internalising nominal Christian precepts and injunctions. It meant living the totality of one’s life in the thralldom of theological dogma (Lushaba, 2015: 65)

²¹ The so-called scientific revolution was concerned with explaining “using scientific methods of observation, empirical measurement and mathematical exactitude, planetary movements, the natural disposition of things on earth, laws governing nature and furthermore to obtain certain and objective knowledge of the world” (ibid: 65).

²² The religious reformation was concerned with the “displace[ment] [of] the church and restore the individual on to an unmediated relationship with God. Salvation as a result was to be dependent no longer on membership in the church. The church and its institution of priesthood also lost monopoly over the correct interpretation of Scripture” (ibid: 65).

Archimedean point of knowledge, endowed with objective consciousness and privileged access to the world. This subject which is the basis of all knowledge does not emerge from the transcendental waiting room neither is it metaphysically posited. It is a culmination of a tedious process of meditation.” (Lushaba, 2016: 66)

This “tedious process of meditation” was or is underpinned by a systematic process of being sceptical about the truth of one's beliefs, which became a characteristic method in Descartes philosophy. Through this process, Descartes not only doubts everything that he knew before; he also doubted his very own existence. This is because Descartes appeared to realize that direct evidence provided by our senses could be false.²³ Thus, Descartes began to question whether there was any knowledge, or any evidence provided by our senses that could be proved to be true, genuine, or could be known for sure (Smith, 2009). Through his meditations, he discovered “that there was no knowledge that could be proved to be true. The evidence provided to us by our senses might be false. All knowledge, he reasoned, had the possibility (however small it may be) of being false, as our senses may be deceived” (ibid: 33). Descartes wanted to find a completely certain foundation for knowledge in terms of certain procedures of human reasoning. Thus, Lushaba posits that:

One of the key moments in the journey down the path of doubt is the discovery that no other feature pertains to the thinking thing other than the fact that it is a thinking substance. Its whole essence consists solely in the fact that it is a thinking thing – *res cogitans*. To wit, this unextended thinking substance, mind, consciousness, or soul, must be kept distinct from the extended corporeal substance or body – *res extensa*. [sic]. The claim here basically is that the subject is made of two incommensurable substances: the body and consciousness.

(Lushaba, 2016: 67)

The body and consciousness of Descartes did not exist at the same level. Descartes qualified this by claiming that:

²³ “Descartes’ Epistemology” published by Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy (1997/2019). Available from: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/descartes-epistemology/>. Accessed on 8 June 2019.

[I] possess a distinct idea of body, since it is only an extended and unthinking thing, it is certain that this I [that is to say, my soul by which I am what I am], is entirely and distinct from my body, and can exist without it.

(Descartes, 1997: 181)

And that:

At last, I have discovered it—thought; this alone is inseparable from me. I am, I exist—that is certain. But for how long? For as long as I am thinking. For it could be that were I to cease from thinking, I should cease to exist. At present, I am not admitting anything except what is necessarily true. I am, then, in the strict sense, only a thing that thinks; that is, I am a mind, or intelligence or intellect, or reason—words whose meaning I have been ignorant of until now. But for all that I am a thing that is real, and which truly exists. But what kind of thing? As I have just said—a thinking thing.

(Descartes 1984: 18)

However, through this process of discovery, Descartes also discovered that the one thing that he could not doubt was his ability to doubt (Lushaba, 2016). In other words, his ability to doubt was true, and real and could not deceive him because he could not doubt his own ability to doubt (ibid.). This process of doubt formed the basis of Descartes' modern philosophy known as *Cartesian Dualism*. A philosophy that sought to provide an incontestable foundation for science (ibid.). A philosophy underpinned by Descartes' famous statement, "*cogito ergo sum* (I think therefore I am)". A philosophical idea that established "a new era of epistemological thinking, wherein everything is thought to be determined or made intelligible by the workings of the mind" (Burns, 1982: 63). In other words, this philosophical idea presented the human mind as separate from the human body. The human mind, that is *the self*, was presented as having the ability to think or to reason, as *being the only true thing* (Smith, 2009). Thus, Descartes presented a human being (or *a self*) as a separate, *self-defining entity* (ibid.).

Enrique Dussel (see, for instance, 1492: *El encubrimiento del Otro* published in 1994) has argued that the Cartesian "ego cogito" of "I think, therefore I am" is preceded by 150 years of the imperial "ego conquiro" of "I conquer, therefore I am.". Hence, Descartes' rationalism had major implications for knowledge production and theories of the curriculum. For instance, Descartes' theory had far-reaching implications for theology. It separated man and woman from the notion of God and thus pioneered a new way of thinking in which the existence of

man and woman could be proved without the existence of God (Smith, 2009). Moreover, his theory suggested that “bodily experiences of the material world, its sensations and sense perceptions [were] enemies of the truth” (Ndlovu, 2019: 29). This led to knowledge productions and curriculums underpinned by universal social scientific theories that disregarded Other ways of knowing, being of the world.

However, Descartes’ rationalist theory like other theories was also challenged, criticized, and critiqued. Firstly, within modernity/coloniality; that is within the Euro-western academy. The earliest empiricists²⁴ such as John Locke (1632 – 1704), David Hume (1711 – 1776), and Immanuel Kant (1724 – 1804) were amongst the first to challenge, criticize, and critique the rationalist doctrine. These empiricists strongly argued that “experience plays a primary role in all human understanding and knowledge” (Sedgwick, 2001: 12).

For Locke, in an essay, entitled: *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), the experience was and is the source and basis of knowledge. In other words, he viewed experience as fundamental in the human understanding and construction of knowledge (Sedgwick, 2001). Thus, all genuine knowledge is derived from sense perception. He, therefore, denied that reason alone without senses can acquire any genuine knowledge. Effectively, Locke argued against the likes of Plato, Descartes, and the Scholastics, that there are no innate ideas or principles. Therefore, for Locke,

experience gives rise to various kinds of ideas. [Based on] sense experience, he tried to construct an account of knowledge. For Locke knowledge is ideas, not Plato’s ideas or Forms, but ideas that are generated from experience. Locke held that knowledge begins with ideas that are generated by experience. For him, idea is that object about which the understanding is concerned while thinking. Our ideas are derived from two sources (a) sensation and (b) perception of the operation of our mind, which may be called internal sense (reflection). Since we can only think through ideas, and since all ideas come from experience, it is evident that none of our knowledge can antedate experience.

(Jaja and Badey, 2013: 3)

Locke’s epistemology and his approach to the question of the body and the mind were followed by Hume through the “*impressions-ideas*” distinction (Ndlovu, 2019), even though his usage

²⁴ Empiricism is a theory of knowledge which holds that experience, rather than reason is the source of knowledge.

was different in its philosophical lexicon. First, in his *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739), and *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding* (1748/1758), Hume asserted that all the perceptions of the human mind are of two distinct kinds: impressions and ideas. He also added that “it will not be very necessary to employ many words in explaining this distinction” because he believed that the distinction between “*impressions-ideas*” was obvious then. There are three important reasons why Hume went on to distinguish between “*impressions-ideas*” and those reasons include:

First, he aimed to restore the original meaning of the word “idea;” second, he does not follow Locke’s doctrine that an idea “stands for whatsoever is the object of the understanding when a man thinks ... or whatever it is which the mind can be employed about in thinking;” third, there was no corresponding English word for his notion of “impression” as “lively perception,” and therefore his usage is a complete novelty in the philosophical lexicon. [sic] The main difference between impressions and ideas lies in the degrees of force and liveliness with which they affect the mind and make their way into thought.

(Sgarbi, 2012: 564)

By impressions, Hume was referring to perceptions that are a direct consequence of our sense experience (Ndlovu, 2019). In other words, these perceptions that affect the mind with the most “force and violence” are impressions, and these according to Hume included all sensations, passions, and emotions (Sgarbi, 2012). By ideas, Hume (1739) was referring to “the faint images of these [impressions and perceptions] in thinking and reasoning”. In other words, he meant the faint and bland images of the impressions in thinking and reasoning (Sgarbi, 2012). Thus, unlike Descartes, Ndlovu (2019: 30) argues that Hume “developed a causal hypothesis where experience precedes our thinking or reasoning”.

Immanuel Kant went on to affirm the empiricist ideas of both Locke and Hume, even though his approach was different. For Kant, human beings “cannot form any conception of the external world without using experience and thought which are subject dependent” (Smith, 2009: 37). In other words, all knowledge for him begins with experience and thought. However, Kant was of the view that the same thought and experience could not be trusted (Smith, 2009). Kant argued that:

... though all our knowledge begins with experience [and thought], it does not follow that it all arises out of experience [and thought].

(Cited in Sedgwick, 2001: 27)

This is because Kant came to realize that “the causal connection between the experiment and the observation could not be validated either empirically or logically” (Smith, 2009: 38). For him, experimentation and logic were not only the bases for what could be considered true and reliable knowledge. Thus, in coming up with a new theory of knowledge, Kant “divided knowledge into a *posteriori* judgment that is based on our empirical experiences and a *a priori* judgment that is independent of any experience” (Ndlovu, 2019: 30). In other words, his approach sought to question and ultimately depart “from the Lockean notion of human beings as empty cabinets that are mere passive recipients of sense impressions of the world to reconstitute the objectivity and universality of knowledge that is enabled by a ‘*pure intuition*’ of the human mind” (ibid: 30). This resulted in a *redefinition* of what it meant to be a rational human being²⁵ (Smith, 2009).

Locke, Hume, and Kant's intellectual projects are an indication of the earliest critiques of Cartesianism within the Euro-western academy. Some of the ‘newer’ challenges, criticism, and critiques of Cartesianism operating within the Euro-western academy, which will not be engaged due to the limited scope of this study, include poststructuralism, postmodernism, and postcolonialism. However, *anti-cartesian mediations*, and Euro-western theorization in general, have been and are continuously being challenged, criticized, and critiqued outside the Euro-western academy too – that is, outside the modernity/coloniality.

Decolonial theorists, who operate outside the Euro-western academy, have conceptualized Cartesianism, and Euro-western theorizations in general, as twisting and misrepresenting what it means to be fully human. This is because of the duality in ontology presented by Cartesianism and Euro-western theorizations that, in turn, enables the continued colonial domination of the Othered peoples of the world and their ways of knowing knowledge (Ndlovu, 2019).

Therefore, I now move to understand colonialism.

²⁵ Kant considered this rational being to be autonomous and free in the sense of being the creator of the law that will ultimately bind it.

3.3 Understanding colonialism

On October 12, 1492, Christopher Columbus, and his crew, at first believing that they have reached East Asia, arrived at the Americas. They then proceeded to conquer and enslave the indigenous people of the Americas. This signalled the beginning of the colonialization of the global South, which was later rationalized as a *civilizing mission* meant to bring about *development*. In contrast, it brought about subjection, misery, suffering, enslavement, and various genocides to the indigenous people of the global South and their land (Quijano, 2000ab; Lushaba, 2009; Sithole, 2014). This mission was based on Euro-western modernity and Columbus *et al*'s questioning whether the indigenous people of the Americas had *souls* (Grosfoguel, 2013). This idea of the *souls* found expression in Descartes' philosophy. The same *souls* that Columbus *et al.* referred to, are the same as the *mind* that Descartes referred to in his work (Ndlovu, 2019). In other words, both Columbus and Descartes considered indigenous people to be without *souls* and *minds*, which could be read to mean that they considered indigenous people to be without the capacity to *think and rationalize for themselves or make sense of the world*. This means that the colonized were denied their humanity by the colonizers. Because of this, "a world of political oppression, rootlessness, unhomeliness, disharmony, impoverishment, enforced racialization and depersonalization" was created (Madlingozi, 2018: 93).

So, "what, fundamentally, is colonialism?" asked Cesaire (2000: 32). There are two ways to understand colonialism. The first is a simplistic way that considers colonialism from a juridical-administrative lens. In this way, colonialism is understood the "direct territorial appropriation of another geopolitical entity" (McClintock, 1992: 88). This is then accompanied by land expropriation, exploitation of natural resources, labour exploitation, and systematic interference in the capacity of the appropriated culture (itself not necessarily a homogeneous entity) to organize its dispensations of power. In other words, this form of colonialism could be understood as a deliberate attempt of denying a society or a people the right to anchor their own development. It can also be understood as the control of a people and their natural resources by those who have conquered them (Osterchammel cited in Sommer, 2011).

The second way to understand colonialism goes past the oversimplified vision of juridical-administrative colonialism. This way considers colonialism from and through an epistemic lens. For Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013a), this is the worst form of colonialism because it is often hidden. Because of this, Heleta (2016) argues that this type of colonialism has had the most destructive effects on the colonized Other and their ways of knowing and being. One of these

effects is epistemicide, that is, the deliberate epistemological marginalization and exclusion of indigenous knowledge forms in the formal education system (Santos, 2014). This is because epistemicides are as a result of the hegemonic Euro-western way of constructing, producing and consuming knowledge, which is presented as being unproblematically and thus informs education discourses and practices the global South generally, and Africa specifically (Fataar and Subreenduth, 2015). Secondly, it is because the colonized Other is thought of as a people who cannot think of and rationalize about the world independently; therefore, they were denied the capacity and the capability for thought (Maluleka, 2021a). In essence, in the sixteenth century the colonized Other was believed to lack writing and moved to be a “people without history” in the eighteenth century and nineteenth century; and in the twentieth century was characterized as “people without development”, and more recently, in the early twenty-first century, the colonized Other has been identified as a “people without democracy (Grosfoguel, 2007: 214).

Lastly, what is also important to also note is that both these understandings of colonialism are also underpinned by capitalism. For instance, capitalism considers the role of education in any capitalist society as a tool to reproduce its cognitive, ontological, epistemic, and societal inequalities with the view of maintaining the class differences that exist, as well as the class hegemony and values of the ruling class. Thus, impose “cultures of the middle class and leaving the poor experiencing symbolic violence (see Bourdieu, 1970)” (Shabangu, 2021: 40).

Despite the fact that formal colonialism is believed to have ended; decolonial theorists are of the view that colonialism is still alive and functioning in a different form. This different form is called coloniality. I unpack coloniality in the following section.

3.4 Understanding coloniality

Coloniality is a term used by decolonial theorists to investigate how the colonized Other’s ways of knowing and being continue to be undermined even though formalized colonialism has ended (Maluleka, 2021a). This means that coloniality survives colonialism, and it is considered the “darker side” or “underside” of Euro-western modernity that is often hidden and should be unveiled or unmasked (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013ab). This is because coloniality exists as an embedded logic that continues to re-enforce domination, suppression, and exploitation of the oriental Other, and it is also continuously portrayed as being good for everyone (Mignolo, 2005).

Coloniality is also maintained in institutions such as schools, colleges, universities, and churches (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013ab). In the case of the school, coloniality is maintained in distributive logics of the school generally, and its epistemic logics specifically. This means, it is through the curriculum, especially the SHC, that coloniality is more expressed (Maluleka, 2021). Because of this, the colonized learner and students has been subjected to a forced assimilation plan and their indigenous ways of knowing, being and heritage rejected and suppressed by the official education system (Battiste, 2017). All this, in maintenance of the colonial thinking, and its ways of knowing and being. This is due to the global North's ability to hegemonize and present its theories, concepts, knowledge canons, and perspectives as the only avenues in which sense-making of the world can be achieved.

Furthermore, coloniality also reproduces itself in three dialectical yet interrelated domains that include: “coloniality of power”, “coloniality of knowledge”, and “coloniality of being”, which I individually engage below (Maldonado-Torres, 2006, 2008, 2016).

3.4.1 Coloniality of power

Coloniality of power is an expression coined by Peruvian sociologist Aníbal Quijano (2000b; 2007) to explain “the structures of power, control, and hegemony that have emerged during the modernist era, the era of colonialism, which stretches from the conquest of the Americas to the present”.²⁶ This is way in which the global North articulates its power by characterizing, labelling, classifying, totalizing, and organizing the entire world according to its narrow constructions of it through the SHC and other avenues (Maluleka, 2021a).

For Mignolo (2008: 18), the coloniality of power imposed on the global South by the global North is characterized by the **control of the economy** (based on the expropriation of lands, natural resources and control of labour financial control and the indebting of those countries); **Control of authority** (this is linked to the creation and establishment of of imperial institutions during the foundation of the colonies, as well as the use of military strength, forced destitution of presidents of countries to be controlled, the use of technology to spy on civil society); **Control of gender and sexuality** (this has to do with the imposed Christian and bourgeois secular family as a model and standard of human sexual heterosexual relations; and heterosexuality as the universal model established by God (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries),

²⁶ S., Martinot, *The Coloniality of power: Notes toward decolonization*. Accessed on 15 January 2022, from: <https://docs.google.com/viewerng/viewer?url=https://www.globaljusticecenter.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/imp7.pdf>

first, and then by Nature (from the nineteenth century to the present); **Control of knowledge and subjectivity** (this assumes the theological foundation of knowledge, after the Renaissance, and the ecological foundation of knowledge, after the Enlightenment; and by forming a concept of the modern and Western subject first dependent on the Christian God, and then on its sovereigns, reason, and individuality).

The colonality of power seeks to continue to undermine local knowledge and histories through political frameworks that are derived from the global North. This has resulted to, amongst other things, a continued leadership crisis in the postcolonial because the practice of politics have continued to be violent, repressive, and corrupt in an unaccountable manner due to “interpellation by the very immanent logic of colonialism that reproduces such inimical practices as racism, patriarchy” (Munemo, 2016: iv). In other words, colonality of power is characterized not only by physical oppression, economic exploitation, and political authoritarianism; it is also characterized by epistemological domination (Taylor, 2013). This is because Euro-western ways of knowing and being in the world that are linked to languages, cultures, sociopolitics, economics, religion, education, theories, and practice in society, regarding time and humanity, are considered superior to others. These modes of power continue to impinge on African identity formations, nation-building projects, and politics of knowledge production (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013b: 11).

Within the EPD, colonality of power can be allocated as operating in the distributive logics. Therefore, it is important to understand how the colonality of power operates. This enables one to investigate and understand why, despite the advent of democracy and the end of formal colonialism and apartheid in South Africa, knowledge production (read: knowledge building and structuring) in a subject such as SH still privileges the global North at the expense of the indigenous global South population. The latter’s lived experiences, views, ontologies, histories, ways of knowing, and voices continue to be discursively marginalized, ignored, and undermined in scholarly history.

Secondly, the colonality of power can also be used to conceptualize, theorize, and analyze how the current global-political order through the SHC has been reconstructed, reconstituted, and reconfigured into a racially hierarchized, patriarchal, Euro-American-centric, Christian-centric, hetero-normative, capitalist, hegemonic, asymmetrical, homophobic, capitalist, and modern power structure (Grosfoguel, 2007; Seroto, 2018). It also “broadens and corrects the Foucauldian concept of ‘disciplinary power’ by demonstrating that the panoptic constructions

erected by the modern state are inscribed in a wider structure of power/knowledge. This global structure is configured by the colonial relation between the centre and periphery that is at the root of European expansion.” (Castro-Gómez and Martin, 2002: 276). In other words, the coloniality of power as a concept enables us to deeply understand coloniality in ways that go deeper and beyond the Foucauldian concept of *disciplinary power*, which is a critique of the modernity/coloniality project from within the Euro-western academy. This is because, through the idea of the colonial or apartheid matrix of power, the concept of coloniality of power views the colonial/modern world as a network of relations of exploitation and domination through technologies that affect all dimensions of social existence including knowledge production (Sithole, 2014).

Lastly, the coloniality of power also enables one to understand how power relations play out within and through the SHC concerning knowledge production (read: knowledge building and structuring), and the inclusion and exclusion of certain knowledge. This means coloniality of power is inseparably intertwined with that of knowledge which speaks directly to the epistemological re-colonization of Africans through the processes of displacement, discipline, and destruction of their knowledge.

Coloniality of power also relates to the understanding of coloniality of knowledge and coloniality being. I now closely unpack the coloniality of knowledge in the following section.

3.4.2 Coloniality of knowledge

The coloniality of knowledge is closely linked to the coloniality of power and the coloniality of being. Thus, it is useful in comprehending the modern/colonial world we live in today. Maldonado-Torres posits that “the coloniality of knowledge had to do with the impact of colonization on the different areas of knowledge production.” (Maldonado-Torres, 2007: 242). In other words, coloniality of knowledge explicates the continued monopolization of knowledge production within the epistemic logics of the PD, and the general distributive logics of the EPD. This often results in the systematic and institutional exclusion of other forms of knowledge in the curriculum and its knowledge-building and structuring processes (Boughey and McKenna, 2021). This means that the coloniality of knowledge is concerned with the *politics of knowledge, epistemological issues, and ultimately who is legitimated when it comes to knowledge generation and who is not and questions the purpose of the said knowledge* (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013b).

Additionally, it speaks to how knowledge systems continue to be conceptualized, totalized, and articulated from the Euro-north American-centric modernity perspective, which assumed the character of being objective, scientific, neutral, and universal (Ramoupi and Ntongwe, 2016). It involves the control and monopolization of epistemology by the Euro-north American empire. Thus, Euro-western epistemologies have not only assumed dominance “but have become globally hegemonic since the seventeenth century” (Escobar, 2007: 185). This has resulted in the Euro-American world concentrating on all forms of the control of subjectivity, and culture, especially the hegemony of knowledge production with the view of continuing imperial project and maintaining colonial situations in previously colonized geopolitical territories (Quijano, 2000b). Moreover, what characterizes Euro-western knowledge is the notion of epistemic monoculture or monoculture of the mind that defines Euro-western knowledge production and acquisition (Shiva, 1993). This notion is premised on the social construction of a singular identity, one that legitimates whiteness and white identity as superior, rational, and normal (Hlatshwayo, 2018). This, in turn, has resulted in the colonized Other’s knowledge(s) and ontologies being undermined, silenced, excluded, stigmatized, marginalized, erased in some instances, inferiorized, and misplaced (Grosfoguel, 2013).

Relating to SH, the coloniality of knowledge questions its processes of knowledge generation, recontextualization, and how it continues to be informed and shaped by Euro-north American-centric modernity and its canons. This is because the colonizing subject has been able to distort the history of the colonized Other in their favour. Furthermore, the colonizing subject has also been able to “manufacture accusations and labels against the colonized, among many of the accusations, are—laziness, drunkenness, backwardness, a propensity to violence, dirtiness, stupidity, ignorance, bad luck, and spiritual damnation—all of which require the colonizer to intervene and save the colonized from the abyss of many “lacks” and “deficits” that bedevil him and his lot.” (Mpofu, 2013: 109–110)

For instance, in colonial and apartheid South Africa, education, especially the SHC was one of the strategic tools effectively used to keep Africans under colonial subjugation. Central to this strategy was the wiping out of their collective and individual memory to replace it with Euro-north American-centric and white supremacist thinking. SH, its philosophical underpinnings, and how it has been taught was critical in the sustenance of Euro-north American-centric domination in South Africa for more than three centuries of African memory. For almost thirty years of democracy, the SHC in post-apartheid South Africa continues to be used as the destruction of African memory because it continues to fail to recentre African ways of knowing

and being as part of its critical scholarship. Hence, for Mignolo (2007: 162), “coloniality of knowledge is precisely the affirmation of the zero-point and the success in silencing or relegating other epistemologies to barbarian margins, a primitive past”.

So, the usefulness of understanding how the coloniality of knowledge operates is that; firstly, it enables one to outline situations, especially in the production of knowledge, where what is considered *just* is being defined by the colonizers rather than allowing the colonized Other to decide what is *just* in their view. Secondly, the coloniality of knowledge is useful to understand and address varied epistemological questions of how Euro-north American-centric modernity interfered with African modes of knowing, being, social meaning-making, imaging, seeing, and knowledge production (Ramoupi and Ntongwe, 2016). The said epistemological questions related to (1) the politics of knowledge production and generation; (2) questions around who is allowed to produce or generate which knowledge and for what purpose? (3) the question of relevance and irrelevance of knowledge; and (4) how some knowledge dis/empowered communities and peoples (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013b; Gordon, 2015b; Seroto, 2018). In other words, coloniality of knowledge enables an investigation into the epistemological foundations of *writing* and *doing history* (Bertram, 2008; Wineburg, Martin, and Monte-Sano, 2011; Seixas and Morton, 2012). Thirdly, coloniality of knowledge is useful because of its ability to expose the effects that the global North still imposes concerning methodologies and knowledge production on the global South. Lastly, coloniality of knowledge was employed because it seeks to contribute “to an understanding and exposure of epistemic silences, conspiracies, and epistemic violence that are hidden within Eurocentric epistemologies” (Seroto, 2018: 5), and how in turn these construct Manichean allegoric mode of binaries imposed on the colonized.

I now closely unpack the coloniality of being in the following section.

3.4.3 Coloniality of being

The concept of coloniality of being was first expressed in Walter Mignolo’s 1995 work. Over the years, decolonial theorists such as Nelson Maldonado-Torres (2007) developed the concept to trace its genealogy related to ontology and power, as well as between being and colonial history. It also emerged because of critical reflections and critiques of the modernity/coloniality project, and the conception of the modern and colonial world (Maldonado-Torres, 2004). This, in turn, resulted in understanding the concept as related to the coloniality of power and coloniality of knowledge (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). For Mignolo (2007), coloniality of being can be traced back to historical colonial projects and ideas of civilization characterised by the

idea of race. This makes coloniality of being coextensive with the production of the colour line in its different expressions and dimensions (Mignolo, 2007: 256).

In other words, one can extrapolate from this argument that coloniality of being presents itself as a project that seeks to bring about social classification and edification (Shabangu, 2021). That is because coloniality of being considers “non-Western or Europeans” ways of being as irrational. Hence, it is able to dictate the social classification and edification of the world’s population centred on the notion of race. Race is the basis on which the global structure is defined, where whites of Euro-western descent are considered in the higher levels of the global social hierarchy and enjoy privileges over other racial groups (Sithole, 2014). The people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America are thus considered inferior to the Caucasian colonizers from Euro-north America, who are considered and perceived as superior (ibid.). This is informed and shaped by the Manichean allegoric mode of binaries, in which people of the world are categorized as either Christian or barbarians, good or evil, primitive or civilized, inferior or superior, traditional or modern, rational or irrational, white or black, knowledge or myths, and developed or undeveloped and this continues to be observed in the post-apartheid SHC.

So, the usefulness of understanding how the coloniality of being operates lies in the fact that; firstly, it can “assist in investigating how African humanity was questioned [continues to be questioned], as well as processes that contributed towards “objectification”/ “thingification”/ “commodification” of Africans” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013b: 12). This is because the black race, the wretched, the condemned and the oppressed, are in the eyes of the white race, a race considered and perceived to be distant from humanity when compared to light-skinned persons (Fanon, 1961; Gordon, 2005, 2015a). Maldonado-Torres (2007: 244) opines that the “*lighter one’s skin* is, the closer to full humanity one is, and vice versa”. While Mignolo (2007a) perceives a striking resemblance between racism and the coloniality of being. Therefore, understanding the coloniality of being can also help in addressing Euro-western imposed human ontologies that have resulted in the dehumanization and depersonalization of colonized peoples into *damnes* and the restoration of denied self-pride and sovereign subjectivity (Fanon, 1961; Wynter, 2003).

I now move to unpack decoloniality.

3.5 Understanding Decoloniality

Decoloniality was conceptualized and introduced by scholars from the global South such as Anibal Quijano, Walter D. Mignolo, Ramon Grosfoguel, Nelson Maldonado-Torres, Maria

Lugones, Aimé Cesairé, Amílcar Cabral, Thomas Sankara, Bantu Biko, Frantz Fanon, Ibekwe Chinweizu, Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, and many others, as a political, epistemic and existential response to modernity/coloniality and its global imperial designs that fail to recognize different ways of knowing and being (Gordon, 2005, 2015ab; Mignolo, 2011).

However, decoloniality means different things for different people in different contexts. For some, decoloniality is as a result of the realization that “ours is an asymmetrical world order that is sustained not only by colonial matrices of power but also by pedagogies and epistemologies of equilibrium that continue to produce alienated Africans who are socialized into hating the Africa that produced them and liking the Europe and America that rejects them.” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013b: 11). And for others, decoloniality speaks to efforts meant to rehumanize the colonized Other and the colonizing subject (Fanon, 1961). It also about by collapsing hierarchies of difference that often destroy nature (Maldonado-Torres, 2007), as well as challenging the imbalances that exist in the production knowledge production with the view of transcending the coloniality that characterizes that process for an all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). In other words, it calls for cognitive, epistemic, and social justice based on an overhaul and expansion of the Western knowledge canon (Fataar, 2022). And this can only be achieved if the knowledge space is pluralized and the knowledge(s) of the colonized Other are incorporated in the official education curricula, especially the SHC groups (Fataar and Subreenduth, 2015). This will allow for an inter-cultural understanding of heterodox forms of being human and of the past (Maldonado-Torres, 2018; Fataar, 2022). Therefore, the decoloniality used in this study seeks to recentre Africa-centeredness discourses and epistemologies void of superiority (*those who can define*) and *inferiority* (*those who are defined*) categories. In other words, it is the epistemic expressions or voices that are born out of the need for colonized and oppressed modes of thought be recognized as equal contributors to global knowledge production, because the colonial or apartheid matrix of power continues to reject these modes of thought and being, thus placing them on the periphery of the global knowledge production (Tonono, 2020).

That is why decoloniality can be considered different from postcolonial studies and theories of decolonization even though the three are related. Decoloniality differs from postcolonial studies because such studies are often under neo-colonialism (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a). Decoloniality also differs from other theories that claim to be against coloniality/modernity, i.e., poststructuralism, postmodernism, and postcolonialism. For instance, it is different from the postcolonial theories of Gayatri Spivak, and Homi Bhabha who appear to be critical of

coloniality/modernity. This is because, beyond their appearances, these theories are underpinned by the poststructuralism of Hélène Cixous, Gilles Deleuze, Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Félix Guattari, Luce Irigaray, and Jean-François Lyotard that are located and internalized to Europe (Cheah, 2006). There is still a project of scholarly transformation within the Euro-western academy, whilst decoloniality is interested in disrupting the very same Euro-western academy. Beyond this, the underlining commonality in the conceptualization of decoloniality with these studies and theories is that it speaks to the urgent need for a specific focus associated with critical research on modernity/coloniality.

So, the kind of decoloniality that needs to inform and shape a decolonized and Africanized SHC ought to be for the following: First, it needs to embrace a type of re-theorizing²⁷ that not only articulates lived experiences of people from the South and the subalternized. But also allows the *subalternized to speak for themselves – shifting the geography of reason* (Gordon, 2011). Thus, the inclusion of in-service history educators in this study is an effort to allow the subalternized to speak for themselves and thus shift the geography of reason where curriculum knowledge-building and structuring processes are concerned. So, emphasis on the need for re-theorizing is made because “despite Africa’s long-term post-colonial state, the normativising effect of colonialism on marginalizing African knowledge remains intact on the continent and is currently reproduced in various forms” (Fataar and Subreenduth, 2015: 107). This continues to result in epistemicide because of how the Euro-western hegemony of knowledge continues to “create impenetrable epistemological enclosures when left unchallenged” (ibid: 108). These epistemological enclosures have, in turn, denied the SHC in post-apartheid South Africa from being a site in which knowledge pluralism and intercultural engagements flourish.

Second, the fact that the question of epistemicide²⁸ refers to, metaphorically speaking at least, the colonizers killing of indigenous knowledge forms from the global South. Also, the

²⁷ Decoloniality is also a type of retheorising that transcends Euro-American theorising, because “no geographical or epistemological location holds property rights for theoretical practices [sic] [and he also observes that] to think theoretically is a gift and competence of human beings, not just human beings living in a certain period, in certain geographical locations of the planet, and speaking a small set of particular languages.” (Mignolo, 2000: 109).

²⁸ One of the effects of epistemicide is that “subject contents are dumped onto children without any efforts to ensure that they first understand the subject concerning their lived reality, a reality in which what is to be acquired via the school may only be a small part. In tertiary institutions, the intensity becomes more alarming. All the disciplines crucial to national development such as science, law, sociology, and political science are not anchored in or linked to any culture but the western one. Where African culture is brought up (often only in passing), it is presented as devoid of any epistemological content” (Odora-Hoppers, 2001: 75).

disappearance or absence of these knowledge forms from the knowledge canon and within the formal knowledge systems of schools (i.e., the SHC) on the African continent is because of active disembowelment of such knowledge, leading to the failure to incorporate such knowledge into the formal functioning of society and its school curricular. As well as the perpetual imbalances and *othering* that exist in the global knowledge economy which produce “a certain kind of knowledge and a certain kind of knower that, all in sum adds up to a western form that is so saturated and thus normalized in knowledge systems that it is impossible to discern its insidious intentions of evisceration” ((Fataar and Subreenduth, 2015: 109). All of this should be reason enough to want to revive and recentre the Othered ways of knowing and being within the SHC, especially in post-apartheid South Africa.

So, decoloniality is interested in the dismantling and reversal of the colonial and apartheid legacy, as well as coloniality that continue to characterize education and the SHC in post-apartheid South Africa. This often involves going back to the graves where the subalternized knowledge has been buried with the view of *dig-ing* them up only to revive, reconstitute, and recentre, and re-theorize them. Thus, the decoloniality in this study is underpinned by an all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view. This is because this approach promotes epistemic shareability, pluriversality, particularism as pluralism, and transmodernity²⁹, as well as its multi-, inter-, and transdisciplinary nature, as opposed to epistemic universality and singularity. This approach also accepts ontological pluralism³⁰ as a reality (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2017).

At its basic level, this decoloniality approach is founded on the principle of all-included with the view of reconstructing a kind of education, especially SHC, that is underpinned by decolonial love which is humanizing (Fataar, 2017). It is an approach counterhegemonic because seeks to legitimize Othered ways of knowing. Thus, it does not “imply the discrediting of modern scientific knowledge (Fataar and Subreenduth, 2015). In essence, it is an approach that recognizes all parts of the globe as sources of knowledge and theories without necessarily having to fit them into the structures and standards of Euro-western knowledge (Odora-Hoppers, 2001, 2009, 2013). Thus, it seeks to deconstruct and dismantle epistemic

²⁹ Transmodernity is a concept developed by Enrique Dussel. It highlights the limitations of postmodernist thinking in its critique of modernity. The concept also highlights the fact that “modernity is not a strictly European but a planetary phenomenon, to which the “excluded barbarians” have contributed, although their contribution has not been acknowledged” (Mignolo, 2002: 57). Transmodernity also implies—for Dussel—a “*liberating reason*” [*razón liberadora*] (ibid).

³⁰ The notion that there are different ways or modes of being.

racism/sexism, as well as homophobia, xenophobia, misogyny, patriarchy, class, and many other ills that are linked to global capitalism and modernity/coloniality contained in society and education, particularly the SHC (Walsh, 2018; Grosfoguel, 2012, 2013).

At an educational level, this would result in an SHC that embraces a plurality of knowledge and sociocultural epistemologies that, in turn, recognize and integrate the very people the education system is designed to educate (Fataar and Subreenduth, 2015). This would in turn result in African learners and their educators not *feeling removed* from the historical literature they are expected to engage with, but rather can start “*seeing themselves, feeling themselves, more in the work [they] do in class*” (Godsell, 2019: 22). This would also result in an SHC that is inclusive, rational, and reflective and makes it possible to merge Euro-western and African philosophies and historiographies to form a decolonized and Africanized SHC that enables learners and educators to engage with what Hountondji (1997) terms as Endogenous knowledge³¹ thus, move beyond the narrow provincialism of knowledge (Amin, 1989 cited in Mathebula, 2019).

I now move to engage Fallism as decoloniality with the view of further strengthening my case for a decoloniality approach that is based on an all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view.

3.6 Understanding Fallism as Decoloniality

Without warning, on March 9, 2015, African students at UCT led by a student leader, Chumani Maxwele, drenched the bronze statue of racist Cecil John Rhodes which was situated on the lower part of Sarah Baartman Hall steps overlooking the university's rugby fields in human excrement, demanding its removal from their campus (Maluleka, 2021a). They viewed the statue as a symbol of white supremacy thinking, white arrogance, and white fragility whose deep historical roots date back from colonial and apartheid years, which is further entrenched, protected, and promoted in the post-apartheid university and schools, and needed to be dismantled. This single act by those students gave birth to what is known today as the #RhodesMustFall (#RMF) movement. A radical student movement called for the decolonizing and Africanizing of the university and its Eurocentric curriculum, and by extension, the

³¹ Hountondji (1997: 17) describes Endogenous knowledge as a knowledge approach that “create bridges, [and] re-create[s] the unity of knowledge, or in simpler, deeper terms, the unity of the human being”.

decolonizing and Africanizing of the basic education system in South Africa, especially its SHC.

These acts by those UCT students were followed by many protest actions by other students and workers across all public university campuses in South Africa under the banner of #FeesMustFall over exorbitant tuition and hostel fees³², as well as students from Oxford University under the banner of #RMF. However, it should be noted that student protests over exorbitant tuition and hostel fees in post-apartheid South Africa are not new and they certainly did not start at WITS. Students in historically black universities (HBUs) have been protesting for these issues for years with little to no media coverage. These are the fallists of yester-years³³ (Maluleka, 2021a).

The same sentiments could be said about calls to decolonize and Africanize both basic and higher education in post-apartheid South Africa – those calls are also not new. Therefore, the students' politics were the catalyst for broader decolonial objectives that have emerged in the contemporary world, both from the global South and North. For instance, we have witnessed the emergent debates and decolonial struggles from South Africa, India, Latin America, Cameroon, Nigeria, Kenya, Egypt, the Arab world (Arab Spring), Caribbean countries, the United Kingdom, the United States, New Zealand, Australia, and Turkey which were led by students (Hlatshwayo *et al.*, 2022). All these movements were, in some form, coordinated through social media such as Twitter and Facebook.

Nevertheless, What then is Fallism? Can it be decoloniality? Firstly, it should be noted that there is no single all-encompassing definition of the philosophy of Fallism. Fallists themselves, in their different sites of struggles (many of which are similar and intersectional), reinterpret, reconstruct, and represent Fallism differently. Thus, what is presented in this thesis as definitions and interpretations of Fallism should not be considered the only definitions and interpretations (*ibid.*). It should also be noted that Fallism is informed and shaped by (South) Africa's rich history of youth uprisings dating back to colonial times.

³² I was among the students who protested in 2015/16 against the exorbitant tuition and hostel fees imposed by the University of the Witwatersrand.

³³ Fallist is a term that those of us who were part of the #MustFall protests use to describe each other and ourselves. However, it can be argued that students from historically black universities and colleges were the first Fallists because prior to 2015, they were shutting down their campuses and demanding for the very same things that their fellow university students from historically white universities were demanding in 2015. Thus, it can be argued that Fallism of 2015 became a national and an international movement only because of historically white universities' proximity to whiteness.

Therefore, the concept of Fallism was used and continues to be used as a collective noun that describes student movements at universities in post-apartheid South Africa and elsewhere in the world where the said students use the “Must Fall” hashtag (Ahmed, 2019). Thus, Fallism was an attempt by us students to make sense of our lived experiences to us being in HWUs and schools that continue to teach from the colonial-apartheid script. It was also an attempt to make sense of *black pain*, *black struggles*, and the need for *Black liberation* (Ahmed, 2019). It was an attempt for us the colonized and oppressed youth, in practical ways, to *reinterpret and reconstruct*, a world based on *decolonial humanism* in which *re-membering the dismembered and being-belonging and being-becoming* was at the centre of our struggle because that was and continues to be our mandatory generational responsibility (Fanon, 1961; Madlingozi, 2018). Thus, this approach of fallism challenges the notion that sought to cast the movement as being divisive rather than striving for unity.

In the basic technical sense, fallism can be understood as “a discursive tool to rattle the ideological complacency of the post-apartheid university [, and society]” through complete decolonization of power, identity, and knowledge systems (Alexander, 2010: 21). Hence, it adopted and was underpinned by decolonial theories centred on intersectionality, Pan-Africanism, Black Consciousness, and Black radical feminism (Maluleka, 2021a; Ahmed, 2019). The theory of intersectionality was most central to our cause because we saw the importance of shifting our cause as being a single cause to a cause which is all-inclusive and intersectional (Taghavi, 2017). Hence, in essence, fallism is understood as emerging students challenging the dominant construction of what constitutes knowledge and how knowledge is developed – what could be read as epistemic disobedience (Ahmed, 2019). In other words, the challenge by the students was meant to decentre the Eurocentric university curriculum with one that was more African-centred and inclusive. This was done to also unmask the paradoxical nature of the university as both spaces for black people to think (Black liberation) and a space that simultaneously dehumanizes black bodies (Black pain) (Ahmed, 2019).

Fallism identified education as a site in post-apartheid South Africa where modernity/coloniality continuously reproduces itself. Thus, institutions of learning and their curriculums, especially the SHC, became sites of struggle to emancipate the minds of students, learners, and the general society from neo-colonial Euro-western modes of thought, teaching, learning, being, and knowing. Therefore, fallism “reflected a movement away from “the geopolitics of knowledge (e.g., the knower and the known) ... link[ing] (instead of delinking) with knowers who are dealing with conditions of coloniality and projects of decoloniality. It

embodies the linking/de-linking dimensions of Mignolo's (2009) decolonial option by disrupting university knowledge and creating pedagogical spaces within the university that allows for the emergence of pluriversity knowledge (Santos 2010)" (Ahmed, 2019: 175).

Beyond the discursive imperatives (coloniality of knowledge), decolonial fallism advanced a form of public pedagogy that signalled a moment for the entire world to *unlearn* old ways of knowing and being that are often exclusionary shaped by modernity/coloniality project and *relearn* new ways of being and knowing that embrace and value all human life and their varied ways of knowing (coloniality of being): it offers a *new grammar* for a "different beginning" (Mignolo, 2011: 45).

So, it was through this decolonial framework, as well as our protest culture and acts of radical civil disobedience, we were able to argue that the university and its Eurocentric curriculum, and by extension, the basic education system and its SHC were deeply underpinned by modernity/coloniality that had to fall (Booyesen, 2016; Mpofu-Walsh, 2016; Chikane, 2018). The protest culture and radical civil disobedience that were, at times violent, accompanied by vandalism can be justified. In other words, the legitimate use of violence by some among us can be justified because our demands for a decolonized and Africanized post-apartheid South Africa and its education systems were either met with perpetual silence, structural racism, or systemic state-sponsored violence. This state sponsored violence was often characterized by police brutality sanctioned by the state and university management; militarization and securitization of university campuses by university management; academic and financial exclusions from university and so on (Chikane, 2018; Urbaniak, 2019).

In closing, some lessons can be drawn from Fallism that can be imported into a decoloniality approach that seeks to create a space for multiple ways of being and knowing to strive within a decolonized and Africanized SHC through knowledge building and structuring processes. Bantu (2019: 57) summarises these lessons as follows:

- The need to **re-think** (to oppose the status quo and what is considered normal, classic, standard, etc., to position de-westernization and to draw knowledge from outside of what has been positioned as the main theoretical frame).
- The need to **re-envision** (to draw inspiration from Afrikan sources, to "see with different eyes" and unmute indigenous voices within places of research, conceptualization, policy-making, and planning).

- The need to **rebuild** (to dismantle what has been colonized and built with new enthusiasm that empowers, liberates, and enables).

I have shown and justified in chapter two how I went about theoretically incorporating Fallism as decoloniality into calls to decolonize and Africanize the SHC advanced by this study.

I now turn my focus to understanding decolonization.

3.7 Understanding Decolonization

In this section, I move to understand the notion of decolonization from two perspectives. That is the global perspective and the local (South African) perspective.

3.7.1 Discourses on Decolonization: Global Perspectives

The concept of decolonization was coined and developed by scholars from the global South such as Aimé Césaire, Amílcar Cabral, Thomas Sankara, Bantu Biko, and Frantz Fanon to name but a few. It is mostly associated with the *disruption, dismantling, and undoing* of pervasive Euro-western modernity, colonialism, and coloniality. As a concept, decolonization was used by politicians and intellectuals after World War II as it became synonymous with the end of European colonial rule (Shabangu, 2021). However, as a practical response to Euro-western modernity, colonialism, and coloniality, decolonization can be traced from the first encounter³⁴ between the colonizing subject and colonized Other, the oppressor and the oppressed.

Decolonization is as a *disruptive or violent phenomenon* (Fanon, 1961; Madlingozi, 2019), because it calls into question the colonial situation. This colonial situation must be challenged everywhere, as a way of challenging the status quo, precisely for those who have been harassed by Euro-western modernity and colonialism and continue to be harassed by coloniality. This is important because this colonial situation has actively eroded, among many things, the cultures of the oppressed and colonized Other. The erosion of indigenous peoples' cultures has led, according to Fanon, to the colonial situation calling for:

a halt to national culture in almost every field ... By the time a century or two has passed there comes about veritable emaciation [starvation or thinning out] of the stock of national culture. It becomes a set of automatic habits, some traditions of dress, and a

³⁴ Here one can explore the first encounter between Columbus and the indigenous people of the Americas in 1492. The same could be said about indigenous people of southern Africa and Dutch colonizers in 1652, as well as the Haitian Revolution of 1791.

few broken-down institutions. Little movement can be discerned in such remnants of culture; there is no real creativity and no overflowing life.

(Fanon, 1961: 237).

This has led to the:

the poverty of the people, national oppression, and the inhibition of culture are one and the same thing. After a century of colonial domination, we find a culture, which is rigid in the extreme, or rather, what we find is the dregs [left-overs] of culture, its mineral strata, The withering away of the reality of the nation and the death-pangs of the national culture are linked to each other in mutual dependences.

(Fanon, 1961: 238).

Fanon also considers indigenous peoples' cultures to be the *primary means of decolonization*. Thus, for decolonization to be meaningfully and purposefully advanced so that indigenous ways of knowing and being can be meaningfully and purposefully recentred in education and its SHC in South Africa; there needs to be a return to one's community, re-establishing family relations, re-learning culture (Shabangu, 2021) – what Cabral referred to as *returning to the source*. By returning to the source, the oppressed and the colonized Other will be actively seeking to restore their humanity or re-establishing seriti sa MaAfrika³⁵ as argued by Mphahlele (2013). Hence, for Freire the true quest of the oppressed and the colonized Other is a quest for human completion – *to re-become and be more fully developed human beings*:

To surmount the situation of oppression, people must first critically recognize its causes, so that through transforming action they can create a new situation, one which makes possible the pursuit of a fuller humanity. But the struggle to be more fully human has already begun in the authentic struggle to transform the situation. Although the situation of oppression is a dehumanized and dehumanizing totality affecting both the oppressors and those whom they oppress, it is the latter who must, from their stifled humanity, wage for both the struggle for a fuller humanity; the oppressor, who is himself dehumanized because he dehumanizes others, is unable to lead this struggle.

³⁵ Loosely translated this means the restoration of the dignity of Africans. Seriti literally means 'a shadow' – is also more than an individual's existential quest for appearance. It is a 'life force by which a community of persons are connected to each other' (Muvangua and Cornell, 2012: 529).

So, decolonization is a protracted revolutionary struggle to end Euro-western modernity, colonialism, and colonality with the view of liberating the colonized Other and the oppressed as the action that aims to untie the multiplex colonial matrices of power (Sithole, 2014). Decolonization is also about creating a new material and symbolic order that considers the full continuum of human history, its failures, and its achievements, into view (Maldonado-Torres, 2004). This is imperative because, as Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (1986) argues, colonialism and colonality established themselves through military conquest and subsequent political dictatorship. However, their most important area of domination was their ability to colonize the mind of the colonized through the control of 'culture', and how the colonized think, rationalize and perceive themselves and their relationship to the and with the world (Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, 1986).

Hence, Wiredu observed that the African during colonization and today, "lives in a cultural flux characterized by a confused interplay between an indigenous cultural heritage and a foreign cultural legacy of colonial origin" (Wiredu, 1995: 22), and this has resulted in "the historical superimposition of foreign categories of thought upon African thought systems" (ibid: 19). So, decolonizing the mind as suggested by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o proves to be an imperative agenda of decolonization, because the colonizers' most potent weapon was the mind of the oppressed or colonized Other (Biko, 1978). This means, that the colonizers' most destructive act towards those they colonized or oppressed was targeting and imprisoning their minds. They did this through many avenues, especially the SHC. They imposed their image of superiority on the psyche of those they colonized and oppressed; they also instilled an inferiority complex in the minds of the colonized and oppressed.

Epistemically, decolonization is for post-abyssal epistemologies (Santos, 2007, 2014). These are epistemologies that embrace an all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view. It can also be said that decolonization is for what Freire (1970) considers as emancipatory education. This is the kind of education that would see the oppressed and the colonized actively subverting the Hegelian master/slave dialectic characterizing their education, and in the process transforming their status in society or *being* from object to the subject. That is why "any formulation of decolonization as a process or ideology must acknowledge a diversity of cultures, viewpoints, and strategies" (Ginio and Schler, 2010: 3).

This is because the *modus operandi* of colonial education and its Euro-western canonical line has always been the reproduction of abyssal epistemologies and epistemicides.

So, what Santos, Freire, Ginio, and Schler are proposing is a plurality of knowledge (ecology of knowledge) approach that “demands co-presence and incompleteness, inter-subjective dialogue, thinking beyond the western canonical line, and an incorporation of the knowledge of the subjugated, the repressed, and that knowledge that has been discursively marginalized” (Fataar and Subreenduth, 2015: 118). Simply put, this would mean the creation of an SHC space that would encourage for educators and their learners “to pluralize, problematize and critically incorporate African-centred epistemologies and a critical appropriation of black-centred discourses” (ibid: 118). If such an SHC is conceptualized and implemented, that would mean *social and epistemic justice* for the colonized and oppressed would be attainable. It will also mean that “the image of colonialism as a coherent, monolithic process can no longer be sustained” (Comaroff, 1989: 661).

I now move to understand the notion of decolonization from a local (South African) perspective.

3.7.2 Discourses on decolonization: Local (South/African) perspective

Some South Africans are at the forefront of advancing the decolonial project. This is because South Africa, like much of the global South, has been engaged in a protracted struggle to decolonize itself because *it is still a country in search of itself* (Louw, 2010). Thus, the decolonial approach advanced by some from South Africa is not different from the one presented in the previous section. For instance, if one considers much of the decolonial scholarship that emerged during and after the 2015-2016 student-worker protests that were dubbed #MustFall protests, one will notice that the decolonial approach advanced by students and other South Africans was for social and epistemic justice based on inclusivity and intersectionality.³⁶ Where education and curricula are a concern, the 2015-2016 protests called for a change in curricular that decentred Euro-western knowledge approaches for African-centred approaches (Fataar, 2022).

The protests were also a way for the *subalterns to speak for themselves again*. This is because the South African academy continues to reproduce and maintain “the colonizing white, male gaze” (Hlatshwayo, 2020: 169). This is because higher education system in South Africa was

³⁶ Intersectionality refers to the recognition of multiple and interlocking oppressions.

initially designed in the main, to reproduce socially and discursively, white and male privilege and black and female subordination in all spheres of society (Badat 2004).

So, many black students and academics went all out to theorize about their experiences in the South African academy. For instance, in both *Rioting and Writing: Diaries of the Wits Fallists* edited by Chinguno, Kgoroba, Mashinini, Masilela, Maubane, Moyo, Mthombeni, and Ndlovu (2017), and *#Hashtag: An analysis of the #FeesMustFall Movement in South African universities* edited by Langa (2017); students from both historically black and historically white universities narrate their experiences. And in *Black Academic Voices: The South African Experiences* edited by Khunou, Phaswana, Khoza-Shangase, and Canham (2019); black academics went out to document their own experiences in the South African academy. In all three publications, the contributors speak on the same themes, which are feelings of isolation, neglect, exclusion, marginalization, and institutional segregation (Heleta 2018; Hlatshwayo and Fomunyan 2019; Hlatshwayo and Shawa 2020). They too are the *natives of nowhere*. However, in narrating their experiences, those students and their educators (academics) also call for the decolonizing of the academy and society with everyone in mind – both the colonizer and the colonized.

Therefore, from these discourses, it is clear that post-apartheid South Africa has failed in its attempts to decolonize and Africanize its education and society. Thus, there is a need to look into creative ways we can use to continue to advance the struggle for decoloniality struggle. One such creative way is proposed by this study – the need to insert decolonial meaningfully and purposefully Africanized knowledge forms in the knowledge-building and structuring processes that underpin the SHC in South Africa.

In closing, decolonization and decoloniality encourage people of the global South to develop their philosophies from their geopolitical, cultural, and epistemic locations. In the case of Africa, this means developing African philosophy. So, in the following section, I move to understand Africanization and, by extension, African philosophy.

3.8 Africanization and African philosophy

In this section, I do two things. First, I unpack the concept of Africanization. This is followed by a discussion of what is meant by African philosophy.

3.8.1 Understanding Africanization

There is a lot of scholarship that has been published over the years that specifically deals with the concept of Africanization. This scholarship has since subjected the concept of

Africanization to philosophical speculation (le Grange, 2007, 2014, 2018). This has led to different contested meanings attached to the concept informed by different discourses. This is particularly a good thing because it shows that the concept is not fixed, but rather it is *in becoming*.

How then can we begin to understand Africanization? Makgoba (1997: 203) views Africanization as “the process or vehicle for defining, interpreting, promoting, and transmitting African thought, philosophy, identity, and culture. It encompasses an African mindset or mindset shift from the European to an African paradigm”. Makgoba further argues that the concept of Africanization should not be seen as a way of excluding Europeans and their culture; rather it should be seen as an attempt to affirm Africans, their identities, and cultures in a globalized world. In other words, it is not about excluding others, but including those who have been and continue to be excluded. It is “a learning process and a way of life for Africans. It involves incorporating, adapting, and integrating other cultures into and through African visions to provide the dynamism, evolution, and flexibility so essential in the global village. ‘Africanization’ is the process of defining or interpreting African identity and culture.” (Louw, 2010: 199)

Makgoba’s argument is sustained by Ramose (1998) in his description of Africanization as “a conscious and deliberate assertion of nothing more or less than the right to be an African”. Seepe also sustained Makgoba’s argument when he posited that “Africanization of knowledge ... refers to a process of placing the African worldview at the centre of analysis ... [and] advocates for the need to foreground African indigenous knowledge systems to address [Africa’s] problems and challenges” (Seepe, 2000: 119).

In essence, Makgoba et al argue that Africanization ought to be viewed as a process that seeks to arrive at the re-humanization (self-actualization) of the colonized Other and oppressed Africans by a way of dismantling the modernity/coloniality project. This is because Africanization is advanced solely because of the continued suppression and exclusion of the traditional African knowledge systems from the official SHC (Horsthemke, 2015). This continued suppression and exclusion is due to epistemicides, that is, the continued murder of the knowledge(s) of the colonized Other, their cultures, and their epistemological confidence (Letsekha, 2012; Santos, 2014).

So, what does Africanization curriculum, especially the SHC at the level of knowledge actually mean? For Ramoupi and Ntongwe (2017), using their experiences with the South African and

Cameroonian education systems respectively, they contend that Africanizing the SHC at the level of knowledge building and structuring should entail recentring the values of pre-African education systems because of their,

... close link with social life, both in a material and spiritual sense; its many sidednesses: and its progressive development in conforming to the successive stages of physical, emotional and mental development of children. In other words, education in African societies had been [epistemically,] socially, economically and politically relevant to the society (Ramoupi & Ntongwe, 2017: 195).

They further argue that this should be done by Africans themselves. These Africans can very well be African historians, writers or oMakhulu. This, for both Ramoupi and Ntongwe, is important because no one knows Africa and her people better than the Africans themselves. So, if carried out, Africans will be in a better position “to generate African doctrines” (Cross and Ndofirepi, 2017: 7), and “re-appropriation of the production and dissemination of knowledge in Africa” that is detached legacies of colonialism, apartheid and the present coloniality geo-political configuration of the world and neoliberalism (Ramoupi and Ntongwe, 2017:196).

However, the likes of Horsthemke (2004ab) and Sonkqayi (2020) have since challenged the existence of African knowledge forms and their canons (read as indigenous knowledge). Horsthemke argues against the descriptions of knowledge as indigenous because he is not certain about frameworks that inform and shape Indigenous knowledge:

an immediate problem with virtually any account of traditional, local or indigenous knowledge is that no proponent of Africanization offers a definition or elaborates on the knowledge he or she is working with.

(Horsthemke, 2004a: 18).

This view is sustained by Sonkqayi who argues that no clarification of what openly makes African knowledge forms – *knowledge*. Hence, Sonkqayi asserts that attempts to consider African knowledge forms as *knowledge* “make a certain limited sense when applied to skills and acquaintance-type knowledge. When applied to factual or propositional knowledge, either the term Africanization or what is at issue would more correctly be called the Africanization of beliefs” (Sonkqayi, 2020: 584). In essence, for both Horsthemke and Sonkqayi knowledge

becomes *knowledge* when it can be philosophically interrogated and meets the nature of knowledge from that perspective.

According to Shabangu (2021), whom I fully agree with, what Horsthemke and Sonkqayi seem to overlook in their arguments is that Euro-western theoretical dispositions cannot to be used as the bases to judge whether indigenous knowledge exists or not. However, despite this, both Horsthemke and Sonkqayi still insist that African knowledge forms do not exist because “in a propositional or theoretical sense” because “such knowledge should be underpinned by truth and that truth is universal” (Horsthemke cited in Sonkqayi, 2020, p.62). In their insistence both Horsthemke and Sonkqayi ignore the fact that knowledge is relative because it is constructed by subjective human. Because of this, their claim cannot be legitimized because what it does is to undermine and exclude how indigenous people come to know, think and be (Shabangu, 2021).

Therefore, what seems like a deliberate oversight by the likes of Horsthemke and Sonkqayi and many others concerning the legitimacy of African knowledge forms has led to the deliberate attempt in reviving and recentring African philosophy by African scholars and intellectuals in the continent and diaspora. Thus, the section below explores the notion of African philosophy in some detail.

3.8.2 Understanding African Philosophy

Philosophers are yet to reach a common consensus on the definition of philosophy (Maluleka and Mathebula, 2022). This is due to the nature and complexity of the concept itself. Philosophers in their attempt to define the concept tend to advance and attach new meanings to the concept. Thus, moving further away from ever reaching a common consensus. This is particularly a good thing because philosophy as a science or body of knowledge is premised on the idea of advancing divergent views on *what we claim to know, and how we claim to know what we claim to know*.

Hountondji (1997) argues against considering African philosophy as a collective phenomenon. What Horsthemke and Enslin (2008: 217) refer to as the “collective singular” – “a single, collective, unreflective, and implicit worldview of African people – “African reality”, “African experience in its totality” and “indigenous African epistemology” (Ramose, 1998: vi; Lebakeng, Manthiba and Dalindjebo, 2006: 76; Mathebula, 2019: 19). In other words, Hountondji asserts that African philosophy is not communal, fixed, or static. In his own words, he posits that:

African philosophy, like any other philosophy, cannot possibly be a collective worldview. We do not need a closed system to which all of us can adhere and which we can exhibit to the outside world.

(Hountondji, 1996: 53).

We must heed Hountondji's clarion call because, if we continue to see African philosophy as communal; we run the risk of reinforcing the very same myths and distortions about Africa, her people, and their ways of knowing and being that were perpetrated by the oppressor and the colonizer. These distortions and myths often question the humanity of Africans and, by extension, their capacity to *think* and *reason* as independent individuals. This is non-Africans often question the existence of African Philosophy which then leads to dismissing its existence (Janz, 2007), and hence African ways of knowing and being are were generally considered to be extremely foreign to reason, philosophy, logic, and civilization (Odera-Oruka, 1990ab). Because of this, Africans were considered to be a people without philosophy (Gratton, 2003). This is the standard *modus operandi* of white ignorance³⁷ in the form of Eurocentrism³⁸ that hegemonizes and universalizes how the world seems or thought of to work, with Euro-western experiences *defining* what and who counts as human (Gwaravanda and Ndofirepi, 2020). In other words, Africans are *thought about* and *of* leading to some thinking that the same Africans cannot think *for* and *of* themselves (Flikschuh, 2014). Africans are constructed as pre-logical, pre-scientific, preliterate, and pre-philosophical (Neugebauer, 1990, 1991). This is because "the Western philosophical inventory hegemonistically sets the rules on what passes as philosophy proper, what constitutes legitimate or classical sources of philosophical education, and who is to be accorded the title of *a philosopher*" (Lamola, 2015: 89). Hence, doubts about the existence of African philosophy should not be entertained because what we might at up with is a discipline filled with only justifications of the existence of African philosophy, rather than a discipline that engages in ideas beyond debates around existence (Masaka, 2018: 4). This is why Ramose has argued that:

³⁷ Mills (2007: 15) characterizes this ignorance as "White ignorance." It is deliberately cultivated ignorance, perhaps with the intention to confuse and distort the status of the dominated people. As Mills (2007: 26) argues, "Whiteness is originally coextensive with full humanity, so that the non-white Other is grasped through a historic array of concepts whose common denominator is their subjects' location on a lower ontological and moral rung".

³⁸ Eurocentrism can be understood as "pervasive bias of the European modernity that brutally encountered the African world" (Eze, 1997: 4). "At its core... is the metaphysical belief or idea that European existence is qualitatively superior to other forms of life." (Serequeberhan, 1997: 141-16).

Of course, this imaginary right, supported by material power designed to defend and sustain the superstition that Africa is incapable of producing knowledge, has got far-reaching practical consequences for the construction of the knowledge of Africa. The self-appointed heirs to the right to reason have thus established themselves as the producers of all knowledge and the only holders of the truth. In these circumstances, the right to knowledge [to] the African is measured and determined by passive as well as uncritical assimilation coupled with faithful implementation of knowledge defined and produced from outside Africa.

(Ramose, 1999: 45)

Therefore, Euro-western philosophy can be understood as a monolithic philosophy defined as an objective, scientific, universal, and neutral discipline rather than context-dependent and culture-oriented (Ramose, 2002, 2003; Asiegbu, 2016; Dladla, 2017). The result of this monolithic approach has been the epistemicide of African philosophy to the extent that it continues to remain largely suppressed, side-lined, and marginalized from the philosophy curriculum in education in Africa (Masaka, 2018). Another result of this epistemicide has been the disregard of Africa's contributions to the holistic betterment of all humanity, and the unearned privilege that Euro-western philosophy continues to enjoy. Thus, this unearned privilege informed Hegel, in his lectures on the Philosophy of History, to give "not a collection of general observations respecting it, suggested by the study of its records, and proposed to be illustrated by its facts, but Universal History itself" (Hegel, 1956: 1). However, in this universality rhetoric that Hegel lectured on, Africa, her histories and philosophies were excluded. This exclusion was because Hegel, and many others before and after him, were of the view that "the history of the world travels from East to West, for Europe is the end of History, Asia the beginning" (ibid: 103). This dismissive attitude towards Africa led them to disregard the existence, nature, and legitimacy of African philosophies, histories, and many other aspects of Africa's life. Serequeberhan (1997) argues that such Eurocentric colonial asymmetries should be rejected. For that, I agree with him because we can no longer accept the deliberate peripheralization of African philosophy in the curriculum, especially in Africa.

So, what then is African philosophy? There are varied conceptions of and about African philosophy, which have since opened the "floodgates to a deluge of essays aimed to reconstruct... a specific worldview commonly attributed to all Africans and claiming to be philosophical through an interpretation of customs and traditions, proverbs, and institutions...

concerning the cultural lives of the African peoples” (Hountondji, 1983: 34). Given that there are many interpretations of African philosophy, I move to highlight the following.

Firstly, African philosophy, as already stated, is a scientific discipline, universally aligned, objective and rigorous enterprise (Gwaravanda and Ndofirepi, 2020). In other words, it is a dynamic, continuous, and ongoing reflective process. Therefore, *doing* African philosophy entails showing it rather than talking about it only (Makinde, 2007). It also means philosophizing about philosophy in Africa and engaging it on its terms (Amato, 1997; Bell, 2022; Ndofirepi, 2013ab). Secondly, African philosophy consists of a set of texts written especially by Africans (Hountondji, 1996). Beyond this, African philosophy also “involves beliefs about the world that are singularly different from mythical or ideological beliefs; and it investigates the world using distinct concepts, principles, assumptions and methods” (Bensusan, 2016, paraphrased in Mathebula, 2020: 16). Thirdly, it is a philosophy of liberation which is meant to liberate itself, the colonized Other, as well as the burden of liberating the colonizer too (Mphahlele, 1961, 1962, 2002; Ramose, 2004, 2009, 2016, 2017).

This makes African philosophy part of what is known as universal philosophy, that is, a philosophy that asserts that the enterprise of philosophy should not be confined to the dichotomy of global South verses global North (Mathebula, 2019). Rather, as an enterprise, philosophy ought to be viewed as in a universal sense. Its stance on liberating the colonizer too can be read to mean that it is against thinking that seeks to present both the Euro-western thought and African thought as unique, distinct, opposite philosophies (Mathebula, 2019). Furthermore, this stance makes African philosophy a discipline informed by an all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view. That is, “all-inclusive enterprise, a universal activity not limited to whites or blacks, nor confined to the peoples of the West and the East” (Kanu, 2014: 92). Thus, these stances are in line with the main thesis of this study, which is creating a decolonized and Africanized SHC that would bring together different forms of knowledge, experiences and philosophies of the world in one space to be critically and meaningfully engaged by in-service history educators and their learners.

How then do we recentre African philosophy, especially in the SHC? Mathebula has provided two instances that pave the way for the recentring of African philosophy:

First, it should meet three basic philosophical tasks central to the clarification of any general set of beliefs. Analysis of African philosophy itself, which specifies its

elements; synthesis of African philosophy, merging it with academic philosophy to foster universal knowledge and improving African philosophy, for example, the concept “African philosophy” should be used in a strictly theoretical sense, and not in the popular, ideological sense.

(Mathebula, 2019:19)

Intertwined with the three basic philosophical tasks highlighted by Mathebula; what African philosophy ought to re-enforce moving forward to contribute meaningfully to a decolonized and Africanized SHC are the three trends proposed by Kenyan philosopher, Henry Odera Oruka (1944–1995). These include, first, *professional philosophy*. The professional philosophy trend in African philosophy constitutes works by Africans and non-Africans who are trained in formal philosophy, usually trained in Euro-western philosophy (Higgs and Smith, 2006). Its main advocates include the likes of Odera-Oruka (1972), Kwasi Wiredu (1980), Peter Bodunrin (1981) and Paulin Hountondji (1996). These scholars hold a universalist view of what should inform and constitute the discipline of philosophy anywhere in the world (Imbo, 1998). For them, this philosophy ought to be independent, dynamic, logical, coherent, critical, and discursive and should avoid being particularistic in its approach (Wiredu, 1980). This, they believe, will enable those who practice the discipline to enjoy “freedom of inquiry, openness to criticism, scepticism and fallibilism and non-veneration of authorities” (Oyeshile, 2008:60).

The second trend is known as *hermeneutical philosophy*. This is a trend that seeks to explore the problem of the relationship between culture and philosophy, as well as the relationship between universality and particularity in the development of an SHC for post-apartheid South African schools. Hence, hermeneutical philosophy’s approach to these problematic issues is different from ethno-philosophy. In the hermeneutical approach, the starting point of philosophy is with the understanding of the lived experiences of Africans with the view of dismantling pervasive effects of cultural and economic imperialism imposed by the global North (Ndofirepi, 2013).

Thirdly, African philosophy should re-enforce what is known as *philosophical sage*. This is a form of philosophy practised by indigenous knowledge producers, influenced by learning from their culture and other cultures. [sic] These are oMakhulu who are considered institutions of indigenous knowledge that store, transfer, and disseminate knowledge in the form of history and philosophical wisdom (Magoqwana, 2018). Also, sage philosophers engage in a process of reflective philosophical evaluation of thought which is often rigorous (Ndofirepi, 2013).

These are individuals that are “... versed in the wisdom and traditions of [their people, and very often they are] recognised by the people themselves as having this gift” (Odera-Oruka, 1991:51).

Furthermore, the second instance provided by Mathebula that he believes can pave the way for the recentring of African philosophy in the school curriculum is:

Second, by reorienting African philosophical discourse in this way, it is better placed to define, justify and defend itself on rational grounds (Nsamenang, 2011: 60). In the absence of clarification and critical evaluation of African collective beliefs, we end up with an uncritical and unargued acceptance of a false dichotomy between good, indigenous knowledge, and bad, Western knowledge, or the other way around – and that is not useful. It is not useful because African philosophers should “take the word philosophy in the active, not passive, sense” as Hountondji (1996: 53) maintains.

(Mathebula, 2019:19)

This means that African philosophy, like any other philosophy that comes to underpin any school curriculum, especially the SHC, ought to embrace a standard philosophical approach grounded on advancing logic, rigour, criticism, analysis, rationality, argumentation, and literacy.

3.9 Understanding forms of curriculum and knowledge

In this section, I trace the various conceptualizations and different types of curricula, and different forms of knowledge and their structures. This is because for one to advance an argument for the decolonization and Africanization of a curriculum, specifically the SHC. They need to know the different types of curricula and how they are conceptualized, as well as the different forms of knowledge and structures that inform those curricula. Therefore, I begin this section by looking at how the concept curriculum has been conceptualized. This is followed by a discussion on different types of curricula. Thirdly, I discuss different forms of knowledge and their structures concerning SH.

3.9.1 Curriculum conceptualization

It should be noted that the meanings attached to the concept curriculum vary based on *who* is and *where* is the concept being used, and to *what* end. This means that there is no consensus among curriculum scholars on what the concept of the curriculum means (Gyamera and Burke, 2018; Ramrathan, 2016; Shay, 2015). This makes curriculum a deeply contested concept

because of the “varying pedagogical philosophies, and the rapidly changing nature of curriculum studies” (Hlatshwayo, 2018: 76). There are, however, classic texts that have dominated our understanding of the concept of curriculum and how it has developed over the years. For this study, I have engaged Tyler (1949), Kliebard (1970), Stenhouse (1975), and Freire (1970). These texts have since contributed to an intellectual understanding of curriculum known as *the history of curriculum development*. These texts also continue to inform and shape many of the curriculum studies courses in many universities and basic education around the world. This is because the principles proposed by these texts are either being reinterpreted or reapplied to newer ideas and considerations about curriculum

The first text is by Ralph W. Tyler (1949), entitled: *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*. Tyler proposed four major principles for curriculum design: “defining goals, establishing corresponding learning experiences, organizing learning experiences to have a cumulative effect, and evaluating outcomes” (Howard, 2007: 2). His approach to curriculum understanding was concerned with the technical procedures involved in planning a curriculum. This approach is known as the *product process*. Tyler was of the view that when a curriculum is being developed; it needs to respond to the four questions:

1. What educational purposes should the school seek to attain?
2. How can learning experiences be selected which are likely to be useful in attaining these objectives?
3. How can learning experiences be organized for effective instruction?
4. How can the effectiveness of learning experiences be evaluated?

(Tyler, 1949: 63)

Tyler followed his earlier proposition by arguing that:

The primary educational function of organization is to relate the various learning experiences which together comprise the curriculum [to] produce the maximum cumulative effect in attaining the objectives of the school. The significant question to ask about any scheme of organization is: How adequately does it provide reinforcement of the several learning experiences so that they produce a maximum cumulative effect?

(Tyler, 1977: 48)

With both of these propositions, Tyler through what became to be well known as the *Tyler rationale* was essentially arguing that curriculum scholars or developers in partnership with

government educational officials, subject specialists, and other stakeholders involved in curriculum development; should build into the curriculum learning and instructions objectives. These learning objectives should in turn consider the realities of the students or learners, the societies from which they come from, and all of these things such as the subject matter (Tyler, Schubert, and Schubert, 1986: 94). Instructional objectives, on the other hand, should permeate the organization, sequencing, and pacing of those learning experiences, as well as their design (Reid, 2016).

Tyler's ideas on curriculum were underpinned by positivist absolutism that favoured behaviourist theories of learning linked to modernity/coloniality. Thus, for more than 50 years Tyler's work provided a step-by-step guideline on how curriculum ought to be developed, unchallenged. It was only in the early 1970s that his work was challenged, and this was done first by Herbert Kliebard (1970) in a journal article, entitled: *The Tyler Rationale revisited*. Kliebard was of the view that Tyler's ideas on curriculum were simply eclecticist. This could be read to mean that Kliebard viewed Tyler's position on curriculum as being all over the place. That is, it was not informed by any recognized school of thought. Thus, it was all over the place because it was informed by various thinking from different schools of thought. One of these was, according to Kliebard, behaviouristic thinking of learning which, as I have argued above, is consistent with modernity/coloniality. Kliebard also saw the *Tyler rationale* as something that "will always stand as the model of curriculum development for those who conceive of the curriculum as a complex machinery for transforming the crude raw material that children bring with them to school into a finished and useful product". After all, it represented a "production model of curriculum and instruction" (ibid: 270).

The second scholar and thinker who criticized and challenged *Tyler's rationale* came from the global South, and that is Paulo Freire (1970) in his publication, entitled: *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Freire argued for the democratization of knowledge building and structuring process. This democratization process would see all stakeholders (curriculum designers, experts, educators, etc.), for instance, involved in curriculum knowledge-building and structuring processes as opposed to just only curriculum designers. This is because Freire viewed curriculum as a non-neutral thing. For him, it was a space in which all stakeholders can negotiate through concepts of dialogic exploration, self-reflection, action, and more reflection (praxis) and ideas of humanization and conscientization (Freire, 1970). In terms of content selection, Freire argued that any content knowledge meant to form part of the curriculum should be underpinned by the life experiences of learners, as well as their needs and interests.

This is consistent with the decolonial, and Africanization agenda advanced in this study. In other words, he argued for content knowledge selections that would enable educators to employ pedagogies that would speak to the lived experiences of their learners in ways that would not only liberate those learners and educators from modernity/coloniality. But also empower them politically, socially, epistemically, economically, and in many other many ways. Hence, Posner asserted that:

The end product is not a learning outcome but critical reflection and action upon reality. Of course, learning outcomes such as the ability to reflect critically, are desirable. But political action by the oppressed aimed at their liberation is the ultimate purpose. To reduce this approach to a set of intended learning outcomes would be to miss the point of political activism.

(Posner, 1998: 57)

The third scholar who criticized and challenged Tyler's position on curriculum was Stenhouse (1975) in his publication, entitled: *An introduction to curriculum research and development*. He criticized and challenged the very behaviouristic thinking that Kliebard and Freire spoke of in their criticism and challenge of Tyler's position on curriculum. For Stenhouse, "certain areas of knowledge or content are intrinsically valuable and that when we try to translate knowledge into behavioural objectives, we distort that knowledge" (Reid, 2016: 33). In his own words, Stenhouse argued that:

The translation of the deep structures of knowledge into behavioural objectives is one of the principal causes of the distortion of knowledge in schools noted by Young, Bernstein, and Esland (in Young, 1971). The filtering of knowledge through an analysis of objectives gives the school authority and power over its students by setting arbitrary limits to speculation and by defining arbitrary solutions to unresolved problems of knowledge.

(Stenhouse, 1975: 86)

Essentially, Stenhouse too called for the democratization of knowledge building and structuring which is consistent with the call made in this study. This he did by arguing that any officialized curriculum needed to be informed by principles "for the selection of content in particular subjects or disciplines" that would enable not just curriculum designers but educators too, during the teaching-learning process, to make professional judgements that would see them

“change the plan” of the curriculum “in response to their learners' needs” (Reid, 2016: 33). So, it can be concluded that for Stenhouse, consistent with arguments by Kliebard *et al.*, any school curriculum “should not prescribe but provide guidelines for areas of knowledge and teaching” (ibid: 33). In this way, this curriculum would view both educators and learners as active participants in knowledge production as opposed to *tabula rasas* that are meant to be filled in by curriculum designers in partnership with the state.

Recently, there have been several proposals from different scholars on how we should conceptualize the curriculum. One of these is from Jansen, whose conceptualization of the curriculum builds on the works of other curriculum scholars before him. Jansen is of the view that curriculum should be conceptualized “not only as a text inscribed in the course syllabus for a particular qualification but an understanding of knowledge encoded in the dominant beliefs, values and behaviours deeply embedded in all aspects of institutional life” (Jansen, 2009: 125-126). This conceptualization enables to think of curriculum differently; as something that can be phenomenologically experienced, felt, seen and inculcated in us (Hlatshwayo, 2018).

Another scholar who has proposed another way of conceptualizing curriculum is Hlatshwayo (2018). Building from the work of du Preez (2017), Hlatshwayo argues that curriculum should be conceptualized and understood on three levels. These include:

the *ontological* level (that is, the nature or essence of curriculums in different historical moments and times), the *epistemological* level (that is, the theories of knowledge that underpinned curriculum studies at various times), and *methodological* level (that is, the theories of methods that focus on curriculum studies which concern the different approaches to learning, teaching, assessment, and others).

(Hlatshwayo, 2018: 76)

This kind of conceptualization and understating of the curriculum is useful because it positions the curriculum as a contested site that constitutes various theories of teaching and learning, philosophies of education, understandings of the nature of being, theories of knowledge, the production of knowledge, as well as different methods applied in the pursuit of knowledge. These are the kinds of issues that any project, like this study, seeking to advance a decolonial and Africanization approach to the curriculum, should consider and engage with.

I now turn my focus to different types of curricula.

3.9.2 Different types of curricula

Eisner (1979/1985/1994) suggested that there are three types of curricula. For him, these include the *explicit*, *implicit* (hidden), and *null* curriculum. The explicit curriculum is what is provided to learners by their educators, and this usually includes prescribed textbooks, assessment activities, and guidelines. It is thus located in the recontextualization and reproduction field (see PD and EPD). The implicit curriculum speaks to the culture and values (i.e., ways of knowing and being) of those who are dominant or powerful in a society that is taught to unsuspecting learners (Apple, 1979/2004, 1988, 1995, 1999, 2000). This curriculum can also be seen as a site for what Young (2008) terms *Knowledge of the powerful*, which speaks to *who defines what counts as knowledge and has access to it*. This curriculum should be seen as a site where coloniality most implicitly reproduces itself because it operates in the EPD's distributive logics. The null curriculum is what is left out in officialized curriculum; what is not taught to learners. African-centered knowledge forms are part of this curriculum. These are forms of knowledge that the 2015/16 cohort of students, for instance, sought to recentre through their struggles located in the EPD's reproduction field.

Another scholar who has broadened our understanding when it comes to different types of curricula is Bernstein (1971, 1996, 2000). Harley has since argued that:

The work of Basil Bernstein arguably tells us more about curriculum than any other writer. He provides a well-developed set of concepts and criteria for understanding curriculum [and for doing research], and his work has been particularly influential in developing countries.³⁹

For Bernstein (1996), there are two different types of curricula. The first is what he calls a *collection curriculum*, and the second one is an *integrated curriculum*. In 2000, Bernstein incorporated and related his understanding of the different types of curricula concepts such as “cumulative and segmented learning and competence and performance curricula” (Reid, 2016: 34). He further incorporated and related the concepts of *classification* and *framing* discussed in chapter two in his understanding of the different types of curricula. The collection curriculum is C+ which makes subjects or discipline to highly segregated. This means no integration is encouraged between these subjects or disciplines. Furthermore, these subjects or disciplines are also F+, that is, rigid selection of content, topics, and skills is most valued. This is because

³⁹ This quotation can be accessed here: <https://www.oerafrica.org/resource/outline-basil-bernsteins-concepts>.

this form of curriculum is informed by Tyler's curriculum model. This makes its design and pedagogy prescriptive, and focus is placed more on what is considered specialized knowledge rather than everyday knowledge. Moreover, "knowledge is organized hierarchically and taught systematically using carefully sequenced steps. Assessment is based on performance and usually involves formal tasks and examinations. In this type of curriculum, "segmented learning" is valued as it leads to specialization and deep disciplinary knowledge. Bernstein argued that this type of curriculum provides the depth of knowledge needed for university education." (Reid, 2016: 34). This type of curriculum as argued by Bernstein centres power on educators with the view of preserving the status quo (i.e., modernity/coloniality). It also encourages disciplinary knowledge and values specialization (Reid, 2016). This means in such a curriculum; African knowledge forms are considered to be non-specialized due to modernity/coloniality to justify their being excluded from the officialized curricula

On the other hand, the integrated curriculum is different from the collection curriculum. This difference is as a result of the integration that is allowed between subjects or disciplines. In other words, this form of curriculum is for inter-, trans-, multi-disciplinary approaches to curriculum. Furthermore, an integrated curriculum is C-, hence integration is most valued: There was "a shift in emphasis from education in depth to education in breadth" (Bernstein, 2000: 4). Because of this, this form of curriculum is prescriptive, and themes are used to facilitate the integration of subjects or disciplines. Moreover, this form of curriculum is F-, which means both educators and learners can work together to select topics to engage with, and how those topics could be sequenced and paced. Lastly, "integrated curricula are based on a competence model with horizontal discourses that try to integrate school learning and everyday knowledge and integrate knowledge, skills, and understanding across subjects or disciplines. Assessment is often based on students' competence in applying key concepts and skills across subjects and to everyday situations, promoting "cumulative learning" (Lifelong learning). This integrated curriculum requires teachers to work in teams and have a broad range of knowledge and skills. It is often difficult to implement." (Reid, 2016: 34- 35). So, integration curriculum promotes "ways of knowing rather than states of knowledge" (Bernstein 1996: 46). This is because it "encourages learners to become thinkers and promotes social mobility", and "the type of curriculum chosen is closely related to the type of society: "the selective organization, transmission, and evaluation of knowledge is intimately bound up with patterns of authority and control" (Reid, 2016: 35).

Therefore, in this study, I draw heavily on Bernstein's (2000) understanding of the curriculum. This is because, for instance, OBE, the first curriculum which was introduced in South Africa post-1994 symbolized a move towards an integrated curriculum. So, Bernstein's understanding of curricula allowed me to investigate the mechanisms behind such a curriculum. Secondly, Bernstein's understanding of the curriculum enabled me to see what is regarded as valid knowledge in the current SHC and its predecessors, and what is not regarded as valid knowledge. Equally, Bernstein's understanding of curriculum enabled me to investigate the relations within the knowledge and their intrinsic structures, and how that knowledge is transmitted and evaluated (Lilliedahl, 2015). This is with the view of addressing the knowledge question posed by the decolonial and Africanization intellectual projects.

Moreover, the adoption of LCT strengthened this investigation, in that, a school curriculum from this perspective should be something that enables learners and their educators to access theoretical knowledge that would, in turn, enable them to "transcend particular contexts so that it can be used to think the unthinkable and the not-yet-thought" (Wheelahan, 2010: 13). This means building and structuring a school curriculum based on disciplinary or powerful knowledge (Young, 2008), which is socially constructed but gives both learners and their educators capabilities to think about the unthinkable and the not-yet-thought.

I now turn my focus to different forms of knowledge.

3.10 Discourses on different forms of knowledge

Since knowledge is central to this study's investigation. I now move to engage in different discourses on different forms of knowledge. It should be noted from the start there is no consensus as to what counts as knowledge. For instance, as already stated in section 3.7.1 of this thesis; the likes of Horsthemke (2004a) and Sonkqayi (2020) refute the existence of indigenous African knowledge.

However, other scholars disagree with the position on what counts as knowledge. For instance, Turnbull (1997, 2000) argues that what counts as knowledge can be viewed as a socio-cultural and historical construct. This view legitimizes, for instance, the notion of the existence of indigenous African knowledge. From this perspective, knowledge is viewed as something that can be constructed and produced by all societies (Le Grange, 2008), and this view is consistent with decolonial theories and Africanization agenda advanced in the study. This is because for knowledge to count as knowledge, it depends on an individual society's unique ways of

building and structuring the said knowledge and attaching meanings to that said knowledge based on their lived experiences. Hence, Turnbull argued that:

Some traditions move it [knowledge] and assemble it through art, ceremony, and ritual; [Western] science does it through forming disciplinary societies, building instruments, standardization techniques, and writing articles. In both cases, it is a process of knowledge assembly through making connections and negotiating equivalences between the heterogeneous components while simultaneously establishing a social order of trust and authority resulting in a knowledge space.

(Turnbull, 1997: 553)

Bernstein contributed to this binary understanding of knowledge by looking at its relation to schooling and society. This was the basis of his sociology of education. Bernstein mobilized Durkheim in his conception of knowledge, thus arguing that knowledge was both ‘sacred’ and ‘specialized’ (Bernstein, 1975). Wilburn notes that Bernstein’s conception of knowledge:

... reflects a special system of symbolic meaning separate from everyday life, denoting a boundary between knowledge as ‘sacred’ and the problems of everyday life as ‘profane’ (Durkheim, 1995; Young and Muller, 2016). Bernstein’s conception also reflects one of Durkheim’s most profound contributions to sociology, which is that the categories of our thought reflect our social organization (Durkheim and Mauss, 1963; Atkinson, 1985). Knowledge is therefore classified on a social basis and differentiated from the world of experience (Young and Muller, 2016).

(Wilburn, 2016: 64)

Other scholars who also contributed to this binary understanding of knowledge are Young and Muller (2007). For them, there are two types of knowledge, which are ‘everyday knowledge’ and school knowledge. I discuss these in detail below.

3.10.1 Everyday knowledge

Everyday knowledge, by definition, is social knowledge that learners independently acquire socially outside of school, at times with the guidance of adults and their peers. This kind of knowledge is considered to be context-dependent (Young and Muller 2010), because it is usually concerned with, and tied to the everyday lived experiences of individuals who construct it. Unfortunately, African knowledge forms have been viewed only through this lens by modernity/colonialism/apartheid/coloniality and have since been excluded and de-legitimated

from the official school curriculum. This is even though African knowledge forms are in many ways disciplinary and specialized too. They have, for decades, been constructed, interpreted, and analyzed in the social world outside the academe and its academic theories, concepts, and discourses. Despite this, these forms of knowledge have been viewed as only forming part of the Bernsteinian (1996, 1999) *horizontal discourse*. That is, knowledge forms that are vague, incoherent, muddled, jumbled, or disorganized. I discuss the notion of horizontal discourse further in the next section.

Therefore, the argument advanced in this study seeks to find ways in which African knowledge forms could be integrated into the officialized SHC. This is done bearing in mind that it is impossible to include or integrate all knowledge forms of the world into the officialized SHC. This move is consistent with Bernstein's notion of an integrated curriculum. This means, C- will need to be applied to achieve a multi-, inter-, and transdisciplinary approach to knowledge that would see everyday and school knowledge being integrated. This would in turn see this knowledge being organized thematically and cumulative learning being privileged. Equally, F- will also need to be applied to how both educators and their learners to pedagogically experiment with the sequencing, pacing and assessment of that said knowledge

I now turn my focus to school knowledge.

3.10.2 School knowledge

School knowledge is the knowledge that can, but not exclusively, be acquired in school (Young, 2007, 2014). Young labels this powerful knowledge as referring to:

.... what the knowledge can do or what intellectual power it gives those who have access to it. Powerful knowledge provides more reliable explanations and new ways of thinking about the world and acquiring it can provide learners with a language for engaging in political morals and other kinds of debates.

(Young, 2008: 14)

This knowledge, according to Bernstein, forms part of the *vertical discourse* of knowledge structures. This is believed to be “more reliable knowledge, knowledge nearer to the truth about the world that we live in” (Young, 2013: 107). However, *whose* truth and the world are referred to here is not explicitly stated, which is problematic. This is because as individuals in the world, though we may share common interests about the present and have collective memories about the past (Maluleka, 2018), we still are different in *how* we construct and experience the present

world, the past, and ultimately the truth. This then means, in acknowledging our commonality, we also need to recognize difference which is often individualized.

Nevertheless, school knowledge is powerful knowledge because it is believed to have the ability to “provide access to more reliable facts, to higher-level conceptual perspectives and the specialist, structured form of a knowledge (Yates and Millar, 2016, p. 301)” (Bertram, 2019: 127). For Young (2013), this knowledge can be defined and explained in three ways. Firstly, it is different from everyday knowledge which is believed to be informed by our common sense and everyday lived experiences. Secondly, within this knowledge concepts are presented systematically, cumulatively, and concerning one another. This “makes the relationship between these concepts explicit” because this “provides the basis for thinking beyond particular cases and contexts and offers the capacity for generalization” (Bertram, 2019: 127). Thirdly, disciplinary knowledge is specialized because it is constructed by individuals within a specific field of inquiry or related fields of inquiry that share a fixed boundary (ibid.).

How then does disciplinary knowledge play out concerning SH? This can be understood within the three ways of understanding disciplinary knowledge as suggested by Young. Firstly, SH as an academic discipline means that embedded in it is specialized knowledge. In other words, what this means is that what is considered everyday knowledge is not foregrounded in the official curriculum. This is because “concepts of everyday knowledge are linked to particular contexts, whereas within a discipline, concepts are connected” (Bertram, 2019: 130). However, the exclusion of what is considered everyday knowledge in the official curriculum does not mean that this knowledge is not important for the educator and the learner to know and engage with officially. Hence, Bertram argues that:

Everyday knowledge is an important starting point as it provides the child with a personal frame to understanding the concept[s] taught in the curriculum, and it also would develop [their] empathy and understanding of what it was like to [live in the past]. However, [they] would need to build on these personal everyday anecdotes and memories to build a reliable understanding of different perspectives and experiences of [living in the past] and to place these events in a bigger time frame that illuminates cause and effect.

(Bertram, 2019: 130)

Bertram's argument of building learners' everyday knowledge points to the importance of disciplinary knowledge of history. Thus, it is important to build learners' understanding of the past starting from the *local domain* (everyday knowledge) with the view of moving learners toward accessing the *esoteric domain* (disciplinary knowledge) (Bertram, 2012, 2019). This can be done through sound Pedagogical Content Knowledge (PCK), which is a unique kind of knowledge educators need to move learners from what is known to the unknown, i.e., the *zone of proximal development* (Shulman, 1986; Vygotsky, 1978). This is also dependent on educators' Subject Matter Knowledge (SMK) because possessing this knowledge contributes to successful and meaningful teaching. SMK is understood as the knowledge that is "content-dependent" (Young, 2007), that is an understanding of structures that inform one's subject matter (Shulman, 1986). These structures speak to the syntactic and substantive structures of any academic discipline. PCK deals with methods used by those who operate in a specific academic discipline to determine what they consider to be specialized useful knowledge, and what is not. SMK speaks to ways in which discipline is constructed to organize its principles, ideas, understanding, proposition, and basic concepts to integrate its facts (Shulman, 1986). This means educators' understanding of the knowledge of the curriculum and its expectations (Shulman, 1986). In other words, educators understand the series of programs or activities that are built into the curriculum for teaching specific historical events and concepts to specific levels of their learners.

Secondly, the case for foregrounding specialized knowledge in one's teaching can never be overstated. For instance, learning history at school will be understood as involving both the learning of specialized substantive knowledge and the learning of specialized historical skills (Bertram, 2019). Specialized substantive knowledge speaks to a way of *doing* history (an inquiry approach) that involves asking questions about *what* happened, *when*, *why*, and by *whom*? (Bertram, 2008, 2019). Specialized historical skills speak to acquiring historical skills that would enable you to answer the questions posed in the Specialized substantive knowledge. These historical skills are part of the *historical literacy* that both educators and their learners need to be aware of and have. These include historical thinking skills, historical reading skills, historical writing skills, and historical understanding skills (see Wineburg, 2000, 2001; Seixas and Morton, 2012).

Thirdly, it is awareness of the interconnectedness of concepts within SH. In other words, the presenting of concepts systematically, cumulatively, and concerning one another. This is

because SH does not have an ‘ever-advancing conceptual spine which tends towards unity’ (Young and Muller, 2010: 20). Hence,

... it does have a macro-conceptual organizing principle which is time. Its specialty comes from its mode of interrogation and the criteria for the construction of historical texts, rather than a search for a theory that encompasses all others (Bertram, 2009), as well as the key aspects of historical discourse, which are time, chronology, and sequencing (Martin, 2007). In school, history concepts are usually connected through a chronology, which is evident in a narrative that shows how sequences of events unfolded in a particular context in a particular era. Connections can also be made by showing learners what was taking place in a range of contexts during the same era. It can also be done by showing how a substantive concept like ‘revolution’ which is particular to one context (such as the French Revolution) plays out in a different context and at a different time (the Russian Revolution).

(Bertram, 2019: 129)

Therefore, the current CAPS SHC in post-apartheid is made up of school knowledge. This is because the curriculum document defines history as being “...about learning how to think about the past, which affects the present, in a *disciplined* way. History is a process of inquiry. Therefore, it is about asking questions of the past and using evidence critically about the stories people tell us about the past” (DoBE, 2011: 9). This means introducing and inducting both educators and their learners to both the *disciplinarity* of history (substantive history knowledge) and the historical skills that enable one to engage with the disciplinarity aspect of the discipline (Bertram, 2019).

I now move to unpack Indigenous Knowledge Systems.

3.10.3 African Indigenous Knowledge Systems

Like many concepts in the Social Sciences and Humanities, the concept/phrase of African Indigenous Knowledge Systems (AIKS) is too complex to define and conceptualize. This is a stance also taken by many scholars from the global North when commenting about AIKS as if their Euro-western knowledge forms and their canons have been conceptualized and defined with precision (see Kaya and Seleti, 2013; Ezeanya-Esiobu, 2019).

Nevertheless, in chapter one, drawing from Fataar and Subreenduth (2015), I did mention that I am aware of the complexity involved when one attempts to define or conceptualize the

concept/phrase of AIKS, as well as what constitutes it. I went further and provided a list of some of the phrases/concepts used throughout this study denoting the concept/phrase.

Therefore, AIKS has since been interpreted in some ways, and at the base of its numerous interpretations is an agreement that AIKS is an alternative to Euro-western knowledge traditions and their canons (Ezeanya-Esiobu, 2019). Given this, one should not, in any way, begin to homogenize these forms of knowledge. Because if homogenization is allowed, we run the risk of not recognizing knowledge of the colonized Other, as well as presenting these forms of knowledge as “resistant to adaption, to change, and unable to solve modern challenges” (Shabangu, 2021: 103). We also feed into “a well-orchestrated plan that continues to bedevil the recognition and affirmation of indigenous knowledge as knowledge in its own right.” (Masemula, 2013: 118). Thus, Africans born during colonisation might not recognize the impact that the absence of their indigenous knowledge has on them and its contribution to underdevelopment to their countries.

So, A(IKS) should be viewed as local traditional knowledge that is unique to its context (Greiner, 1998). This uniqueness emanates from how this knowledge was developed around specific material and geographic conditions. Furthermore, this form of knowledge can be seen as a dynamic way in which the Indigenous Africans come to understand and construct themselves in relation to their environment and other inhabitants of that environment (Semali and Kincheloe, 1999). This also makes A(IKS):

Culturally informed understanding inculcated into individuals from birth onwards, structuring how they interface with their environments. It is also informed continually by outside intelligence. Its distribution is fragmentary. Although widely shared locally on the whole than specialized knowledge, no one person, authority, or social group knows it all... It exists nowhere in totality, there is no grand repository.

(Sillitoe, 2002: 9)

Therefore, a decolonized and Africanized SHC as proposed by this study ought to consider including AIKS in its curriculum knowledge-building and structuring process. If this is done, these knowledge forms would enable the colonized Other and oppressed to reclaim and recentre in the SHC their indigenous cultures, knowledges, histories, being, and identities.

I now turn my focus to Bernstein’s knowledge structures (of SH).

3.10.4 Bernstein's knowledge structures (of school history)

As already stated, scholars especially those in the sociology of education have argued that knowledge is and can be differentiated. Therefore, Bernstein's (1996, 1999) idea of *knowledge structures* is useful in exploring and understanding this difference in knowledge. For Bernstein, this difference is made out of two discourses, that is, *horizontal discourse* and *vertical discourse*.

Horizontal discourse speaks to the everyday knowledge constructed outside school and is thus not legitimated in the official school curriculum. This knowledge "tends to be mundane and culturally segmented, that is, only applicable and making sense within that specific community and its members" (Hlatshwayo, 2018: 42). Although this assertion may be correct, it is not entirely true. This is because if one takes oMakhulu for instance; they usually teach their grandchildren (learners) about certain historical events and figures, i.e., African forms of knowledge, who in turn bring this knowledge into their history lessons. This knowledge is not always vague, incoherent, muddled, jumbled, or disorganized as it is usually constructed. This is because oMakhulu have for decades analyzed their social world outside the academy without using academic theories, discourses, and concepts (Maluleka and Ramoupi, 2022). For this, their knowledge has been de-legitimated and excluded from the official SHC because it is considered non-specialized. However, this does not mean that all of this knowledge is not specialized. Hence, Shulman (1986) argued that it is important for educators to probe and use learners' prior knowledge to their advantage to then relate this very same knowledge to what is being taught as specialized knowledge in the classroom. Therefore, a decolonized and Africanized SHC must recentre oMakhulu as not only information mines, but as co-creators of knowledge (Maluleka and Ramoupi, 2022). This means, in the entire distributive logics of EPD, oMakhulu's voices should be heard. Beyond this, concentre steps need to be taken to make sure that we incorporate what oMakhulu says to us in our attempts to build and structure knowledge that then informs and shapes the SHC. This is imperative because Magoqwana speaks about the need to reposition and re-historize uMakhulu in the SHC "...as an institution of knowledge that transfers not only "history" through *iintsomi* (folktales), but also as a body of indigenous knowledge that stores, transfers, and disseminates knowledge and values" (Magoqwana, 2018: 76).

Vertical discourse, according to Bernstein (1999: 159) "... takes the form of a coherent, explicit, and systematically principled structure, hierarchically organized, as in the sciences, or it takes the form of a series of specialized languages with specialized modes of interrogation

and specialized criteria for the production and circulation of texts, as in the social sciences and humanities”. This is specialized knowledge that is largely but not exclusively, constructed and produced in universities (see EPD). It was then believed by Bernstein that this knowledge after being constructed and produced at universities, i.e., the production field, then goes through his proposed linear process as articulated in the PD. However, as Maton (2014) has suggested through the EPD, this is no longer the case.

Therefore, this type of knowledge is believed to “allow for the opening of alternative possibilities of thought” (Hlatshwayo, 2018: 43). This is because it is also believed that this knowledge can enable one “to transcend everyday [knowledge] and provide access to the “unthinkable”, the “not yet thought”, to consider other possibilities and to imagine other futures (Bernstein, 1990a, 1999, 2000)” (ibid.). This knowledge is legitimated in the official SHC because it is valued. It is the *powerful knowledge* that Young (2013, 2014) spoke about because; unlike what is considered everyday knowledge, this knowledge is constructed and presented as having the power to elevate one’s social mobility. This is what Bourdieu (2011) has termed *symbolic capital*, that is, “capital-in whatever form-insofar as it is represented, i.e., apprehended symbolically, in a relationship of knowledge or, more precisely, of misrecognition and recognition, presupposes the intervention of the habitus” (ibid: 56). This finds more expression in a country like South Africa currently characterized by modernity/coloniality, neoliberal logics, capitalist modes of being, labour, and production. This characterization, in turn, reproduces and perpetuates the inequalities and injustices that already exist at the level of knowledge production, education, and society. For instance, the vertical discourse can be considered exclusionary at the level of knowledge production because, what is considered everyday knowledge, i.e., horizontal discourse, is not legitimated nor valued in this discourse.

Furthermore, Bernstein asserts that within the vertical discourse there exist two different forms of knowledge structures. That is *hierarchical knowledge structures* and *horizontal knowledge structures*. Hierarchical knowledge structures are those that attempt to construct general propositions and theories, and in the process cumulatively build on agreed assumptions and theories (Hlatshwayo, 2018). This, in turn, enables them to demonstrate the “underlying uniformities across an expanding range of apparently different phenomena” (Bernstein, 1999, p. 162). Therefore, disciplines such as Chemistry, Biology, and Pharmacy tend to have a vertical knowledge structure “in which scholars are cumulatively building knowledge on “testable” and “objective” uniformities that comply with general propositions and agreement

in the field, on how knowledge is produced, and who counts as a legitimate knower in such a field.” (Hlatshwayo, 2018: 43).

On the other hand, Horizontal knowledge structures are concerned with “a series of specialized languages of legitimation with their specialized modes of critical interrogation and criteria (Bernstein, 1999, 2000, 2004). With horizontal knowledge structures, knowledge in this field tends to be segmented, with different scholars not cumulatively building knowledge atop one another, but rather introducing new theories, and concepts, even competing with one another and replacing each other. This means that horizontal knowledge structures do not generally attempt to create general propositions and agree upon theoretical and conceptual tools that “conform” to “objective” or “testable” realities.” (Hlatshwayo, 2018: 44).

An example of the horizontal knowledge structure is the decolonization and Africanization ideas and discourses centred in this study – all of which are segmented and fragmented. These segmentations and fragmentations are a result of how scholars in these discourses have come to conceptually reinterpret, reconstruct, and represent ideas that underpin decolonization and Africanization.

Bernstein also expanded on his ideas around knowledge structures, especially around horizontal knowledge structures and how knowledge is built within those structures. He argued that horizontal knowledge structures are characterized by a language or grammar which makes knowledge building in this structure more explicit. He termed these *strong grammars* and *weaker grammars*. Bernstein asserts that it is:

... useful to make a distinction within horizontal knowledge structures, distinguishing those whose languages have an explicit conceptual syntax capable of ‘relatively’ precise empirical descriptions and/or of generating formal modeling of empirical relations, from those languages where these powers are much weaker. The former I will call strong grammars and the latter weak grammars. It is important to add here that ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ must be understood as relative within horizontal knowledge structures. From this point of view, economics, linguistics, and parts of psychology would be examples of strong grammar. Mathematics would also be considered a horizontal knowledge structure as it consists of a set of discrete languages, for particular problems.

(Bernstein, 1999: 164)

Therefore, Bernstein's ideas on knowledge structures are useful for a project like this study that seeks to enrich debates and discourses on how to decolonize and Africanize the SHC. This is because Bernstein's ideas on how knowledge is built into a school curriculum, and how it gets to be structured, classified, framed, produced, transmitted, and evaluated assist us in appreciating this process at many levels, especially the discursive and ideational levels too (Hlatshwayo, 2018).

3.11 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the origins, history, and development of some of the key concepts underpinning this study. This was very important to do because it allowed me to see and understand how the legacy of colonialism, apartheid, and presently, neoliberalism and coloniality and its power matrix continue to characterize the SHC in post-apartheid South Africa. These concepts have also assisted me in seeing, investigating and understanding where decolonial approaches could be more productive where SH is a concern.

CHAPTER FOUR

SCHOOL HISTORY CURRICULUM IN SOUTH AFRICA: PRE-1652 TO DATE

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the development of education in South Africa with a specific focus on School History (SH). This development of education will be traced in three epochs, firstly, before colonization (pre-1652), secondly, during colonial-apartheid (1652-1994), and thirdly, in democratic South Africa (post-1994 to date).

3.2 Indigenous Southern African Education: Pre-1652

Before 1652, different African societies in southern Africa administered different forms of education. This in itself tells one that forms of education existed in Africa before the continent and her people were colonized. The types of education that Africans established, organized, and administered are different from the types of education that the settler-colonizers introduced them to. For instance, Adeyemi and Adeyinka (2003) argue that there was a form of education that was common in Africa before the coming of Euro-western ‘civilization’. This education was constituted by five foundational principles, namely, functionalism, perennialism, preparationism, communalism, and wholisticism. Its content was based on the physical, social and spiritual environments of the time. This form of education, argues Adeyemi and Adeyinka, was characterized by few realities. Firstly, it exclusively focused on the *clan* in which it was offered to. This means that theirs were tied to their indigenous ways of living, being, and knowing. Thus, indigenous “education was a deliberate endeavor to explain to children that their future (and that of their community) depended on their understanding and perpetuation of the social structures, laws, language, and values inherited from the past” (Seroto, 2011; 78). For example, elders in communities administered circumcision and initiation schools during specified periods of the year and utilized oral and other pedagogies indigenous to them in order to transmit cultural qualities that were often integrated into their day-to-day lives or life experiences (Mandela, 1995; Maluleka and Ramoupi, 2022).

Secondly, this type of education depended on custom (an acceptable way of behaving or of doing things in a society or a community) and tradition (a belief or way of doing something

that has existed for a long time among a particular group of people) and thus had a past orientation – backward looking. For instance, the fact that indigenous Africans love and have a deep connection with their natural surroundings that include the type of flora and fauna, the hills and forests, river systems, the wildlife, and other characteristics is testament traditional aspect of this type of education. Hence, this enabled them to acquire the necessary knowledge and skills that, in turn, enabled them to manage and preserve these resources, and this was “unquestionably obligatory” (Mosweunyane, 2013: 52). So, their ability to manage their resources were tied to their commitment to conservation, especially environmental or natural resources conservation. Hence, Mosweunyane notes that in the African continent, “taboos were used as a conservation strategy. For instance, an animal was not killed or eaten because it was respected as a totem” (ibid: 52).

Thirdly, Adeyemi and Adeyinka have also raised some concerns with this type of education. These include the issue around what they see as *indoctrination*, which was perhaps inevitable at the time. This indoctrination entailed educating learners by means of frightening and punishing them – likely not to be viewed as rational and educational from a Euro-western perspective. Another concern is that this education was *limited* in scope, that is, all children were given more or less the same kind of instruction according to their sex and age. And lastly, in some instances, they observed that this education was actually characterized by absence of literary works – no writing or reading, memorization and recall of information played the key role in the teaching and learning. However, their view on what actually counts as documentation is actually limited. This is because when it came to their history, indigenous Africans documented and communicated their histories differently from Europeans. For instance, indigenous Africans used orality to document and communicate their histories from one generation to the next. They expressed their histories through storytelling, ballads, songs, or chants (Seroto, 2011). Other methods they used to document and communicate their histories include rock painting, architecture, crafts, and many others. Thus, the main aim of this was to the young generation, as well as both women and men about religion, philosophy, history, politics, morality, wisdom, geography, and the entire history of human existence in the different communities (ibid.). This is because indigenous Africans understood education to mean and refer to a process where the older generation transmits its ways of knowing and being to its succeeding generation or as an operation young people of a specific community are prepared by their elders live efficiently and effectively in and with their environment (Sifuna and Otiende, 2006 cited in Seroto, 2011: 78).

However, Europeans did not view the basis on which indigenous Africans chose to document and communicate their histories as constituting *doing history*. Thus, to them, history in Africa only began with their (Europeans) arrival (Maluleka, 2018). Essentially, what informs that view held by some Europeans, especially in contemporary times, is that they (Europeans), were of the view that knowledge is never relative to a person, or that ‘true’ knowledge can only be achieved through empiricism. Both these approaches to understanding knowledge meant that perpetuate coloniality because they fail to acknowledge that as Africans understanding knowledge to be relative to their origins and societies (Shabangu, 2021).

It is important to note that indigenous education was not conceptualized and structured in the same manner as articulated by the theoretical tools that underpin this study. That is to say that the educational processes that underpin indigenous education are vastly different from educational processes that underpin education as we know it today, despite indigenous Africans having institutions too. Thus, the theoretical tools underpinning this study may and can limit our understanding of indigenous education. For instance, if we consider Bernstein (2000) and Maton’s (2014) description of the educational process in the EP and EPD; indigenous education does not fit neatly into that description.

Nevertheless, it is worth arguing that the knowledge(s) most valued within the indigenous societies were usually imparted to other members of society by critical sages. On the autonomy plane discussed in chapter two, this form of education can be plotted on the sovereign code (PA+/ RA+). This means that the most valued knowledge emanates from within the context and acts according to its specific ways of working: internal constituents for internal purposes. In addition, only respected individuals in the community and family, usually, the elders, were the ones considered to be critical sages, and thus they imparted the most valued knowledge to others within their community. In other words, critical sages possessed what can legitimately be claimed as specialized knowledge, and thus they were considered to be the legitimate knower.

I now move to engage the basis of colonial and apartheid education in Southern Africa in the next section.

3.3 Education during colonial-apartheid: 1652 – 1994

Jan van Riebeeck and his crew members docked their three ships, namely; the Reijer, the Dromedaris, and the Goede Hoop, at the southern tip of the African continent on the 6th of April 1652. Since then, Africans have never known peace. This was evidenced in the decision by van

Riebeeck et al., through the instruction of the Dutch East India Company (DEIC), to establish a refreshment station at the Cape. This move resulted in many Europeans arriving at the Cape to settle. The first cohort of Europeans opting to settle at the Cape was made up of officials of the DEIC who happened to be men only. Other cohorts thereafter consisting of both ordinary men and women decided to come to settle at the Cape. This was a result of the encouragement from the government of the Netherlands at the time (Le Roux, 1998). These other cohorts included some “emigrants from Europe, refugees from France, slaves from Africa, the East and other parts of the world as well as several convicts - mainly from Batavia - made the Cape their home” (ibid: 84). So, these settlements symbolized the beginning of settler-colonialism in Southern Africa and the Cape became a colony of the Netherlands.

The colonial regime at the time, seeing that the Cape colony was expanding, decided to establish facilities that were commonly found in what they considered to be “civilized societies” – among these were Churches and schools. The establishment of schools with the church playing some role resulted in the establishment of *slave education*. This education represented the start of the converting the colonized Other into Christianity (Lewis and Steyn, 2003).

The aim of this form of education was to impart on the ‘slave’ learners or children with the skills of reading and writing.⁴⁰ However, this form of education was also the foundation for socioeconomic, political, epistemic, and cultural systems that were established by the late nineteenth century and are still in use in some ways in post-apartheid South Africa. These systems are characterized by culturecide, epistemicides, ecocide, ethnocide, and linguicide (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018a). The histories taught were informed by Christianity rooted in Euro-western modernity. Thus, Africa and her people were constructed to be in a perpetually primitive condition and their histories were considered to be an extension of European History (Maluleka, 2018). Another aim of this type of education was to teach the enslaved learners or children about the importance of fearing God and knowledge of God. This was believed it instil in them good arts and morals.⁴¹ However, this approach to education was oppressive and cruel to the enslaved learners and children, because they were essentially coerced into assimilating into new identities, which were colonial in nature. This, in turn, eroded and destroyed their

⁴⁰ Education Bureau. 1981. Education for life. Cape Town: Department of Internal Affairs, p.1.

⁴¹ De Chavonnes' Ordinance, 1714. Reproduced in B. Rose and R. Tunmer (Eds.) (1975) Documents in South African Education. Johannesburg: Danker, p. 86.

indigenous beliefs, values, social bonding, and identities, and denied children knowledge of themselves.

This continued with the introduction of *mission education* in the 1800s. Mission education blossomed in the Cape after the British took over in 1795 as a strategic colony when it came to the geopolitics of the day. It was during this period that there was a huge demand for formal education from indigenous Africans. The British used education as a way of spreading their ways of knowing and being as well as a means of social control (Christie, 1988). SH taught was rooted in Euro-western forms of rationality and modernity, which included rote learning that was educator-centered, authority-driven, content-based, examination-based, and elitist (Jansen and Taylor, 2003). This was done to produce ‘noble savages’ (Hartshorne, 1992). African histories continued to be presented as extensions of Europe in fulfillment of cultural imperialism and as a means of assimilation (Maluleka, 2018).

The British also introduced industrial schooling in the 1850s. In the same way that the British Empire attempted to quell social unrest in the 1850s, compulsory schooling was to be used to subdue the vagabonds, educating them in the disciplines of industry. In 1855 Sir George Grey, Governor of the Cape, said to Parliament:

If we leave the natives beyond our border ignorant barbarians, they will remain a race of troublesome marauders. We should try to make them part of ourselves, with a common faith and common interests, useful servants, consumers of our goods, contributors to our revenue. Therefore, I propose that we make unremitting efforts to raise the natives in Christianity and civilisation, by establishing among them missions concerned with industrial schools (cited in Rose and Tunmer, 1975: 205).

In 1948, the National Party (NP) came into power and introduced the policy of apartheid. Through Christian National Education (CNE), the NP was able to introduce new ideas of schooling, to oppose and continue some of the characterizations of slave and mission education. This resulted in the establishment of Afrikaner schools and universities based on ideals of Afrikaner⁴² nationalism and CNE. It also resulted in the expansion of schools and the establishment of universities meant for the oppressed Africans only. Article 15 of the CNE policy of 1948 explains the basis of apartheid education:

⁴² The Afrikaners referred to here are the descendants of the Dutch imperialists, colonists and settlers who arrived in what was known as Cape of Good Hope in 1652, and thus went to establish themselves as a unique people before God with their own civil liturgy, sacred days, and leaders.

We believe that the calling and task of White South Africa [about] the native is to Christianise him and help him on culturally, and that ... [there is] no equality [but] segregation. We believe ... that the teaching and education of the native must be grounded in the life and worldview of the Whites ... especially the Boer nation as senior White trustees of the native.⁴³

In 1949, D.F. Malan established a Commission of Inquiry into Native⁴⁴ Education.⁴⁵ The main terms of reference for the Commission included “the formulation of the principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race...” (Rakometsi, 2008: 48-49). This is because the work of the commission was informed by the misinterpretation of the ideology of ‘Volkekunde’⁴⁶, which is traceable to German anthropologists of the pre-war period such as Muhlmann, and from the Russian Shirokogoroff (Gordon, 1988).

The report of the commission was released to the public in 1951. Its conclusions were used as the basis for the introduction of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. This Act came into effect the following year, which was 1954. The Act suggested that Africans be studied as distinct groups with distinctive and different cultures and geographical locations (Seroto, 2013), as well as “re-tribalize and intensify the de-worlding of Africans by eradicating conditions that produced transcultural “natives” and a creolizing national consciousness” (Madlingozi, 2018: 99). Moreover, the Act also suggested that it was important for the government to make sure that many African youths that were not in school at time were in school. This, the Act argued, would address the issue of increased “juveniles” and “criminality” that the country was faced with (Phillip, Delius and Posel, 1993). This was also aimed at addressing the fear and anxiety of the government, especially with more young African youth joining the armed struggle at the time. This is because the lack of provision of education in urban areas meant that it was easy for political mobilisation against the government to occur especially since the government had

⁴³ Apartheid South Africa, 1949. Christian National Education Policy Act. Pretoria: Government Printer.

⁴⁴ Native refers to indigenous Africans.

⁴⁵ Union of South Africa 1951. Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949-1951 (Chairman Dr WWM Eiselen). Pretoria: Government Printer.

⁴⁶ Volkekunde is a discipline of anthropology or an anthropological style or tradition that emerged in South Africa, namely ethnology as practiced by Afrikaans speakers (Seroto, 2013). Dr PJ Coertze (1973, p. 1), a lecturer at the University of Pretoria, explains that ‘Volkekunde studies people as complex beings as they lead a creative existence, following their nature and character, in changing social-organic entities, called etniee (ethnoses), which are involved in a process of active adaptation to a complex environment existing in space and time’.

no control when it comes to regulating the ideas that were being shared with the youth (Seroto, 2013).

In terms of the SHC, the Final syllabus for History standards 6-8⁴⁷ viewed history as based upon the concept of cause and effect, the concept of time, and the concept of the value of a true record (Seroto, 2013: 2). The syllabus further argued that history teaching is “to present the past as the living past’ and ‘to give some idea of the heritage of the past, and the evolution of the present” (ibid: 2). According to the syllabus, history educators needed to “...foster an appreciation of certain fundamental values and ideals, such as justice and liberty, through the study of man and nations over a long period of time” (ibid.). The heritage, values, and ideals referred to here were all conceptualized from a Eurocentric perspective, thus, Africans and their ways of knowing and being were excluded from the official syllabus.

This is evident from the centring of white men in the content. The history of South Africa was presented as starting with the arrival of Dutchmen in 1652. This shows the extent to which history teaching was misrepresented and used to advance the politics of the day. For example, the content of the teaching for standard six in the Transvaal was presented in this way:

- (i) Van Riebeeck: his significance.
- (ii) Simon van der Stel: immigration, expansion, agriculture, Cape-Dutch architecture.
- (iii) W. A. Van der Stel: stock-farming, Adam Tas.
- (iv) Tulbagh: enlightened despot, beautifying of the Cape Town.
- (v) The age of the stock-farmer contact with the Xhosa.

(cited in Seroto, 2013: 3)

The teaching of SHC during colonisation and apartheid rule prevented indigenous Africans from accessing “the truth about whom they really were and where they came from. The ideological underpinning of colonial powers, which suggested that indigenous people were inferior beings, contaminated the education which was provided” (Seroto, 2018: 10). Therefore, this can be plotted in the sovereign code (PA+, RA+) on the autonomy plane to mean that the curriculum writers of colonial-apartheid SHC sought to not only ‘Christianise’ and ‘civilize’; they also sought to uphold white dominance through their content selection. In

⁴⁷ Final syllabus for History, standards 6-8, Transvaal Education Department, 1967, p. 2.

other words, they selected knowledge from within their context that they considered being most valuable and then made sure that it is taught using the principles that furthered the ends of those who controlled their context.

In terms of the EPD, colonial and apartheid education's evaluative logics on the EPD was educator-centered. This means learners were considered *tabula rasas*, and educators were considered mere tools to further the colonial and apartheid agenda. Secondly, the epistemic and recontextualization logics of colonial and apartheid education on the EPD were dominated and controlled by government officials, academics, policymakers, curriculum developers, and so on, who were hellbent on preserving the colonial-apartheid project.

There was, of course, resistance to colonial and apartheid education; and this resistance dates back to the introduction of this form of education. However, one of the turning points of this resistance was the rise of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) in the early 1970s led by Bantu S. Biko. The 1972 Policy Manifesto of the South African Students' Organization defines Black Consciousness (BC) as "an attitude of mind, a way of life whose basic tenet is that the Black must reject all value systems that seek to make him a foreigner in the country of birth and reduce his basic human dignity". In other words, as a concept, Black Consciousness encourages the colonized Other to take pride in their blackness, as well as their indigenous ways of knowing (Biko, 1978).

Because of this, the learners of the 1976 Soweto Uprising were able to use the philosophy of BC to anchor their resistance against Bantu Education. In other words, The role played by the BCM in the Soweto resistance of 1976, and other such resistance moments led by the oppressed youth, highlights how both learners and students demanded an educational system that was representative of Africa and her people – an education system that was humanizing to them. It was through the philosophy of BC that both learners and students at the time were able to see the Euro-centric nature of the colonial and apartheid education system, and how it undermined them as an African people.

I now turn to the development of education in democratic South Africa.

3.4 Education in democratic South Africa: 1994 – to date

After the historic 1994 democratic elections, South Africa was confronted with the issue of how to get rid of colonial-apartheid makeup that characterized the education system, especially the SHC. So, in partnership with other stakeholders, the South African democratic state initiated numerous constitutional and educational reforms in a bid to *ukuhlambulula* the SHC

from its colonial-apartheid past with the hope of re-establishing *seriti sa MaAfrika* (Maluleka & Ramoupi, 2022). Tisani conceptualizes *ukuhlambulula* as a process of cleansing, which entails “cleansing – inside and outside, touching the seen and unseen, screening the conscious and unconscious. This includes healing of the body and making whole the inner person, because in African thinking ‘there is an interconnectedness of all things’” (Tisani, 2018:18). Therefore, different processes of *ukuhlambulula* the SHC were initiated because colonial-apartheid education and its distributive logics were Eurocentric, racist, homophobic, sexist, misogynistic, authoritarian, prescriptive, unchanging, context-blind, and discriminatory (Maluleka, 2018, 2021).

The *first ukuhlambulula process* began with the adoption of the interim syllabi also known as the Interim Core Syllabus documents in place of colonial-apartheid syllabuses that were viewed as archaic, racist, sexist, and underpinned by Euro-western forms of rationality and modernity (Bertram, 2006). This process also entailed the adoption of the democratic constitution of 1996, the National Education Policy Act of 1996, and the South African Schools Act of 1996, which resulted in 18 racially differentiated departments of education being collapsed and replaced with a single, centralized national department of education assisted by nine provincial departments of education (Maluleka, 2021b). It was after all these initial processes that stakeholders in SH anticipated a new SHC that was to forge a “new national identity” (Siebörger, 2000: 1). This new SHC was expected to be underpinned by principles of *reconstruction*, *redress*, and *reconciliation* as enshrined in the democratic constitution (Siebörger, 2000). In-service history educators at the time had to act as *Amatola* – national doctors and diviners – to ensure that *Ukuhlambulula* of the colonial-apartheid SHC happened in order to bring about *imvisiswano* – social cohesion – through a process of healing (Tisani, 2018).

All of this led to the *second process of the Ukuhlambulula* of the education system led by the first democratic Minister of Education, Professor Sibusiso Bhengu. This process entailed the adoption of the Curriculum 2005 (C2005) in 1997 as part of the National Curriculum Statement (NCS). This was an Outcomes-Based Education (OBE) strategy that focused on the main outcomes of the educational process. This curriculum “was presented as an attempt to alter in the short term the most glaring racist, sexist and outdated content inherited from the apartheid syllabi” (Jansen, 2001:43). It was “the most radical constructivist curriculum ever attempted anywhere in the world” (Taylor, 2000 cited in Hugo, 2005: 22). It was an approach to schooling which unified subjects into learning areas and introduced a completely new approach to

education: skills-centred learning and methodological reform. It adopted learner-centred pedagogies, resulting in new methodological approaches and more independent learning processes (Henning, 2016). It was not a subject-bound, content-laden curriculum. Topics were not presented systematically or chronologically like before, they were presented conceptually and thus made the new curriculum open, non-prescriptive, and reliant on educators to develop their learning programmes and learning support materials (Chisholm, 2004).

However, this presented difficulties for those with a traditional understanding of pedagogy and curriculum (Kallaway, 2012). Firstly, its evaluative logics on the EPD was learner-centred (something that both educators and learners were not accustomed to), as opposed to being educator-centred, as was the case under colonialism and apartheid. Its epistemic and recontextualization logics on the EPD were still very much dominated and controlled by government officials, academics, policymakers, curriculum developers, and so on, who were still very much aligned with colonialism and apartheid. Secondly, Many educators who were reliant on the prescriptions of the colonial and apartheid SHC were now forced to develop their learning programmes and learning support materials, which was something they never did under colonisation and apartheid rule because everything was provided to them. Many decided to go back to teaching from the colonial and apartheid script because that was what they had access to. This was a result of the lack of preparation for educators moving into peri-urban and rural schools where they did not have strong school and district leadership and were not helped or guided in developing resources. But C2005 worked much better in middle-class urban schools where educators had access to Continued Professional Development and support.

Thirdly, C2005 also failed largely because the state and the education system did not fully consider how much work was needed to dismantle colonial and apartheid education and rebuild something new in its place, especially given that over 80% of schools were and still are not economically privileged. Hence, Jansen also argued that C2005 failed "...because this policy is being driven in the first instance by political imperatives which have little to do with the realities of classroom life" (Jansen 1998: 323). In essence, it failed because it was "primarily a political response to apartheid schooling" (ibid: 321). In other words, "naïve optimism prevailed, driven by very sincere attempts to sweep out the old and usher in the new as speedily and completely as possible" (Siebörger and Dean, n.d: p.3). Fourthly, C2005's market fundamentalism outlook and its obsession with demonstrable proficiency of specific skills, knowledge, or behaviour meant that it was near impossible to meaningfully foreground African-centred knowledge forms in its curriculum knowledge structures. This is the

knowledge that was still considered and continues to be, by some (see: Horsthemke 2004ab), as forming part of the *horizontal discourse*, i.e., knowledge considered to be vague, incoherent, or muddled, and jumbled or disorganized.

With this, SH was also at risk of losing its identity and was devalued because it was combined with Geography and Civic Education in a learning area known as Humanities and Social Sciences. This was because “the rejection of the apartheid education [History] curriculum was confused with the abandonment of a curriculum that was based on historically constructed knowledge” (Kallaway, 2012: 24). The rationale behind this move was viewed by some stakeholders as political rather than pedagogical and epistemological. Thus, the Euro-western ways of knowing and being that informed the content remained largely unchallenged and unchanged. Instead of moving the previously marginalized and their ways of knowing and being from the side-lines to the centre, the marginalized under OBE remained in the margins – side-lined, silenced, and de-legitimized.

Professor Kader Asmal succeeded Bhengu in 2000 and initiated the *third process of Ukuhlambulula* with special attention given to SH due to its importance in contributing to the building of a socially just society. A Ministerial Review Committee, the South African History Project, was appointed and first met in February 2000. An inquiry into SH teaching was also initiated, and the History/Archaeology Panel was established to investigate the teaching of History in schools (Chisholm, 2004). The Ministerial Committee tabled a report that suggested a new SHC and recommended that SH should be integral to the teaching of tolerance.

This process continued and in 2002 the South African Cabinet approved a new curriculum, which was known as the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS). What set this new curriculum apart from its post-1994 predecessor was that; it was considered to have streamlined and strengthened C2005 and was thus committed fully to OBE (Chisholm, 2004). Naidoo (2014: 4) argues that the “RNCS was also designed on the principles of social transformation, human rights, inclusivity, as well as environmental and social justice”. It sought to foreground a social justice approach that was meant to empower those whose ways of knowing and being were previously marginalized in the SHC. It was characterized by three different pathways that learners could access after the end of Grade 9. These pathways included the general pathway, which was offered by all schools and incorporates grades 10 to 12; the general vocational pathway, which was to be offered by colleges who would, in turn, prepare learners for work

that involves vocational skills; and the trade, occupational and professional pathway, which was to be offered by mainly industry-based providers through leadership (DoBE, 2002).

Even with these pathways, the RNCS too was confronted with challenges. For instance, like C2005, it too continued to foreground a market fundamentalist outlook, which meant that learner-centred approaches continued to dominate its evaluative logics, even though there was little to no training for educators. Its epistemic and recontextualization logics (refer to EPD) continued to be dominated and controlled by those aligned with colonisation and apartheid even though there was some form of transformation (inclusion of some individuals from the previously colonized groupings) taking place in both logics. Moreover, the absence of a soundly communicated plan for the implementation of the RNCS and the support of educators (DoBE, 2009) meant that continued to rely on the colonial and apartheid script of teaching history (Maluleka and Ramoupi, 2022).

Equally, the fact that educators were themselves “products” of the colonial and apartheid education system (i.e., slave, mission, the extension of university education and Bantu education) exacerbated the problem because they were given few if any opportunities for unlearning internalized colonial attitudes and ethics and relearning attitudes and ethics founded on democratic principles. Moreover, Euro-Western forms of knowledge continued to enjoy much coverage in the curriculum at the expense of African-centred knowledge forms. For instance, the RNCS and even CAPS continued to “...privilege ‘masculinist’ interpretations of the past which contribute not only to the general marginalization of women [minority groups and indigenous peoples’ experiences] as subjects of history but more importantly reinforces or ignores oppressive[ly] gendered [and othering] ideas” (Wills, 2016: 24). On the autonomy plane, then, both C2005 and the RNCS can be plotted as shifting, inadvertently, from the sovereign code (PA+, RA+) that informed the colonial and apartheid SHC to an exotic code (RA–, PA–). The major desire was to weaken relational autonomy to allow for the emergence of different voices and different histories to be heard. The intent was to move to a projected code (RA–, PA+), but the delimitation of ‘history’ as a subject meant that positional autonomy also weakened substantially. What was being taught and to what end, was now deeply confused.

A process to review the RNCS was thus initiated in late 2008 and early 2009. The *fourth Ukuhlambulula process*, under the tenure of the successor to Asmal, Dr. Grace Naledi Pandor was continued under her successor, Mme Angelina Motshekga who was appointed in 2009.

This process resulted in a new curriculum known as the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) of 2011 that is currently in use and forms part of the NSC. But the prospect of yet another curriculum change was met with suspicion and even rejection (Mdtshane, 2013). This may be because in-service history educators were just over the idea of another curriculum change. It can also be that educator “often lack the theoretical knowledge and familiarity with principles informing the implementation of curriculum change” (Maharajh, Nkosi and Mkhize, 2006: 371). Some argued that the ongoing curriculum changes were doing more harm than good (Maphalala, 2006). While others argued that the introduction of CAPS symbolized a return to ideas of “curriculum disciplinarity in the secondary SHC”, which represented “a return to forms of knowledge that experienced teachers would [be] more familiar [with]” (Kallaway, 2012: 25). The contention here is that this return affects the decolonial project negatively because the familiarity alluded to here is one that is associated with colonial and apartheid understanding of curriculum disciplinarity and forms of knowledge (Wills, 2016).

Nevertheless, according to Minister Motshekga, CAPS is not a new curriculum but a revision of the RNCS (DoBE, 2011). The evaluative logics of CAPS attempts to strike a balance between educator-centred and learner-centred approaches to teaching and learning. Within this logic, we see more and more young educators joining the teaching profession. These are young professionals who, one hopes, understand, and appreciate the importance of democratizing knowledge in the classroom. By this, I mean the teaching of history from a perspective informed by a plurality of knowledge forms to “pursue a robust social science by triangulating a wide range of partial perspectives, which would yield ‘stronger objectivity’ than the ‘God trick’ of supposed objectification from a dis-interested universal perspective” (Haraway, 1988 as developed in Zipin, Fataar and Brennan, 2015: 16). One also hopes that these young professionals are aware of SH being part of the *horizontal knowledge structures* within the *vertical discourse* (Young, 2008).

CAPS recontextualization and epistemic logics are, however, not yet fully transformed despite 30 years of democratic dispensation. This is telling of a coloniality/modernity project hellbent on preserving the status quo that is characterized by epistemicide, culturecide, and linguicide. For instance, Wills (2016) critiques CAPS at the level of both of these operative logics. She argues that despite CAPS making inroads in as far as attempting to include and re-historicize “women’s experiences, and scholarship in women’s history” (Wills, 2016: 24); “as it stands if we are to pursue decolonization of the curriculum at all, ‘mentioning’ women is not a radical

enough move towards conceptualizing women and representing gendered historical concepts in ways which do not re-inscribe a practice of epistemic erasure or the textual inscription of damaging stereotypes and ideologies” (Wills, 2016: 24-25).

On the autonomy plane, CAPS can be plotted as moving strongly back into a sovereign code (PA+, RA+) from the exotic code (RA–, PA–) that informed both C2005 and RNCS – but this time with the intent to foreground previously marginalized histories. However, what is equally evident is that there is a need for SHC to fully delink from its colonial and apartheid past and coloniality/modernity, not only on the political and economic level but also on an epistemic level (Mignolo, 2007). CAPS has not fully achieved this. Therefore, in seeking to challenge and transcend coloniality/modernity and its various complex power matrix embedded in the current SHC in South Africa; there needs to be an undertaking that would see a deliberate application of decolonial theorizing and thinking to the sovereign code of SH so that different forms of indigenous histories and different ways of indigenous knowing (e.g. oral traditions) can become part of this code rather than being seen as outside of it (introjected or projected). Thus, if the target code is sovereign, then the decolonial framework I have built here can be used to reset or develop or expand that code, both what constitutes PA and RA.

In an attempt to transcend this, at least at the level of recontextualization and evaluative logics, the current South African government, through its DoBE, initiated what I see as its *fifth ukhulambulula process* in its curriculum reform. This saw the appointment of a HMTT⁴⁸ on 4 June 2015 that was mandated to work within outlined terms of reference, which were officialized publicly in October 2015.⁴⁹ These terms of reference were centred around the HMTT needing to conduct a “comparative case study on compulsory History in certain countries...”⁵⁰ because the “Minister further made comments about the content of the history curriculum and the way history is being taught in our schools”.⁵¹ The actual terms of reference that the HMTT had to work within include: To advise on the feasibility of making History compulsory in the FET phase; To advise on where History should be located in the curriculum (for example, should it be incorporated into Life Orientation or not); To review the content and pedagogy of the History curriculum with a view to strengthening History in the curriculum;

⁴⁸ Republic of South Africa (RSA), Department of Basic Education (DoBE), “Executive summary of the History Ministerial Task Team”, ca January 2018.

⁴⁹ RSA, DoBE, National Education Policy Act (Act no 27 of 1996), Establishment of the History Ministerial Task Team. Government Gazette (GG), Notice no 926, 9 October 2015.

⁵⁰ RSA, DoBE, “Executive summary of the History Ministerial Task Team”, ca January 2018, p. 9.

⁵¹ RSA, DoBE, “Executive summary of the History Ministerial Task Team”, ca January 2018, p. 8.

and To investigate the implications (for teaching, classrooms, textbooks, etc.) of making History a compulsory subject.⁵² In its final report to the ministry of the DoBE, the HMTT made several suggestions that have profound implications for the distributive logics of CAPS. Firstly, the HMTT's interim suggestion was that CAPS needed to be strengthened. They rationalized this by arguing that they were "... against the exercise of wholesale changes or a complete overhaul of the CAPS syllabus and content at this present time. [They] felt that this was too soon, instead, the HMTT focused on the exercise of using the CAPS syllabus as the basis of strengthening the content in the interim, hoping that a complete overhaul of the CAPS syllabus and content will be carried out by the DoBE in future. This will depend, among other issues, on whether history will be a compulsory, fundamental subject at the FET phase."⁵³ In terms of what could be read as a decolonizing imperative, the HMTT suggested that:

... Africa-centeredness becomes a principle in revisiting the content, and in particular, bringing both ancient history and pre-colonial African history into the FET curriculum. Ghana's History syllabus at Senior High School, 1-3, that is, Grades 10, 11, and 12 is instructive in this regard. This is critical to understanding the layered history of South Africa and the continent of Africa at a more developed conceptual level. We recognize that certain aspects of pre-colonial history are taught in the GET curriculum, however, this tends to be portrayed as a "happy story", appropriate to that level, but fails to provide the nuanced and complex history which should be taught at a higher level at the FET phase. A conscious move away from this superficial history would also provide a bridge between GET, FET history, and history taught at universities. Problematic and controversial issues and themes in ancient history and [the] pre-colonial history of Africa should not be avoided. For example, themes about class, social stratification, kings and commoners, [and] the status of women and workers in ancient history and also in pre-colonial history must be included.⁵⁴

The DoBE is yet to work materially on implementing some of these suggestions from the HMTT. There has, however, been some critique of the work of the HMTT, especially in academic spaces. For instance, Van Eeden and Warnich (2018:18) reflect, firstly, on "the History MTT's discussion of the status of, specifically, compulsory History in Africa and further afield, and to establish whether the MTT's report can in this regard serve as a reliable

⁵² RSA, DoBE, "Executive summary of the History Ministerial Task Team", ca January 2018, p. 8.

⁵³ RSA, DoBE, "Executive summary of the History Ministerial Task Team", ca January 2018, p. 84.

⁵⁴ RSA, DoBE, "Executive summary of the History Ministerial Task Team", ca January 2018, p. 132.

indicator for making any informed decision on whether History Education in South African schools should indeed be compulsory up to the Grade 12 level.”. Secondly, they “... contest the quality of the research conducted by the [HMTT about] compulsory History in other countries, which in turn questions the reliability of the Report in its entirety” and blame this on the “lack of inclusivity of expertise in the [HMTT], especially experts in History education” (Van Eeden and Warnich 2018:38). And finally, given what they say, their “contestation on [the] quality [of] the first section of the [HMTT] report” (Van Eeden and Warnich 2018: 38), Van Eeden and Warnich make recommendations to the DoBE as to what aspects they think were ignored by the HMTT in their research and reporting, and why these aspects should be considered for further research before recommendations by the HMTT can be implemented.

All of these developments highlight an embedded contestedness of the distributive logics of a curriculum like the SHC, especially in countries like South Africa, whose present is still characterized by divisions from its historic past.

3.5 Conclusion

As a way of concluding, in this chapter I investigated and presented the history of education in South Africa with a specific focus on SH from pre-1652 to date. What was made apparent is how education, especially SH, was used during colonization and apartheid was used to further colonize the indigenous populations and their ways of knowing and being. This colonization through education appears to continue under post-apartheid South Africa in different ways and tactics, i.e., coloniality. Hence, calls to decolonize and Africanize the SHC as proposed by this study.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the research processes I went through to address the research objectives of this study, which is to explore possibilities of decolonizing and Africanizing the post-apartheid School History Curriculum (SHC) in South Africa with a particular pivot on knowledge structuring and building, and how can it get inserted, in cumulative and principled ways, into the curriculum and its structures (Fataar, 2022), as well as considering the views of some in-service history educators. Therefore, I begin this chapter by tracing the broad research design that I have adopted and how it is relevant to this study. In other words, I outline, in-depth, the processes and methods that I used to collect, organize, and analyze the data or findings which were gathered using semi-structured, in-depth individual interviews, as well as the literature reviewed. Lastly, I outline considerations that I gave to ethical issues such as confidentiality, informed consent, anonymity, and the right to withdraw, as well as the theories that rationalize the use of these.

5.2 Research design

Research design is considered as a plan for conducting a research study with greatest control over factors that may impede with either the trustworthiness, confirmability, credibility, transferability or dependability of the research findings (see Burns and Grove, 2003). It is a blueprint for any study because it is used to outline the entire plan for the study which includes the research paradigm, research approach, research methodology, and research methods that were used to gather data. Equally, it is also used to outline the analytical tools that are developed and employed for a nuanced analysis of the gathered data, and how those findings are going to be presented and discussed. This view is supported by Maluleka (2018) when he asserts that a research design is a logical and coherent strategy used to collect and generate data about desired knowledge. Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2000, 2007, 2011) are also of the same view when they assert that a research design for any study involves determining the strategies which the researcher intends to use to address the objectives of their study.

So, the research design for his study has been structured logically in the following way.

5.2.1 Research paradigm

I have already discussed my preferred conceptual and theoretical frameworks in chapter two, that can be regarded as constituting a research paradigm. Nevertheless, I thought it would be wise that I provide a brief discussion of what the term “paradigm” refers to, then describe both my epistemological and ontological stances concerning this study.

The concept paradigm has been constructed and understood differently by various scholars over the years. Some scholars argue that it concerns itself with epistemology or ontology about the body of knowledge being enquired about (Neuman, 2000, 2006; Creswell, 2003, 2012, 2013). Whilst others are of the view that it looks at the nature of knowledge, methodology, and criteria used to establish the validity and/or trustworthiness of such knowledge (MacNaughton, Rolfe and Siraj-Blatchford, 2001). Essentially, this means paradigm refers to “the entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques shared by members of a given scientific community” (Kuhn, 1962: 75). This is because a paradigm is a frame of reference in understanding phenomena. That is to say, a paradigm provides logical frameworks within which theories are created.

So, for this study, I chose to use a conceptual paradigm that is decolonial, as well as a theoretical paradigm consisting of Bernstein’s CT, Maton’s EPD, as well as aspects of LCT. All of these I outlined in chapter two of this study.

Now I move to discuss my epistemological and ontological stances.

5.2.2 Ontological and epistemological assumptions

Researchers conduct research solely because they want to answer questions they might have about the world. The ontological and epistemological assumptions that researchers make have an impact not only on the choice of research approaches, methods, and paradigms employed; they also have an impact on what constitutes an adequate answer to the nature of the phenomena under study (Marsh and Furlong, 2002; Sarantakos, 2005). Hence, what is considered sufficient evidence for comprehensive conclusions from one ontological and epistemological assumption will vary from the other.

5.2.2.1 Ontological assumptions

Ontology is “the study of being” with a particular focus on the type of world investigated, the nature of existence, and the structure of reality as such (Crotty, 2003). It concerns the question of how the world is constructed: is there a ‘real world out there’ that is independent of our knowledge of it? (Bryman, 2001, 2008). Essentially, it asks: “What is the nature of reality?”

(Guba and Lincoln, 1989: 83). Hence, Ormston et al, in a similar fashion assert that ontology is concerned with the question of “whether or not there is a social reality that exists independently from human conceptions and interpretations and closely related to this, whether there is a shared social reality or only multiple, context-specific ones” (Ormston et al, 2014: 4).

I am of the view that SH ought to be viewed as socially constructed as it is built upon the views and actions of all its stakeholders. Given this, there will always be contesting views around how SH ought to be constituted, especially where decolonization and Africanization are a concern. In other words, there is no single truth or reality, but multiple interpretations and constructions of reality and truth. Therefore, there is no shared social reality or truth, only a sequence of varied individual constructions of truths or realities; thus making truth and reality, subjective. All of this is consistent with the idea of epistemic pluriversality, particularism as pluralism, and transmodernity as proposed in this study. Thus, this study acknowledged ontological variations of what a decolonized and Africanized SHC could look like, because it is concerned with the continuous reconstructions of what makes a decolonized and Africanized SHC by the participants and the literature reviewed.

5.2.2.2 Epistemological assumptions

While ontology is about the nature of ‘knowledge’ and/or ‘reality’, epistemology, on the other hand, refers to a way of understanding and explaining what we claim to know, and how we claim to know what we claim to know (Crotty, 200). In other words, it is a theory of knowledge that concerns itself with what informs research (Creswell, 2002; Collis and Hussey, 2003). It can also be understood as referring to the ways we come to acquire such particular knowledge about phenomena in focus.

Given this, a decolonial position was employed as an epistemological position in this study. This is the case because decolonial theorists are of the view that knowledge can only be produced by exploring and understanding the social world of people and/or phenomena under investigation. Thus, knowledge is often viewed as personal, subjective, and unique. In the case of this study, the knowledge that the participants involved in the study had about how they think a decolonized and Africanized SHC could be constituted cannot be generalized because of the complex nature of social realities that the participants are part of. Hence, I acknowledged the contested context of the phenomenon under investigation. That is because, I as the

researcher and the social world impact each other (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, 2005; Nieuwenhuis, 2007).

5.3 Qualitative research approach

What is a qualitative research approach? And why did I choose to employ it for this study? These are some of the questions I address in this section.

Creswell and Creswell define qualitative research as a study that begins with the

assumptions and use of interpretive or theoretical frameworks that inform the study of the research problems addressing the meanings individuals or groups of individuals ascribe to a social or human problem and involves the generation of data in natural settings which is sensitive to the people and places under study and whose data is analyzed deductively using patterns or themes in the voice of the participants.

(Creswell and Creswell, 2017: 44)

Similarly, Patton and Cochran consider qualitative research to be constituted by its aims, which are concern with understanding the social life, and its methods generate words to be analyzed, rather than numbers as data for analysis (Patton and Cochran, 2002).

So, I chose a qualitative research approach because it enabled me to explore, understand and explain how some in-service history educators come to re-interpret, reconstruct, and re-present the idea of a decolonized and Africanized SHC. Hence, it was the most useful because of the ‘open-ended’ approach to conversations with each participant, as well as presenting the participants with the opportunities to respond in an elaborative way (Creswell, 2012). In other words, I preferred this research approach because of its inherent characteristics in allowing me to understand the phenomena under study, which is located within the social and educational world; as well as its focus on the “collection of stories, narratives, and descriptions of others’ experiences” (Morse, 2005: 139). For Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, this research approach is characterized by the “complexity, richness, connectedness and contradictions [that] qualitative research allows for an in-depth and detailed understanding of meanings, actions, non-observable as well as observable phenomena” (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, 2007: 219).

I also employed several research approaches typical of qualitative research. These include concern with participant perspectives, naturalistic research settings, human research

instruments, multiple data sources, rich descriptions, and interpretations (Creswell, 2007, 2008, 2009; Chen, 2010):

- **Participant perspectives** – The focus is on participants’ perspectives helped make sense of meanings (Chen, 2010; Flick, 2014; Maxwell, 2012). In this study, not only did I present multiple perspectives on different ways to go about decolonizing and Africanizing the SHC by participants involved, I also engaged literature to make sense of the position on how the SHC can be decolonized and Africanized.
- **Naturalistic settings** – By studying people or a phenomenon in their actual settings, I too, “aimed to critically explore the particular contexts and their impact on the individual’s views, behaviour and thinking” (Hlatshwayo, 2018: 55). In other words, the contexts in which the participants were located in contributed to shaping how they thought the SHC could be decolonized and Africanized. Therefore, in this study, naturalistic setting referred to different school environments that the participants find themselves in and the critical insights offered by those settings for the educators, their learners, and the curriculum (Chen, 2010; Maxwell, 2012).
- **Multiple sources** – Using more than one research tool that included semi-structured interviews and literature review in my data collection, enabled me to deeply with the topic under study (Chen, 2010). This also enabled me to appreciate the complexity of, and nuances of wanting to decolonize and Africanize the SHC, especially in post-apartheid South Africa.
- **The richness of data and description** – The data generated, and its findings provided a rich description of actors, contexts, and events, thus enabling me to reflect on the complexity of the research phenomena and assisting the reader to experience the events vicariously (Hlatshwayo, 2018; Chen, 2010; Merriam, 2002; Creswell, 1994).
- **Researcher as a key instrument** – I as the researcher, gathered, translated, and transcribed all the interviews myself. This process enabled me to develop an in-depth understanding of my data, and my research phenomena as well as provide insights into the analysis. Furthermore, my positionality as an African queer male, a history teacher by profession, a decolonial scholar (i.e., my intellectual and epistemological positioning in relation to the current study), and a Fallist had implications for the way I conducted this study, that is, how I engaged with the participants of this study, the literature, collected, generated and analyzed the data, and the dynamics of those interactions and others. In other words, I am aware of my particular complicated presence in this study; and this presence is fluid,

intersecting, and contested too. Despite this, my presence in this study is informed by my politics that are activist in nature. These are politics that seek to affirm my Black subjectivity and Indigeneity in all contexts I find myself in and those of Others.

I also employed a research methodology, methods, and data analysis tools that are in line with this research approach. Hence, in the next section, I discuss the research methodology I employed in this research journey.

5.4 Research methodology

A research methodology is a science that includes studying how and why research is conducted (Rajasekar et al, 2013: 1). In other words, it is a way to systematically solve the research problem (Kothari, 2004). This systematic way implies that not only does the research methodology concern itself with distinctions about the nature of knowledge (qualitative vs. quantitative), but it also looks at research methods, that is, how data is generated and analyzed, and the type of generalizations and representations that emerge from the generated data (Maluleka, 2018). Hence, a research methodology can also be considered as a theory with particular blueprint and methods to be used to conceptualize, construct, collect, and develop particular kinds of knowledge about educational phenomena (Scott and Morrison, 2007).

For this study, I chose to adopt critical phenomenology. Phenomenology is a science whose purpose is to offer methods of inquiring into the meanings of individual lived experiences (Creswell, 2013). It is a philosophical approach to the study of experience (Smith, Flowers, and Larkin, 2009). Hence, Creswell (2009, 2013) contends that a phenomenological study describes the meaning of the lived experiences of several individuals about a concept or phenomenon. It attempts to understand individuals' lived experiences and the behavioural, emotive, and social meanings that these experiences have for them. It is also known as an educational qualitative research design (Østergaard, Dahlin and Hugo, 2008; Marshall and Rossman, 2010; Creswell, 2013; Padilla-Díaz, 2015).

In this study, I opted for a critical phenomenological approach because it enabled me to study how the epistemic, social and political aspects of the situation and affect how participants construct reality (Merriam, 2002). In other words, the purpose was to understand the meanings selected in-service history educators make around a decolonized and Africanized SHC in their social contexts and associated relations with the broader epistemic and ideological structures. This critical phenomenological approach allowed participants under study, through in-depth semi-structured interviews, to generate the reinterpretations, reconstructions, and meanings

around what would constitute a decolonized and Africanized SHC in their view. Furthermore, the fact that phenomenological research has strong links with the conceptual and theoretical framings I discussed in chapter two – since all deal with interpretation and phenomena implies that multiple contexts emerge where phenomena can be located.

Therefore, considering the above, critical phenomenology was considered the best research methodology for this study. I now move to discuss my preferred research methods.

5.5 Research methods

Research methods are ways used by researchers to gather or generate data related to their study, and they often include, especially in qualitative research, questionnaires, interviews, observations, and case studies (Walliman, 2011). In qualitative research, especially where data collection is a concern, this often involves understanding of complexity, detail, and context of research (Hox and Boeije, 2005).

For this study, I employed in-depth semi-structured interviews (see: Appendix A) as a research method to collect data. But firstly, a pilot study was done prior to the research being conducted, I articulate this below.

5.5.1 Pilot interviews

The reason for conducting a pilot study first is that such studies often provide one with the opportunity to identify the “challenges of evaluating an intervention [and that ultimately] it will enhance the ...rigour and value of the full-scale study” (Feeley et al., 2009: 85), and there are numerous benefits to this. One of the benefits includes the researcher being able to aware of the strengths and limitations of their research tools before they actually go into the field (Sampson, 2004). In other words, this allows the research to reflect, especially on the limitations of their research tools, with the view mitigating and improving on these. Hence, Sampson argues the following about the importance of a study:

before large amounts of time are invested in a project, particularly in the context of today’s social science, which is frequently strictly time-bounded and pressurized. However, a pilot has other benefits beyond those of foreshadowing research issues or questions. Pilots have great importance in enabling those responsible for research design to give careful attention to the assessment of researcher risk, something that is too often overlooked in many... institutions. Relatedly, a pilot facilitates the proper scaling and costing of a research proposal. It takes much of the ‘guesswork’ out of estimating requisite funds, and this also has a positive impact in minimizing the risk

researchers are exposed to in the conduct of... research eliminating the need for them to 'make do and mend' in terms of living and travel arrangements in cases of underfunding (Sampson, 2004: 399).

So, the benefits I gained from conducting a pilot study include:

- Being able to identify the inherent limitations of my preferred research tools before going to the field, and devising ways in which to improve them. This enabled me to develop as a researcher because I was able to improve how I conduct interviews, which led to me probing in ways that were insightful, as well as interjecting and redirecting responses when necessary (see Hlatshwayo, 2018).
- I conducted the pilot study with my colleagues who are history educators by training and are now history lecturers at a university. Although, teaching school history is different from teaching history at university, the purposes of the pilot study was not necessary to engage with how my colleagues thought the SHC should be decolonized and Africanized. Rather, it was a way for me to elicit some feedback from them relating to the interview questions I had in mind, my pacing of the interviews especially considering the issue of time, and whether I needed to reflect on any of my preferred research tools. Thus, the insights they shared with me were helpful.

I now move to articulate how I conducted my interviews in the field.

5.5.2 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews are a form of interviews that enable me as the researcher to ask open ended questions to the participants interviewed informed by the objectives, focus and purpose of the study. Because of this, participants allowed to respond in whatever way possible (McIntosh and Morse, 2015). In other words, the open-ended nature of such interviews provides both the interviewer and the interviewee an opportunity to explore the topic under study in some detail (Gill, Stewart, Treasure, and Chadwick, 2008). Hence, if the interviewee experiences some difficulty answering some questions posed to them, or only provides brief responses to those questions; the interviewer is allowed, through semi-structured interviews, to utilize prompts or cues with the view of encouraging the interviewee to consider the questions further (Mathers, Fox, and Hunn, 2002). That is why in my interview schedule I had possible probed questions prepared beforehand (see Appendix A).

So, I employed semi-structured interviews in this study to explore, firstly, what in-service history educators think of the current post-apartheid SHC in South Africa. Secondly, to gain insights into how they think this SHC could be decolonized and Africanized. The benefits of conducting semi-structured interviews are that:

- They are well suited for exploring attitudes, values, beliefs, and motives... Could be good in sensitive areas.
- Non-verbal indicators such as body language are also key in the data collection process because they help to evaluate the participants' responses for authenticity and uncertainty that the researcher might need to probe (Creswell, 2012).
- They facilitate getting every question answered.
- They ensure that the respondent is working on his/her own, and not assisted in responding to the questions.
- They can potentially increase the response rate (van Teijlinge, 2014).

The interview sessions took approximately 30 – 45 minutes for each participant and were conducted after school to avoid disrupting the teaching and learning process. I interviewed all four in-service history educators who were involved in the teaching of SH in different locations in the provinces of Gauteng and Limpopo. Their participation was voluntary and informed consent (see Appendixes B, C, D and E) was obtained from them, with other permission such as ethical clearances granted (see Appendixes F, G and H).

Furthermore, to ensure that participants' responses are captured accurately without missing any information, the interviews were audio-recorded with the permission of the participants. This process ensured that I had time to listen to the participants' responses without the trouble of trying to write the participants' responses down, and also enabled me to focus on what the participants were saying, to note the participants' body language, which is also key in the data collection process because it helps to evaluate the participants' responses for authenticity and uncertainty that the researcher might need to probe (Creswell, 2012).

5.6 Sampling

Sampling is a process that entails the choosing small sample from a much bigger sample with the view of estimating or predicting the prevalence of an unknown piece of information, situation, or outcome regarding the bigger group" (Kumar, 2011: 193). The selection of study samples in a qualitative study is often based on the assumption that the chosen participants or sites are knowledgeable about the subject under study (Creswell, 2007; McMillan and

Schumacher, 2010). In other words, deciding which qualitative sampling technique to use depends largely on the nature of the study, its research questions, its purpose, and its scope.

Probability and non-probability sampling techniques underpin qualitative research (Cohen et al., 2007). For this study, I have opted for a non-probability sampling technique because it enabled me to select specific participants, four in-service history educators from four different geographical locations, whom I believed had relevant experiences around SH in post-apartheid South Africa, as well as valuable ideas about what they think could constitute a decolonized and Africanized SHC. Moreover, non-probability sampling techniques include purposive and convenience sampling, which I employed in this study, as part of its sampling techniques (Cohen et al., 2007). This is because purposive sampling and convenience sampling strategies enabled me to select the four participants and sites which I assumed to be appropriate for the study.

I elaborate on why the two sampling strategies were employed in greater detail below.

5.6.1 Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling technique that I used in this study. This sampling technique involves purposefully sampling certain units of the universe, constituting a sample that represents the universe.

Although purposive sampling also has limitations, such as; the researcher being biased in the sense that they may intentionally craft a sample to achieve the results that they intend to achieve (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, 2005). I decided to use purposive sampling for the following reasons:

- Firstly, it enabled me to select research participants who possessed characteristics or attributes of the population that best serve the purpose of the study. In the case of this study, this includes professionally trained in-service history educators with sufficient working experience and knowledge about the topic under study. These are also in-service history educators with different socio-economic, political and cultural backgrounds, and are of different age, race or ethnicity. Hence, the rich insights they shared about the topic under study.
- Secondly, purposive sampling was convenient and economical as I was the only one involved in the selection of participants (ibid.).

It is for these reasons that I chose purposive sampling.

5.6.2 Convenience sampling

Convenience sampling is another non-probability sampling technique that I also used in this study. This is because various factors constitute convenience that I needed to consider beforehand as a researcher. Often, these include time, financial and personal costs, as well as the level of ease or difficulty in gaining access. So, in the case of this study, I have opted to work with four in-service history educators based in four regions of both the Gauteng and Limpopo Provinces for the following reasons:

- The participants and their geographical locations were favourable or convenient to me because during this study I was working and staying between these two provinces. This meant that I did not have to worry about extra costs, such as accommodation and transportation, because the proximity between the study sites, participants, and where I resided in both provinces was a reasonable distance.
- The fact that I consider the two provinces as my home meant that I had an advantage when it came to understanding the different sites, in terms of location as well as the cultures of the people in those locations.

Therefore, these factors made the sites and participants I worked with convenient for me to carry out the study.

5.7 Sampling size

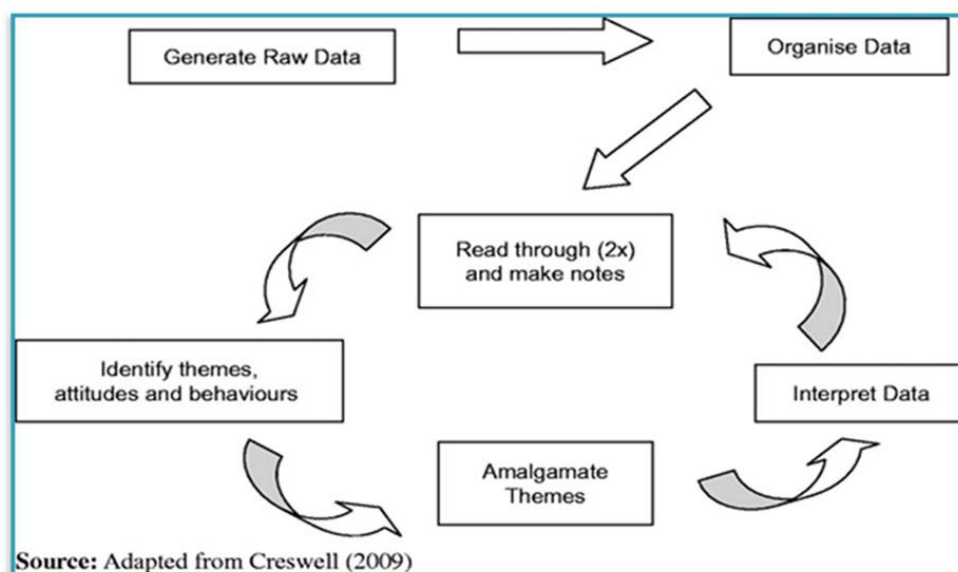
The fact that it is almost impossible to do research with the entire population, in this case, in-service history educators; therefore, a small group of four in-service history educators from Gauteng and Limpopo were invited to be part of this study as participants with the view of making informed conclusions around what they think should constitute a decolonized and Africanized SHC in post-apartheid South Africa. The selection of the participants was based on the criteria detailed in Table 2 below:

Table 2: Participates selection criteria for the study

Participant	Age-group	Race	Gender	School	Province	Teaching experience
Tshepo Sithole	Early thirties	African	Male	Under-resourced public township school	Gauteng	Between 5 – 7 years
Chantelle Smith	Early forties	White	Female	Well-resourced private school	Gauteng	14 years
Boitumelo Kganyago	Late thirties	African	Male	Under-resourced public rural school	Limpopo	3 years
Jacques du Plessis	Early thirties	“Coloured”	Male	Under-resourced public township school	Limpopo	Between 8 – 10 years

5.8 Data organization and analysis

Data organization and analysis simply refer to how the researcher brings order, and structure, as well as interpretation of or, makes sense to the data collected or generated (Merriam, 2001; Flick, 2014). Additionally, this process ought to consider the research objectives, to ensure that the collected or generated data is relevant to the focus and purpose of the study and research questions. This means that data organization and analysis are inseparable (Veal, 2006; Tuckman and Harper, 2012; Atkins and Wallace, 2012). I followed Creswell’s (2009) six steps technique in organizing and analyzing the data. Figure 3 below depicts Creswell’s process of data organization and analysis:



Below, I articulate how I followed this technique in some detail.

5.8.1 Organizing the data

I first organized the data according to provinces. This was then followed by another process of data organization after the transcription process, reading through the data, interpreting the data, and the coding and analysis processes were completed. In other words, the second process of data organization was based on the themes that emerged from the data.

5.8.2 Transcription of data

I transcribed the semi-structured interviews with the in-service history educators under study, myself. This is because it is recommended that qualitative researchers transcribe their own data as this process enables them to get closer to, and understand their data better (see Henning, Van Rensburg, and Smit, 2004). Giloi argues that transcription does not only entail writing down the interviews as you are listening to them; but it's a complex nuanced process that also entails a range decision making on the part of the researcher:

transcribe a recording, how much of it to transcribe, how to represent the recorded talk, whether non-verbal elements and gestures should be included, whether pauses and silences should be included and, if so, whether they should be timed, how to label speakers and lay out the transcripts and where to begin and end extracts for use in research reports (Giloi, 2015).

I transcribed all interviews verbatim and non-verbal signs, gestures, and pauses were excluded from the audio recordings but were kept separate in a research journal. This is because transcribing often involves two activities of selectivity and the “unavoidable knowledge and skills....to interpret and represent what is going on” (Giloi, 2015).

5.8.3 Reading through, and interpreting the data

The third step involved reading through the data, because the idea was to “obtain a general sense of the ideas, noting ideas and thinking about the general organization of the data” (Creswell, 2012: 243). So, for this step, I read and reread the interview transcripts, making notes in the margins of the transcript documents of the participants’ choice of words. I then moved to step four, which entailed interpreting the data to identify words that the participants frequently used to establish similarities and differences between them. In addition, I identified nouns that were frequently used, and that seemed to express an idea or feeling. This process also led me to identify themes that emerged from the data.

5.8.4 Coding and analysing the data

In steps five and six, I used colour coding to establish themes that emerged. After the coding, I grouped the participants’ responses into themes that emerged. These were then compared to the themes that emerged in the literature review. After all, these processes were concluded; it became apparent to me that the participants involved in this study had some ideas about the

contested nature of the history of SH in post-apartheid South Africa, as well as what they think could constitute a decolonized and Africanized SHC.

5.9 Ethical considerations

Since qualitative research often includes interactions with human participants, other beings, and the environment, ethical issues arise. In other words, this means that whilst qualitative researchers have the right to collect or generate data, they also have the responsibility to ensure that they do not collect or generate data at the expense of the participants' right to privacy (ibid.). This then implies that researchers are required to conduct themselves ethically, especially when human participants, other beings, and the environment are involved. This process involves honesty, integrity, expertise, as well as diligence on the part of the researcher.

Below I discuss some of the ethical considerations I have made.

5.10 The protection of the in-service history educators and their schools' identities

The clearest concern in the protection of the subject's interest and wellbeing is the protection of their identity. Since this study involves in-service history educators, whom I have asked to share some of their thinking and insights around what could constitute a decolonized and Africanized SHC; as well as their personal information which might not be known by other people such as their colleagues or employers, it is then advisable that their identities are protected. This meant that I had to first ensure that I discuss beforehand with individual participants around issues that involve anonymity, confidentiality, the need for them to consent, and their right to withdraw from the study at any time. This also meant applying what I had discussed with the participants in my writing up of this study.

5.10.1 Anonymity

In terms of anonymity, participants were informed that their identities will be kept confidential and the information they provided will in no way reveal their identities (Cohen et al., 2007). Therefore, the participants' identities were protected using pseudonyms in the transcriptions, as well as the research findings published in this study. Furthermore, they were guaranteed that their consent forms and letters were not going to be published anywhere. Hence, signed consent forms and letters from all the participants were not published in this study.

5.10.2 Confidentiality

In terms of confidentiality, the participants were assured in writing that their information and identities will be kept confidential, and that information gathered through the study will only be used for academic purposes. This means that the data generated will only be used for this

degree's requirements, as well as academic publications that emanate from this study. This was important to clarify to the participants because, the concept of confidentiality in a research study requires the researcher to keep all information shared by the participants during the data collection period confidential, and not link such information with the participants' identity publicly (Cohen et al., 2007).

5.10.3 Informed Consent

The preamble letter and letter of consent (see appendixes B, C, D and E) were delivered by hand to the participants and their principals detailing the nature of the study. I then went through the consent form with each of the four participants, and thus written consent was granted. This was very important to do because, as Creswell (2003) argues, informed consent is a tool used to ensure that participants understand what it means to participate in a research study, to decide in a conscious, informed manner whether they want to be part of the research study or not.

5.10.4 Right to withdraw

Another ethical consideration I adhered to during the study is the participants' right to withdraw from taking part in the study. I notified each participant before and during the interviews that they had a choice not to take part in the study and assured them that their taking part in this study was purely voluntary. I did this through writing (see appendixes B, C, D and E), as well as verbally, to emphasize that they reserve the right to withdraw from the study without reprisal. This meant they could withdraw their agreement to be participants at any time and for any reason. Fortunately, none of the selected participants withdrew their consent during the study.

5.11 Ensuring the quality of the study findings: Trustworthiness

Qualitative researchers have opted to use the concept "trustworthiness" as central to their meaning-making because concepts such as "validity" and "reliability" no longer make sense to them (Fomunyam, 2015). Trustworthiness is considered to be made up of "characteristics of a study or research which guarantees that the results of the study are dependable and reflect the context from which it was developed" (Thomas and Magilvy, 2011: 5). In other words, this implies taking the necessary step to ensure that findings of the study stand the test of time (Sinkovics and Alfoldi, 2012). To achieve this, qualitative researchers deploy and use concepts such as "credibility", "transferability", "dependability" and "confirmability", which I discuss below, to demonstrate the trustworthiness and soundness of the findings and arguments that are presented in any qualitative study (Shenton, 2004; Morrow, 2005; Creswell, 2009; Loh, 2013).

5.11.1 Credibility

Anney defines credibility in a qualitative study to refer to “the confidence that can be placed in the truth of the research findings” (Anney, 2014: 276). This view is shared by Morrow (2005) and Trochim and Donnelly (2007) who argue that credibility entails establishing that the results of qualitative research are credible or believable from the perspective of the participant in the research. In other words, credibility concerns itself with establishing the truthfulness of the study’s findings from the perspective of the participant in the research. Therefore, in order to maintain the credibility of my research findings, I firstly cross checked with the participants after analysis of that data to make sure that my interpretations was what they were saying.

Secondly, I used multiple theories discussed in the initial chapters of this study, as well as the literature reviewed to establish the credibility of the data generated. Moreover, another aspect that increased the credibility of my findings and ultimately the study itself was the research method I used. As already stated, the study used semi-structured interviews which allowed for open conversations between me and the participants about their knowledge of the SHC in South Africa, as well as their thinking about what could constitute a decolonized and Africanized SHC.

5.11.2 Transferability

Transferability articulates the degree to which the research data or findings can be applicable in other research conditions or settings with other research participants. In other words, transferability refers to the extent to which the results of the study can be generalized or transferred to other contexts or settings. The strategies for establishing transferability include providing detailed descriptions of research findings or data and using purposive sampling. So, this study adopted a common and uncomplicated research methodology that if replicated in other similar contexts, might yield close to the initial results because results will never be the same irrespective of similar context and methods or research process (Lincoln and Guba, 2005).

5.11.3 Dependability

Dependability is similar to the concept of reliability, which is concerned with the consistency of findings if the study is repeated in another context (Holloway, 2005; Trochim and Donnelly 2007). Qualitative researchers speak of dependability unlike reliability spoken by quantitative researchers. In this study, dependability was established by ensuring that all responses by participants were represented in the findings presented in this study. This was done to ensure that data was not manipulated to suit any preconceived findings. Hence, I also cross checked

with the participants after analysis of that data to make sure that my interpretations was what they were saying in order to determine creditability.

So, this study strived to reflect the true findings of the study, regardless of whether they conform or do not conform to the existing literature. My supervisors, who are leading decolonial scholars, were responsible for assisting me with examining the data, findings, interpretations, and recommendations to attest that they were supported by data. This meant that my supervisors acted as the inquiry auditors. The role of an inquiry auditor entails engaging and examining the data, findings, interpretations and recommendations of the study with the view of establishing whether or not they correlate. Therefore, my supervisors after assuming the role of inquiry auditors made informed suggestions and recommendations to the study. All of this ensured that the findings, my interpretations of the findings, as well as the recommendations I suggest, could be dependable.

5.11.4 Confirmability

Confirmability is the late strategy utilized researchers conducting qualitative studies to confirm the trustworthiness of their research data or findings. Confirmability speaks to the strength to which the research data or findings are the result of the focus of the inquiry and not the biases brought by the researcher. In other words, confirmability makes sure that the researcher does not, in any way, provide evasion, misinformation, misrepresentations, or lies (Anney, 2014). So, the trustworthiness of my research findings was confirmed through the inquiry auditor role played by my supervisors, as well as my insistence on engaging the findings multiple times to avoid writing figments of my imagination.

5.12 Conclusion

In this chapter, I outlined my preferred theoretical perspective, research approach, methodology, and methods. I also outlined and justified my preferred research design, the sampling process, data collection, organization and analysis, and ethical considerations. I also discussed the challenges that I encountered during the process of data generation, which, in turn, informed the nature of data gathered for this study. Therefore, the results of the data collected through semi-structured interviews will be presented in chapter six and the discussion thereof will happen in chapter seven of this study.

CHAPTER SIX

DATA PRESENTATION

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present data generated during the data collection process. This includes data that emerged from the semi-structured interviews with the in-service history educators. However, before this data is presented; the biographies of participants are highlighted to give the reader an idea about the kinds of realities that inform and shape the participants involved in the study. These realities in turn inform, to some extent, the different kinds of understandings and conceptualizations of school history (SH) in post-apartheid South Africa, and how we can go about decolonizing and Africanizing it.

6.2 Profile of research participants

The following section outlines the descriptions of the in-service history educators involved in this study, the kind of educator training they received, and the kinds of schools they currently work for. Issues of anonymity, confidentiality, and the right to withdraw were also discussed with the participants at length. I discussed these in section 5.3 of the previous chapter. Below I use pseudonyms to refer to the participants that were involved in this study.

- a. **Tshepo Sithole** – is an African Setswana-speaking male history educator who graduated with a Bachelor of Education degree majoring in History Education and English Education from the University of Johannesburg. **Tshepo** is in his early thirties and has been a professional history educator for more than five years teaching grades 8 to 12. He works for an under-resourced public township school situated within the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality (i.e., Johannesburg South District). This is a no-fee paying school that educates black-African learners from diverse backgrounds. This school was established immediately after the establishment of the South Western Townships - commonly known as Soweto.
- b. **Chantelle Smith** – is an English-speaking white South African female in her early-thirties. She holds a Bachelor of Education majoring with History Education from Wits. She has been a professional history educator for more than 14 years now. She initially started her teaching at a private Catholic situated in Northern Suburbs of Johannesburg. **Chantelle** then joined an all-boys public school situated in Johannesburg East.

Currently, **Chantelle** works for another all-boys school – a private institution located in Johannesburg North.

- c. **Boitumelo Kganyago** –is an African Xitsonga-speaking history educator in his late twenties and has been a professional history educator for three years. He holds a Bachelor of Education degree majoring in History Education and English Education; Bachelor of Education with Honours, and Master of Education – all from Wits. He is currently enrolled for a PhD in Inclusive Education and History Education with Wits. He is also awaiting results for his Master of History dissertation from the University of Cape Town. He works for an under-resourced public rural school that only has diverse African learners enrolled. This school was established in the 1950s under apartheid rule, and now forms part of the Vhembe West (Mutale) District in the Limpopo Province. It is also a no-fee paying school.
- d. **Jacques du Plessis** – identifies as a “coloured” Afrikaans-speaking Gay man. He is in his early thirties and has been a professional history educator for more than eight years. He holds a Bachelor of Education degree majoring in History Education and Life Orientation Education from the University of Johannesburg. He works for an under-resourced public township school located in the Capricorn district in Polokwane, Limpopo. This is also a no-fee paying school that enrolled predominantly “coloured” learners, but also has African learners as part of its learner population. This is a school that was also established at the height of apartheid.

6.3 Presentation of data

As already mentioned in the research design and methodology chapter and the introduction of this chapter; I employed semi-structured interviews as a research method to collect data from the participants who were invited to be part of this study. The rationale for selection of this research method was to gain insights into the views of participants involved in this study concerning the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa, and whether it was important to decolonize and Africanize it. This research method was also selected bearing in mind the following research questions:

1. How can the current SHC that is still very much written from a Euro-western canonical line or gaze be decolonized and Africanized to reflect an all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view?

2. What are the views of in-service history educators on the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa, especially since they are often marginalized and excluded in official discourses around education policy?
3. Do in-service history educators think it is important decolonize and Africanize the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa?
4. How can in-service history educators contribute to decolonizing and Africanizing the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa?

The interview questions which the participants were asked to respond to are attached under Appendix A.

6.3.1 Data generated from the semi-structured interviews

Tshepo was the first participant involved in this study who was interviewed. The first question he was asked was in relation to his biography and that of his school. His response is articulated above. When he was asked whether he thought that the content knowledge contained in the current SHC in post-apartheid was still colonial in nature, or significant efforts were made in addressing the colonial-apartheid legacy that appears to still inform the current SHC. His response was as follows:

Well, most of the history content is still mainly colonial because what we mostly teach learners is about how people lived during the colonial years and how they gained their freedom/independence. What we don't teach our learners is life after freedom or independence. What learners find in history is that it only focuses on the past and it is irrelevant to the current way of life. It takes a lot of convincing from an educator to make learners see that our history actually is the reason why we live the way we do, socially and geographically. Only a small portion in our curriculum focuses on post-colonial era or post-apartheid era event.

When asked if he thought it was important for the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa to be decolonized and Africanized to make it more inclusive where historical literature is a concern. This is what he had to say:

Our history is meant to help shape our current and future generations. For that to be achieved, we need to have more content about our African leaders and African legacy. For instance, the speeches of Patrice Lumumba are only seen on social media.

Education about how Muammar Gaddafi managed to make Libya a great country in Africa is not taught when it should be.

So, we can't continue with a situation where half of the history in our curriculum is European history, which in my point of view, is not context relevant. The European way of life and our way of life do not necessarily match. Our continent continues to be run by Europeans simply because we know Europeans as people that are inventive and brought civilization. We have the youth that is willing to change the mindset and the status quo in our continent. However, they don't know how to bring about a revolution in our continent because the only way we want to change things is through voting, which is something that we learnt from the Europeans.

If we can change how our curriculum is written, we can have a different Africa. For instance, we are Africans, why do we need to learn more about European, American, and Asian history? How will that bring about a revolution in our continent? There is a lot that was done by our African leaders that is not recognized in our curriculum. Our curriculum had the history of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), that history has been scrapped out of our syllabus, if in grade 7 they are still teaching it, it is limited and that is one of the integral parts of our rich history.

I also believe that history should be made compulsory, like L.O [Life Orientation] and mathematics. Simply because we lack necessary knowledge that will free us from the belief that going to school means achieving your certificate and go look for work. Every learner must know the history of Steve Biko's Black Consciousness, they must know about Stockley Carmichael and Malcolm X's Black Power. What the philosophies of these movements mean to black people. We need to decolonize our education so that we can emancipate our African youth from mental slavery. Some, if not most of our African youth dream of going to work at a firm that is owned or managed by a white person, due to a lack of knowledge about their leaders who have proven that blacks are powerful.

So, the decolonization of our education, especially History, is vital as it will remind us that we were made to think less of ourselves and forced to believe that. Our history must actually bring writings by Marcus Garvey, the like of W. E. B. Du Bois so that the current generation can learn about how powerful Africans are and the need for them to be independent from Europeans.

The last question that **Tshepo** was asked was how, as an in-service history educator, he thought the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa can be decolonized and Africanized, and how this can be done. This was his response:

Change the syllabus, bring in more African history and less world history. Our history should be about our heritage, our culture, it shouldn't be just about passing the subject. Our history should be made interesting by bringing in life after colonisation, life after apartheid (in our country). We need more lessons about Africanism and Pan Africanists like Robert Sobukwe and Anton Lembede, to mention a few. Our learners should? know more about Chris Hani than Adolf Hitler, we should put more emphasis about African Unity and the life Africans lived before the border gates were brought into Africa in our syllabus. There's a portion about African history, but I feel it is not enough and it isn't being emphasized as the world history is emphasized in our curriculum.

Boitumelo is the second participant that was interviewed. The first question he was asked too relates to his biography and that of the school he works for. His response is also articulated in section above this one. The second question that I asked him relates to views on the current SHC and whether its content knowledge was still colonial in nature, or significant efforts were made in addressing the colonial-apartheid legacy that appears to still inform the current SHC. This is what he had to say:

While we cannot dispute the fact that there have been drastic changes in terms of historical knowledge presentations and re-presentations in the school history curriculum, we cannot shy away from the fact that the curriculum remains colonial in its nature. In the past, it is without a doubt that the school history curriculum was mainly about absorbing what was deemed to be 'facts' by the apartheid regime. In other terms, other interpretations of the past were not allowed, only Afrikaner nationalism, European 'civilization', and Eurocentric perspectives were permitted. In a case where African historical knowledge was concerned, it was portrayed in a negative manner to suit their [colonial] narratives. An example of that would be the case of Shaka Zulu historiography where he was portrayed as the sole cause of the Mfecane and that was done with the intention to justify the nonsensical myth that 'Africa' was not habited before the arrival of colonial settlers in Southern Africa. Unlike during the apartheid era, currently, the school history curriculum has attempted to try and include the

histories of some African people who were not a part of it in the past and it is at least done in a positive light.

However, that does not mean the school history curriculum is now free from colonial ideologies in terms of knowledge. Although the curriculum claims to be promoting multiperspectivity, it does not do so as most of those histories are told from Eurocentric views, promoting single-sided perspectives and that is because the framing and languages that are used to tell those histories do not draw from the sociocultural aspects of the people it is claiming to be talking about. There is still a large historical knowledge of indigenous people missing in the school history curriculum and making it bear no relevance to most of the pupils consuming it. Not only that, the histories of queer people and people living with impairments are nowhere to be found in the curriculum, not to mention the histories of women. In the case of women for instance, the histories of people like Nomzamo Zanyiwe Winifred Madikizela-Mandela are mentioned in passing and she is referred to as a mere wife of Rolihlahla Nelson Mandela despite the significant role that she played during the struggle against apartheid. In some cases, you will find that the school history curriculum promotes Eurocentrism, and you can think of how capitalism and globalization which colonial traits are emphasized in the curriculum. So, these colonial traits do not take place as they used to like before when it was explicit.

When asked about his views on the importance of decolonizing and Africanizing the current SHC to make it more inclusive, especially where historical literature is a concern. This is what **Boitumelo** had to say:

Yes, it is important, we need a school history curriculum that will bear relevance to the people it is intended for. We need a history curriculum that will conscientize Africans of their historical existence before the colonial eras and know what life was like then. But most importantly, we need a school history curriculum that will align with the realities of African pupils. It cannot be that they continue to consume foreign histories that are not relatable to their contexts or would not bear any relevance, instead, it would make them be arrogant of their surroundings and indigenous histories.

When asked about his views on how he thinks the current SHC can be decolonized and Africanized. This is what **Boitumelo** had to say:

Since decolonizing or Africanizing is not a straightforward process, I would suggest we use an integrative and inclusive approach where we allow African historiography and Western historiography to co-exist. Now the question is, where do we get those African histories? So, firstly we would need to visit work that focuses on African histories written by not only biased scholars, and also revisionist historians who were responding to the negative histories written about Africa and her people as such histories might too be tainted. Secondly, we need to conduct oral research where the indigenous people such as our grandparents are not just participants but also co-knowledge creators. In that way, we will then be able to include histories that focus on African people and that will be written and told in a way that uses their tools of communicating their past. We also need to stop attributing truth only to Western historiography and start attributing it to indigenous sources of history too. For instance, a historical ancestral archive according to the Western standard of verifying knowledge would not be deemed to contain any knowledge despite the fact that for many years, indigenous people have used it to pass down historical knowledge of healing. We also need to bring in more historical sources that are not rooted in Eurocentrism or that promote Western hegemony.

Jacques is the third participant whom I interviewed. His response to the first question is also articulated in section 6.2. On the question relating to his views on the current SHC and whether its content knowledge was still colonial in nature, or significant efforts were made in addressing the colonial-apartheid legacy appears to still inform the current SHC. This was **Jacques'** response:

Colonial – to an extent! I think there is a great emphasis placed on Eurocentric history, but I wouldn't say that there aren't any efforts made to sort of Africanize history. Uhm, I just don't think there is an importance placed in African history. For instance, the most accessible test questions in the history curriculum in South Africa now are Eurocentric or American sort of history. And that is largely to say that there has been a lot of effort placed in studying those histories and publishing on those specific histories and making that content accessible.

So, for instance, if we have to look at grade 12, uhm, a lot of learners aren't able to do history of Congo because it is so inaccessible. So, it is very-very complex in comparison to doing something like the Cold War or Black Power Movement in America. Uhm,

those things [histories] are accessible because teachers have access to a plethora of resources to look into. But African history specifically, you don't have much resources or as much access to that specific content, and that makes it a little more far-fetched. I do think that efforts are made in Africanizing history; I don't think it is enough though. But there is still a great emphasis on placed on Eurocentric history. For instance, we study the French Revolution in grade 10, but there are similar establishments or historical establishments in Africa like the Nubian Kingdom that could be studied and have the same sort of outcomes that we get from the French Revolution. Why are we still studying the French Revolution? And as a South African child – whether or not that still have some sort of a good outcome or any outcome for the child. What do we teach those children? Because history ultimately wants us to learn some of value; take some sort of skill away; acquire some of knowledge or learn an attitude or two.

But if we can learn that from an African sort of history – where does that take us? Because if that's the chat then it is important for us to understand that we probably then have to research more on African establishments or kingdoms in order for us to get those outcomes. Because we don't have – uhm not a lot of information or resources backing those types of inclusions in terms of decolonizing the curriculum a little bit more. Because when you say you are going to decolonize the curriculum, they will say what would you have in the curriculum in place of this and what would it offer?

When I asked **Jacques** about his views on the importance of decolonizing and Africanizing the current SHC to make it more inclusive, especially where historical literature is a concern. This is what he had to say:

Definitely! Definitely! I think as African kids and African learners or scholars we are removed from, uhm, you know, our histories specifically. I do think that the idea of having African history specifically that is compulsory for students and have elective history like world or global history is something that should happen. I think everyone should learn about the history of specific African establishments, especially because Africa is so complex.

Uhm, the idea of xenophobia only as like as a concept emerges from our being removed from the complexities of Africa and not necessarily that we are more similar than different. I think that this is what is removed for me from the Rainbow Nation narrative, and that makes it such flawed concept or principle.

The last question I asked **Jacques** as well was in relation to his views on how he thinks the current SHC can be decolonized and Africanized. And this what he had to say:

You know, I think it's very important to see ourselves as different first and maybe apply something because, you know, South African history specifically is very complex. And to decolonize the school history curriculum is not necessarily about what sorts of topics we include and what we give kids access to. It is also about balancing the scales in history, and this is where multiperspectivism comes in. This means having a black sided history being written in order to balance the already, sort of, unbalanced history. So, to balance it, we will have to write it unjustly or justly in a way that will balance it. To complete this balance in order for us to decolonize, we will have to allow history the way it is written now to exist here – and history the way we [Africans] know it to exist there; and for then to have them co-exist for kids to create a critical academic perspective on what they want to believe or make their own sound interpretation of what they believe history to be. Because right now, history is being told and we're just listening. We are not necessarily having history being told from the perspective of our forefathers.

Chantelle was the last research participant I interviewed. Similar to others, her response to the first question I asked her is also articulated in section 6.2. When asked about her views on the current SHC and whether its content knowledge was still colonial in nature, or significant efforts were made in addressing the colonial-apartheid legacy appears to still inform the current SHC. This what **Chantelle** had to say:

I think the content is still quiet colonial, you know. You look at the sort of big turning points that have happened, but they come from the colonial perspective. For example, you know in the grade 8 syllabus you start teaching the mineral revolution in South Africa, and its all about the discoveries of our mineral resources by European men and how that built up Western life and led to the human right losses of African people. I think that's how it comes as framed, and in that way, we could say it could be considered colonial.

On the third question asked to **Chantelle** relating to her views on the importance of decolonizing and Africanizing the current SHC to make it more inclusive, especially where historical literature is a concern. This is what she had to say:

Definitely! Uhm, I think from like, uhm, based on the need to include previously marginalized histories, definitely there is a need to decolonize and Africanize the history syllabus. I feel like representation is so important and uhm, I think a part of our mandate as history teachers in South Africa is a sense of nation building. And by including as much diversity into your curriculum as possible – your history curriculum. You create a better understanding and acceptance amongst our students. Uhm ja!

The last question I asked **Chantelle** as well had to do with her views on how she thinks the current SHC can be decolonized and Africanized. And this what she had to say:

Ah... I mean they have to give more time – number one. If you want to decolonize and Africanize history, you have to give us more time in the classroom to create spaces to include more views and more stories. And I suppose that would be done through source work you know – by including different case studies and different sources.

You know how hard it is to find videos to play in a 30-minute lesson about something simple like the impact of the forced removals in District Six and Sophiatown – a nice, concise 30-minute-long documentary. Uhm ja, just to find good short case studies that you can cover and interrogate with learners in a lesson that would be impactful. We need to create more resources like that for educators. That's how I think the how comes about – create the resources for teachers to use.

You know, there's that section in grade 10 where you do all the African kingdoms and chiefdoms – and to find like a video on these is difficult. You can't find a video on like King Moshoeshoe! What a legendary, uhm..., as they portray him in the textbooks. This wonderful African diplomat and negotiator, but you can't find nothing about him online. There's no documentary, there's no film. So, we need to create content, especially in age like today – 2023. How can you not play your kids a 30-minute video if you wanna capture their attention and imagination about history.

But there is a couple of videos out there on histories of Shaka and all. However, those are like super-super colonized and told from a very Eurocentric point of view. So, ja, the how is to create the content and the resources.

Above are some of the findings that I obtained from the participants involved in this study. These finding will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter, which is chapter seven of this study.

6.4 Conclusion

In concluding, it is safe to say that the above-mentioned findings reveal that the research participants involved in this study have diverse lived experiences, especially where history and the teaching of history is a concern. Obviously, all of these lived experiences have a bearing on how they view the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa, the importance they attach to the decolonization and Africanization of the SHC and how they could be achieved. But it is clear that all of the respondents agree that the SHC should be decolonized and Africanized. Therefore, the following chapter will discuss these main findings of the study in relation to the literature reviewed.

CHAPTER SEVEN

INTERPRETATION, ANALYSES AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

7.1 Introduction

The study sought to investigate and explore the possibilities of decolonizing and Africanizing the school history curriculum (SHC) in post-apartheid South Africa with a particular focus on knowledge building. This was done both conceptually and empirically. Therefore, this chapter presents interpretations and discussions of the main conceptual and empirical findings of the study. This is carried out in the following manner:

- a) The main conceptual findings of the study will be interpreted and discussed first.
- b) This will be followed by the interpretations and discussions of the main empirical findings which were derived from the semi-structured interviews with the in-service history educators. Within this context, I also discuss the empirical findings in relation to the conceptual findings.

7.2 Interpretation, Analysis and discussions of main findings

7.2.1 Conceptual findings interpretation and discussions

Curriculum, especially the SHC, as both a concept and product, is deeply contested. Despite these contestations, this study has thus far highlighted that there is a need for the SHC in post-apartheid South Africa to be decolonized and Africanized to make it more inclusive, especially at the level of knowledge. I conducted a conceptual investigation because I wanted to answer the following research question:

- How can the current SHC that is still very much written from a Euro-western canonical line or gaze be decolonized and Africanized to reflect an all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view?

This is because I needed to gain insights into:

- The importance of decolonizing and Africanizing the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa to be more inclusive, at level of knowledge building and structuring, and how this can be achieved.

I have since concluded that, conceptually, the post-apartheid SHC has to be decolonized and Africanized, because current Euro-western knowledge traditions and their canons do not have in them the necessary tools to capture, reinterpret, understand, analyze, and reconstruct the whole world. However, the decolonizing and Africanizing of the SHC ought to be done in such a way that the very same Euro-western knowledge traditions and their canons are not marginalized in this process. This is because a mere replacing of Euro-western knowledge traditions and their canons with African knowledge forms does not constitute decolonizing and Africanizing. If done, it would constitute yet another marginalizing act, this time, performed by the colonized Other in their attempts at decolonizing and Africanizing. It would also advance a nativist delinking approach that recentres decolonial and Africa-centeredness discourses, ontologies, and epistemologies relatively separate from Euro-western ones (Hlatshwayo *et al.*, 2022).

So, to truly begin to decolonize and Africanize the SHC, we need to move beyond the rhetoric, metaphoric, and romanticization that often characterizes decolonization and Africanization. This means another process of *Ukuhlambulula* will need to take place, and this process will have to adopt an all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view. In other words, there needs to be commitment from those involved in knowledge production. That commitment should centre on curricularizing and the teaching SH, through a *policy dialogue*, to find ways to include, recentre and re-historicize African histories and experiences that continue to be marginalized by the legacy of colonialism, apartheid, and neoliberal education, as well as a pervasive coloniality and its colonial matrix. This SHC will also need to recentre Euro-western knowledge traditions and their canons, as well as knowledge from the Global East and other knowledge centres of the world. This is necessary to do, especially if we want a SHC in post-apartheid that reflects the diversity of people of the land.

So, how could this be achieved? Bernstein's CT, as well as his PD, Maton's EPD, LCT's Autonomy dimension, decoloniality and the African philosophy (of education) articulated in chapters two and three empower us to do this. For instance, when it comes to the classification (+/-), and the structuring of knowledge in the SHC in any of the distributive logics offered by EPD, there needs to be a recentring of what is usually considered everyday knowledge into the curriculum which will, in turn, allow for multidisciplinary, interdisciplinarity, or merged disciplinarity with other disciplines and other forms of knowledge. The concepts from the Autonomy dimension are useful in that they can assist in helping to highlight the power issues

at play when content selection is made. This is because they can be enacted to show whose content and whose purposes are valorized or advanced at the expense of others.

However, by recentring of what is usually considered everyday knowledge into the SHC, I do not mean or imply that decolonial knowledge or African centred knowledge is everyday knowledge and therefore illogical, disorganized, etc. And yes, there is knowledge that is everyday, illogical, disorganized, and does not belong in any school curriculum. Equally, not all knowledge can be included in the SHC. However, what I mean by this is that any form of decolonial knowledge or African centred knowledge forms that would be recentred into the SHC should also be subjected to disciplinary skills that any knowledge incorporated into a SHC would undergo. In other words, when in-service history educators and their learners engage with decolonial knowledge or African-centred knowledge forms, they should do so in ways that promote *reading, writing, and thinking* like a historian (see Wineburg, 1999; Seixas, 2017). Therefore, the process of recentring of decolonial knowledge or African-centred knowledge forms into the SHC will in turn elevate the status of that very same knowledge, especially knowledge constructed by oMakhulu that is often acquired outside of the classroom. This would challenge the monopolization of knowledge production, dismantle, collapse, and undermine the privileged status that Euro-western knowledge forms currently enjoy and create a situation whereby all centres or forms of knowledge are seen and treated equally. It is also a way of reconceptualizing research participants [oMakhulu, in-service history educators, etc.] as not only information mines, but as co-creators of knowledge. This is because research participants have for decades analyzed their social world thus creating knowledge in the process. But, because they may not have used ‘academic’ theories and concepts, this knowledge exists outside of the academy. So, reconceptualization is possible because experiences and histories of oMakhulu and others are usually located in the reproduction field, and it is through the EPD that those histories and experiences can be recontextualized in the recontextualization field and be dialectically and intersectionally moved to the production field and back to the reproduction field.

To further achieve an SHC that is decolonized and Africanized, there also needs to be a commitment to developing an African philosophy of education that would underpin this new SHC. This philosophy, as already articulated in chapter three, should be informed by three trends, namely: professional philosophy, hermeneutical philosophy, and philosophical sage.

The implications of professional philosophy on the SHC would entail the following: Firstly, a decolonized and Africanized SHC needs to be underpinned by an African philosophy of education that is conscious, logical, coherent, critical, dynamic, continuous, creative discursiveness, rational and systematic tradition of doing philosophy (Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru, 2013; Ndofirepi, 2013). This would enable both educators of history and their learners to engage in robust formal intellectual engagements that are characterized by systematic complex arguments (Mburu, 2018), as well as “critical reflections on personal wellbeing or human nourishing, on communal ethics and how this ought to impact on human conduct” (Letseka, 2000:182). This would also see philosophy and applied history coming together, and professional philosophy playing “the role of a midwife” to assist in “bringing [history] to birth in the way that midwives help in delivering babies” (Akinpelu, 1981:167).

Secondly, the implications of hermeneutical philosophy in the development of a decolonized and Africanized SHC would compel those operating in the recontextualization field to think of curriculum and its knowledge as needing to critically reflect the culture of the people it is meant for. First, the decolonized and Africanized SHC should transcend the seemingly particular, opposite and irreconcilable Euro-centred and Afro-centred philosophies or schools of thought. Second, Western philosophy and African philosophy should bury their narrow difference and “work together, recognising that what they have in common is much more than what separates them” (Budge, 1993: 154) — a unity of a single philosophy, of a single abstract subject-matter, careful and systematic thinking (method) and way of life. Third, two possible traps need to be avoided when thinking about an African philosophy of education based history curriculum: a) an essentialist definition of African identity that suggests that there is only one authentic set of characteristics which all African people share and which do not alter across time — identities involve multiplicity, therefore they are rarely coherent and integrated (Woodward, 1997: 2); and b) Africans are not a solidified, undifferentiated and homogenous mass of people (this tends to ignore differences and the fact that ‘Africans’ are individual subjects too). Moreover, hermeneutical philosophy advances the type of philosophical and historical underpinnings to a curriculum that is not universalistic or singularistic, but rather promote philosophical and historical underpinnings that are for epistemic shareability, pluriversality, particularism as pluralism, and transmodernity. As it stands, the current CAPS SHC reflects this ‘collective singular’ — that is often employed in African philosophy of education in the Global South. Hence, Kgari-Masondo (2019: 119) argued that “CAPS History emphasise[s] the importance of teaching historical concepts but excludes the critical concept of historical significance ...

which safeguards skills of interpretation and understanding why certain histories are in the official arena and others not”. In other words, although the historical significance is stated in the history curriculum in CAPS; it is not explicitly stated and emphasized as one of the important skills learners need in *doing* history.

Thirdly, the implications of philosophical sage in the development of a decolonized and Africanized SHC are far-reaching. For instance, oral history and research projects that are offered as part and parcel of the history curriculum in CAPS can only be carried out if learners work closely with oMakhulu — the critical sages in their respective communities. However, this is only possible if learners are given clear and explicit guidelines on how to approach these projects in a manner that recentres and humanizes oMakhulu as institutions of indigenous knowledge. If this is done, it would mean that schools would end up with a history curriculum that does not only pay lip service to the critical role oMakhulu can play in our understanding of the world and its past, but also effectively and practically bring oMakhulu into the classroom in a different pedagogical form. This would enable both educators and learners to recognize and engage with them in ways that are meaningful, truthful, and enriching to their learning about the past — the rich history and heritage of South Africa gone by. The educational benefits of the sage philosophy-based history curriculum are thus immense. First, history learners would be encouraged to devote their time and energy to scientific research inquiry, e.g., oral history and research projects where history learners can work with oMakhulu, as critical thinkers in their respective communities. Second, learners are given clear and explicit guidelines as to how to approach this task in a manner that recentres and humanizes oMakhulu as institutions of indigenous knowledge. Third, sage philosophy “make[s] practical sense of deep theoretical issues” as argued by Waghid (2005: 126-7). In the end, oral history projects are at the heart of the African philosophy of education that looks both to the academic discipline and to educational practice in post-apartheid South African schools.

I now move to interpret and discuss the findings that emerged from the semi-structured interviews with the participants.

7.2.2 Semi-structured interviews interpretations and discussions

I used semi-structured interviews (see appendix A) as a way of recentring in-service history educators in debates around the decolonizing and Africanizing the school subject that they teach. These interview sessions took approximately 30 – 45 minutes with each participant and were conducted after school to avoid disrupting the teaching and learning process. The

interview questions were made up of four main questions and accompanied by six follow-up probing questions, as well as reasons for asking these questions. I conducted the semi-structured interviews in order to answer the following research questions:

- What are the views of in-service history educators on the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa, especially since they are often marginalized and excluded in official discourses around education policy?
- Do in-service history educators think it is important decolonize and Africanize the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa?
- How can in-service history educators contribute to decolonizing and Africanizing the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa?

This was because I needed to gain insights into:

- In-service history educators' views about the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa.
- Understand whether in-service history educators value the importance of decolonizing and Africanizing the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa.
- As well as how in-service history educators think the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa can be decolonized and Africanized.

I then subjected the data that emerged from these semi-structured interviews to Creswell's (2009) technique of analysis as articulated in chapter five. There are themes that emerged out of that, which I will pinpoint throughout the following discussions and in relation to the conceptual findings and their discussions.

With respect to the first question posed to the participants, their responses are already captured in section 6.2 of chapter six. What is apparent from their responses is that these are different individuals with diverse teaching qualifications and experiences of teaching history at school. They also hold different views about the SHC in post-apartheid South Africa and whether it should be decolonized or Africanized. However, in some instances, they share similar views. So, all of this is particularly significant for this study because it means that an all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view, as proposed by this study is maintained. It also means that in-service history educators' views and experiences about the subject they teach in schools are centred too. This, in turn, enables them to form part of academic studies of this nature and policy formation discussions around the subject they teach.

On the second question posed to participants; all of them were of the view that the current SHC in post-apartheid is still *mainly colonial in nature, but to some extent*. This can be attributed to the legacy of colonialism and apartheid, as well as neoliberalism and a pervasive coloniality and its colonial matrix that are characterized by epistemicides, culturecides, and linguicides that continue to underpin the SHC, which the conceptual findings attest to as well. This can also be attributed to democratic state's failure over the years to fully consider and appreciate the amount of work that was and is needed to dismantle these legacies and rebuild something new in its place (Maluleka and Ramoupi, 2022). It can also be attributed to the unwillingness of some academics and curriculum designers to change the status quo where SHC is a concern. These are people that are located in the EPD's production and recontextualization fields and have control over its epistemic and recontextualizing logics.

Nevertheless, two of the participants were of the view that in our recognition of the colonial nature of the SHC. *It was also equally important to recognize progress that has been made in addressing this*. For instance, Boitumelo argued that "... we cannot dispute the fact that there have been drastic changes in terms of historical knowledge presentations and re-presentations in the school history curriculum". While Jacques asserted that he "wouldn't say that there aren't any efforts made to sort of Africanize history". While, I agree with these views, and the conceptual findings attest to them too. There is still no doubt that the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa still needs to be decolonized and Africanized. For instance, the fact that the SHC continues not to fully pursue decolonization and Africanization remains very problematic. This is seen in how it includes and re-historize women's experience. Yet, the very same experiences of these women are not conceptualized in ways that promote "gendered historical concepts [sic] which do not re-inscribe a practice of epistemic erasure or the textual inscription of damaging stereotypes and ideologies" (Wills, 2016: 24-25).

Additionally, the current SHC continues to ignore, marginalize, deny, and erase in its knowledge base the histories and experiences of LGBTQIA+ individuals. This is despite the fact that the likes of Tseko Nkoli, Alfred Sipiwe Machela, Edwin Cameron, Beverly Ditsie, and many others played a crucial role in fighting for basic human rights of the LGBTQIA+ and intersecting those with struggles against colonialism and apartheid. This continued erasure of LGBTQIA+ histories and experiences is also witnessed in the work of the HMTT generally, and its 2018 report specifically. In the said report, nowhere does the HMTT articulate how they think we should include and recentre LGBTQIA+ histories and experiences in the historical literature that would inform the new SHC that they are currently working to conceptualize with

the DoBE. Yet, they speak of needing to shift the gaze, because the current gaze that informs the CAPS SHC, in their view, is always towards the Empire. But, perhaps unwittingly, their proposed gaze is still very much colonial insofar as ignoring and marginalizing an already ignored and marginalized group of people in the historical record. So, to remedy these shortcomings, the DoBE and the HMTT will have to adopt an all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view, as proposed by this study, in their attempts to decolonize and Africanize the current SHC. This remedy also needs to consider what is proposed by Bernstein's CT and PD, Maton's EPD, and LCT's Autonomy as articulated in this study.

On the third question posed to the participants, which deals with the importance of decolonizing and Africanizing the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa, *All participants agreed that it was important to decolonize and Africanize the SHC.* However, they attached different, yet similar, reasons to this importance. This is particularly important to note because not only does this reveal that the participants agree on the importance of decolonizing and Africanizing the SHC. It also reveals how the reasons behind the importance of decolonization and Africanization are complex and nuanced.

For instance, **Tshepo** argues that it is important to decolonize and Africanize the SHC in order to counter much of the Euro-western history that continues to dominate the SHC. This for him will, in turn, also address the issue of learners not learning about African ways of living and knowing. **Tshepo's** view ties with that of **Boitumelo** because, he insists on the importance of making the SHC relevant to the African experience. He further argues that this will assist with conscientizing learners about their shared histories before colonization, as well as the importance of these histories to their current realities. Hence, he argued that *"It cannot be that they continue to consume foreign histories that are not relatable to their contexts or would not bear any relevance, instead, it would make them be arrogant of their surroundings and indigenous histories"*.

Jacques, although agreeing with both **Boitumelo** and **Tshepo**, expressed his reasons differently. For him, it was important to decolonize and Africanize the SHC because learners and adults are far removed from their African histories. And this has resulted in xenophobic and Afrophobic attacks we have come to witness of late. **Jacques** takes it further by alluding that part of the problem with the idea of a Rainbow Nation that confronts post-apartheid South Africa is because people are far removed from their histories.

Chantelle on the other hand, sees representation as good enough reason to decolonize and Africanize the SHC in order for all learners to *see* themselves in the historical literature and *feel* themselves in the work they do in their history classrooms (Godsell, 2019). This intersects with other responses that were given by other participants. **Chantelle** also speaks about the role of history in nation building. In other words, if multiple histories are represented in the SHC, that could lead and “... *create a better understanding and acceptance amongst our students*”, and perhaps deal with the limitations of the idea of a Rainbow Nation that **Jacques** referred to.

The last question that I asked the participants was on how they thought we can go about decolonizing and Africanizing the SHC. *Although, some of them did not use academic theories, language and its lexicons to express their thoughts on this question. They nevertheless gave thought-provoking responses that are worth engaging.* I particularly asked them this question with a view of gaining insights from those who teach history to contribute to the countering of the knowledge blindness of much of the sociology of education, including many of the calls for decolonization and Africanization (Hlatshwayo, 2022).

For **Tshepo**, we need to reimagine an SHC that centres more African histories that are unifying. These histories should include histories of Pan-Africanists such as Mangaliso Sobukwe, Anton Lembede, and Thembisile Hani. Essentially, **Tshepo’s** entire contribution on how to decolonize and Africanize the SHC stresses that decolonization and Africanization should not only be about including other histories (practical grounds). It should also be understood from epistemological grounds, that is, what counts as valid historical knowledge to inform the SHC, and whose narratives are legitimated at the expense of others? This view is in line with what is expressed by LCT’s Autonomy dimension because it stresses the need to highlight knowledge within the curriculum that is least and most valued, and how is this a result of power imbalances.

Boitumelo is one of the participants who, in his response to this question, used academic theories, language and lexicons. For him, it is first important to appreciate that decolonizing and Africanizing is not a linear process. He is basically pushing back against this idea that a mere exclusion of certain histories to make room for the inclusion of other histories constitutes decolonization and Africanization – something that this study has since highlighted. He then proposes that an “*integrative and inclusive approach*” be adopted in the decolonization and Africanization of the SHC. This, for him, will enable a situation whereby African

historiographies and Euro-western ones to co-exist. His approach is in line with the all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view proposed by this study (Dussel, 2012; Santos, 2014; Maluleka, 2021a; Fataar, 2022).

What is more intriguing about **Boitumelo's** response is his argument that truth should not only be associated with Euro-western archive but should also be associated “...with indigenous sources of history too”. This, for him, will enable us to revisit what he calls an “ancestral archive” that centres “our grandparents are not just participants but also co-knowledge creators”, as well as other historical schools, such as the revisionist school of thought that seeks to counter much of the colonial bias where African history is a concern. He also raises the issue of historical sources and argues for the recentring of other historical sources that are not particularly “...rooted in Eurocentrism or that promote Western hegemony”. All of these contributions by **Boitumelo** show someone who is knowledgeable about the importance of decolonizing and Africanizing, and how we can go about achieving it in ways that are inclusive, cumulative and principled (Fataar, 2022).

Chantelle gave an intriguing response to the question too. She argued that in order to decolonize and Africanize the SHC, we also need to consider how the curriculum framed (+/-) (Bernstein, 1971). With this, she believes that the history educator will be empowered in “...create[ing] spaces to include more views and more stories”. Like **Boitumelo**, she also stressed the importance of the use of historical sources to allow for multiple perspectives to be engaged, as well as the importance of creating more resources to aid the work that teachers do.

7.3 Conclusion

Considering both the conceptual and empirical findings, I can argue that indeed there is a need to decolonize and Africanize the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa to make it more inclusive, especially where content knowledge is a concern. Therefore, the following chapter is the final chapter of this thesis and outlines the key findings that emerged from this study, limitations linked to this study, as well as some recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER EIGHT

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the findings, recommendations and conclusion based on the data interpreted and discussed in the previous, findings chapter. Some limitations of the study are also articulated in this chapter.

8.2 Summary of the findings

The study explored how the SHC was colonized during colonial-apartheid, and how this has continued to be the case during post-apartheid South Africa due to a pervasive coloniality and its power matrix. The study also investigated the possibilities of decolonizing and Africanizing the SHC with a particular focus on knowledge building. This was done conceptually and empirically. Conceptually, a critical decolonial conceptual framework strengthened with Bernstein's (1975) CT and PD, Maton's (2014) EPD, and LCT's Autonomy dimension were employed. This was done for the following reasons: firstly, to highlight how the legacy of colonialism, apartheid, as well as neoliberalism and coloniality, and their monolithic epistemic nature, and to some extent, their alienating pedagogic and assessment practices continue to underpin the SHC in post-apartheid South Africa. Secondly, to explore conceptual ways in which decoloniality could be applied in the SHC curriculum and its structures in cumulative and principled ways (Fataar, 2022). This is to counter much of the knowledge blindness that characterize sociology of education including many of the calls for decolonization and Africanization (Hlatshwayo et al, 2022) with the view of repositioning scholarship on decolonization and Africanization. This seeks to be vested in a sociological approach to knowledge and curriculum that is invested in investigating the "relations within" knowledge and curriculum and their intrinsic structures (Lilliedahl, 2015).

Empirically, four in-service history educators from Gauteng and Limpopo Province were conveniently selected. A qualitative research approach was adopted, and semi-structured interviews were used as methods of generating empirical data, with descriptive and interpretive elements of data analysis used to engage the data. The purpose of interviewing in-service history educators was to gain insights into how they thought of the current SHC. Whether calls to decolonize and Africanize the SHC were imperative and justified? And how they could be carried out? This was also a way of making visible their experiences and thoughts about the

SHC and the current discourse on decolonization and Africanization. Of special significance in giving voice to the history educators is the recognition that their experiences and thoughts are often invisibilized in academic studies of this nature and policy formation discussions (see Govender, 2008).

Both the conceptual and empirical findings reveal that there is a need to decolonize and Africanize SHC in post-apartheid South Africa given that its knowledge base is still characterized by the legacy of colonial-apartheid, coloniality and power matrix. To achieve this, both the conceptual and empirical findings pointed out the need to reimagine and construct epistemologies, ontologies and methodologies that not only move beyond universal explanations of the world; but embrace trans-modernist and pluriversal explanations of the world. Noting that such reading are informed and shaped by time and the place, perspective, orientation, and situatedness of their authors. This would, in turn, result in an SHC that is inclusive, rational and reflective, making it possible to merge Euro-western and African epistemologies and historiographies to form a decolonized and Africanized SHC that enables in-service history educators and their learners to engage with what Hountondji (1997) terms endogenous knowledge.⁵⁵

Secondly, the findings of the study revealed that looking critically at how historical knowledge is both dialectically and intersectionally produced, recontextualized and reproduced in the three fields of practice and who are the knowers that are legitimated and de-legitimated in all these processes can enable us to, first, better understand the colonizing gaze that continues to characterize the SHC. But also, better understand how these fields of practice can also be seen as spaces where de-legitimated knowledge and knowers are recentred and where decolonization and Africanization can happen. This would see the continued marginalization of indigenous knowledge systems, traditions, and cultural practices in the SHC at the altar of Eurocentric methods and their voices being disrupted; making the SHC to move beyond narrow provincialism of knowledge that is often nativist and monolithic in nature to be more inclusive, open, and epistemically and socially just.

Thirdly, the findings also pointed out that the CAPS' philosophy of education that underpins the current SHC is firstly questionable, especially if we consider the urgent need to disrupt the

⁵⁵ Hountondji (1997: 17) describes endogenous knowledge as a knowledge approach that 'create[s] bridges, [and] re-create[s] the unity of knowledge, or in simpler, deeper terms, the unity of the human being'.

academic and particular worldviews, to form a single philosophy in schools. It is untenable since it promotes ‘differences of content’, i.e., oral tradition versus written tradition in the school history curriculum. Fourthly, the difficulty is that presently, the CAPS SHC does not have a settled African philosophy of education. Thus, it is torn between two worlds, i.e., the universal and the particular. In a strict education for Africanization sense, the SHC in post-apartheid South African schools should be perceived first and foremost as a professional philosophical project that African philosophers in higher education devote their time and energy to. Secondly, a sage project that oMakhulus as part of the broader school communities help in-service history educators and their learners through oral history and research projects to address problems and deal with issues facing locals. Last, but not least, it should be perceived as a hermeneutic project that brings philosophy down from the sky, i.e., helps both in-service educators and their learners to make practical sense of deep philosophical issues in post-apartheid South African schools.

8.3 Limitations of the study

While this study was supported by a wealth of academic literature on decolonization, decoloniality, Africanization, curriculum studies and so on, the findings of this study are generally limited to the conceptual findings generated, as well as the empirical findings that included interviews with the four participating in-service history educators who were selected from four schools in the provinces of Gauteng and Limpopo. Other limitations were participants are a concern, relate to the limited provincial representation, the racial and gender disparities and on. Lastly, time and distance constraints also limited my flexibility to constantly access the in-service history educators that I worked with, especially the two based in Limpopo.

8.4 Recommendations

In this section, I provide recommendations emanating from this study.

8.4.1 Towards a decolonized and Africanized SHC underpinned by an all-inclusive ecology of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view.

Calls to decolonize and indigenize (Africanize) education in general, and the SHC in particular emanate from the struggles waged by the colonized in the Global South and other non-western worlds. This is due to continued perceived exclusion, marginalization and peripheralization of their indigenous ways of knowing, being and becoming in education, school history specifically, and other spaces in general.

Therefore, I suggest an all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view to be adopted in an attempt to decolonize and Africanize the SHC in

post-apartheid South Africa. This is because this approach, being both disobedient, disruptive and inclusive in nature, seeks to contribute to the dismantling of the colonial-apartheid legacy, as well as the pervasive coloniality and its power matrix that continue to characterize the SHC. It also seeks to contribute to the establishment of an SHC that is inclusive and reasonably free of epistemicides, culturecides and linguicides.

8.5 Recommendations for future research

There is a need for future research which focuses on the decolonization and Africanization of history education generally, and South African school history specifically. Therefore, the following recommendations should be considered:

- Since the sample size was relatively small, further research is recommended. This can be done by expanding the scope of the study to include other in-service history educators from other provinces, to compare and contrast their views around the current SHC and calls for the decolonization and Africanization of the SHC.
- A study focused on the decolonization of pedagogies that would inform the teaching of school history should be considered.
- A study focused on the decolonization of assessment practices that would inform the examination of school history should be considered.
- The question of decolonization and Africanization also needs to speak to the question of language. Therefore, a study on how African indigenous languages could be institutionalized and academicized with the view of aiding a decolonized and Africanized SHC informed by Africans' thoughts, histories, cultures, and experiences, encoded through the languages that they speak needs to be instituted (Maseko, 2018; Maluleka and Ramoupi, 2022).
- Another study could be carried out that critically investigates the practicalities of implementing the proposed curriculum changes, given the political and societal forces at play.
- Lastly, a study looking at how educator-development at regional, provincial, and national level by government could be improved and strengthened should also be considered; especially since the HMTT has recommended for the rewriting of the SHC to make it more 'African centred'. Such a study should be underpinned by the notion of upskilling in-service history educators' subject knowledge, pedagogical content knowledge, as well as their knowledge around assessments.

8.6 Conclusion of the study

In this study, in seeking to answer the research question, I have made some recommendations acknowledging the complexity and contested nature of the SHC and what it would mean to decolonize and Africanize it, especially in post-apartheid South Africa. However, I hope that this study will spark new research interests on how we can go about reimagining an inclusive history education generally, and school history specifically. That would, in turn, contribute adequately to addressing issues of social, epistemic, cognitive, cultural, political, and economic transformation, redress and equity through education as promulgated in the constitution (1996) of the country, as well as the aspirations of those who fought and continue to fight for the total liberation of the country and her people from the legacy of colonial-apartheid and coloniality. Thus, there is still much to be done when it comes to the decolonization and Africanization of SHC in South Africa in which both in-service history educators and their learners can *see and feel themselves* more in the historical literature and in their *doing* of history in the classroom (Godsell, 2019; Maluleka, 2021a).

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10.1 Appendix A: Schedule of questions for semi-structured individual interviews
Interview schedule for semi-structured interviews with individual in-service history educators

Main question	Possible probe questions	Reason for asking
1. Briefly tell me about yourself, and the school you are employed at	- Name (will use pseudonyms), age, and ethical background. - Where did they matriculate and which year? From which institution did they train to become professional educators? - A brief history of the school they are employed at.	- To establish a sense of the individual educator's background. - To gain insights into the participants educational journey, especially where history is a concern. - To understand and appreciate the schooling environment they work in.
2. What is your sense of the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa?	- What do make of the current SHC where knowledge is a concern?	- To gain sights into how the participant perceives the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa.
3. Why do you think it is important to decolonize and Africanize the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa?	- Please explain your response in some detail.	- To understand the importance that the participants attach to decolonization and Africanization.
4. As an in-service history educator, how do you think we can go about decolonizing and Africanizing the current SHC in post-apartheid South Africa?	- In other words, how can we include and re-historicize marginalized knowledge forms in the curriculum knowledge base of the SHC in ways that make sense systematically? - How can the SHC be made more inclusive in its knowledge delivery?	- To understand how the participants think the SHC can be decolonized and Africanized in more cumulative and productive ways to make it more inclusive, especially where knowledge is a concern.

10.2 Appendix B: A letter to the school principals and school governing body chairpersons

20 June 2021

To the Principal and School Governing Body Chairperson,

My name is Paul Maluleka, and I am currently reading towards a doctoral degree in History (of) Education with a particular focus on decolonizing and Africanizing School History with the School of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand.

My research involves individual semi-structured interviews with in-service history educators currently employed at your school. The said semi-structured interviews will take approximately 45 minutes to an hour and will take place after school hours.

Your school was selected based on its locality, as well as its learner and staff profile. Therefore, I am inviting your school to participate in this research and for your in-service history educator to share their experiences, knowledge and understanding of school history, and how they think it could be decolonized and Africanized.

The participants will not be disadvantaged in any way, because they will be reassured that they can withdraw their permission at any time during this research for whatever reason without any consequences or penalty. However, there are no foreseeable risks in their participating in this study. Equally, the participants will not be paid for partaking in this study.

To ensure that the participants' and your school's true identities are protected, I intend on using pseudonyms to conceal both the true names of the schools and the participants in all writings of the study. The information provided by the participants will be used for the thesis, conference presentations, seminar presentations, and journal publications both locally and internationally. All research data will be destroyed after 5 years of completion of the research.

Please let me know if you require any further information. I look forward to your response as soon as is convenient.

Decolonial greetings,

Paul Maluleka

Wits School of Education

519132@students.wits.ac.za / malulekapaul@gmail.com

78 335 6479

10.3 Appendix C: A LETTER INVITING IN-SERVICE HISTORY EDUCATORS TO FORM PART OF THIS STUDY

20 June 2021

To in-service history educators,

My name is Paul Maluleka, and I am currently reading towards a doctoral degree in History (of) Education with a particular focus on decolonizing and Africanizing School History with the School of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand.

My research involves individual semi-structured interviews with in-service history educators currently employed at either a public or private school in Gauteng or Limpopo Province. The said semi-structured interviews will take approximately 45 minutes to an hour and will take place after school hours.

You are invited to form part of the selected research participants to this study. This is because of your experiences, knowledge and understanding of school history, and your views on decolonization and Africanization of school history.

As a participant, you will not be disadvantaged in any way. Thus, you will be continuously reassured that you can withdraw your permission at any time during this research for whatever reason without any consequences or penalty. There are also no foreseeable risks in your participating in this study. Equally, you will not be paid for partaking in this study.

To ensure that your true identity and that of the school you work for are protected, I intend on using pseudonyms to conceal both the true names of your school and yours in all writings of the study.

The information you will provide as a participant will be used for the thesis, conference presentations, seminar presentations, and journal publications both locally and internationally. All research data will be destroyed after 5 years of completion of the research.

Please let me know if you require any further information. I look forward to your response as soon as is convenient.

Decolonial greetings,

Paul Maluleka

Wits School of Education

519132@students.wits.ac.za / malulekapaul@gmail.com

78 335 6479

10.4 Appendix D: School principals and School Governing Body Chairpersons' informed consent

RESEARCH TOPIC: TOWARDS A DECOLONIZED AND AFRICANIZED SCHOOL HISTORY CURRICULUM IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

I _____, the principal and/or School Governing Body Chairperson of _____ School.

Agree to grant the researcher permission to conduct his Doctoral Research project at our institution. I understand that the participation of our in-service history educator is entirely voluntary and that they may withdraw at any time without negative consequences. I am also aware that any information will be treated with the utmost confidentiality and respect using pseudonyms and that in no way will our in-service history educator or school be penalized or (dis)advantaged for their participation.

I **agree and give permission** that our in-service history educator as a representative of our school in this research can participate in the following:

- Semi-structured interviews.

I **agree to allow and give permission** to the researcher to analyze data generated and include it as part of his research findings that will either form part of the final thesis, conference presentations, seminar presentations, and journal publications both locally and internationally.

I **agree to allow and give permission** for the researcher to audio-record the semi-structured interviews.

SIGNED: _____

DATE: _____

10.5 Appendix E: In-service history educators' informed consent
RESEARCH TOPIC: TOWARDS A DECOLONIZED AND AFRICANIZED SCHOOL
HISTORY CURRICULUM IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

I _____, the in-service history educator at _____ School.

Agree to partake in the researcher's Doctoral Research project. I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without negative consequences. I am also aware that any information will be treated with the utmost confidentiality and respect using pseudonyms and that in no way will I and my school be penalized or (dis)advantaged for our participation.

I **agree and give permission** that I, as a representative of my school in this research can participate in the following:

- Semi-structured interviews.

I **agree to allow and give permission** to the researcher to analyze data generated and include it as part of his research findings that will either form part of the final thesis, conference presentations, seminar presentations, and journal publications both locally and internationally.

I **agree to allow and give permission** for the researcher to audio-record the semi-structured interviews that I will be involved in.

SIGNED: _____

DATE: _____

10.6 Appendix F: Ethics clearance, Limpopo Province

CONFIDENTIAL



LIMPOPO
PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

OFFICE OF THE PREMIER

Office of the Premier

Research and Development Directorate

Private Bag X9483, Polokwane, 0700, South Africa

Tel: (015) 230 9910, Email: mokobij@premier.limpopo.gov.za

LIMPOPO PROVINCIAL RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

Meeting: 27th May 2021

Project Number: LPREC/39/2021: PG

Subject: Towards a Decolonised and Africanised School History: Curriculum in Post-Apartheid South Africa: A Case Study of the Further Education Training Phase

Researcher: Maluleka P

Dr Theminkosi Mabila

Chairperson: Limpopo Provincial Research Ethics Committee

The Limpopo Provincial Research Ethics Committee (LPREC) is registered with National Health Research Council (NHREC) Registration Number **REC-111513-038**.

Note:

- i. This study is categorized as a Low Risk Level in accordance with risk level descriptors as enshrined in LPREC Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs)
- ii. Should there be any amendment to the approved research proposal; the researcher(s) must re-submit the proposal to the ethics committee for review prior data collection.
- iii. The researcher(s) must provide annual reporting to the committee as well as the relevant department and also provide the department with the final report/thesis.
- iv. The ethical clearance certificate is valid for 12 months. Should the need to extend the period for data collection arise then the researcher should renew the certificate through LPREC secretariat. PLEASE QUOTE THE PROJECT NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES.

10.7 Appendix G: Ethics clearance, Gauteng Province



GAUTENG PROVINCE

Department: Education
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

8/4/4/1/2

GDE RESEARCH APPROVAL LETTER

Date:	12 May 2021
Validity of Research Approval:	08 February 2021– 30 September 2021 2021/119
Name of Researcher:	Maluleka P
Address of Researcher:	607 Block T
	Soshanguve
	Tshwane
Telephone Number:	0783356479
Email address:	519132@students.wits.ac.za
Research Topic:	Towards a decolonised and Africanised school history curriculum in post-apartheid South Africa: A case of the further education and training phase
Type of qualification	Doctor of Education
Number and type of schools:	4 Secondary Schools
District/s/HO	Johannesburg East, Johannesburg South, Tshwane North and Tshwane South

Re: Approval in Respect of Request to Conduct Research

This letter serves to indicate that approval is hereby granted to the above-mentioned researcher to proceed with research in respect of the study indicated above. The onus rests with the researcher to negotiate appropriate and relevant time schedules with the school/s and/or offices involved to conduct the research. A separate copy of this letter must be presented to both the School (both Principal and SGB) and the District/Head Office Senior Manager confirming that permission has been granted for the research to be conducted.

The following conditions apply to GDE research. The researcher may proceed with the above study subject to the conditions listed below being met. Approval may be withdrawn should any of the conditions listed below be flouted:

Making education a societal priority

Office of the Director: Education Research and Knowledge Management

7th Floor, 17 Simmonds Street, Johannesburg, 2001

Tel: (011) 355 0488

Email: Faith.Tshabalala@gauteng.gov.za

Website: www.education.gpg.gov.za

10.8 Appendix H: Ethics clearance, Wits University



Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Maluleka

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

PROTOCOL NUMBER: H20/04/13

PROJECT TITLE

Towards a decolonised and Africanised school history curriculum
in post-apartheid South Africa: A case study of the further
education and training phase

INVESTIGATOR(S)

Mr P Maluleka

SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT

Education/

DATE CONSIDERED

24 April 2020

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE

Approved
Permission letters required before data collection can commence
Risk level: Minimal

EXPIRY DATE

03 June 2023

DATE

04 June 2020

CHAIRPERSON

(Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Dr N Lekgotla Laga Ramoupi and Dr T Mathebula

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

Signature _____

Date _____

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES