Investigating (Possible) Tensions and Possibilities of Decolonising History Curriculum as a Locus to Foster Inclusive Education in South African Schools

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ABSTRACT

Today, in the 20th-century, colonialism survives through coloniality. That means the traits of colonialism such as, amongst others, dominance and subjugation are maintained through coloniality, masquerading as modernity. It is in light of this view that curriculums in the Global South still perpetuate domination. Therefore, this thesis investigates how colonialism and coloniality have been perpetuated through the history curriculum. The investigation focuses both on the colonial- apartheid epoch and post-apartheid society. Hence, the apartheid history syllabus and also the post-apartheid history curriculums namely, the Revised National Curriculum Statements (RNCS), National Curriculum Statements (NCS), and Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS) were investigated.

A part of the findings suggests that history as a school subject has been used as a political tool to perpetuate racism, sexism, exclusion, alienation, negation, and domination. Hence, the need to decolonize and foster inclusive education emerges from the fact that the history curriculum is still exclusive of the LGBT+ community, 'people with impairments indigenous people, local people, and women`s historical discourses. In essence, the thesis examines the epistemological implication of decolonizing and fostering inclusivity in the history curriculum. A meta-theoretical framework comprised of positivism, epistemological realism, and postmodernism was deployed as a tool to understand the knowledge that is envisaged by decolonization and inclusive education. The meta-theoretical framework revealed that decolonization and inclusive education are favored by the multiplicity of knowledge as opposed to the universality of knowledge. As a point of exit, the thesis proposes a new model that can be used to decolonize and foster inclusivity in the history curriculum.

KEYWORDS:

Colonialism, Coloniality, Decolonisation, Inclusive Education, Epistemic Violence, Epistemological Realism, Positivism, Postmodernism, Indigenous Knowledge Systems, Justice.

DECLARATIONS

I Bongani Shabangu declare that this thesis, **Investigating (Possible) Tensions and Possibilities of Decolonising History Curriculum as a Locus to Foster Inclusive Education in South African Schools** is my work excerpt in instances where I have quoted information, and I have referenced that information as a way of acknowledging the sources. Lastly, I also declare that this thesis has not been submitted for degree conferment at any university except the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

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Student: Bongani Shabangu

Signature:

Date: 06/12/2021

Supervisor: Dr Louis Botha

Signature:

Date: 06/12/2021

DEDICATIONS

This thesis is dedicated to those whose voices continue to be suppressed and silenced in society: to the sons and daughters of Africa who have been deprived of an opportunity to learn about their indigeneity and their local experiences, to the rape victims whose stories are not told because of their geographical location (i.e. rural areas) where such issues do not reach the mainstream media and because their perpetrators are well-known people in society (i.e. pastors and politicians) or because of public shaming manifesting in questions such as 'what was she wearing? Did she provoke him? Why did she get drunk?', to the men who are languishing in jail because they were falsely accused of rape that they never committed, to the victims of gender-based violence (both men and women), particularly men who find it difficult to talk about their abuse experiences in society due to fear that society might turn their pain into a 'laughing stock', to all the freedom fighters whose history is not told in society, to the victims of #MarikanaMassacre who were killed by the African National Congress (ANC) government, to the #FeesMustFall students who are in a quest for a free and decolonized education that was promised to them by the ANC, to the landless black people who live in impoverished and congested areas where the phrase 'service delivery' does not exist in their vocabulary, to the LGBT+ community whose existence is shamed, to the victims of femicide, and to the women and disabled people whose histories and contributions in society continue to be ignored. Most importantly, it is dedicated to my late grandmother, Masabana Anna Lekhuleni who positively and enormously influenced my educational journey. May your soul rest in eternal peace.

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The journey to completing this thesis was met with several obstacles and challenges. Amidst those obstacles and challenges, I found myself languishing in a state of despair, but I was reminded that "our very survival depends on our ability to stay awake, to adjust to new ideas, to remain vigilant and to face the challenge…" **Martin Luther King Jr**. Further, inspiration also came from **Franz Fanon**`s words which reads: "Each generation must discover its mission, fulfill it or betray it, in relative opacity". **Franz Fanon**`s words helped me to understand that I embarked on a journey (generational mission) to decolonize the history curriculum and foster inclusivity. Although it was a challenging mission, it did not mean I should betray it by giving up.

Thus, I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. Louis Botha for his amazing guidance and unwavering support and my friend Gift Siphosethu Sonkqayi who has been mentoring me throughout my studies. Their detailed feedback and constructive inputs towards my thesis helped me not to betray my generational mission. There are a number of people that played a significant role in ensuring that amidst despair, I stay awake vigilant and face the challenge. Consequently, I would like to thank Lihle Luthwitsha for always reading and editing my work. Further, words of appreciation are in order to my friends (just to mention a few Evans Mbanda, Simphiwe Sedibe, Sinenhlahla Cotshani, Surprise Silowe, Thabo Cyril Makwakwa, Bongokuhle Mazibane, Tiyani Qhibi) and family (just to mention a few Thabo Shabangu, Eddie Lekhuleni, Witness Shabangu, Bonginkosi Selby Shabangu, Standford Shabangu) who always believe in me and constantly reminds me that there`s a light at the end of the tunnel. It is with no doubt that our constantly engagements have abundantly shaped my thesis.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIKS African Indigenous Knowledge Systems

ANC African National Congress

CAPS Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement

DBE Department of Basic Education

DOE Department of Education

DA Democratic Alliance

IK Indigenous Knowledge

IKS Indigenous Knowledge Systems

NCS National Curriculum Statement

NSC National Senior Certificate

RNCS Revised National Curriculum Statement

SA South Africa

SASA South African Schools Act

SADTU South African Democratic Teachers' Union

DEFINING CONCEPTS

Indigenous: "originating or belonging in a particular place; it can also be referred to as being native to that particular social space or place" (Sonkqayi, 2020, p. xii).

Western Scientific Knowledge: "refers to the science or knowledge that is taught and perceived as being universal and normal in schooling systems" (Sonkqayi, 2020, p. xii).

Coloniality: "coloniality denotes the long-standing power patterns that originate from colonialism and that are now exercised in the absence of the colonial administration" (Maldonado-Torres 2007 cited in Sithole, 2014, p. vi).

Inclusive education: is defined as an educational approach that seeks to address learners' diversity by increasing their participation and reducing exclusion within and from education (UNESCO, 2008). While originally, it was established to combat discrimination faced by learners with disabilities and/or special needs. Inclusive education now goes far beyond the issue of disability [sic] (Booth and Ainscow, 2002).

Decolonization: refers to the process of undoing and reversing all practices that were imposed by the colonizers in society.

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CHAPTER ONE: RESEARCH OVERVIEW

1.1. INTRODUCTION: A CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

Chinua Achebe, a prominent Nigerian novelist, and essayist in a 1994 interview with the Paris Review, in a dispirited voice avowed that 'there is that great proverb — that until the lions have their historians, the history of the hunt will always glorify the hunter.' The proverb illuminates the darkness of colonialism that continues to influence and shape the African education system. This is because the literature contains knowledge that depicts Africans in a manner that alienates and dehumanizes their existence as rational beings. In a broader sense, the thought here is that until Africans learn to write their candid narratives that embody and convey their personal stories, knowledge systems, and experiences, their existence will remain told from the specious and shambles of European perspectives. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that Africans have been engaging in scholarly work, documenting their existence and experiences. But despite this, their knowledge still faces exclusion in modern society. In the context of this thesis, the proverb implies that history as a school subject from its inception in South Africa has been telling the story of the 'hunt'. This goes to show that the history curriculum has been eulogizing the existence of Europeans while maintaining a narrative that Africans are inferior, thus requiring a white man to be their 'savior'. Therefore, there is a prerequisite for the revivification of African history that was suppressed by colonial European history (Chawane, 2016).

This revivification of African history lies within the locus of decolonization and inclusive education. Consequently, it focuses on knowledge envisaged by local experiences of all social groups, and with an emphasis on indigenous or native people`s experiences. Speaking of this, the intention is to circumvent a situation whereby there is a prolongation of negating or silencing Africans` experiences in the history curriculum. Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Ndlovu (2021) capture the centrality of circumventing this through recovering and restoring the true history of Africans. This is resuscitated by the notion that "for a long time, all kinds of myths and prejudices concealed the true history of Africa from the world at large. African societies were looked upon as societies that could have no history" (Ki-Zerbo, 1981, p. XVll). Ogot (2009) explains that this creates an impression that Africa was a 'dark continent' whose history only began after the advent of white people on the shores of Africa. This insinuates that the history of Africa has been and is still confined with the colonial-apartheid stereotypes of being characterized by deficit and

stigmatization.

Further to the above, a nuanced understanding of our outcry against the canonical works of colonialism and coloniality of denying the existence of the African subject is well captured by the rhymes of 'Senzeni Na' song. In English, the title of the song translates as 'What have we done?' It is the rhymes that evoke one with a sense as to why the African subject has been masked with myths and prejudices. According to Xulu, (2018) this song has been sung mainly at funerals, protest marches, and rallies during the dark days of the apartheid era, with the following repetitive lyrics:

Senzeni Na? |What have we done?

Sono sethu, ubumnyama | is our sin is that we are black?

Sono sethu yinaniso | is our sin the truth?

Sibulawayo | we are being killed

Mayibuye I Africa |Return Africa

The song poses rhetorical and probing questions that are not meant to be answered but rather meant to evoke internal responses from the subconscious (Xulu, 2018) of those who have been casting bigotries against the natives through the history curriculum. This unveils the incessantly problematic antique of having history curriculums that fabricate, exclude, and taint our African stories. This exclusion happens because "…those who have the power to dominate and colonize others whose knowledge becomes reified. The worldviews and perspectives of 'Others' (Those who are on the margin of the global village) are side-lined and vilified as "traditional", "irrational", "backward" and "obsolete." (Shiza, 2013, p. 5).

Hence, I sing along to ask what we have done as Africans to deserve such curriculums encompassing stories that do not speak to our local experiences and indigenous knowledge systems. Instead, our knowledge systems are regarded as 'backward' and 'primitive'. Further to this contention, the 'Sibulawayo | we are being killed' reminds us of the epistemicide of local African knowledge systems agitated by Western knowledge systems. This view submits that the main intention behind destroying the African subject was to erase the existence of Africans as people who had a meaningful past. Thus, communicating the wrong identity of the indigenous people. This speaks to the notion of the African histories; cultures and knowledge that have been

destroyed by the colonial settlers. For this reason, Chawane (2016) states that "since the advent of colonialism and the transatlantic slave trade, information on African history has been presented from a European point of view. This viewpoint sought to justify the colonization of Africa and the enslavement of Africans" (p.79).

The colonial history curriculum did not only attempt to erase the experiences and knowledge of the natives, but it also told a domineering misogynist story of 'white men'. It is for this reason that history was once, though in a flippant manner, called 'His' 'Story', referring to the male-only history. This denotes that the only history that was considered in the curriculum was one that only reflected the triumphs and experiences of white men. Interestingly, although we today live in a democratic society in South Africa, there seems to be a resurgence of misoneism and patriarchy in the history curriculum towards women. While still on the concept of democracy, we also find ourselves grappling with the exclusion of other social groups such as Coloureds; those of the LGBT+ 'lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender community; 'disabled' community, and others. This is because the experiences and knowledge of the aforementioned social groups do not form part of the history curriculum. This goes against the principles of a democratic society which amongst others are to create a just, accepting, and inclusive society.

A notable example of a curriculum that promotes inclusivity in society would recognize the experiences and ways of living of all social groups. Take for example; the historical knowledge in the curriculum that focuses on 'apartheid' can align the knowledge with the experiences of all social groups. This will problematize the fact that apartheid was not just a policy that mainly affected black people. It will show that it was a policy that affected the daily lives of all social groups. That is to say, the knowledge should be drawn on different accounts sourced from local settings. Autobiographies amongst others, such as 'Born a Crime' can be used to highlight the daily lived experiences of people in South Africa during the apartheid era. More so, 'Born a Crime' is a memoir about Trevor Noah`s childhood life in South Africa, with frequent asides describing the atmosphere and his livelihood during the apartheid time (Noah, 2016). This can function as the knowledge that highlights the daily experiences of Coloureds during the apartheid era.

Such knowledge about the daily lived experiences of people would bring to the fore that different social groups during the apartheid era had different experiences. As in this case, growing up for Trevor Noah who is a descendant of the Coloureds social group was unbearable. This is because

his mother was black, and his father was a white German man (Noah, 2016). At that time, according to the 'Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, Act No 55 of 1949' 'Europeans' and 'non-Europeans' were not allowed to be married or even be in a romantic relationship. Therefore, having him as a mixed-race child could have been considered to be evidence of a crime committed by his parents. This could have resulted in the arrest of both of his parents (Noah, 2016). At some point, Trevor Noah had to be hidden and prevented from leaving the yard at his grandmother`s house in Soweto or else he would have been taken away by the police (Noah, 2016). This is the local aspect of knowledge that is still missing for many social groups in the history curriculum. Not to mention that during the colonial-apartheid era, it was swept under the carpet.

As a consequence, we still find our history and knowledge systems written by foreign people who glorify colonialism and deprecate the inclusion of local histories. Undeniably, our histories are engendered within a European cultural construct. It follows then for Franz Fanon that:

> without underestimating the pervading and overwhelming presence of settler culture among indigenous communities of the world as the autochthon continues to speak and write through the language of the colonizer, pursues his/her philosophy and knowledge system, there is still a need, in view of the catastrophic effects of colonialism, to unwrap the shroud that continues to cling around the African body. In many ways this includes construction of knowledge that has been made sacrosanct and given as truth even in colonial academia and interpreted as epistemological violence (cited in Bam, Ntsebeza& Zinn, 2018, p.17).

It is not surprising then that, the former colonial subjects continuously articulate and express themselves through Eurocentric-lenses, which positioned themselves as a solitary source of knowledge. In simple terms, the colonial hegemonic legacy is still persistent. This is because it continues to inform the education systems of the former colonial subjects (Makgoba, 1997). What then follows from this are the negating, erasing, and silencing of indigenous epistemologies within the curriculum. As things stand, there are also concerns with the nature of knowledge existing in the South African history curriculum. These concerns have been longstanding, but their interests were revoked after calls to make the history discipline compulsory in basic education. Currently, the history discipline offered both in the intermediate and senior phase is integrated with geography as Social Sciences learning area. On the other hand, in the Further Education and Training (FET) phase, history is offered as an optional subject. As a result, the call to make history a compulsory subject became a prominent heated debate, concurrently an issue in South Africa.

At the center of this heated debate on the call to make history a compulsory subject, there are two dominant views. One view is that history should be offered as a compulsory subject. The impetus for such is that it will address social transformation; heal the social ills and wounds of the past, enhance social cohesion, function as a tool for nation-building, promote nationhood; patriotism, and inclusivity (SADTU, 2014; DBE, 2015; Maravanyika, 2015; Kukard, 2015; ANC, 2017 & Maluleka, 2018). It is without a doubt, in this case, that there is an exigent need for a compulsory history curriculum that will address the aforementioned issues. It follows from this that the compulsory history curriculum should be relevant to all South Africans, with an emphasis on their lived experiences and indigenous knowledge systems. However, Charlot (cited in, Sonkqayi (2020) is skeptical as to where the inclusion of indigenous knowledge systems in the curriculum will be beneficial or be detrimental to certain groups. Sonkqayi (2020) upheld that this "is because school knowledge is an 'object of thought' and not that of experience" (p.4). By the same token, school knowledge being an object of thought simply refers to the fact that reality is objectified for learners to question it and reconstruct it (Sonkqayi, 2020).

Charlot (2009) expounded that schools do not exist to teach learners about their reality as it is experienced. Instead, schools exist to cultivate the learner's intellectual capacity. Despite this, Taber (2009) believes that the content taught in schools should not be separable from the lived experiences of learners. Equally so, there should be a connection between the content in the history curriculum and the lived experiences of learners, which includes amongst others indigenous knowledge systems. Nevertheless, the other view opposes the making of history a compulsory subject. Accordingly, the critics of the move to make history a compulsory subject argued that such a move was an attempt by the government of today, the African National Congress (ANC), to capture the history curriculum and utilize it as a mechanism to perpetuate party political propaganda and ideology (Sieborger, 2016 & Jansen, 2018). Directly put, the diverging view casts doubts about the notion of making history a compulsory subject. Thus, contending that it might be used as a tool for political gains and as a way of driving certain narratives by those who hold political power. The reason for this qualm is buttressed by Nussey (2018) who contends that:

> during the apartheid era, there was an explicit connection made between history education, nation-building, and the National Party. History education was seen as an instrument of propaganda that was used to justify a particular interpretation of the past, namely, that of the

> Afrikaner nationalists, and the result was history education that focused on an exclusive group and the result was that it fomented hatred and conflict (p.2).

It is perceptible from this quote that the apartheid government effectively used the school history curriculum to justify its discriminative and chauvinistic policies and political actions. The use of history as a political tool to push certain agendas did not end with the colonial-apartheid regime, as the first post-apartheid curriculum (C2005) has been critiqued for similar deeds. In further explicating this, Jonathan Jansen (cited in Davids, 2016) clearly stated the first apartheid history curriculum was critiqued for its "political symbolism" which was a discernible and viable tool during the apartheid era. This suggests that the history curriculum has been created from sheer political manipulation. This simply highlights that C2005 has been utilized as an ideological tool to foster and perpetuate certain narratives by those who hold political power in society as it was the case before 1994, as it will be shown in the thesis.

It is observable in this case that any attempt to link history education to a particular view of nation-building or patriotism will be viewed with suspicion. Accordingly, for Jonathan Jansen (cited in Davids, 2016), any proposal to make the history curriculum compulsory would seem to as a perpetuation of the same dilemma of political symbolism. Recently such suspicion was reawakened by the South Africa Democratic Teachers Union, Department of Education, and the African National Congress which were at the forefront of calling for history to be made a compulsory subject (SADTU, 2014; DBE, 2015; & ANC, 2017). It is clear from the opposing views above that both parties (those who are arguing for and arguing against the making of the history curriculum compulsory) raised valid concerns. Except for the latter concern that the history curriculum should not be made compulsory at all on the basis that there is the looming fear of using history for political symbolism without even providing any alternatives. Although the latter assertion carries some merit in it, it also comes short by failing to provide an account of history that will be insulated from the sheer of political manipulation. While one could support the proposal put forward by SADTU (2014); DBE (2015), and ANC (2017) of making history a compulsory subject, it does not mean one should turn a blind eye to the fact that history has been used as a political weapon for those who hold political power since the curriculum`s inception.

Kukard (2015) notes that the call to make history compulsory is meant to expose learners to a more [South] African history. This encapsulation refers to the localization of African knowledge,

as a canon that has been missing for years in the curriculum. The South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) joined the discourse but in support of the proposal to make history compulsory. Subsequently, the SASHT made a comprehensive submission that as much as the history curriculum should be made compulsory, the knowledge-encompassing curriculum should not be undermined or weakened (Maluleka, 2018). In other words, it was warning those who hold political power that they should not make any attempts to capture the subject for political use. Although bold submissions were made, there is still a failure to account for the resurfacing of factors in our society that are inimical to inclusivity and nation-building for all. They fail to account for the rise in cases of racism, tribalism, discrimination, bullying, and non-representation of local experiences and stories.

Kwame Ture adds weight to the above contention specifically with racism by stating that elements of racism continue to happen because "Africa is constantly undermined because of racism and as being seen to have not contributed to the world" (Chawane, 2016, p.90). It is worrisome because racism together with the other traits such as discrimination and bullying tend to occur mostly in institutions of learning where the students were supposed to be conscious of such. A similar logical bearing is evident in Makoelle`s (2014) contention that "South Africa continues to experience racism in schools. The history of racism has come a long way since the apartheid government introduced the policy of separate development according to racial groups" (p.285). A notable example of racism at schools was in 2016 in Pretoria Girls High School. This is where a then 13-year-old Zulaikha Patel, with her classmates held a demonstration against the school's code of conduct regarding black girls' hair. The protest was triggered when one of her educators told her to fix her Afro which was deemed to be untidy and inappropriate by the educator. In other words, the educator was requesting her to change and 'fix' her hair as per the Western norms of beauty.

She [Zulaikha Patel] however, furiously said "asking me to change my hair is like asking me to erase my blackness". This proves that "part of what racism has always tried to do is to damage its victims' capacity to help themselves. For instance, racism has encouraged its victims to perceive themselves as powerless, that is, as victims even when they were actively engaged in myriad acts of self-assertion" (Mbembe, 2016, p. 8). This was a way of domesticating black bodies to believe that their cultures and identities are uncivilized and indecent. Therefore, creating an impression

that black bodies are not worth a dignified recognition in the society. For Mbembe (2015) this is a "new configuration of racism that is emerging worldwide" (p.28).

Nonetheless, despite the two diverging views on whether history should be made compulsory or not, there seems to be a consensus on the need for the study of history. This apparent consensus, therefore, presupposes by implication, the existence of one-mindedness on the need for the country to use History as a tool for social cohesion, inclusivity, and progress. Subsequently, a History Ministerial Task Team (HMTT)[1] had to be established to oversee the implementation of compulsory history in the FET phase (Van Eeden & Warnich, 2018). Finally, in the year 2018, the HMTT as part of its mandate tabled as its resolution that the study of history in the FET phase is compulsory (see the HMTT report, 2018). Such a resolution came despite the existence of opposing views where different interpretations were afforded to the current study of history. Not only did the HMTT take such a resolution, but it also raised an important point that:

> the history curriculum should be revised using an African nationalist paradigm, informed by the framework of Ubuntu, and secondly, it stressed the significance of multi-perspectives in History while favoring an approach that uses an African nationalist paradigm, informed by Ubuntu, to assist with nation-building (Nussey, 2018, p.1).

One can infer from this extract that there is a need for the history curriculum to be informed by social justice. This social justice is meant for people who have been historically marginalized and subjected to social injustices such as racism, discrimination, and non-representation of their experiences and stories. To put it bluntly, the notion of social justice will bring about historical consciousness and socio-political literacy in society (Crocco & Davis, 2002; & Stanley, 2005). This cannot happen without diversifying the knowledge in the history curriculum. This supposes that knowledge that should be included in the history curriculum should be driven by equal and just representation of all social groups, and it should be free from biases. Ultimately, the HMTT hoped for a similar History curriculum, envisaged by addressing social pathologies which include racism, sexism, and xenophobia.

Those who have been on the advocacy campaign for making history compulsory such as SADTU and the SASTH will be convinced that a certain landmark of moving towards having a history

[1] the Department of Basic Education (DBE) established the History Ministerial Task Team (HMTT) in 2015 to oversee the implementation of compulsory History in the Further Education and Training (FET) phase (Republic of South Africa, Department of Basic Education, "Executive summary of the History Ministerial Task Team", January 2018, p.1).

curriculum that promotes a social-cohesiveness, inclusiveness, and building one nation has been achieved. Such a resolution came despite the existence of opposing views for making history compulsory and different interpretations afforded to the current study of history. As stated earlier that there are two dominant varying and diverging sentiments on the making of history curriculum compulsory, it is content and what it represents. Without derogating the resolution of making history compulsory, only one side of the milestone has been introduced, which is the compulsory study of past events and experiences which continue to define and inform the country's trajectory.

One way or the other, this will to some extent endeavour at instilling minimum social consciousness to learners. None of these two views explicitly unpack the content that should constitute the compulsory history curriculum and most importantly, the role and place of local-school history in the scheme of the study of history. Nevertheless, those who have been calling for the compulsory study of history to achieve ideals like social cohesion and patriotism, have only made bold pronouncements without detailing the kind of history that will result in the achievement of these ideals. Those mounting criticism against the post-Apartheid history curriculum of "political symbolism" (Jansen cited in Davids, 2016) have only done so in an armchair fashion, without delving into taking the assumption of providing a concrete alternative as already stressed.

1.2. WHERE TO FROM HERE?

Where to from here? This is a question emancipating from the ongoing discussion and aforementioned issues. It intends to provide a way forward that can be utilized to free the history curriculum from the evils of colonialism and coloniality. On this disposition, the way forward posture can be necessitated by firstly outlining the purpose of history in relation to the thesis. In line with the purpose of history Fitzgerald (2020) advanced that:

> history serves as the collective memory of mankind. Just as our own individual memory serves as a basis for establishing a sense of personal identity, an under- standing of what we are as individuals, so historical or collective memory serves as a basis for establishing our societal identity, an understanding of what our society is" (p.82).

In brief, history seeks to bring about consciousness of our social surroundings and experiences. At the same time, it reminds us of whom we are concerning our interaction with society. Congruently, according to Collingwood (1946):

> history is for human self-knowledge. It is generally thought to be of importance to man[sic] that he[sic] should know himself [sic][2]: where knowing himself[sic] means knowing not his merely personal peculiarities, the things that distinguish him[sic] from other men[sic], but his nature as man. Knowing yourself means knowing, first, what it is to be a man[sic]; secondly, knowing what it is to be the kind of man you are; and thirdly, knowing what it is to be the man you are and nobody else is (p.10).

This indicates that the prominence of history lies in understanding one`s existence and how that sets us apart from others. This refers to the notion that history is about self-consciousness. On this elucidation, Collingwood (1946) is of the view that:

> knowing yourself means knowing what you can do; and since nobody knows what he can do until he [sic] tries, the only clue to what man [sic] can do is what man[sic] has done. The value of history, then, is that it teaches us what man has done and thus what man is (p.10).

In Fitzgerald`s (2020) understanding, history serves the purpose of teaching us about what we are, who we are, or where we stand in the light of where we hail from. Consistently, Fitzgerald (2020) posits that we cannot talk about our present social and communal life in any meaningful way without considering how that life took up its present forms, for these forms are inseparable from the past which involves our indigenous ways of living. Therefore, in retort to the question at hand, the way forward which ties with the purpose of history, is that the history curriculum should be decolonized in a manner that fosters inclusive education. This should be done to provide a framework that will rise from the dustbin, the necessity and relevance of local history in the mainstream history curriculum.

With that being said, the knowledge in the history curriculum will thus resonate with its surroundings, conscientize people to be aware of their stories, and possibly lead to the attainment of social inclusion. This assertion finds an elaborate expression in Es"kia Mphahlele`s quest for an identity, where he was attempting to rediscover his eroded identity (Mphahlele, 1974). This implies that he was on a journey to locate his origins, ancestral history, and cultural practice which formulate his identity. To show his seriousness, Mphahlele changed his Hebrew name to

[2] The [sic] has been used to acknowledge the sexist language that exists in Collingwood`s (1946) quotations.

Es"kia or Zeke. This was a part of his search for his Africaness or African identity (Mogoboya, 2011). In line with the purpose of history, that is to say, the knowledge in the history curriculum should be coined in a way that affirms people`s identities in their respective local settings.

Just like for Es"kia Mphahlele, a history curriculum that affirms people`s identities will revive their eroded identities that include inter alia traditions, customs, heritage, and roots. Es" Kia Mphahlele`s attempt at self-definition and self-creation is a testimony of Africa's endeavour to carve her identity in the face of dislocation and cultural denigration (Mogoboya, 2011). However, the call for affirming the African identity is not tantamount to the exclusion of others` identities or experiences from the curriculum. Hence, an equal representation of histories sourced from local settings should be foregrounded in the curriculum. At this juxtaposition, the point put forward is that there is no social cohesion and inclusivity in education that could be achieved if local history is undermined and treated as being in a perpetual state of childhood. Otherwise, such a putative social cohesion and inclusivity will be bogus and disingenuous. Devastatingly, it will lead to the compounding of social ills and delay the country from enjoying social and political stability and justice.

Further, the rationale is triggered and inspired by the wave of protests contesting the domineering colonial legacies that continue to brand and delimit institutions of higher learning in South Africa. Consequently, in the years 2015 to 2017, institutions of higher learning were swamped by a storm of fallism (Silowe, 2020). The #RhodesMustFall (#RMF) and #FeesMustFall (#FMF), followed by the #AfrikaansMustFall (#AMF) movements vociferously and unrelentingly called for the decolonization of university space and free decolonized education in higher education (Heleta, 2016 & Le Grange, 2016). This view submits that there is a need to change the environment and curricula to open up accessibility. The call had far-reaching effects, as it also evoked the same sentiments in basic education, and speaking of it, the minister of basic education Angie Motshekga resuscitated the call for decolonization. According to the minister, the education system in South Africa is still colonial; hence there is a need to decolonize it. In brief, Le Grange (2018) contends that to decolonize is to undo colonialism. According to Sonkqayi (2020), this implies the valuing of indigenous ways of knowing. It is in light of this background that Angie Motshekga is justified in contending that there is a need to do away with the colonial education system.

Incidentally, the history curriculum is also accused of being colonial as mentioned hitherto. Since the colonial elements of the curriculum date back to the colonial-apartheid era, it becomes imperative for one to provide the context of the history curriculum from its inception. Maluleka (2018) is of the view that the teaching of history before 1994 was characterized by the knowledge that promoted British culture and Afrikaner nationalism. Witz (2000) further propounded that the spread of Afrikaner nationalism took place in the early years of the twentieth century when history was taught on a large scale in both primary and secondary government schools. To be precise, the knowledge in the history curriculum reflected a Eurocentric and Afrikaner nationalist perspective (Bertram, 2020). After this curriculum which was exclusive of other social groups` experiences, histories, and cultures, the anticipation from the democratically elected government was that it should ameliorate the curriculum and make it inclusive. However, even in the post-apartheid era, the history curriculum has been accused of having colonial and apartheid elements. For instance, just to highlight the most recent curriculum, Kallaway (2012) points out that "although CAPS has rescued history as a knowledge discipline from the clutches of Outcome-Based Education (OBE), it still seems to hold older apartheid-era ideas" (p.33). This is because it promotes the teaching of history as an objective phenomenon (Kallaway, 2012). It can be extrapolated that this type of history promotes myths as was the case during the colonial-apartheid era (Kallaway, 2012).

Additionally, the curriculum is also accused of being exclusive of women`s histories and experiences (Wills, 2016). Further to this, Wills (2016) contends that the curriculum does not represent women`s political discourses, experiences, and contributions towards civilizations. Similarly, the history curriculum does not consider local histories and experiences, it is exclusive of the LGBTQIA+ and 'impairment' community`s experiences. It is for this reason that the thesis will first explore knowledge in the history of the apartheid curriculum. Thereafter, it will explore different post-apartheid history curriculum statements, namely Curriculum 2005 (C2005) Revised National Curriculum Statements (RNCS) of 2002, the National Curriculum Statements (NCS) of 2007, and the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) of 2011. Since the thesis also engages mainly with curriculum, it, therefore, becomes significant to pinpoint what it entails within the confines of this thesis. The curriculum is a complex phenomenon to describe, therefore, "offering a widely adequate definition of curriculum is a nigh-impossible task due to different conceptions of a curriculum" (Su, 2012, n.p).

In this context "a curriculum is the offering of socially valued knowledge, skills, and attitudes made available to students through a variety of arrangements during the time they are at school, college or university" (Robert 1971, cited in Stenhouse, 1975, p. 104). This tie with the skills envisaged by the principles of decolonization and inclusive education. These include the recognition, respect, value, and inclusion of others` knowledge systems. Equally so, at the center of the history curriculum, there should be social attitudes and values such as Ubuntu, respect for diversity, and inclusivity that are imparted. That is to say, there should be a multiplicity of knowledge that is valued and respected in the history curriculum.

As a consequence, the concern of this thesis lies with the pursuit of bringing about social justice to the former colonial subjects who endured epistemic violence. Directly put, African knowledge has been dominated for the past 500 years (Sithole, 2014). Hence, there is a need to have a curriculum that acknowledges the existence of multiple knowledge systems. In South Africa, epistemic violence has been subjugated by the colonial-apartheid knowledge systems and its legacy that continues to haunt the history curricula. For, Sithole (2014) "this knowledge was useful, but it is now exhausted in accounting for the lived experience of those who are at the underside of Euro-North American episteme" (p.1). That is why today's history should embrace social justice as a central tenant in developing an inclusive and decolonized history curriculum. Clough contends that inclusivity is "concerned with socially just ways of organizing teaching and learning" (cited in Nind, 2005, p. 525). Similarly, decolonization is also concerned with social justice. This is evident in Lebone (2017) where he states that "decolonizing the school curriculum for equity and social justice in South Africa will serve as an emancipatory radical paradigm shift (change) in which all relevant factors which could lead to improvement thereof will be integrated" (p.5).

The above assertion infers that social justice in education cannot be divorced from both inclusive education and decolonization. This is where the novelty of the thesis lies, in not only bridging the gap between inclusive education, history education, and decolonization debates but taking such an epistemological posture in arguing that diversity or inclusivity in history should not only be based on practical grounds (i.e., who and what is included) but also epistemological grounds (i.e., what counts as valid in history education and at what or whose expense? In essence, such justice is meant for people who were previously and who continue to be marginalized such as people

with physical disabilities[sic] (Ainscow, 2005); LGBTQI+ community (Browne, Bakshi, and Lim, 2012); people who face social exclusion (Nelson and Prilleltensky, 2010) and Indigenous people (Smith, 2012) as mentioned earlier on. The inclusion of different knowledge systems is a necessity to cognitive justice which can be linked to the idea of social justice (Le Grange, 2016). In line with the history curriculum, scholars such as Wills (2016), Maluleka (2018), and Godsell (2019) argue that such cognitive justice can be necessitated through the Africanisation of the curriculum. As a result, putting IKS at the forefront of the content, the presentation of Africa and her people humanly and respectfully remain vital, and last but not least, an equal representation of history for all social groups regardless of their sexual orientation or gender also remains a requisite.

Tavernaro-Haidarian's (2018c) conceptualization of 'development and Ubuntu' offers a vision of social justice, as Tavernaro-Haidarian's (2018c) points out that "Ubuntu offers a definition of development as a process of 'mutual empowerment', which enables people and societies, individuals and communities, to realize their full material, social and spiritual potential" (n.d). This is to say, people in their local context must cooperate so that they can achieve self-actualization. Hence, the history knowledge taught should be provisioned towards serving the totality of the community and be inclusive rather than exclusive (Tavernaro-Haidarian, 2018c). This insinuates that the history curriculum "plays a pivotal role in all areas of reconstructing and presenting a more equitable and inclusive South African history while ensuring that apartheid atrocities and anti-apartheid struggles capture the stories, knowledge, and everyday survival of the people involved" (Subreenduth, 2013, p.218). Therefore, the entry point is that the thesis seeks to investigate possible epistemic ways of decolonizing the history curriculum to foster inclusive education in the context of South African local schools. It is important to understand that the concept 'local' for this thesis refers to local history of which is the study of history in a geographically local context. It often concentrates on the local community`s past (Bam et al. 2018). In most cases, it involves the cultural and social experiences of people who reside in that particular local region (Bam et al., 2018). In other words, local history is the study of past events in a given geographical location but one which is based on a wide variety of documentary evidence and placed in a comparative context that is both regional and national. The rationale for having a local aspect in the history curriculum emerges from the conception that the current history is not narrated from the perspectives of the local people, drawing from their indigenous and community experiences. To be precise, history as a school subject has been and is still

utilized as a tool to perpetuate colonial knowledge and reproduce a Eurocentric orthodoxy focused on an unproblematized history of the evolution of public schooling (Chisholm, Friedman & Sindoh, 2018).

1.3. LOCATING THE PROBLEM

The apparent problem emanating from this discussion so far is that knowledge in the history curriculum is not sourced from local settings where the schools are situated. It is rather told from a paternalistic, national view and somewhat binding to all the schools. There has been a discrepancy concerning how the history curriculum has been constructed. Primarily because; it tends to exclude the social and geographical histories of diverse communities (Masondo, 2013). Hence, Masondo (2013) claims that the history curriculum is incomplete as it consist of omissions of histories that are aligned with the environments. In simple terms, the curriculum does not draw from locale experiences. The crux of this problem is the framework from which this national and paternalistic history is rooted. Most history texts are written from a Western gaze, by western writers who are largely influenced by their social, political, and cultural prejudices (Bam et al. 2018). Such a gaze inadvertently results in the reproduction of historical phenomena. In a context like South Africa, it results in the reproduction of colonial anthropology, epistemology, and ontology.

Hence, the abundance of racism, alienation, and subversion of local experiences continue to persist in society. On this disposition, Chen, and Reed (n.d) identified that the history curriculum has evolved out of a system that is inequitable, non-inclusive, and couched in systemic racism. Conventional sources of history have left out the voices, experiences, and some stories of groups of people, creating a 'feel good' version of history that diminishes the issues of inequality, inequity, and race, ultimately reinforcing the view that racism was an issue of the past.

The above contention suggests that history curricula are selective and biased towards particular narratives based on race and power, with the history of non- Europeans and other marginalized groups facing the axe of exclusion. This has been happening even though history forms the social, cultural, economic, and political fibre of every individual, community, society, and nation (Stearns, 1998). In the South African context, the history curriculum is not underpinned by a study of past events and experiences which define and inform the local communities of their

trajectories and victories (Bam et al. 2018). For instance, political elites such as the ANC use their power to manipulate the history curriculum to only tell the trajectories and victories of the ANC during the apartheid era on a large scale. As a result, the trajectories and victories of other social groups who fought against the apartheid regime become marginalized. That is why we barely hear about the contributions made by the likes of [amongst others] John Kani, Brenda Fassie, Hugh Masekela, Miriam Makeba, Winnie Madikizela Mandela, John Clegg, and Black Mambazo. All of these people played a significant role in the fight against the brutal system of apartheid through their art as a way of conscientizing and mobilizing the global community.

Furthermore, South Africa as a former colonial and apartheid society was bequeathed a Eurocentric world view of knowledge production, construction, and consumption (Makgoba, 1997 & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018). By implication, the history curriculum is informed by colonial discourses. Thus, the South African history curriculum from its inception can be seen as predominantly written by Western scholars who are premised on their prejudices of glorifying Western European history and colonialism while alienating and neglecting the history of local people (Bam et al. 2018). These Western historical events, scientific discoveries, and cultural movements are reproduced in the school curriculum as the only side of history. The school curriculum currently as it stands is paternalistic in the sense that it assumes a national, top-down posture cascading of history to all the schools (Witernburg & Ntuli, 2013). This implies the side-lining of local experiences as little is done to consider the local histories where these schools are situated as the starting point of a bottom-up approach to the teaching and provision of historical studies.

Therefore, the undertaking by the HMTT vividly presupposes and points to the alienating and Eurocentric substance in the history curriculum which continues to socialize the South African society to reproduce acts, amongst others of racism, sexism, subversion, patriarchy, and excision of local knowledge. Gravely concerning, is the effect of this paternalistic and external history on local education. A history that materially excludes local contributions plants a seed of apathy with learners in especially, although not exclusively, rural and township settings when it comes to choosing the study of history. In a qualitative thesis study carried out by Mhlongo (2013), it was revealed that learners do not choose the history subject as it is distant from their local experiences. This is because the content thereof bears no reference to their daily livelihoods but

rather breaks their indigenous chain of interaction and living. It is upon this identified knowledge gap that the researcher intends to gain deeper insights into the ideal of decolonization and inclusive education in the context of a history curriculum. This will function as a way of enhancing social justice that is "undeniably grounded in efforts at circumventing provisions that seek to uphold ostracism and exclusionary practices" (Hlale, 2012, p.111), which have permeated South African local historiography for extensive periods.

1.4. THEORETICAL INTERVENTION: META-THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Can history knowledge be verified through human senses or emerge as a result of induction or scientific methods? (Positivism) Is it possible to have historical knowledge that is only universally accepted by everyone? (Epistemological realism) Or there exists a multiplicity of knowledge when it comes to history? (Postmodernism). These are the underlying philosophical assumptions that provoke one to think about a philosophical stance that should undergird the thesis. Precisely, these speak to the question of what makes knowledge valid and its implications for the conceptions of decolonizing the history curriculum as a way of fostering inclusivity. This shows that there are epistemological concerns at the centre of what counts as historical knowledge, which will be shown as the discussion advances. Hence, the thesis is placed within the following germane of a meta-theoretical framework to determine one philosophical stance that does not undermine the wishes of decolonization and inclusive education:

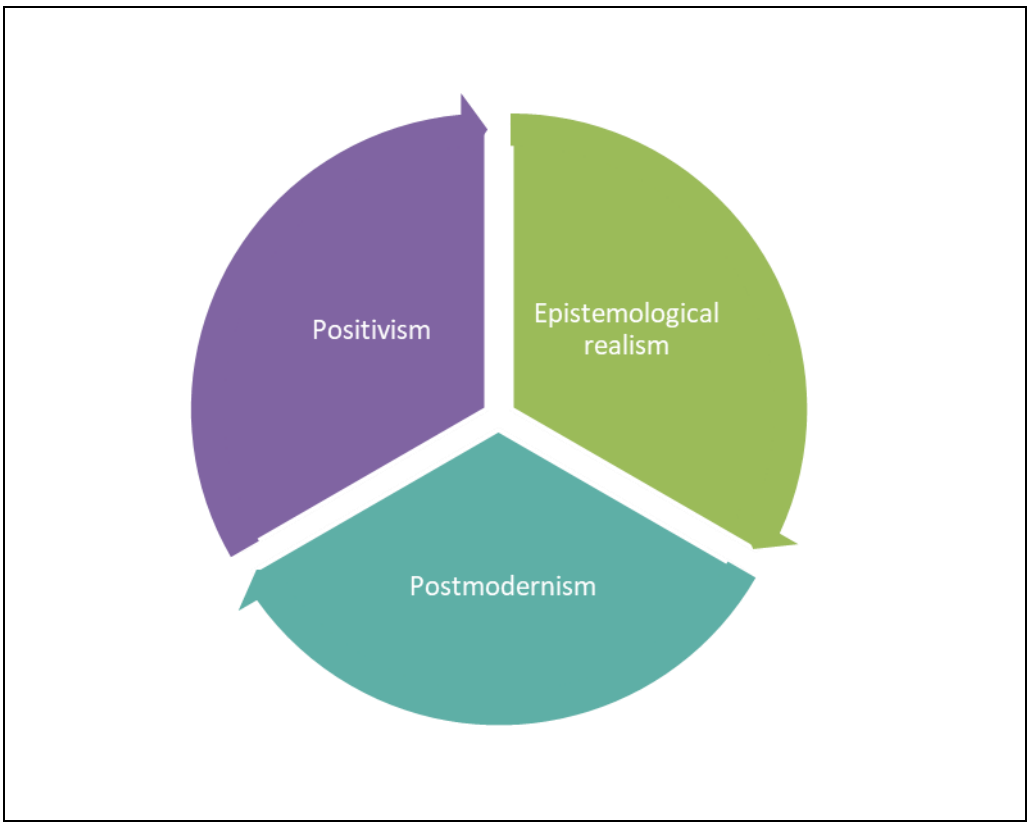

Diagram 1: A threefold meta-theoretical framework.

The threefold diagram shows the meta-theoretical framework was chosen because it will allow one to "see reality from a meta-theoretical perspective rather than just a theoretical outlook which by itself is also influenced by a particular meta-theory" (Sonkqayi, 2020, p.70). To begin with, the positivism philosophy holds the view that true knowledge can only be generated from the experience of natural phenomena and their properties and relations (Majeed, 2020). In other words, data derived from sensory experience, which is understood through means of reason and logic, forms the exclusive source of all certain knowledge (Majeed, 2020). The notion that true knowledge can be only accessed through senses undermines the acuity that knowledge in history is generated through oral and archeologically sources. Thus, negating the application of decolonization in the history curriculum as a tool that could be utilized to foster inclusivity. That is because you cannot also use senses to determine whether someone`s history [knowledge] is true or not. On the other hand, the epistemological realism philosophy maintains that true knowledge can only exist in the context of universal truth, hence knowledge should be underpinned by truth and that truth is universal all the time (Horsthemke, 2010 & Sonkqayi, 2020). That is to say,

knowledge is driven by facts that are (at all times) backed up by scope and evidence, and secondly, truth is not a matter of context (Elgin, 2004, cited in Horsthemke, 2010, 329).

This view of true knowledge advanced above carries within itself elements of colonialism and coloniality. That is because; it insinuates that for example, if indigenous people cannot prove that their local ways of being and knowing amounts to true knowledge, then such knowledge will be deemed as invalid. This is because there are claims that knowledge for many years has been considered to be a justified true belief (see, Gettier 1963 & Sosa 1991). Thus, resulting in the exclusion of such knowledge from the curriculum. This exclusion is not a matter of claiming that knowledge is a justified true belief as claimed by Gettier (1963) and Sosa (1991). It is just that "knowledge creation is a political and ideological process. When it comes to school knowledge, it is those that control political and economic resources that impose their ideas, opinions, thoughts, and ideologies on those considered 'subordinates'" (Shiza, 2013, p. 1).

The imposition of ideas by those who hold political power goes against the principles of decolonization and inclusive education. Although it is such, there is postmodernism philosophy that believes in the acknowledgment of epistemic pluralism. This is because according to postmodernism philosophy, knowledge is seen as a social construct. That is to say, knowledge is not innate; hence, it calls for all knowledge systems to be recognized as true knowledge (Giroux, 1998 & Green, 2012). In line with the ideologies of decolonization and inclusive education, postmodernism seems to recognize the inclusion of others` knowledge systems and experiences. That is because; postmodernism is premised on the pluriversity of knowledge. While, the other two philosophical stances, rejects the aspiration of decolonization and fostering inclusivity of 'multiple knowledge systems', postmodernism embraces it. The implication of undergirding the thesis with either positivism or epistemological realism would be the marginalization and/or disqualification of indigenous epistemologies as 'invalid' ways of knowing and living, and other social groups` knowledge and experiences. This thesis will therefore be underpinned by postmodernism which contends that there are multiple ways of knowing and being.

1.5. AIMS BEHIND THE THESIS

Given the issues amongst others identified in the previous section, of a history curriculum that is deemed to be Eurocentric, not inclusive, and side-lining local histories, the thesis aims to, firstly, investigates the nature of current attempts at establishing a post-apartheid history curriculum concerning demands for such curricula to be inclusive (White Paper 6, 2001) and decolonized. Secondly, it aims to examine possibilities for and the practicality of fostering inclusive education through ensuring that knowledge systems of people who are marginalized are acknowledged and prevalent in the curriculum. Frankly put, the research seeks to determine possible ways in which the history curriculum can embrace inclusivity that values reclaiming and foregrounding indigenous voices and the multiplicity knowledge of local people through acknowledging a multiplicity of knowledge. Lastly, it aims to analyze if colonial aspects and practices are still prevalent in the current curricula in terms of epistemology and ideology.

1.6. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions do not arise out of a vacuum; thus, their manifestation can be derived from the previous sections. To begin with, it was brought to the fore that knowledge in [South] African curriculums does not embody nor convey the true tales and experiences of Africans. That is because curriculums in Africa remain dominated by Western knowledge. This, in turn, relegates and marginalizes non- Western knowledge systems, and excludes the experiences and ways of knowing of other social groups as discussed somewhere in the chapter. As a result, a way forward as a vehicle to resolve the issue at hand was proposed. A decisive locus was taken to say, the African identity must be affirmed but at the same time, the knowledge and experiences of other social groups had to form part of the curricula.

That being said, the foundational or overarching question of this research is: In which ways could be decolonizing the history curriculum foster a more inclusive approach to the teaching and learning of local history in South African schools? Below are the ancillary questions that follow from the main research question:

a) What kinds of knowledge do decolonization and inclusive education envisage and promote in education for the point of a socially just/decolonized/African education?

b) What are the possible contextual factors shaping such knowledge envisaged by decolonization and inclusive education in the context of history teaching and learning?

c) What are the (possible) epistemic implications of such perceptions or delineations of decolonization and inclusive education in the context of the history curriculum?

1.7. STRUCTURE OF THESIS

The thesis engages mainly with literature as opposed to conducting an empirical study. Hence, a literature review methodology was deployed to collect data. A literature review methodology can "be described as a more or less systematic way of collecting and synthesizing previous research" (Snyder, 2019, p.333). To be precise, a literature review methodology is a research methodology used to collect data from existing data or knowledge. In its application, a literature review methodology, "represents a formal data collection process wherein information is gathered in a comprehensive way" (Frels & Onwuegbuzie, 2013, p.49). Data is extracted from empirical findings, different literature perspectives, and other relevant sources (such; poetry; song lyrics; cartoons; internet; online news platforms; and photographs) in a comprehensive way (Frels and Onwuegbuzie, 2013 & Snyder, 2019). Since the process of decolonization is based on the recognition of pluriversity of knowledge, the thesis opted for the use of various sources mentioned above. The intention of using such sources is to show that decolonization is not a linear process.

Frankena's (1973) threefold methods of inquiry namely (1) descriptive inquiry; (2) analytical inquiry and (3) normative inquiry were also deployed. It is pertinent for an elaborate account of the three methods which were deployed to provide a model of analyzing knowledge in accordance with a syllogism. In other words, this will allow one to have a better understanding of values and attitudes that the teaching of history knowledge seeks to impart. The first inquiry is concerned with describing or explaining the phenomena, the second inquiry focuses on analyzing the nature of a specific subject in an attempt to elicit measurable facts. In essence, the analytical inquiry "asks and tries to answer logical, epistemological or semantically questions" (Frankena, 1973, p.5). The third inquiry is a standard used for evaluating or making judgments of a certain phenomenon. Adding to this, Frankena (1973) asserts that normative inquiry can also be

understood as a "form of debating with someone else about what is good or right in a particular case or as a general principle, and then forming some such normative judgment as a conclusion" (p. 4).

In line with this view, the thesis first offers a descriptive account, and, in some instances, it provides an analytical account of decolonization in Chapter 2, followed by another descriptive and normative account of inclusive education in Chapter 3. In essence, the thesis traces the genealogy of decolonization regarding its earliest days that date back to the Haitian revolution, led by Toussaint Louverture[3]. Further, it also traces the etymology of inclusive education from its first days of the 'Salamanca Statement' adopted at the 'World Conference on Special Educational Needs. In chapter 4, the thesis provides an analytical account of philosophy (see the threefold diagram) that aligns or converges with knowledge envisaged by decolonization and inclusive education. Chapter 5 will be normative since it seeks to provide a version of a decolonized history curriculum that fosters inclusivity. Concomitantly, it will also consist of an analytical account that unpacks if the knowledge that perpetuates sexism; patriarch; Eurocentric perspectives and exclusion still exists in the post- apartheid history curriculum as claimed earlier on. In so doing, the thesis starts by looking at the nature of knowledge in the history curriculum from its inception to the current date. In Chapter 6, the thesis provides a conclusion by looking at possible thriving thesis topics which are similar to this thesis. This chapter also suggests a guideline on future similar topics to be persuaded.

[3] François Dominique Toussaint, (born c. 1743, Bréda, near Cap-Français, Saint-Domingue [Haiti] — died April 7, 1803, Fort-de-Joux, France), leader of the Haitian independence movement during the French Revolution (1787–99). He emancipated the slaves and negotiated for the French colony on Hispaniola, Saint-Domingue (later Haiti), to be governed, briefly, by Black former slaves as a French protectorate (James, 2001).

CHAPTER TWO: CHARTING THE GENEALOGY OF DECOLONISATION

2.1. INTRODUCTION

Decolonization cannot be fully understood without tracing an explicit distillation of its cardinal conceptual pillar known as colonialism. This view submits that colonialism and decolonization are binary concepts with historical and ideological origins from the phenomenon of a colony (Sommer, 2011). Subsequently, reference to decolonization acknowledges prior colonialism (Mampane; Omidire & Aluko, 2018). The concepts of colonialism and decolonization are interlinked and inseparable. Therefore, it becomes imperative to first explain what colonialism entails in the context of this dissertation, before explicating the essence of decolonization. It is also worth noting that the entire chapter will be descriptive as it ought to chart the etymology and explication of decolonization.

2.1.1. UNDERSTANDING COLONIALISM

The idea of colonialism comes from the two ancient Latin words: Colonia denoting an outpost and imperium denoting control (Bulhan, 2015). In essence, colonialism began in the Americas with European invasion, occupation, and exploitation. It later expanded to other parts of the world (Quijano, 2000). It is observable from this delineation that colonialism can be defined as:

> …the direct territorial appropriation of another geopolitical entity, combined with forthright exploitation of its resources and labour, and systematic interference in the capacity of the appropriated culture (itself not necessarily a homogeneous entity) to organize its dispensations of power (McClintock, 1992, p. 88).

Plainly put, colonialism is a domineering and imposition of control of one society by another[4]. The driving force for colonialism was not only in pursuit of material exploitation and cultural dominance as evident in the above quotation. It was also a way for European self-aggrandizement to compensate for gnawing doubts on the wholeness and integrity of the self that, in different ways and intensity, assail people everywhere (Bulhan, 2015). This view submits that colonialism was a tool used to expand Europeans` control and power over other societies throughout the globe, and such was instigated through the use of force. According to

[4] The thesis took into cognizance of the fact that the idea of a country or a nation-state is a product of colonialism and that there were no countries in the pre-colonial era, thus opted to use the word society instead of country.

Osterchammel (cited from Sommer, 2011), colonialism implies three standpoints which are as follows:

> Firstly, one society completely deprives another one of its potentials for autonomous development; that an entire society is remote controlled and reconfigured in accordance with the colonial rulers. Secondly, the ruling and ruled are permanently divided by a cultural gap. Thirdly, the intellectual yoke of an ideology whose purpose is to legitimize colonial expansion (p.189).

In this case, the life of those who are ruled or colonized is determined by those who impose colonial practices. Hence, colonialism influenced the thought, intellectual landscape; social-cultural behavior, and political and economic settings of those who are colonized. Herein, it destroyed and devalued indigenous people's social practices as related to literature, religion, education, and history (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1986). Consequently, colonialism can be seen as a "disruptive, 'decivilizing,' dehumanizing, exploitative, racist, violent, brutal, covetous, and 'thingifying' system" (Cesaire, 2000, p.32). In other words, colonialism is understood as a system of domination and subjugation of people from another culture, including all forms of imperial rule and cultural differences that exist between the government and the governed (Blunt, 2005 & Sommer, 2011).

Heleta (2016) postulated that "one of the most destructive effects of colonialism was the subjugation of local knowledge and promotion of the Western knowledge as the universal knowledge" (p.9). According to Ocheni and Nwankwo (2012) arguing in the African context, this destructiveness occurred because Western education and the so-called civilization were presented as the only true universal knowledge. Ocheni and Nwankwo (2012) note that some tend to regard the project of colonial education as a good one. By implication, this form of education is seen as a positive contribution towards African development. However, this is not true because colonial domination undermined the African capacity for self-development. Ocheni and Nwankwo (2012) bemoan that the argument insinuating that the colonial education was good for the development of Africa "will appear to be true on the surface level or superficially, but if it is subjected to critical analysis, it will reveal the hollowness or emptiness of colonial education which is partially responsible for the present African underdevelopment" (p.51). This is because colonial education was not rooted in African culture. This implies that colonial education could not foster any meaningful development within the African environment because

it had no organic linkage (Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012). It can be extrapolated that colonial education brought about distortions and disarticulations of African indigenous patterns of education which were rooted in African technology[5].

Ocheni and Nwankwo (2012) further maintained that the colonial education system, essentially aimed at training clerks, interpreters, produces inspectors, artisans, which would help them in the exploitation of Africa's rich resources. This tie with the notion of colonialism understood from a point of Marxism view. That is why it sights a form of capitalism, imposing exploitation and social variation. According to Marxism, education or schooling serve a vital role in enforcing colonialism. Hence, Althusser (1971) was of the view that the educational apparatus has taken over from the church of olden times which used to be the leading institution in enforcing colonialism. In short, education is seen or perceived to be the most powerful tool to control the minds of the working class. Furthermore, the impetus for education taking the lead role is owing to the view that it absorbs children from an early age and subjects them to the measure of the elite or ruling class via subjects such as history, civics, morals, and philosophy (Althusser, 1971).

This is done in a way that is in line with the demands of colonialism and the capitalist system. In addition, the implied or subliminal knowledge that children are taught includes what is assumed to be the correct way of behaviour, ways of conversing, thinking, acting, and cooperating (Althusser 1971). In other words, the education system is imposing the cultures of the middle class and leaving the poor experiencing symbolic violence (see Bourdieu, 1970). In simple terms, from a Marxist perspective, the role of education in a capitalist state is to reproduce societal inequalities i.e., class hegemony and values of the ruling class (Sussisa, 2010). Nonetheless, though colonialism might have ended, it is said to continue manifesting itself through coloniality, meaning, it now survives through coloniality. As Grosfoguel (2002) puts it, we have moved from a period of global colonialism to the current period of global coloniality.

[5] Before fully embracing colonial education, Africans were good technologists, advancing at their own rates with the resources within their environment. For example, Africans were good sculptors, carvers, cloth weavers, miners, blacksmiths, etc. They were able to provide and satisfy the technological need of the various African societies. The introduction of colonial education encouraged Africans to abandon their indigenous technological skills and education in preference to one which mainly emphasizes reading and writing (Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012).

2.1.2. UNDERSTANDING COLONIALITY

To sharpen the meaning of decolonization, it is significant to first clarify what is meant by coloniality. To begin with, coloniality is not coterminous to colonialism; instead, it is an epoch that survives colonialism (Mignolo, 2000a & Quijano, 2000). Coloniality illuminates the darker side of colonialism which exists as "an embedded logic" that continues to enforce domination, exploitation and it is always portrayed as being good for everyone (Mignolo (2005). It is without a doubt that the notion of colonialism is reinforced through coloniality. The central view of coloniality is that it manifests itself as a good phenomenon whereas it perpetuates and reinforces domination and exploitation. Similar to Mignolo, Maldonado-Torres (2008a) has it that coloniality strives through the pretension of modernity, hiding its exact essence.

In Arias` (2013) understanding, this shows that after the end of colonialism, early instruments of social domination survived and continued to shape Eurocentric forms of rationality and modernity through coloniality. For Sithole (2014) this insinuates that coloniality still carries with it the baggage of colonialism, but it seeks to modify itself by hiding what it is. This line of thought can be associated with colonial repression.

Quijano (2007) holds the view that the colonial repression fell, in particular, on the "modes of knowing, of producing knowledge, of producing perspectives, images, and systems of images, symbols, modes of signification" (p.169) of colonized cultures, as well as on their "resources, patterns, and instruments of formalized and objective expression" (p.169). Simply put coloniality which is said to be the long-standing pattern of power that occurred ensuing from colonialism, had its effects on the destruction of indigenous societies and their cultures. Hence, Africans are still grappling with having knowledge systems that speak and relate to their realities in curriculums. Hence, the annihilations of African knowledge systems are 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, p.243).

In this construal, education in a capitalist society maintains coloniality through training children in the skills and qualities of the working class as a way to ensure that there is a reproduction of

workers in the future. That is why "for more than a century, Indigenous students have been part of a forced assimilation plan — their heritage and knowledge rejected and suppressed, and ignored by the education system" (Battiste, 2017, p.23). This was done to equip Africans with the knowledge that would cultivate skills desired by coloniality. In view of that, Maldonado-Torres outlines that, coloniality emerged as a result of colonialism, emanating from the Western monopoly of power and hegemonic knowledge. In support of this claim, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2005) contends that institutions such as schools, colleges, universities, and churches are continually reproducing coloniality.

In addition to this Maldonado-Torres (2008a) observes that the long-standing patterns of colonialism, which survives through coloniality, continue to define the socio-economic, political, and cultural conditions of the former colonized in absentia of colonial administration. This means coloniality is the persistence of European subjection. For this to be possible Grosfoguel opines that "one aspect that has made the modern/colonial world system particularly successful is its ability to make its subjects, located on the oppressed side, think epistemically like the people in dominant positions" (2007, p. 213). Such is a result of the universality of knowledge claimed by the Western gaze. Grosfoguel (2007) amplifies this by asserting that, the Western gaze presents their knowledge systems as the only knowledge that can achieve a universal consciousness; therefore, everyone is expected to think within the confines of Coloniality.

According to Bulhan (2015) coloniality denotes enduring patterns of power; a way of thinking and behaving that emerged from colonialism. This contention is amplified by the following model of coloniality developed by Grosfoguel (2007, p. 203):

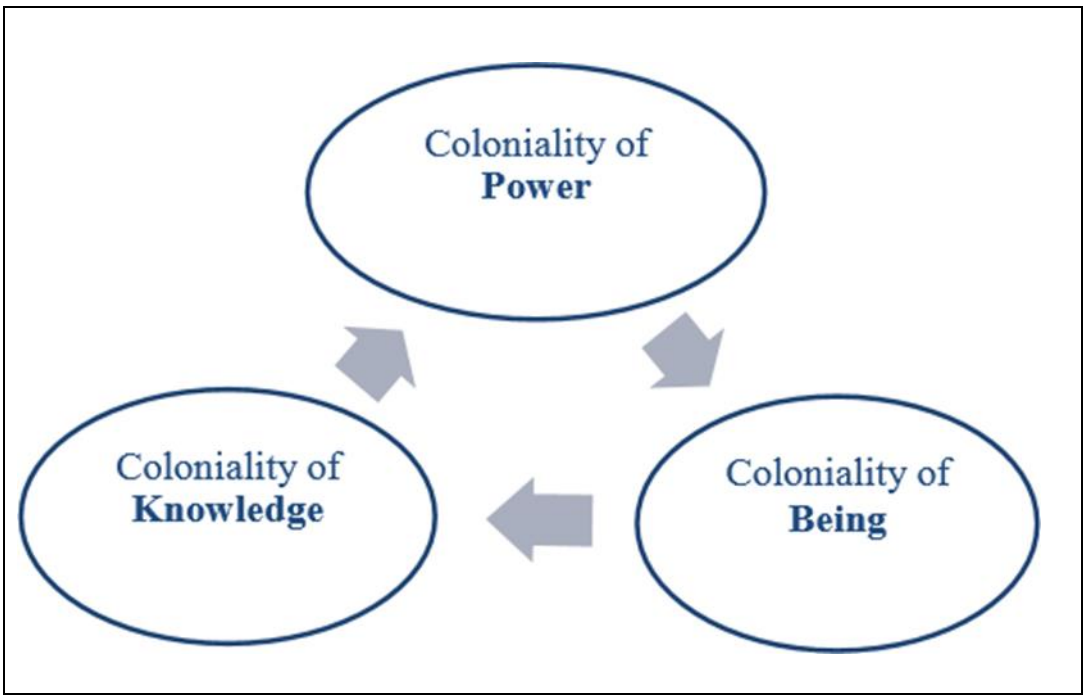

Diagram 2: A model of coloniality developed by Grosfoguel.

The model signifies that coloniality is ratified by coloniality of power, coloniality of knowledge, and coloniality of being. More so, the model serves the purpose of illustrating the interrelating practices and colonial-like power relations existing in formerly colonized regions (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). In the same line, it is Ndlovu- Gatsheni (2015) who clarified that coloniality of power is about control of authority and power; coloniality of being is about control of gender and sexuality, and lastly, coloniality of knowledge is about control of epistemology and subjectivity. Seroto (2018) is of the view that the three lenses that undergird coloniality should be unpacked separately so that we can understand how power structures, colonized knowledge systems, and beings could be decolonized.

However, at this juncture, a different line of thought has been brought to the fore by critical theorists, who tend to criticize what is assumed to be the status quo and argue for an important change to the prevalent structures within the society (Gage 1989). It is not surprising then, that critical theory tends to put more emphasis on the correlation of schools and teaching with society (Gage, 1989). Teaching, textbooks, and curriculum productions are aspects that illustrate societal power relations which are carried out by coloniality (Gage 1989). Critical theorists stress the significance of societal power in the functioning of the schooling system and delineating social reality (Gage 1989). Critical theorists suggested that we should be looking at the relationship of schools and teaching to society-the political and economic foundations of our constructions of

knowledge, curriculum, and teaching. The critical theorists emphasized the importance of power in society and the function of schools in defining social reality. They stressed the ways in which education served the interests of the dominant social class, which in our society has consisted of the rich, the white, and the male, as against the poor and the female. These class interests had led educators to serve, however unwittingly, the functions of reproducing the in-equitable social class structure and other arrangements that currently proceed as if the societal status quo should go unquestioned.

2.1.2.1. COLONIALITY OF POWER

Coloniality of power is an expression coined by Quijano (2000a) and Quijano (2007) to identify and describe the domination of power structures such as political; social and racial orders imposed by European colonialism. Quijano points out that, such social and political hierarchies continue to exist even after the epoch of colonialism and that is because they are entangled within structural hierarchies such as global capitalism. It is therefore clear that the colonial structure of power creates forces that perpetuate social domination and discrimination (Quijano, 2007). As such, coloniality of power should be understood as a 'global political order that has been constructed, constituted, and configured into a racially hierarchized, Euro-American- centric, Christian-centric, patriarchal, capitalist, hetero-normative, hegemonic, asymmetrical, and modern power structure (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). It outlines the bequest left by colonialism in societies that were once colonized, and it does that through means of social discrimination that survived formal colonialism and became assimilated in succeeding social orders. As a consequence, the systems of hierarchies posited by Quijano (2008) are grounded on racial classifications and differences. Quijano writes that race is central to the circulation of coloniality of power. This line of thought is also advanced in the critical race theory where it is argued that race (hate), de facto segregation continues to have an influence and a profound impact on one`s way of knowing (epistemology) and one`s relationship to what is there to know (ontology) (Woodson, 2000).

According to Ladson-Billings (2000), epistemology is more than a way of knowing. For her, it is a "system of knowing that has both an internal logic and external validity (Ladson-Billings, 2000, p.257). In this instance, Norman, Lincoln, and Smith (2008) amplify that, a differentiation between a way of knowing and a system of knowledge is made, where in the former every person has a

relationship to what is there to know (and obviously the relationships differ). While in the latter case, some ways of knowing are valued and validated while others are not dependent on one`s position. This validation is done based on race where it serves the purpose of sustaining power for the colonizers. However, the view of the race put forward does not include social class and gender as part of its framework due to its focus on race (Hiraldo, 2010). It fails to consider that women, and women of color, in particular, are faced with different struggles which involve sexism and classism rooted in patriarchy. Race cannot be the only facet that perpetuates coloniality of power, as there are social structures and the individuals within them which create and reproduce inequalities linked to sex/gender, race, class, religion, ethnicity, and other differences. In this sense, people are encouraged to believe that (only) white men are fully human; and because (only) white men are fully human, society is organized around their needs, the reality is seen from their perspectives, their attributes are seen as most valuable and productive, and they (naturally) dominate politics and culture. This, in turn, oppresses and suppresses women and negates their experiences as they are seen as objects that do not deserve power.

It is notable that in accordance with the system of patriarchy, power is only reserved for white men. Notwithstanding, one must not ignore the fact that struggles faced by women often vary with race, class, and other differences. This creates hierarchies of power in society. According to Sithole (2018):

> it is through the idea of race where there are hierarchies and classifications. This also includes the idea of who belongs and who does not—the logic of inclusion and exclusion. The idea of race determines how coloniality of power operates, since those who are considered, inferior races will be at the receiving end of subjection (p.61).

In explaining the above extract, it is clear that Sithole`s notion of race is a pillar of coloniality of power that is used to determine who should be valued in society and whose knowledge is considered to be substantial. Hence, Quijano (2000b) enunciated that:

> terms such as Spanish and Portuguese, and much later European, which until then indicated only geographic origin or country of origin, acquired from then on, a racial connotation about the new identities. Insofar as the social relations that were being configured were relations of domination, such identities were considered constitutive of the hierarchies, places, and corresponding social roles, and consequently of the model of colonial domination that was being imposed (p.535).

In this view, race and racial identity were established as instruments of basic social classification (Quijano, 2000b). This denotes then that racial classification has permitted the ascription of inferiority and superiority based on phenotypes and pigmentation. Subsequently, such a racial hierarchical system is used to justify the domination of Europeans. This can be associated with racism which according to Freeman (1995) was restrictively conceived as an "intentional and irrational deviation by a conscious wrongdoer from otherwise neutral rational and just ways of distributing jobs, power, prestige and wealth" (p.xiv). On this view, racism is seen as a social construct that is used to necessitate and legitimize the myths of the colonial meritocracy.

2.1.2.2. COLONIALITY OF KNOWLEDGE

Concerning coloniality of knowledge Dussel and Mignolo (cited from Hoagland, 2020) argue that it "presumes commensurability with Western discourse and is a process of translating and rewriting other cultures, other knowledge, other ways of being into Western understanding" (p.56). This refers to the distorting, silencing, erasing, and neglecting of others` knowledge systems by covering it with the Euro- North America global discourse. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015) describes it as indigenous knowledge that was pushed to what became known as the barbarian margins of society. Such knowledge remains in the margins as there is little coverage of it in the curriculums. More to this Sithole (2018) articulates that "coloniality of knowledge originates from epistemic violence and racism that dates back 500 centuries of five centuries" (p.69). Coloniality of knowledge is thus a consequence of the impact of colonization, which it had on the different zones of knowledge production. Mpofu (2013) expounds on this idea by articulating that:

> the colonizer does not only distort the history of the colonized, slaughter their knowledge systems, and empty their heads of self-confidence and their hearts of the emotional stamina to live without colonial domination. But he goes ahead to manufacture accusations and labels against the colonized, among many of the accusations, are—laziness, drunkenness, backwardness, 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 (p.110).

In clarifying the excerpt above, Mpofu brings to our attention that the worldviews or knowledge systems of others are being demised by the colonizers. Such demise happens through tarnishing the images of those who are colonized. This was done to create a scenario that a lazy, drunk, and stupid cannot create legitimate knowledge. Those who are at the helm of colonizing others create

a situation where others` knowledge systems are erased from the mainstream canon of knowledge. It does not end there; it also claims that such people who are at the receiving end need to be civilized by inculcating Western knowledge in their cognition. This goes hand in hand with the notion that "coloniality of knowledge rests in the depositor, warrantor, creator and distributor of universal knowledge" (Mignolo, 2009, p.18). As Walsh (2008) puts it, the sites of knowledge that are necessary for other regimes of truth are repressed, marginalized, disciplined, and destroyed. Hence, the Western canon of knowledge is seen as the only acceptable universal knowledge, while non- Western knowledge systems are saddled with the knowledge that is deemed to be illogical and irrelevant.

2.1.2.3. COLONIALITY OF BEING

Coloniality of being is articulated by Maldonado-Torres (2007) who utilizes it to trace the colonial relations between human ontology and power, and also the relations between being and colonial history. Maldonado-Torres (2007) also adds that, coloniality of coming into existence as a result of the reflections of modernity of which is the conception of the modern and colonial world. In other terms, coloniality of being emerged after realizing that "colonial relations of power did not only leave indelible marks in the areas of authority, sexuality, knowledge, and the economy, but also on the general understanding of being" (Seroto,2018, p.5). Maldonado- Torres is warning us about the damnation that modernity hides, thus, we should be cautious of the knowledge that we know and have about ourselves, and that is because such knowledge is written from assumptions that tend to misrepresent and mis-portray our beings. However, Grunberg and Schweisguth (1990) provide a different account of modernity. Their notion of modernity is that it is a system of anti-authoritarian values, valuing individual autonomy and fulfilment, acknowledging the right for everyone to choose one's way of living and based on the principle of equality of all human beings, regardless of race, religion, sex, or social rank (Grunberg and Schweisguth, 1990).

Further, Abbas (2011) adds modernity that brought about scientific discoveries which led to numerous technological advances in Europe and America. This indicates that modernity came with principles of democracy and technological advancements. Hence, according to Madsen (2014) the notion of modernity is most frequently used as an expression of the condition of the world, often as a replacement for capitalism, industrialization, rationalization, secularization, the media, and communication society, or other ideological or institutional traits that are believed to

be characteristic for the West in contrast with preceding epochs or more primeval existing civilizations. While in Africa, it only brought about assimilation of Europeans` ways of living or being, at the same time improvement in Africans` ways of living. This does not insinuate that Africans, as time evolved would have not advanced their ways of living without the involvement of Europeans. Nevertheless, modernity remains rooted in coloniality. On this disposition, modernity is a typically occidental process that non-western societies could embrace only if abandoning their traditional cultures (Galand & Lemel, 2008). This speaks to the notion of damnation that Maldonado-Torres warned us about. This is because modernity tends to distort the beings of non-Western people as it persistently changes the ways it maintains the coloniality of being.

It follows from this why Marx states that modernity "is constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social relations, everlasting uncertainty and agitation. . . All fixed, fast-frozen relationships, with their train of venerable ideas and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become obsolete before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and men, at last, are forced to face with sober sense the real conditions of their lives and their relations with their fellow men" (Stuart Hall cited in Hall et al. 1992b, p.277). Here, Marx unleashes that the advent of a money economy in the modern world dissolves the bonds and relations that make up 'traditional' communities so that money becomes the real community[6] (Galand & Lemel, 2008). Marx failed to grasp two central matters: first, that there are forms of politics that cannot be understood from the perspective of class alone to describe how the humanity for non-Europeans was portrayed and continues to be portrayed through coloniality of being. Secondly, that a 'critical' account of modernity must embrace a far wider perspective than labor interests if it is to claim to represent a humane and just social order (Woodiwss, 2006). Seemingly contradictory, Mignolo (2007) contends that:

> the coloniality of being appears in historical projects and ideas of civilization which advance colonial projects of various kinds inspired or legitimized by the idea of race. The coloniality of being is therefore coextensive with the production of the color-line in its different expressions and dimensions (p.256).

[6] We move from a social condition, in which we depend directly on those we know personally, to one in which we depend on impersonal and objective relations with others. As exchange relations proliferate, so money appears more and more as 'a power external to and independent of the producers,' so what 'originally appears as a means to promote production becomes a relation alien' to them (Galand & Lemel, 2008).

One can extrapolate from this passage that coloniality of being present itself as a project that seeks to bring about edification. This insinuates that, in a way coloniality of being tends to see non-Western or Europeans` ways of being as irrational. Likewise, Mignolo (2007) further contends that:

> it becomes concrete in the appearance of liminal subjects, which mark, as it were, the limit of being, that is, the point at which being distorts meaning and evidence to the point of dehumanization. The coloniality of being produces the ontological colonial difference, deploying a series of fundamental existential characteristics and symbolic realities (p.256).

It is clear from Mignolo`s thinking that coloniality of being unpacks how humanity for non-Europeans was portrayed and continues to be portrayed, which subsequently led to the objectification; thingification, and commodification of these people (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). It is further observed by Maldonado-Torres (2007, p.242) that coloniality of being "responded to the need to thematize the question of the effects of coloniality in lived experience and not only in the mind". This is to say, we should not only focus on traits that affect the mind such as the political-social, spiritual, educational, and cultural settings that were transmuted by coloniality. But also, on the significant effects that altered the natives` psychology, the very essence of being, and patterns of thinking that contribute towards the identity of indigenous people (Alfred, 2004). Another psychological effect of colonialism is internalized oppression, or more specifically, internalized colonialism. Memmi (1965) stressed that the creation of a colonizer-defined identity for the colonized eventually leads the colonized to believe such an interiorizing identity. Because of the inferior connotations attached to their ethnic and cultural identities, Freire (1970) added that the colonized might develop a desire to rid themselves of such inferiorities and to emulate the colonizer. Thus, the colonized may begin to act like the colonizer because the colonizers' ways are seen as superior and to shed oneself of anything from one's heritage because such a heritage is seen as inferior. Finally, the colonized may feel a sense of gratitude and indebtedness (i.e., colonial debt) towards the colonizer for civilizing and enlightening the colonized (Rimonte, 1997).

2.2. DECOLONISATION: GLOBAL TRENDS AND DEBATES

From colonialism and coloniality of power, knowledge, and being as constitutive parts of the Western gaze, it is now imperative to introduce the concept of decolonization that was coined as a response against colonialism and coloniality. The concept of decolonization gained traction

among politicians and intellectuals after World War II as it became synonymous with the end of European colonial rule (Irwin, 2015). As a result of the destruction of World War II, former European empires were unable to maintain direct control of their colonies as new anti-colonial movements emerged in Africa and Asia (Zig-Zag, 2016). The result was an explosion of anti-colonial insurgencies in Africa and Asia, wars of liberation that succeeded in forcing out European powers (Zig-Zag, 2006). Although it is said that the official process of decolonization began years after World War II, it must be acknowledged that it dates back to the Haitian revolution[7] which began on 21 August 1791 and ended on 01 January 1804. The Haitian Revolution has been described as having "invented decolonization" (Nesbitt, 2008, p.9). This is because the Haitian revolution is said to have "inaugurated another universalism linked to individual and collective autonomy" (Getachew, 2016, p.821). More so, it "offered a radical account of black citizenship and envisioned a world order in which both slavery and the colonial rule would be transcended" (Getachew, 2016, p.821).

Decolonization can be then seen as a way of putting an end to colonialism and liberating people who were colonized (Duara, 2014). According to Zig-Zag (2006), the process of decolonization requires the dismantling of the colonial government and its entire social system upon which control and exploitation are based, as has been the case in the Haitian revolution. In light of this, decolonization is a:

> revolutionary struggle aimed at transforming the entire social system and re- establishing the sovereignty of tribal peoples, in political terms, this means a radical de-centralization of national power (i.e., the dismantling of the nation- state) and the establishment of local autonomy (community & region, traditionally the village and tribal nation) (Zig-Zag, 2006, p.20).

It is perceptible that the argument on 'tribal people' is a racist and problematic one as it presumes that indigenous people cannot see beyond their tribes and that they are incapable of development hence the call to return to the village. It further suggests that tribal identities are fixed and do not move with time. As noted by Varnum and Grossman (2017) that tribal identities are inherently predisposed to change. Nonetheless, it is also evident in this extract that

[7] The Haitian revolution is usually described as the most successful slave rebellion against the French colonial rule in Saint-Domingue, which is now known as the sovereign state of Haiti. The rebellion not only managed to put an end to slavery, but also it halted the French control over the colony (Fuertes, 2010 & Getachew, 2016). The rebellion was propelled by the free Mulattoes who had long faced the trials of being denoted as semi-citizens (Bryan, 1811).

decolonization began as a way of getting rid of colonial rule over subordinate countries and as a call to shift from such rule to political independence. This was necessitated at the general assembly of the United Nations, which adopted resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, declaring that countries and people who were under colonial rule should be granted independence. The basic driving impetus for the declaration by the not only managed to put an end to slavery, but also it halted the French control over the colony (Fuertes, 2010 & Getachew, 2016). The rebellion was propelled by the free Mulattoes who had long faced the trials of being denoted as semi-citizens (Bryan, 1811). General Assembly of United Nations in its mandate under Article 13, paragraph 1 (a) was to guide the progressive development of international law that:

> the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights (art. 1); all peoples have the right to self-determination, but that this necessarily includes the right freely to determine their political status and freely to pursue their economic, social and cultural development (art. 2); that all armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease (art. 4); that immediate steps shall be taken, in United Nations Trust and Non-Self Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories (art. 5) (Tomuschat, 2008, p.2).

In light of the above extract, embodied in the declaration is the recognition and affirmation that the people of the world desire for the complete end of colonialism. The desire meant that colonialism should end completely. As Fanon (1961) puts it "decolonization, therefore implies the urgent need to thoroughly challenge the colonial situation" (p.3). This colonial situation must be challenged everywhere, as a way of opening up for access, precisely for those who have been harassed by colonization. That is why indigenous people before the 19th century, have been fighting for political access in a world that excluded them.

Flowing from the above assertion, today in the 20th century, decolonization is no longer framed along political independence lines. But rather, as a process of transforming the intellectual landscape and dismantling and confronting the colonial practices that continue to define and dominate the education system of people who were previously colonized (Ritskes, 2012 & Santo, 2014). Hence, Biermann (2011) points out that, indigenous people throughout the world are demurring and questioning the mono-cultural; monolithic, and mono-epistemological Westernized academic space; and social worldviews that continue to dominate the education system of indigenous people. Smith (1999) and Trask (1993) amplify this view by pointing out

that decolonization is an expedition of resisting and rebelling against the dominant *modus-operandi* of academic knowledge production rooted in colonization. This shows that the ramification of colonialism and coloniality on indigenous social and educational organizations are currently a profound concern. The pervasive effects of colonialism and coloniality for indigenous and other groups are acknowledged by Comaroff (1989) who adds that "the image of colonialism as a coherent, monolithic process can no longer be sustained" (p.661). This view is intertwined with the notion that decolonization should be about creating knowledge systems that are based on anti-colonial paradigms which will lead to the reconstruction of Indigenous knowledge systems (Alfred, 2008; Bishop, 2008 & Biermann, 2011). This is to say, radicalizing education could help change society. For example, in the history curriculum, if the curriculum is radicalized to embrace multiculturalism, people will not see their cultures as better than other people's cultures.

Another significant avenue for resisting colonial forms of knowledge production is related to critical theory, which notes that human beings can change the social structure, and they need not be dominated by it. The thought here is that critical theory is pursued to raise the consciousness of disempowered and dispossessed people (Brookfield, 2000). This is because it encourages those who are colonized to cross-examine the social, cultural, political, and economic framework of obligatory state education. This will function as a way that shows how the education system obliges the overriding party by generating a society where its members cannot interrogate or contest the situation (Brookfield, 2000). Otherwise, properly educated, and motivated people can undertake to change their society into one in which the poor, the non-white, and the female will no longer be subordinate. Schools, like other social institutions, such as media and the legislatures, must be the scenes of the necessary struggles for power (Brookfield, 2000). The idea implied is, what is needed is a reconsideration of the whole structure of society in which education, including teaching, goes on. From similar pedagogical perspectives yet from a different historical location of Brazil in the 1960s and following, often in exile, Paulo Freire argued that the oppressed, the underclasses, have not equally shared or received the benefits of education and they should not expect it as a gift from the ruling classes but should educate themselves, developing a "pedagogy of the oppressed" (1972; 2000).

For Freire, decolonization should imply having an emancipatory education. Freire suggests that such an emancipatory education should involve subverting the Hegelian master/slave dialectic, in which oppressed individuals undertake a transformation from object to the subject (Freire, 1996). Thus, this form of education will result in ensuring that the oppressed properly become a subject and more fully developed human beings. As a way of shifting from the situation of colonization and oppression, Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed proposed a form of decolonization, which focuses on consciousness-raising (conscientizacao). For Freire this form of decolonization will allow the educated to have the right to thematize issues of study, to engage in dialogue with teachers, and to fully participate in the educational process.

Freire (1996) narrates that, developing "pedagogy of the oppressed" requires the creation of learning processes that will help individuals better themselves and create a better life through social transformation and empowerment, rather than conforming to dominant views and values. Hence, he averred that it is often based on liberatory education that people come to realize the prevailing social systems of oppression and thus prepare themselves to fight for change in their immediate situations (Freire, 1996). It is therefore against this backdrop that, teachers should then rethink their work as political work. Freire (1996) further notes that it is important for teachers to ponder on the question of "for whom and on whose behalf, they are working" (p. 80). This shows that for Freire, decolonization should be done in a manner where education can be seen as a two-way communication based on a dialogue whereby the educator and educatee participate.

But the way of considering education as a two-way communication proposed by Freire (1996) would be problematic because learners cannot learn on their own. As Vygotsky puts it, to lengthen or broaden the child's biological forces, there must be a guidance of a skilled adult (which could be an educator in the schooling context) to help the child in the process of acquiring psychological tools which are offered or provided by culture (Crain, 1992). In other words, Vygotsky viewed the role of an educator as no longer trapped in the dichotomy of trying to fill an empty vessel with dead facts or sitting back and facilitating a natural process of growth on which they have little impact. Hence, education is recognized as a social process in which the role of the educator as a more experienced individual becomes crucial in guiding and participating in that process of shaping learners` consciousness. Based on this the cornerstone of decolonization should focus on disengaging from the colonial system and re-learning one's history and culture.

This places a heavy emphasis on rejecting European knowledge systems and ways of being. Instead, one should embrace all that is indigenous as good and positive ways of being and knowledge systems. That involves returning to one's community, re-establishing family relations, re-learning culture (inc. art, language, songs, ceremonies, hunting, and fishing) (Zig-Zag, 2006).

That is because culture is a vital phenomenon that should be taken into cognizance when decolonizing. For Fanon (1925), Indigenous culture is a primary means of decolonization. Zig-Zag (2006), notes that culture is "both a link to our ancestral past and to another way of thinking, of seeing the world" (p.21). Thus, it becomes a crucial element that should be tackled as part of the first process of decolonization. Culture is seen as the essence of Indigenous people`s identity, that is why it is an important part of challenging the colonial ideology which was stigmatized and internalized through culture (Zig-Zag, 2006). Yet, as Fanon (1961) and Zig-Zag (2006) observed when the indigenous` culture was not erased in its totality, it was warped and distorted by the colonial society. Fanon (1961) contends that:

> the colonial situation calls 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 few broken-down institutions. Little movement can be discerned in such remnants of culture; there is no real creativity and no overflowing life (p.237).

Moreover,

> 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 (p.238).

Here, Fanon is explaining the effects of colonialism on the cultures of indigenous people. This is amplified by Zig-Zag (2006) who states that Fanon is bringing it to our attention that it is the colonial power that comes to define what should and should not count as culture, and along that process, non-Western cultures tend to be tainted. Fanon makes an important point when he argues that a people's culture is directly linked to the physical world: the colonial occupation of a nation's territory is total, affecting everything and everyone (Zig-Zag, 2006). Therefore, according to Fanon, it is the anti-colonial resistance that revitalizes the culture of the colonized.

On the other hand, according to Alfred (2008) and Bishop (2008), the process of decolonization should start from a vantage point of deconstructing the pervasive effects of colonialism and its dominant knowledge systems it enforced on the education systems of indigenous people. The very basis for such deconstruction should be a commitment to embracing the capacity to become open to the reconstruction of Indigenous knowledge systems (Alfred, 2008 & Bishop, 2008). As Maldonado-Torres (2004), correctly notes, "decolonization is about the creation of a new symbolic and material order that takes the full spectrum of human history, its achievements and its failures, into view" (p.36). This is a process of deconstructing the severe repercussions of colonialism. Because of this, it leads to the creation of a new being and assessing the deep-rooted colonial knowledge in a manner that will result in restoration of cultural practices; histories; indigenous thinking, and epistemology for indigeneity. It also includes delinking, which seeks to re-evaluate and recover knowledge negated and distorted and lost during the colonial process and encounter (Walsh, 2002). Moreover, for Walsh (2002) this calls for the need to redefine and rebel against the imposition of Euro-North American knowledge systems that continue to define knowledge systems for indigeneity, which are imposed through its deemed superior civilization and superiority of social institutions. In the same terrain, Mignolo (2009) stressed that a shift of geography of reason with a clear locus of enunciation would be ideal for this.

To put it explicitly, Mignolo is suggesting that people should think from where they are located, therefore positioning indigeneity at the forefront of re-defining, de-constructing, re-constructing, and re-creating of their knowledge systems distorted and silenced during the process of colonialism. For Zig-Zag (2006) this does not only counter the "destructive effects of colonialism but also instils in the Indigenous person a greater respect and appreciation for their own culture and way of life" (p.20). Fanon (1963) advised us that decolonizing the mind should also form part of the first process of decolonization. This stance resonates with what was said by Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986):

> colonialism imposed its control of the social production of wealth through military conquest and subsequent political dictatorship. But its most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonized, the control, through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world. Economic and political control can never be complete or effective without mental control (p.16).

Ngugi wa Thiong'o proposes that since the colonization of the mind was more destructive than the colonization of material resources, the process of decolonization should place more focus on decolonizing the mind. It is a necessary process that the colonized should be going through as a way of cleansing the colonial mentalities (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1986). This line of contention should be prioritized in the process of decolonization because the colonizer imposed his image of superiority on the psyche of the colonized by disregarding African philosophy. This according to Ngugi wa Thiong`o (2018) is done through imposing an education system that denies the colonized real knowledge about their historical existence and at the same time, imports a culture embodying a slave-consciousness. This is supported by Ginio and Schler (2010) who posit that decolonization "is primarily a first internal process that has to take place within the minds of the colonized" (p.4). Decolonizing the mind as a first part of the process towards breaking the bondage of colonialism, should be prioritized. Otherwise, the immobilization of people under existing frameworks of power will continue to happen.

Infusing change in the minds of the colonized will emancipate them from the mental slavery of colonialism which aimed at destroying and devaluing "their social practices as related to literature, religion, education and history" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1986, p.16). In turn, this will result in embracing self-definition; self-determination, and self-affirmation of one`s identity or way of being (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1986 & Hotep, 2008). This is the history curriculum that can be done by ensuring that the history curriculum covers content that will be reagent to the learners` cultures and that will affirm their identities. This demonstrates that decolonizing the mind is an emancipatory resistance against colonial traits that annihilate our cognition. In addition, decolonizing the mind will also create new avenues for the colonized to start valuing and embracing their distorted culture and knowledge systems. Tuck and Yang (2012) framed decolonization as a way of acknowledging the historical epistemic injustices committed against the Indigeneity. In other words, for Tuck and Yung, decolonization should begin with acknowledging that indigenous people were (and are still) denied full and equal recognition as knowers. That is because their knowledge system(s) are not part of the curricula. Santos (2014) drives the argument further to explicate that decolonization is a process that calls for a multiplicity of knowledge systems in the academe. He adds that this will be a way of acknowledging the epistemic violence that was imposed by Euro-North America on Indigeneity (Santos, 2014).

Decolonising using this framework would help students to navigate and think through contested and complex knowledge spaces on their way to understanding their Indigenous worldviews, colonial experiences, contemporary dilemmas, and future goals (Al-Farabi, 2014). This is incongruent with Dei`s (2000) assertion that, if we are to have an African-centered university, we must resist the hegemonic knowledge of the Westerns through decentring the school curricula and centering Indigenous knowledge. This suggests that university studies should take cognizance of the African reality by contriving to understand Africa's history, civilization, and knowledge system in a broader sense. This can be done by first decolonizing the mind which has suffered centuries of internalizing Western knowledge systems and norms. The thesis maintains that this, in the African context, requires the education system to bring about authentic African knowledge. This authentic African knowledge ideally should be brought through an education that will provide Africans with knowledge about the world in which they live, how the world shapes them and how they shape the world (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1968). This affirms that Ngungi wa Thiong`o is on a quest for an African identity, emphasizing the fact that decolonization is a psychological process, advocating for freedom that seeks to stop Africans from internalizing westernized realities (Al Farabi, 2014).

By implication, decolonization encourages Africans to develop their philosophy within Africa (Hountondji, 1997). This African philosophy is a set of texts, specifically the set of texts written by Africans and described as philosophical by their authors themselves (Hountondji, 1997). However, Hountondji (1997) warns against viewing African philosophy as a collective phenomenon. He avers that we should move away from seeing African philosophy as communally shared, collective beliefs which can be assumed to be anonymous since it is a collective. Hountondji (1997) states such collectivism can only serve to reinforce the European distortions or myths about Africans who thought of Africans as a mob who cannot deliberate as individuals. This means, unlike scientific disciplines, which consist of hypotheses; questions, discussions African Philosophy is seen as a bunch of fiction stories about Africans which cannot be questioned nor be proved, and these stories apply to everyone who lives in Africa regardless of the country they come from. It is therefore in this instance that decolonization should serve the purpose of rescuing African philosophy from European distortions. This calls for a diversity of knowledge systems as a way of avoiding considering the African philosophy a collective phenomenon (Hountondji, 1997).

In line with the above view, Ginio and Schler (2010) opine that "any formulation of decolonization as a process or ideology must acknowledge a diversity of cultures, viewpoints, and strategies" (p.3). What can be inferred from this is that knowledge in itself is plural and diverse. Simply put, people interpret and understand the world differently. More so to the point, pluriversality is seen as a way that can bring about epistemic justice for people of the global South. The objective of realizing epistemic justice can be aligned to MacIntyre`s (1988) Whose Justice? Which Rationality? an article where he contends that rationality is found within traditions themselves – a position that complicates the capacity to converse about epistemic justice from divergent epistemic traditions. Here, MacIntyre (1988) was challenging the notion that not all propositions have the status of rationality. For MacIntyre (1988) each tradition is inherently rational. The main motive for this claim is owing to the view that people of the global South have been side-lined; excluded and marginalized from knowledge production. Most importantly, knowledge of indigeneity is marginalized and side-lined with the disputation which assumes that non-Western knowledge (which is considered particularistic), cannot achieve universality (Grosfoguel, 2007).

As a result of the above, having a multiplicity of knowledge frameworks is necessary. As envisaged by the process of decolonization, that such knowledge will ensure that this non-Western knowledge is recognized and given a space in institutions of knowledge production, thus, achieving epistemic justice. It is therefore worth mentioning that it is the concept of decoloniality that unpacks the universality of knowledge claimed by Euro-North America. Decoloniality is seen as "universal epistemology of the future; an epistemology that delinks from the tyranny of abstract universals" (Mignolo 2007a, p.159). This means decoloniality is a tool that argues for multiple knowledge systems and speaks against the exploitation of indigenous knowledge. It is a movement that ought to fight against exploitation and dehumanization (Quijano, 2008). Maldonado-Torres puts it clearly that decoloniality:

> refers to efforts at re-humanizing the world, to breaking hierarchies of difference that dehumanize subjects and communities and that destroy nature, and to the production of counter-discourses, counter-knowledges, counter-creative acts, and counter-practices that seek to dismantle coloniality and to open up multiple other forms of being in the world (2007, p.10)

In this understanding, decoloniality means moving away (to delink) from the overall structure of coloniality of knowledge to engage in an epistemic reconstitution. Mignolo (2011) further

advances that decoloniality "is energy that does not allow the operation of the logic of coloniality nor believes the fairy tales of the rhetoric of modernity" (p.46). This decoloniality is concerned with addressing "coloniality that hides beneath the rhetoric of modernity, and which necessarily generates the irreducible energy of humiliated, vilified, forgotten, or marginalized human beings" (Mignolo, 2011, p.46). In other terms, decoloniality seeks to unmask any elements of coloniality wherever it hides by exposing its rhetoric and reality. Central to decoloniality "is a fierce rejection of abstract universals and it could be added that the aim of the decolonial project would be a pluriversal world" (Mignolo 2010, p.354). Jokinen (2014) clarifies that pluriversality should not only lead towards one system of knowledge but instead to multiple knowledge systems that will co-exist. Similarly, Santos (2014) suggests that there should be an epistemic openness, where all types and sorts of knowledge will be given space but on the basis that such knowledge can be valorized first. In other words, Santos is contending that there should be epistemic openness that will not be only based on Euro-North American ways of knowing.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1992) and Hountondji (1997) argue that epistemic openness should be done through embracing African languages in the education system. This is derived from the notion that colonial languages were used as an effective ideological weapon to disempower colonized subjects from knowledge being produced and validated in their environments. Hence, according to Ngugi (1992), the colonial education system denies that the colonized have real human languages. These are referred to as vernaculars, alluding that the languages of slaves are barbaric tongues. Ngugi shows that when Christian missionaries and other European colonizers entered the African shores, they forced Africans to speak European languages as a means of enforcing their control (Al Farabi, 2014). This is in line with Seepe (1998) who stated that they [colonizer] set up schools that taught children European languages while deprecating the use of native languages. This demonstrates that language became a means of separating children from their own culture and history. This according to Ngugi (1992) was done through punishing and ridiculing the children of the colonized whenever they spoke in their mother tongues and rewarded when they spoke the language of the master, English; French or Italian. In short, this was to teach children to criticize and look down upon their cultures and gain the favor of acceptance from the colonizer so that they can be considered to be civilized.

A similar line of thought is put forward by Hountondji (2009) who contends that knowledge on the African soil should be written in African languages, of which the sole purpose would be to benefit Africans. This is evident when he articulated that, the exclusive use of European languages as a means of scientific expression reinforces alienation. The majority of our country's people are de facto excluded from any kind of discussion about our research outcome, given that they do not even understand the languages used. The small minority who understands and know that they are not the first addressees (Hountondji, 2009). Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1992) advises that anyone who wants access to that knowledge will have to translate it. But in this view, Ngugi notes that, even when translating our work written from our African languages, our terms should remain in the text to maintain authenticity. Jeyifo (2018) is of the view that writing in an 'African language' does nothing to promote communication or knowledge production on the continent. He argues that it only limits our audience and, in many cases, advantages one ethnolinguistic group over another. Nevertheless, Ngugi wa Thiong'o resorted to writing his books and articles in Gikuyu, his mother tongue Sibanda (2021) defends the decision taken by Ngugi wa Thiong'o of writing in his mother tongue, Gikuyu. Sibanda (2021) contends that "the turn to Gikuyu embodies a rejection of the Western European model of being" (p.145).

Although Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1992) insists that African writers must write the correct stories of their people in their native languages using African forms of writing, so that future generations learn the true traditions and histories that existed. The thesis also maintains the same sentiments as Jeyifo (2018). However, this does not mean the thesis is turning a blind eye to the fact that the imposition and elevation of foreign languages led to the destruction of people's culture; religion; dance; history; indigenous knowledge, and literature (Al Farabi, 2014). But given that we live in a global world where English is a universal language, it becomes unnecessary to write knowledge in our languages. After all, African people can find pride in being an African, appreciate and cherish their African cultural heritage, assert their ideas, rights, interests, and ideals, and acquire a healthy self-concept from knowledge written in their languages. Nevertheless, like other global South countries, decolonizing of (amongst others) knowledge, institutions of learning, and cultures through developing multiple knowledge systems is also advanced in South Africa. The focus in South Africa is placed on recuperating all the lost and distorted knowledge systems by bringing them back to the curriculums, as it will be shown shortly.

2.3. DISCOURSE ON DECOLONISATION: SOUTH AFRICAN PESPERTIVES

2.3.1. #FALLISM A CALL FOR DECOLONISATION

To bring the discussion home, in the year 2015 and 2016 South African institutions of higher learning were met with a fiery wave of fallism. The fallism movement sparked and revived heated debates on decolonization. As Le Grange (2016, p.1) correctly notes "the student protests of 2015 precipitated a renewed interest in the decolonization of the university in South Africa and by association the decolonization of the university curriculum". However, Mbembe (2016) brought to the fore that decolonization calls are not new in South Africa. Nevertheless, the call for decolonization was directed at uprooting the colonial-apartheid status quo in higher institutions defined by colonial representations (i.e., statues, names, etc.), marginalization, exclusion, and unequal access. The fallism movement began with the #RhodesMustFall (#RMF) early in 2015, at the University of Cape Town (UCT). The #RMF demanded that the statue depicting Cecil John Rhodes should be removed from the campus (Costandius; Nell; Alexander; McKay; Blackie; Malgas & Setati, 2018). The driving impetus for that demand was that Rhodes' statue represented the political and economic conquest of the British colonialists over the Cape (Silowe, 2020). It was also raised that the statues had great symbolic power which glorified the mass murderer who stole land from indigenous people. Its presence was seen as eradicating black history and an act of violence against black students (#RhodesMustFall mission statement, 2015). Therefore, the call for Rhodes` statue to fall can be seen as a way of dismantling and disrupting the domineering colonial legacies (i.e., culture and figures) that continue to brand our institutions of higher learning.

The fallism movement was not entirely defined by the #RMF movement; it was also defined by the #FeesMustFall (#FMF) movement which came later in the year 2015 after the 10-percentage university fee increment proposed by the ANC led government. According to Langa, Ndelu, Edwin, and Vilakazi (2017) the #FMF movement began as an offshoot of the #RMF movement. In short, the #RMF movement ignited the #FMF. At first, the movement was calling upon the government to not increase the fees with the proposed percentage and it was later morphed into #FreeDecolonisedEducation. Hence, Langa et al (2007) had to say that:

> the demand is bifurcated in nature. Firstly, it includes a fiscal dimension: the state must make available enough sustainable funding to make the canon that has established education or

> knowledge sharing as a transactional commodity obsolete. Secondly it has a political dimension: the university must critically revaluate the epistemological and pedagogical foundations of its knowledge- creating and knowledge-sharing functions (p.17).

In light of the above extract, Chetty and Knaus (2016) encapsulate that the #FMF movement was a manifestation of a class struggle in South African universities, where racial and social classism was at the centre of it. For instance, issues of fee increment always have severe impacts on students who hail from poor communities and family backgrounds. This is because the students are saddled in many ways which amongst them involves academically under-preparedness, financial constraints/exclusion, and the university culture (which embraces Euro-North American values and norms) is also foreign to them, which makes it hard to relate to any of the epistemology taught to them (Chetty and Knaus, 2016). The #FMF also brought to the agenda that there is a need for transformation of universities to address issues related to racial and gender inequalities and to alter the academe space to be more inclusive (Pilane, 2016 & Lang et al., 2017).

The #FMF movement enthusiastically and insistently called for the decolonization of the curriculum in institutions of higher learning by putting an end to the "domination of Western epistemological traditions, histories, and figures" (Molefe, 2016, p.32). In other words, the #FMF was a call for a newly re-imagined education system that will be free from Euro-North American knowledge systems upheld by colonialism and coloniality. The same dominations of Western epistemologies are also evident in the history curriculum, and it needs to be addressed through re-imagining the content that currently defines the curriculum. Shay (2016) posit that what underpinned the #FMF movement was an end of domination by 'white, male, Western, capitalist, heterosexual, European worldviews in higher education and incorporation of other South African, African and global perspectives, experiences [and] epistemologies' as the central tenets of the curriculum, teaching, learning, and research in the country. For the thesis, #FMF was a wake-up call that today, the history curriculum is not entirely dominated by white males only, but it is also dominated by black males. Therefore, there is a need to put an end to this heterosexual patriarchy that characterizes the history curriculum.

In contrast to the above, Silowe (2020) posits that fallism also did not spare white- supremacist and male-hegemonic norms and values nor spared what is embedded in the country's social fabric namely the unashamed validation, encouraging and rewarding of rape, misogyny, and

sheer violence against the LGBTQI+ community. To think of it, the history curriculum is also not free from perpetuating the country`s social fabric described by Silowe (2020). This shows us that, the history curriculum should be at the forefront of promoting a non-sexist society that is aware of the different sexual orientations that exist in society. It is clear from the ongoing discussion that, #FMF highlighted that there is a lack of transformation in South African institutions of higher learning, which leaves most of the country`s histories, knowledge systems, and heritages for indigenous people marginalized, silenced, and negated. It, therefore, becomes necessary to look at ways that can be used to recuperate the lost canon of South African Knowledge.

2.3.2. THE PROCESS OF DECOLONIZATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Drawing from the work of Chilisa, Le Grange (2018) identified five stages that can be used in the process of decolonization as a way of restoring the lost (South) African histories, indigenous knowledge, and heritages. The five stages are as follows rediscovery and recovery; mourning; dreaming; commitment; and action. Rediscovery and recovery are a process wherein indigenous people resuscitate and return to their lost identity, culture, history, and language (Le Grange, 2018). Chilisa (2006) writes that this phase, referring to rediscovery and recovery lays the foundation for the eventual decolonization of the society. This is informed by the notion that "people who have undergone colonization are inevitably suffering from concepts of inferiority in relation to their historical/cultural/social background" (Chilisa 2012, p.2). Therefore, this process as a starting point for decolonization becomes necessary for people who were colonized to reclaim their knowledge systems and to study their histories. Chilisa (2012) states that, after the process of rediscovery and recovery, mourning should follow. Chilisa is of the view that mourning will afford the indigenous people a platform to lament and speak out against their victimization. Mahabeer (2018, p.3) amplified this point by noting that "mourning is considered crucial to the process of healing and denotes reminiscing the ongoing attack on indigenous people". In other words, mourning is about condemning the perpetual assault on the identities and social realities of indigenous people (Le Grange, 2018).

Further to the above, Le Grange (2018) posits that mourning is an important part of healing that leads to dreaming. For Chilisa (2012) dreaming is a process wherein people who were colonized embark on a process of exploring their own culture, their aspirations for their future, considering

their structures for a social order which encompass and express their realities and knowledge systems. It is clear that dreaming calls forth histories of the colonized to envision alternate possibilities (Mahabeer, 2018). Similar to Mahabeer, Le Grange (2018) has it that "in the process of dreaming colonized peoples invoke their histories, worldviews, and indigenous knowledge systems to theorize and imagine alternative possibilities, in this instance, a reimagined academic field" (p.8). Simply put, this process is about reimagining a new world free from coloniality. In the process of dreaming, Chilisa (2006) stressed the importance of having a commitment towards dreams. Chilisa is of the view that:

> the people who were previously colonized will now be ready for commitment to a single direction in which the society must move. This phase will culminate in people by combining their voices in a clear statement of their desired direction. There is no single way or process for a people`s expression of the commitment. In fact, over time, the commitment will become so clear that a formal process merely becomes a pro forma expression of the people`s will (2006, p.5).

In line with the above extract, commitment is calling for recognition of voices of the people who were colonized and who continue to suffer from coloniality in bringing curriculum change through research-driven interventions (Mahabeer, 2018). After this, action to implement the dreams and commitments should be taken. As Mahabeer (2018) clarifies that action transforms dreams and commitments into committed action strategies for social change and in this case curriculum change. Drawing from the work of Smith, who identified seven strategies that could be used in the process of decolonization, Le Grange (2018) proposed that the same strategies can be used in South Africa. The strategies which will be outlined shortly are deconstruction and reconstruction; self-determination and social justice; ethics; language; internationalization of indigenous experiences; history; and critique. Le Grange (2018) believes that deconstruction and reconstruction should focus on what has been distorted and wrongly written about the indigeneity of (South) Africa. In the same line, deconstruction and reconstruction are concerned with "interrogating distortions of people's life experiences, negative labelling, deficit theorizing, genetically deficient or culturally deficient models that pathologized the colonized... and retelling the stories of the past and envisioning the future" (Chilisa, 2012, p. 17). In the history curriculum deconstructing the curriculum means re-writing all the histories that were wrongly written correctly. For example, moving away from labelling the natives as 'Bushmen' to referring them to

as the San[8]. To think of it, even the name San is not the correct name as it derives from a derogatory term (see Mellet, 2020). However, the name San is preferred to be used herein over the name 'Bushmen', and this is because the name 'Bushmen' is exclusive in its nature, as it excludes the existence of women (see, Adhikari, 2010).

According to Mahabeer (2018), this means forsaking what was misrepresented in the writings of the past and questioning people's misrepresentations and negative classification in imagining the future, which facilitates the rediscovery and recovery process (Mahabeer, 2018). Self-determination and social justice focus on seeking justice for indigenous people who are marginalized and side-lined by Western institutions. As Le Grange (2018) makes it clear, self-determination and social justice relate to the struggle of those who have been marginalized by the Western academy. In addition to this, it is about seeking legitimacy for knowledge that is embedded in their histories, experiences, and ways of viewing reality. Subsequently, self-determination and social justice centre the free will for indigenous people to write about their existence, drawing from their own experiences. Ethics in the process of decolonization is about the dissemination, formulation, and regulations of ethical issues related to the advancement of respect and dignity for those marginalized to protect indigenous knowledge systems (Le Grange, 2018). Language invokes the use of indigenous languages when teaching and learning as a response and struggle against imperialism (Le Grange, 2018). The internationalization of indigenous experiences and knowledge is about sharing similar experiences, struggles, and issues with scholars in the international and national spaces (Mahabeer, 2018 & Le Grange, 2018). History, in this instance, involves a study of the past to recover the history, culture, and languages of colonized people and to use it to inform the present (Le Grange, 2018). This means history is concerned with redressing the future through recovering the lost indigenous histories, ways of knowing, languages, and knowledge systems. Lastly, according to Le Grange (2018) critique concerns a critical appraisal of the imperial model of the academy that "continues to deny the colonized and historically marginalized other space to communicate from their own

[8] I am cognizant of the fact that "the labels 'San' and 'Bushman' are controversial because they are pejorative and their meanings contested. There is a good deal of confusion in the historical record itself about the identities of indigenous peoples and the names applied to them. 'Bushman' is ambiguous because it was used by colonists to describe hunter-gatherer communities as well as pastoralist KhoiKhoi peoples (Hottentots)" (Adhikari, 2021, p.44). Though it is such, I too "favour 'San' because it is not gendered, less pejorative, less ambiguous in denoting aboriginal hunter-gatherer peoples, and currently is the term most widely accepted by leaders and organisations representing San people" (Adhikari, 2014, p.44).

frames of reference" (Chilisa, 2012, p.19). As a result, the stages and strategies should be applied in decolonizing the curriculum.

2.3.3. WAYS OF DECOLONIZING THE CURRICULUM

To achieve the aforementioned stages and strategies, the curriculum must be transformed and decolonized as a tool that perpetuates coloniality and Western knowledge systems. Heleta (2016) states that decolonization should be seen as a revisionist project, aimed at transforming the existing knowledge systems in the curricula. Heleta (2016) believes that the colonial and apartheid curriculum continue to perpetuate Eurocentric supremacy and Westernized dominant worldviews as normative. Heleta is supported by Jansen (2019) who claimed that decolonizing the university curriculum is a necessity for the following agreed-upon reasons:

> Firstly, colonization led to the destruction of the knowledge systems of the indigenous people and therefore cognitive justice should be sought;
> Secondly, the illusion that it is only Euro-North America knowledge systems that can be universal should be debunked;
> Thirdly, Colonisation reduced knowledge systems of the Global South to culture and this needs to be corrected;
> Fourthly, South African universities are premised based on Western models of academic settings.

In light of the aforementioned points, Costandius, Nell, Alexander, McKay, Blackie, Malgas, and Setati (2018) argue that decolonization should begin with recognizing the significance of social justice which can be linked to cognitive justice. Social and cognitive justice should be incorporated within the curriculum as a way of hastening awareness of the importance of social justice (Costandius et al., 2018). For instance, teaching strategies that would address social justice in South Africa involves discussions on apartheid, racism, poverty, justice, and inequality (Costandius et al., 2018). It is therefore clear that both social and cognitive justice ought to address the historical injustices of apartheid-colonialism. In line with conceptions of justice, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2018) argues that decolonization is about epistemic freedom which will result in cognitive justice. Furthermore, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2018) points out that:

> epistemic freedom is about democratizing 'knowledge' from its current rendition in the singular into its plural known as 'knowledge'. It is also ranged against the overrepresentation of Eurocentric thought in knowledge, social theory, and education. Epistemic freedom is foundational in the broader decolonization struggle because it enables the emergence of critical decolonial consciousness (n.p).

What can be inferred from the extract above is that Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2018) is highlighting that, epistemic freedom concern itself with intellectual independence in relation to the production and reproduction of knowledge. According to Ndlovu- Gatsheni (2018), it involves the right to think, write, theorize, communicate, and interpret the world from where we are located, and this sets afoot new humanisms and ecologies of knowledge. Hence, epistemic freedom can be seen as a way of resurrecting the knowledge of indigenous people who suffered a form of epistemicide (the killing of knowledge systems) which signifies their evisceration from the knowledge canon (Santos cited by Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018). This shows that because of epistemicide indigenous people ought to get cognitive justice. As Jansen (2019) argues, cognitive justice will ensure that all knowledge, whether from Global North or South, is decentred so that the knowledge can co-exist and be equitable, thus ensuring that there is no knowledge subjugating another.

What Jansen (2019) argues for is fair treatment of indigenous knowledge in the academy, and this is because since inception all institutions of learning in South Africa adopted Euro-North America models of academic organizations. These models according to Jansen (2019) exclude, decimate, and negate knowledge(s) of indigenous or colonized people. This is because, in the post-colonial-apartheid epoch, the government failed to redress the Euro-North America models of academic organizations which were entrenched during the colonial-apartheid period (Van Wyk, 2014). This has ensured the preservation of colonial academic organization including curricula within institutions of learning (Jansen, 2019). However, Jansen (2019) stressed that decolonizing the curriculum to foster cognitive justice does not mean turning back the clock, wherein we start from a clean slate. As Deleuze and Guattari (2000) note, we cannot create new avenues by reversing technological advancement and going back to old ways, which were pertinent when the planet was less densely populated and when social relations were much stronger than they are today. To drive the argument further, Lebeloane (2017) places social justice and equity at the heart of decolonizing the curriculum. He posits that this will serve as an emancipatory shift from discriminatory, racist prejudice and unjust practices directed against indigenous people of South Africa and other social groups (Lebeloane, 2017).

It is a clear indicative case that decolonizing the curriculum in the manner of fostering social justice will "address and demystify the ideologies of class, gender, ethnicity, ethnocide, inequality, and race that dominate colonialism to young students in schools" (Lebeloane, 2017, p.7). This view is supported by Heleta (2018) who argues that given the structural inequalities and injustices that remain stumbling blocks for the emancipation and empowerment of many black South Africans, placing social justice at the centre of decolonizing the curriculum will ensure that justice is realized. This insinuates that oppression, prejudices, and racism carried out by the Western gaze remain entrenched in the curriculum. As Sardar emphasizes that:

> Western civilization and culture are responsible for colonial racism, and Europe itself has a racist structure, then we should not be too surprised to find this racism reflected in the discourses of knowledge that emanate from this civilization and that they work to ensure that structural dominance is maintained in the curriculum (2008, p. xv).

Mbembe (2016) agrees with Sardar that there is something profoundly wrong when . . . syllabuses designed to meet the needs of colonialism and apartheid should continue well into the liberation era. This is why it is of paramount importance to decolonize the curriculum in a way that will foster social justice. As a result, this will ensure that the Eurocentric curriculum does not reinforce White and Western dominance and perpetuate stereotypes, prejudices, and patronizing views about Africa and its people. Since knowledge is central to the conversation of decolonizing the curriculum, Jansen (2019) asked a canonical curriculum question: what knowledge is of most worth learning? In response to this, Heleta (2016) postulates that the curriculum should consist of knowledge that will be relevant to the social and historical realities of the communities (local, national, and continental settings) in which universities function. In the history curriculum, this entails allowing people to learn about their historical local contributions and experiences.

According to Dei (2000), this requires the need to interrogate Euro-North America philosophies and colonial knowledge productions that continue to define and shape academic practices and exclude indigenous knowledge. Western epistemologies tend to silence and neglect other forms of knowledge, thus making it hard for indigenous communities to relate to the realities envisaged in the curricula. This is because they are structured around colonialism in this case, the knowledge worth learning in the curriculum is the knowledge that will speak to the needs and realities of indigenous people while replacing Eurocentric prejudice embedded in the curricula with non-Western knowledge (Paraskeva, 2011). Therefore, decolonizing of knowledge within

the curriculum "implies the end of reliance on imposed knowledge, theories and interpretations, and theorizing based on one's past and present experiences and interpretation of the world" (Heleta, 2018, p.48). In other words, the knowledge that should form part of the curriculum should disseminate indigenous people`s ways of knowing, thus shifting away from colonial-apartheid knowledge systems that imposed and promoted Eurocentric worldviews while erasing and subjugating indigenous memories, knowledge, and worldviews (Helata, 2018). As Fanon (1964) notes, colonial education was used to distort the past and destroy the future of the colonized. Therefore, the knowledge in the curriculum should not be disconnected from the realities and lived experiences of black South Africans and other marginalized groups (Heleta, 2018). In relation to this, Dei (2012) writes that "all knowledge should be located in a particular social context from which it emerges. Such location shapes the ways of knowing and understanding the social and political relations at play in constructing social realities" (p.3).

Le Grange (2016) posits that decolonizing the curriculum should also focus on rethinking the subject. Le Grange (2016) suggested five possibilities that can be used in rethinking the subject. The first possibility is about a radical rethinking of Western disciplines in the South African academe (Le Grange, 2016). This possibility of rethinking according to Le Grange (2016) requires the expansion of empirical beyond mere observation and listening, to include knowing through the tastes, pain, and hunger of our bodies and expressions of anger, passion, and desire. This view links with the mourning and healing process which is integral to the process of decolonization discussed earlier on (Le Grange, 2016). The second possibility is through emerging transdisciplinary knowledge, which is not based on a socially distributed knowledge system that only comprises those produced by the university, but one expanded to include the general public and indigenous societies (Le Grange, 2016). With this possibility, Le Grange is indicating that decolonization should be accepting of other various emerging knowledge systems where knowledge will be seen as a social construct that includes the histories and epistemology of local and indigenous communities.

Further to the above, the third possibility is premised on exploring ways of developing and designing locally and regionally relevant curricula where Western epistemologies continue to dominate and unequal power relations remain prevalent (Le Grange, 2016). In other words, this possibility is about exploring alternative ways to improve and plan curricula where Euro-North

American ways of knowing are still dominant and imbalanced power relations prevail (Mahabeer, 2018). The focus is on destabilizing dominant knowledge systems in ways that create alternate spaces where contrasting knowledge can be fairly interrelated (Le Grange cited in Mahabeer, 2018). In the history curriculum, destabilizing the dominant knowledge systems can be done through formalizing multiple voices where all histories are represented equally.

The fourth possibility is directed to (South) African students to learn together about the origin of human beings, and the epistemologies that emerged from the Cradle of Humankind (Le Grange, 2016). This is what Nabudere (2011) referred to as Afrikology which seeks to:

> build on the achievements of African people and the rest of humanity in order to emancipate themselves from the dehumanization imposed on them by Western civilization.... We pursue this root from which human knowledge was first produced and then spread to the rest of the world (p.159).

The above extracts highlight that Afrikology is concerned with advocating for students to acquire true knowledge about the genesis and successes of African people. Taken into the history curriculum, the focus can be first placed on prioritizing the African achievements in terms of civilization that have been stolen and destroyed/silenced in the history curriculum. This knowledge will liberate them from the dehumanization enforced on them by Western nations. In the fifth possibility, Le Grange (2016) draws from the work of De Carvalho and Flórez-Flórez that looks at the three cycles of the curriculum pathway, namely: learning to learn; learning to un-learn and to re-learn and acquiring the knowledge to move from learning to action. As de Carvalho and Flórez-Flórez (2014) point out that incorporating the voices and experiences of dominated groups is fundamental to achieving objective knowledge of social processes, establishing new avenues for dialogue and exchange beyond (and not merely between) the existing disciplines. At the centre of this, is reintroducing the traditional arts and crafts—or better, traditional sciences, technologies, arts, and humanistic and spiritual practices—to our universities (De Carvalho & Flórez-Flórez, 2014).

In addition to the possibilities that Le Grange (2016) and Jansen (2017) identified decentring is a possibility that can be utilized to decolonize knowledge in the curricula, as mentioned previously. This possibility entails, decentring hegemonic Western knowledge and recentering African knowledge systems (du Preez, 2018). A similar point is raised by Ammon (2019) who argues that decentring is about rearranging the content in the curriculum which is defined by

values and knowledge of Europe (which is the location of colonial and postcolonial authority), in a manner that will put indigenous ways of knowing at the forefront of learning. For Asante (1998) this is Afrocentricity that "literally means placing African ideas at the centre of any analysis that involves African culture and behaviour" (p. 2). Le Grange (2016) concurs with this view of decolonizing the curriculum through decentring it. As she puts it "involves a process of change that does not necessarily involve destroying Western knowledge but in decentring it or perhaps territorializing it (making it something other than what it is)" (Le Grange, 2016, p. 6). Both the extracts are illustrating that decentring is not a mere act of erasing European ways of knowing and knowledge(s) from the curriculum but rather a way of saying European knowledge systems must come second to a new knowledge system which places Africa at the centre. For example, in the history curriculum, foreign histories can be taught but they should come second to African history.

A similar view is shared by Heleta (2016) who notes that decolonization is not a project aimed at taking out both foreign and local from the curriculum but is, rather, about decentring the hegemonic Western canon upon which human knowledge rests. In addition, the curriculum should not be dominated by Euro-North America values, norms, and knowledge systems, instead, it should be free from Eurocentric worldviews that were established to degrade, exploit, and subjugate people in Africa and other parts of the formerly colonized world (Heleta, 2018). Drawing from the ongoing discussion, it is clear that decolonization is a call for inclusivity. As Dei (2016) noted that "the academy is a site of uneven access, exclusion, one that sheds bodies and knowledge, and through spatial arrangements and absences limits the reach of alternative knowledge to colonial knowledge" (p.31). Therefore, Le Grange (2016) argues that decolonization is a response to this which is concerned with the inclusion of indigenous people and other excluded social groups and their knowledge systems, ways of knowing, and being in social and education processes. Precisely, decolonization is about having a curriculum that is inclusive of all human thought (Heleta, 2016). Similarly, Makhubela (2018) remarked that decolonization envisioned through the lens of inclusive education is about agitating for moves to recentering and reaffirming blackness (the existence of which was seen as subhuman), challenging epistemological dominance (of the Western), resettling material and somewhat repatriate indigenous life, and thought (that was destroyed and buried by colonialism and Apartheid).

The process of decolonization focused more on higher education than on basic education. A key point of departure for decolonizing the curriculum, however, is in school classrooms as these formal sites of education are ideally positioned to bring about social change (Lebeloane 2017). Regrettably, Mahabeer (2020) argues that the curriculum in South African schools has not yet been prudently deliberated on nor has the idea of decolonization been fully embraced, and the curriculum continues to perpetuate Westernized, Eurocentric, and colonial ways of knowing that ignore learners' indigenous knowledge and languages. Decolonising the curriculum embraces the valuing of diversity and the consideration of the multiple experiences of people (Lowe 1996). Kumashiro (2004) argues the importance of complicating the conversation about domination that portrays teachers as agents of change and not victims. Decolonising the curriculum is attentive to how 'ethical solidarity' has been intellectualized, and it can evaluate what is 'silent', and what is to be acknowledged and mobilized (Subedi 2013).

2.4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this chapter, the thesis first traced the origins of the concept of decolonization from the term colonialism. In so doing, this chapter outlined what is meant by colonialism and then aligned the conception of colonialism with the term coloniality. Second, the thesis described what is meant by decolonization where it engaged in international debates and trends on the understanding of the concept. The chapter then moved to discuss decolonization discourses in the South African context. This chapter inferred that the decolonization movement brought to the fore that inclusive education should be central in the process of fighting against the persistent exclusion and marginalization of vulnerable people and their knowledge systems in society. It, therefore, becomes imperative to deliberate on the etymology of inclusive education in the following chapter. That will be done in a manner that locates decolonization from the inclusivity discourse.

CHAPTER THREE: LOCATING DECOLONISATION FROM THE INCLUSIVITY DISCOURSE

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Chapter Three comprises insights on what entails the concept of inclusive education. It first provides arguments of where and how inclusive education emerged as global discourse, and how it is understood in South Africa. At the centre of these discussions, the chapter critically looks at the trends policy developments both global and local that have shaped the understanding of inclusive education. The chapter also problematizes that there is a missing idiom in inclusive education in South Africa which involves a lack or little recognition of IKS and other social groups` historical discourses as it will be explicitly shown in the next chapter.

Construction of the word 'disability'
"Without denial of difference and diversity, all people are human and equal. However, dominant powers in society categorise people using the concept 'normalcy' as the standard, leading to the emergence of 'human' and 'subhuman' as categories for labelling people. One such group of people that have continued to emerge from this categorisation, in which the 'normal body' and the 'normal mind' are used as a measure of ability and the 'abled', are persons with impairments. 'Disabled' is thus an identity label, a social construct used to define and describe those who do not meet the criteria of body and mind that are used to construct a 'normal' human being. There has been a realisation, however, that being 'disabled' is a by-product of this process of categorisation and labelling, and critical voices are emerging to claim humanness for people in all their diversity, including those with impairments" Sibokuhle Ndlovu, 2021

Source A: An extract unpacking the word disability.

To begin with, inclusive education has its roots in the disability [sic][9] crusade (Dreyer, 2017). Hence, Tremblay (2007) is of the view that historically people who were physically and mentally impaired were often placed in separate facilities such as asylums, hospitals, or other institutions

[9] Refer to source A to see why we should opt for the use of impairment instead of the word 'disability'.

that provided little if any, education. This suggests that people with impairments faced exclusion from opportunities that would allow them to be educated in the same environment as their peers with no impairments. However, this view was problematic as it further perpetuated exclusions. It created patterns of 'othering' the people who were perceived to be disabled. This denied such people access to the general education curriculum as they were educated in separate programs with little accountability (Lipsky & Gartner, 1996). Foucault (1977) would disagree that the inclusive education movement was coined to fight against exclusion. Instead, for Foucault (1977) "Disabled students' subjectivities are tainted by the bigoted culture of corporate rationality that has generated a new ontological category of 'normality', incarnated in 'docile bodies" (p.138). Foucault is assuming that people with impairments do not have the cognitive capacity to comprehend knowledge because they have what he calls 'docile bodies.

Tremblay (2007) offers an observation that during the extermination epoch in Greece, disability [sic] was seen as a "punishment of the gods" or as a bad or an evil sign. It did not end here, as historically people with disabilities have been concomitant with the practices of witchcraft, referring to such as displeasure of ancestors, or the promiscuity of a pregnant woman (Naicker, 2015 & Walton, 2018). It can be inferred from this that, such connotations associated with an impairment which is referred to as disability [sic] resulted in the social isolation and discrimination of persons with impairments. It is clear that impairments were seen as impurity and such a belief remained static for the longest period (Roeher, 1969 & Tremblay, 2007). Therefore, people with disabilities have been treated as "invalid" or inferior and in need of very special protection and are viewed as essentially incapable to benefit from education (Lebona, 2013). This is one of the ways in which people with impairments were othered. This implies that historically people with impairments were not seen as people who should enjoy the full benefits of society, thus becoming the most susceptible groups to exclusion. It follows from this that the notion of inclusive education has been widely associated with the inclusion of people with impairments in society and most important in the education system.

3.2. TRENDS AND POLICIES THAT SHAPED INCLUSIVE EDUCATION

What follows from the above-identified issue of exclusion are several declarations and conventions which were established as a response to the issue. Eventually, their conventions and

policy emerging from them led to addressing the exclusion and created a pathway towards inclusive education. Drawing from the work of Du Plessis (2013) and Dreyer (2017) the following table (table: 1)[10] seeks to illustrate the declarations and conventions.

Year	Declarations and Conventions	Purpose
1948	The Universal Declaration of Human Rights	It seeks to ensure that the right to free and compulsory elementary education for all children.
1966	The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	It aims to ensure all peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right, they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, and cultural development.
1982	The World Programme of Action Concerning Disabled Persons	The purpose of the World Programme of Action concerning Disabled Persons is to promote effective measures for prevention of disability, rehabilitation, and the realization of the goals of "full participation" of disabled persons in social life and development, and of "equality".

[10] The colours in the table are derived from the LGBTQIA+ community flag and are used to show solidarity with their community whose existence and history has been undermined. This is because, up to this day, in the history curriculum, their knowledge systems continue not to form part of the content. Nevertheless, the flag was designed by San Francisco artist Gilbert Baker in 1978 (Old Dominion University, n.d). The flag was first flown during the San Francisco Gay and Lesbian Freedom Day Parade on 25 June 1978 (Old Dominion University, n.d). Baker borrowed symbolism from the civil rights and hippie movements and created a flag that has gained worldwide recognition. The original flag featured eight colours, each with a distinct meaning assigned by Baker: Hot pink (Sex), Red (Life), Orange (Healing), and Yellow (Sunlight), Green (Nature), Turquoise (Magic/Art), Indigo (Serenity), Violet (Spirit) (Old Dominion University, n.d).

1989	The Convention on the Rights of the Child	It ought to ensure that the right to receive an education without discrimination on any grounds is protected.
1990	The Jomtien World Conference on Education for All (EFA)	It sets the goal of providing education to all people
1993	Standard Rules on the Equalisation of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities	It affirms the equal rights of all children, youth, and adults with disabilities to education and also that education should be provided in an integrated school setting as well as in the general school setting.
1994	The Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action on Special Needs Education	It requires schools to accommodate all children regardless of their physical, intellectual, social, emotional, linguistic, or other conditions.
2000	The World Education Forum, Dakar	Its goal is to ensure that all children should have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education.
2006	The UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities	It seeks to promote the rights of persons with disabilities and mainstreaming disability in the development.

Table 1: An extract of inclusive education declarations and conventions, cited from Du Plessis, 2013 and Dreyer (2017).

What can be deduced from Table: 1 is the illustration of declarations and conventions that recognize the right to education for all and, as such, form key milestones in the journey towards inclusive education (Dreyer, 2017). The impetus for this line of thought is because people with

disabilities were treated unfairly and were excluded from receiving proper schooling. However, such an exclusionary treatment was challenged as Lebona (2013) correctly notes:

> later, a belief took root that all children belonged in the same school system and should not be separated. The parallel system to traditional schooling that developed came to be known as Special Education and further refinement of this system became known as Special Needs Education (p.23).

It is well captured in this extract that this approach of inclusive education will reduce stigmatization of pupils with disabilities; this is because forcing to educate these pupils in separate special institutions creates stereotypes. In addition, Lebona (2013) clarified that Special Needs Education (SEN) is:

> a system of education for children with disabilities within ordinary schools as it directly represents an effort to provide education in more 'normal' settings. A typical characteristic of this provision of education is that it has been offered in special classes and not in cooperation with other children in mainstream education (p.23).

This extract indicates that people with disabilities were being provided with an opportunity to learn in inclusive and integrated or mainstreamed settings. The view here is that people who are considered to be disabled should have equal access to education just like others. This is because disability does not influence how one gets to learn. It is rather a matter of lacking access to suitable teaching and learning facilities that would accommodate the learning needs of disabled people (Ainscow, 1999; Winzer, 2009; Salend & Duhaney, 2011). However, efforts of advocacy groups and concerns about the ineffectiveness of segregate special education services have started to change the education of people with SEN from segregation to integration (Ainscow, 1999; Winzer, 2009; Salend & Duhaney, 2011). The thesis believes that this should be altered so that there could be no stigmatization attached to them as it always has been the case when placed in different classrooms. In turn, this will allow all people to promote within themselves an appreciation for their differences and abilities, while maintaining unity within the classroom (Winzer, 2009; Salend & Duhaney, 2011). However, the likes of Kauffman (993) and Fuchs and Fuchs (1994) repudiate this by arguing that the 'one size for all' approach is not ideal for full inclusion. They believe that there needs to be a continuum of services available at schools for individuals with disabilities and that these children need to be placed according to the severity of

their impairment. They were against the move to educate all people in the same institutions of learning.

In light of the above, the thesis posits that schools need to be restructured into a unified education system. However, where there are cases of people who are suffering from severe impairments, an exception to place them in accordance with their disabilities in different facilities of learning should be made. This should be done in modus that does not undermine the quality provision of education. In other words, it should maintain a non-discriminatory attitude towards the people who are impaired. This is to say, all people with impairments, regardless of their learning barriers, are to be educated in high-quality, age-appropriate general education classrooms (Villa & Thousand, 2000). It is such debates that have profoundly influenced the notion of inclusive education to become a flashpoint. It is therefore on these bases that inclusive education was officially developed at the World Conference of Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990 (Lebona, 2013). At the center of this, was the transformation of the education system for people with impairments from separated placements to inclusion in ordinary placements. This was followed by the Salamanca conference in 1994 which played a pivotal role in the development of the concept of inclusive education. Over 300 participants representing governments and 25 international organizations took part in the Salamanca conference from which the Salamanca Statement was amended.

The Salamanca conference aimed to further the objectives of the Education for All policy by considering the fundamental policy shifts required to promote the approach of inclusive education (Ainscow, Slee & Best, 2019). This infers that the sole purpose of these conferences was to deliberate on ways that could upsurge learners' participation in schools and the learning process thereby minimizing their exclusion. In addition, ever since the conferences took place, various concepts with different connotations emerged out of the deliberations held at these conferences and amongst others are integration, mainstreaming, special education needs, and normalization (Florian, 2012 & Kemp, Kishida, Carter & Sweller, 2013). The conceptualization of inclusive education in this manner implies that there is now a move away from a segregated special education system into an integrated system where special needs and support services shift from the periphery to becoming more centrally infused into general education (Lomofsky & Lazarus, 2001).

In other words, it is a process of bringing children with disabilities into an ordinary school but focusing on the individual child fitting into the existing school system and doing little to adjust the system (Mariga, McConkey & Myezwa, 2014). However, Liasidou (2012) disputes that the kind of thinking put forward in terms of mainstreaming learners or of claiming to foster inclusivity for the most vulnerable and marginalized people in society is "subsumed within wider neoliberal concerns over increased productivity, effectiveness value for money and entrepreneurial capacity. Therefore, inclusivity in this respect is not equated with the notion of belonging and meaningful participation in mainstream neighborhood schools" (Liasidou, 2012, p.175). In short, inclusive education is not seen as a movement that aims to promote and value human rights, instead, it functions as a neoliberal movement seeking to equip the people 'included' in the education system with skills that align with the demands of capitalism. In the same vein Liasidou (2012) also believes that:

> current schooling acts as a political site, reproducing social hierarchies and legitimizing the existing relations of power in a way which is attuned to the corporate modes of production. The values of the marketplace are enshrined in educational institutions, which are called upon to produce 'human resources' in order to fulfil the demands of the global capitalism (p.175).

One can extrapolate from this passage that these institutions of learning function as sites where learners are prepared for the values of the global market of capitalism. According to Magrini (2010), this occurs because "the knowledge we value most, when manifest and passed along in our classrooms, has a direct and powerful effect on the type of student we envision our educational practices readying for the so-called 'real world" (p. 2). This deduces that any knowledge that forms part of the curriculum is "driven by a certain political ideology with its aim of shaping citizens into valuing certain things over others" (Sonkqayi, 2020, p.53). In the case of America, for instance, it would be the emphasis on mathematics and science at the expense of the arts to advance economic competition (Magrini, 2010).

Though the movement of inclusive education was developed in the Jomtien conference and advanced in the Salamanca conference, it is noteworthy that it has been directly advocated since the Universal Declaration (UN) of Human Rights in 1948 and has been enacted in several key UN declarations and conventions as summarized in the table (Lebona, 2013). This shows that during the 20th-century attempts to provide education to children with disabilities, principles of

mainstreaming and integration were put into practice (Lebona, 2013). To put it bluntly, it was these conferences and declarations which laid a foundation for providing a quality education system that is based on equitable principles. According to Turnbull, Turnbull, Shank, Smith, and Leal (2002) "the goal of mainstreaming was to return learners with disabilities to the mainstream of education as much as possible, alongside normally developing peers" (p.77). To clarify this, mainstreaming can be understood as a way of moving away from a segregated special education system into an integrated system where special needs and support services shift from the periphery to becoming more centrally infused into general education.

This presupposes that there is a separate group of children who have special educational needs and are often called special needs children (Mariga, McConkey & Myezwa, 2014). This assumption should be rendered invalid because any child can face barriers to learning. Contrary to mainstreaming, the main goal of integration should be to ensure that people with disabilities are afforded an equal membership in society (Swart & Pettipher, 2005). Integration can imply that learners are introduced to a system that remains unchanged and where they are expected to adapt or integrate. Inclusive education is then premised upon basic human rights (Mitchel, 2010). This implies that the inclusive education phenomenon ought to ensure that all people enjoy their basic rights and freedoms in schools without facing any discrimination and marginalization. What stems from this, is the view that the practice of excluding and segregating people with disabilities from ordinary classrooms would be considered to be a violation of their human rights (Christensen & Rizvi, 1996). This action would be a representation of the unfair distribution of educational resources. This suggests that inclusive education is concerned with equality and belonging which has remained elusive, particularly for persons with disabilities (see Mitchell, 2010 & Lebona, 2013).

According to Dudley-Marling and Burns (2014), inclusive education has then become a movement focused on reflecting the values and principles that counteract how educational systems reproduce and perpetuate social inequalities regarding marginalized and excluded groups of students across a range of abilities, characteristics, developmental trajectories, and socio-economic circumstances. In light of this contention, it is clear that inclusive education also originated and emerged from social justice, human rights, and democratic perspectives. This insinuates that the understanding of inclusive education as a SEN approach, where the

movement first arose, turned a blind eye to other factors that play a significant role in impeding the provision of education. This is because the SEN approaches only focused on the disabled [sic] or special needs part of the learners, ignoring other ways in which participation can be either impinged or enhanced. Drawing from the foregoing discussion, it is clear that inclusive education has multiple meanings that range from mere placement of learners with disabilities in a general education classroom to the transformation of the philosophy, values, and practices of the entire educational system (Artiles, Harris-Murri & Rostenberg, 2006). This shows that there has been a shift from conceptualizing disability as a medical model of special needs education, where the problem was located within the individual as a biological deficit and as something to be treated outside of the normal school, towards a model that focuses on understanding the deficiencies and barriers within the system that makes it difficult for learners to critically engage with the curriculum.

3.3. THE KNOT OF INCLUSIVE EDUCATION: A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

It is with no doubt that in the afore-discussion, there is a consensus that at first, inclusive education was deemed to be an approach that sought to place learners with disabilities [sic] within ordinary and general education settings (Ainscow, 2005). In a broader sense, inclusive education from its inception was a movement against denying learners with disabilities the right to be part of mainstream schooling. This reinforced society's prejudices and discrimination against learners with disabilities. This view was maintained by the UNESCO's Salamanca Statement of 1994, which stated that people with SEN must have access to regular schools which should accommodate them within a child-centered pedagogy capable of meeting their needs. However, in recent years the concept of inclusive is increasingly viewed more broadly as a reform that supports and welcomes diversity amongst all learners (UNESCO, 2007a). It is perhaps predictable that inclusive education now goes far beyond combating discrimination faced by learners with disabilities and/or special educational needs (Booth & Ainscow, 2002).

For instance, Skrtic, Sailor, and Gee (1996) narrate that inclusive education is no longer just about the physical placement of learners with disabilities in general classrooms. That is because it now involves schools meeting the needs of all learners

within common environments and activities. Not surprisingly Lebona (2013) expounded that inclusive education "calls for all levels of society and education to respond to the diverse learning needs of all learners and remove all the barriers to education" (p.48). To put it bluntly, this notion of inclusive education is being advanced to curb social exclusion that might arise as a result of the diversity of learners. This implies that inclusive education is an educational approach that seeks to address learners' diversity by increasing their participation and reducing exclusion within and from education (UNESCO, 2008). Ainscow, Black-Hawkins, Booth, Vaughan, and Shaw (2000) and Farrell, Dyson, and Kaplan (2005) point out that inclusivity in education is about transforming school ethos to increase access for all learners including the marginalized or vulnerable groups.

It is palpable from the ongoing discussion that today`s classrooms are comprised of a great diversity among learners, which is primarily based on demographic and individual learner differences. These differences involve amongst others race, age, creed, national origin, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation (Nel, Nel, & Tlale, 2016). It is on the foundation of this contention that we should note that there are economic conflicts that come into play in leading to the achievement of the inclusive education goals discussed earlier on. UNESCO (2009) notes that it is more cost-effective to establish and maintain schools that educate all children together than to set up a complex system of different types of schools specializing in different groups of children. This is devastating and worse in developing and poverty-stricken countries, in particular those on the African continent. Obviously, in such areas where economic and social arrangements are not balanced, it becomes difficult to meet the learning needs of all learners. Therefore, it is noteworthy that some people who have impairments get to experience what is known as intersectional subordination[11] (Liasidou (2012). This calls for the understanding of inclusive education as a movement to "draw on the notion of intersectionality whereby the notion of disability [sic] is conceptualized in conjunction with issues of race, socioeconomic background and gender" (Liasidou, 2013, p.170). In so doing, one will be cognizant of the ways and extent to

[11] "Intersectional subordination term that was first recognized by American feminist analysts in the late 1980s and in the beginning of 1990, to denote the multiple forms of discrimination experienced by African American women and not experienced by African American men or white women in general. Within disability [sic] studies, feminist analyses of disability [sic] pointed to the multiple forms of oppression experienced by disabled [sic] women, and especially women from ethnic minorities who might experience simultaneous discrimination (Barnes & Mercer 2010; & Thomas, 1999). In terms of the subjectifying role of legislation, feminist legal scholars have used the term 'social injury' to reconfigure "once privatized injuries into collectivist raced, sexed, and disabilized [sic] domains" (Liasidou, 20212, P.170).

which schooling or education perpetuates inequalities and oppression against the people with impairments.

McRoberts (2010) takes the argument further to say, learners also possess a range of differences in terms of personal characteristics and experience attributes to physical, personal health or wellbeing, intellectual, psychological, cultural, and socio-economic or life experiences that may impact their access to and participation in learning. As stated already, this shows that inclusive education was developed not simply as a means of including learners with disabilities into mainstream schools. Rather it has become a way of identifying and addressing barriers to learning, including language and socio-economic barriers, negative attitudes towards diversity, problems with an educational provision, and organization and high levels of violence and HIV/Aids. This encapsulates that inclusive education is now understood as a movement that pays attention to issues related to the diverse needs of all people. Engelbrecht (2006) and Pather (2011) agree that this conception of inclusive education has been developed to enable access to quality education for all despite any barriers to learning. In this way, all learners will be equipped with the necessary educational skills and knowledge to compete equally and be fully participating members of society.

This view comes to ground diversity as a major feature in the process of fostering inclusivity. This presupposes that inclusive education ought to deal with factors such as underdevelopment; lack of basic services and poverty that contribute to the learning breakdowns. Therefore, inclusive education is needed as a means to address the diverse learning needs of all learners in ways that welcome diversity among all learners (UNESCO, 2001). Consequently, Lebona (2013) argues that this will ensure that social justice is achieved for learners who are vulnerable and marginalized, including those with disabilities. On this basis, Lebona (2013) maintains that inclusive education is a means of advocating for social justice for learners who are vulnerable to exclusion and marginalization and who have been historically excluded or marginalized. Hence, according to Engelbrecht (2006) promoting inclusion through a social justice lens requires teachers to adjust their instructions as a way to meet the diverse learning needs of learners. The content knowledge also needs to be adjusted; otherwise, social justice may be rendered meaningless if it does not get to recognize a multiplicity of knowledge systems.

Social justice can be thus understood as a way that seeks to open up access for all people in education while promoting equal distribution of teaching and learning resources (Meltz, Herman & Pillay, 2014). The concept of social justice points to inclusive education and embraces a broad view of equity, opportunity, and democratic issues (Ball in Mainardes & Marcondes, 2009). In this sense, social justice would characterize a society as one which aspires to the principles of equity and solidarity, which values and understands differences, and which places high value on human dignity (Schugurensky, 2010). On the other hand, Artiles, Harris-Murri, and Rostenberg cited by Metz et al. (2014) are of the view that:

> social justice views pervade the discourses on inclusion and are the means to achieve equity for students with disabilities. They argue that the social justice model is not merely a traditional model with individualistic views of allowing access, or communitarian views of being socially responsible, but a transformative model where underlying ideological and historical assumptions of difference are examined, where practice is deliberately negotiated, where marginalization is critiqued and discredited, where merit based school cultures are questioned and where resources are distributed in a nurturing and meaningful commitment (p.2).

One can infer from the extract above that the social justice model is a call for the reformation of the education system, where there is curriculum and pedagogy should be ameliorated so that discriminatory attitudes and cultures which create patterns of exclusion can be eliminated. Hodkinson and Vickerman, 2009 explained that:

> based on social justice being transformative, one of the guiding principles of the social model therefore, and in direct contrast to the medical model of diagnosis, is the principle that attitudes, values and beliefs in society cause disability [sic], and therefore society needs to be treated and cured (Metz et al. 2014, p.2)

By implication, social justice is deemed to be a model that considers education to be the catalyst for overcoming the prejudicial attitudes of society towards people with impairments (Hodkinson & Vickerman, 2009). In short, the social justice model is seen as a beacon of hope for ensuring that all children are valued and given an equal opportunity to participate in society (Metz et al. 2014). This equality should also be applied when it comes to the representation of knowledge systems. Nevertheless, Wilson (2021) argues that, but the concept of ‘‘justice’’ has been reconstructed to fit neoliberal political and economic objectives. This reconstruction is part of a larger discourse to reconstitute liberalism to include human conduct. According to Wilson (2021), this is because “neoliberalism does not address the political question of what can be done to change social

conditions. Instead, such discourse makes it possible to speak of a welfare mentality and a culture of poverty" (p.99). In other words, there is a questioning that the model of social justice seeks to solve any existing dilemmas in society and bring about equality. That is because; it is accused of serving neoliberalism agendas. For instance:

> those left behind in New Orleans in the wake of Hurricane Katrina got what they deserve. Those left behind lack proper conduct—a ''welfare state mentality'' that erodes self-reliance, inducing them to wait for government help instead of saving themselves. It is this mental state and lack of self-reliance that provide the foundation for inequality. It is the market that determines the rules of the game, waiting for that rising tide of economic prosperity to lift all boats (Wilson, 2021, p.99).

The above example is owing to the view that in neoliberalism social problems are problems of 'self-care.' Neoliberal discourse frames social ills in a personal and private manner (Wilson, 2021). In other words, it does not believe in the collectiveness of Ubuntu when it comes to solving social ills. From this view, it is clear that the question of social justice in inclusive education does not exist in isolation from that of neoliberalism. I note however that, social justice remains one of the most valuable tenets that can at least lead towards the achievement of inclusive education. This is because, it is about taking action to ensure that equity in education and freedom from discrimination are achieved (Johannessen, 2010). Hence, Rizvi and Lingard (1996) wrote that "social justice is no longer 'seen as linked to past group oppression and disadvantage' judged historically but represented simply as a matter of guaranteeing individual choice under the conditions of a free market'" (p.15). But the inclusive education model remains vital in society as it aligns with democratic education ideals which include (1) enabling learners "to compete in a competitive workforce"; (2) enabling learners to become "good citizens who can make a difference in the world"; and (3) enabling learners "to develop themselves as individuals" (Darling-Hammond & Bransford, 2005, p. 172). However, one cannot turn a blind eye to the fact that the first ideal of democratic education in most cases outweighs the other two and becomes a priority in the planning of the curriculum (Magrini, 2020).

While there is agreement on the centrality of a social justice discourse in bringing about inclusive education reforms, the notion of social justice is said to be equivocal and contested (Liasidou, 2012). In other words, there is no definitional consensus on what constitutes the implications of means that social justice can "be realized and implemented in and through schools" (Johnson 2008, p.310). However, the point raised here is ambiguous. This is because, since the inception of

fostering social justice through inclusive education, several global conventions, and declarations (for example, see table: 1) that align with the principles of social justice (for example, amongst others equality and respect) have been made. Incongruent with Mullen and Jones (2008), the social justice model in inclusive education will necessitate "changing systems that perpetuate racism, power, and exclusion" (p.331). According to Liasidou (2012), it involves questioning how schools valorize certain student identities while devaluing others. Hence, social justice despite being accused of pushing a neoliberal agenda remains a social tool to bring about reforms and changes in the education system.

3.4. POLICY DEVELOPMENT AND BACKGROUND: A SOUTH AFRICAN CASE

Like in other countries, inclusive education in South Africa did not occur in a vacuum (Lebona, 2013); some policies and events led to the development of inclusive education. Undoubtedly, international policies had a significant influence on the development of inclusive education policies in South Africa. The country`s policy development can be traced to the initiatives of inclusive education which began in 1996 with the appointment of the National Commission on Special Needs in Education and Training (NCSNET) and the National Committee on Education Support Services (NCESS, DoE, 1997). They were tasked to investigate special needs education to outline guidelines for providing quality education for all in South Africa (Naicker as cited in Engelbrecht, Green, Naicker & Engelbrecht, 1999, p.12). The commissions were established in line with the promulgation of international policies and declarations as evident in Table: 1. The international trends and policies on inclusive education clarified that all learners who are described to have SEN must be considered when developing educational policies (Stofile and Green, 2007). As a consequence, the South African government in a White paper on Integrated National Disability Strategy (INDS) which was released in 1997 adopted a social model of disability [sic]. This model stressed the need to restructure society to ensure that full participation for all was acknowledged (Motitswe, 2017).

Further to this, it is the White Paper that determined that all people in South Africa should be afforded equal access to educational and social opportunities. This is to say that the provision of education should be made available in as 'normal' an environment as possible to all persons with impairments (Muthukrishna, 2001). In short, it means both children who are perceived to be

'normal and 'abnormal' should be allowed to learn under the same facilities. However, Liasidou (2012) aligns this with the ideologies of neoliberalism. In so doing, she notes that "under the regime of neoliberal ideologies education is meant to be subservient to capitalist modes of production against which the hierarchical division of labor is replicated and reproduced in current schooling" (Liasidou, 2012, p.171). With regard to the latter view in Liasidou`s assertion, current schooling becomes "a site in which bodies are compared, differentiated, hierarchized, diagnosed; in which judgments of normality and abnormality are made" (Sullivan, 2005, p.29). This contention can be accused of casting criticisms without providing any alternatives. Anyway, the process of differentiation and diagnosing is meant to ensure that the learners are given the special attention that supports the students` learning abilities (Subban, 2006 & Ober, 2016).

Lebona (2013) posits that policies and perspectives on inclusive education in South Africa are largely informed by the country`s historical background. A similar view is shared by Sonkqayi (2021) who contends that 'the crisis in South African schooling is not new. It predates the achievement of democracy in 1994 and has been an ongoing refrain in public discourse since 1994" (p.31). As a result, one must be cognizant of the fact that before the advent of democracy, education under the apartheid regime was fragmented along racial lines. Naicker (2000) has it that:

> Apartheid education in South Africa promoted race, class, gender, and ethnic divisions and has emphasized separateness, rather than common citizenship and nationhood. The fiscal allocation in terms of race, where "white" education enjoyed more funding, resulted in wide-scale disparities with regard to all aspects of education. This included: quality of teacher training, level of teacher training, resources at schools, location of schools, support materials and almost every aspect of educational service delivery (p.1).

In this case, it is clear that the apartheid education system was racialized where racism and classism played a major role in maintaining the status quo of 'apartness'. Concurrently, the status quo ensured that 'white' people enjoy privileges, while the other social groups languish in an education system characterized by disparities. As such, schools for white children were well equipped with resources, while schools for blacks were underdeveloped. This shows that before 1994 "education policy and curriculum development in apartheid South Africa was used as an ideological state apparatus to promote the interests of the ruling apartheid government. The philosophical base of the curriculum was fundamental pedagogics, which served apartheid

interests" (Naicker, 20000, p.1). Hence, the notion of interiorization and classification were more prevalent during the apartheid era. This finds further expression in Carrim (2003):

> Apartheid is known for having been a system based on white supremacy, racism, and the oppression of the majority of 'black' South Africans. Being based on the philosophy of white supremacy and justified ideologically through Afrikaner Calvinism and racist (pseudo) scientific discourses, apartheid ensured the abject segregation of people defined racially by the apartheid regime (p.21).

On this elucidation, Carim is highlighting that the apartheid regime suppressed 'black' South Africans. This suppression expressed that 'black' South Africans did not belong in South Africa, as their state of living was largely defined by exclusion. It is Oswald Mtshali (1982) who captured the pervasive practices of the apartheid regime through a poem titled 'Nightfall in Soweto':

I am the victim.

I am slaughtered

every night in the streets.

I am cornered by the fear

gnawing at my timid heart;

in my helplessness I languish.

Man has ceased to be man

Man has become beast

Man has become prey.

[…]

Where is my refuge?

Where am I safe?

Not in my matchbox house

Where I barricade myself against nightfall

In this poem, Mtshali is describing the exclusionary gothic atmosphere that black people found them[selves] in. According to Pucherová (2018), the poem stresses that South Africa at the time was not home to black people, who can be randomly slaughtered anytime. This slaughtering which can be associated with the provision of an 'inferior education' system kept black people in

disdained positions of society that includes not having a meaningful participation in the activities of society, except for serving the interest of white South Africans. Nonetheless, the apartheid regime also adopted the medical/pathological-deficit perspective in the provision of education for people with disabilities. To put it directly, according to Mahlalela (2013):

> learners who experienced barriers to learning and different forms of disabilities were placed in special schools in which they were further grouped into special classes, e.g., class of the blind, deaf, emotionally dysfunctional, physically challenged, etc. depending on which category the individual was classified in (p.23).

On this view, Naicker (2000) contends that apartheid education created a dual system of education that encompassed a mainstream and special education component. This implies that the provision of education in South Africa during the apartheid era was also based on different learning facilities, where 'disabled' learners attended in their educational facilities. Unashamedly, the apartheid regime also characterized the provision of education for learners who lived with 'disabilities' with racial division and disparities. This supposes that:

> …there were special schools for whites and non-whites implying that even special needs education provision during those times was influenced by racial discrimination, as it was the case in ordinary schools. The education policies promoted segregated education in terms of the so-called four races, namely, blacks, whites, Coloureds, and Indians (Mahlalela, 2012, p.23).

As a consequence, a majority of black learners with impairments were excluded from receiving any education. This is because the government of the time only invested resources in 'white' children`s learning facilities. Other racial groups were not taken into consideration. Thus, diversity during the apartheid time was viewed not as differences that should be respected; rather, it was synonymously linked with discrimination, prejudices, disparities, sexism, and racism, ignoring its potential to recognize the rich mixture of diversity in our country (Weisse, 2005).

Given South Africa's dark apartheid history, every policy intervention had to ensure a human rights ethos prevails (Naicker, 2006). The point being made is that any attempt to reform the education system in South Africa had to be intricately linked with the processes of democratization and social restructuring (Dreyer, 2017). As a part of the project to redefine the exclusionary practices of the past, the South African government in 1994 after the first democratic elections, adopted an inclusive constitution. The ground breaking constitution in Section 29(1) (a)

of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 promulgates that: everyone has the right to education, including adult education. Further, section 9 (4) prohibits any unfair discrimination against anyone on one or more grounds including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, color, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language, and birth. This notion of the constitution is obviously in line with the notion of fostering social justice and restoring human rights. This shows that after the demise of the apartheid system, there has been a strong aspiration to create a democratic society in which human dignity, freedom, and equality are recognized and respected (Dreyer, 2017).

These humanity-based values are also emphasized in the South African Schools' (SASA) in Act 84 of 1996 (6) where it states that schools should admit all learners and fulfill their specific educational needs without discriminating against the learner in any way. Du Plessis (2013) amplifies that:

> SASA No 84 of 1996 alerts us to a shift from the past – a shift that views all children has equal rights to education that fits their needs. This shift to include all learner's needs suggested a system of education which recognizes that there are children who have barriers to learning and that these barriers go beyond disabilities (p.78).

In explaining the above extract, it is clear that the SASA is demanding social change in the education system where we move away from racist, exclusionary, sexist, and discriminative practices of the past. Hence, du Plessis (2013) referred to this as "a wider struggle against the violation of human rights, and unfair discrimination" (p.67). Nonetheless, Walton (2018) accuses inclusive education of a movement that is situated in coloniality. She argues that the inclusion movement is influenced by the hegemony of Western philosophies, forms of knowledge and discourses, and imposed upon countries of the Global South (Walton, 2018). Inclusive education in the global South had to be shaped by the Euro-American philosophies as that is where it began. As Dyson and Forlin (1999) correctly note that inclusive education traces its origins to parental activism in the Nordic countries in the 1960 and 1970s. According to Watson (2018), it [inclusive education] emerged out of parents` dissatisfaction that their children were schooled in a segregated education which their children received in special education settings.

As a result, it makes sense as to why people from the global South had to rely on the Euro-American philosophies when developing their inclusion policies. But what should be considered [instead of just narrowing it down to a colonial project] in this case, is that the Euro-Western

philosophies of inclusion brought to the fore a crusade that offered useful for addressing problematic practices associated with African systems. Taking into cognizant, before the movement of inclusion focusing on disability came into existence, Africans used to associate disability with 'witchcraft' and punishment from ancestors' (Braathen & Kvan, 2008; Naicker, 2016 & Walton, 2018). However, this does not mean our understanding of inclusive education should continue to be influenced by traditional special education ideologies from the global North. Otherwise, our ways of knowing and understanding the inclusion phenomenon will continue to be undermined or subverted. One of the ways that can be utilized to harness the understanding of inclusive education in the African context can be sourced from local cultural practices. Hence, Dart, Khudu-Petersen, and Mukhopadhyay (2018) suggest that inclusive education in our African context can be understood through the expression of mutual respect based on social harmony (kagisano) and common humanity (botho). Although various challenges might fail in achieving the objectives of inclusive education, the thesis does not intend to engage in such debates. Instead, it opts to problematize that the process of fostering epistemological inclusion of those whose knowledge systems have been marginalized and pushed to the 'barbarian margins', is moving at a tortoise pace.

3.5. A MISSING IDIOM IN INCLUSIVE EDUCATION

The missing idiom in inclusive education is well depicted in a song titled 'Thina Asizazi' which in English loosely translates as 'we black people don't know ourselves anymore'. The song was composed and released in 2019 by Jabulani Hadebe, known professionally as Sjava, who is a South African musician. In the song, Sjava is reflecting on the epistemicide which in this instance refers to the destruction of cultures; memories; ancestral ways in which indigenous people relate to the world and other people, and knowledge that is assumed to belong to indigenous populations (Sousa Santos, 2015). In other words, he [Sjava] is lamenting about the loss of 'traditional' indigenous cultures. This is evident in the following lyrical extract: 'Ngith engabe sofundisana ingane zethu ngoba thina asizazi (what are we going to teach our children as black people if we don't know ourselves) …Thina ndlu emnyama asizazi (us the black nation we no-longer know ourselves) … Sesiphenduke abeLungu abamnyama (we have turned into being people who are white inside but black outside). Taken into context, the song implies that we are

too accustomed to Euro-American cultural practices to a point that we even assimilated these ways of living and knowing. As a result, in the process, we lost our traditional cultures.

The song further raises or poses a critical question, 'what is it that we will teach our children since we have lost our indigenous cultural knowledge?' This question speaks to the notion of a missing idiom which is the African history. It is for this sole reason that we no longer know ourselves as Africans. This is because when fostering inclusive education after 1994 in South Africa, the government focused more on addressing injustices in the education system in terms of combating discrimination, sexism, racism, and prejudices. Whilst at that, the government did not thoroughly emphasize the epistemological inclusion of indigenous knowledge of Africans in the history curriculum. Hence, we know less about who we are and where we come from. A useful illustration of this is evident when South Africa's Arts and Culture Minister, Nathi Mthethwa, announced the official renaming of Port Elizabeth (PE) to Gqeberha in February 2021. Many South Africans were dazed as if this name seemed to have little significance to them. The bewilderment came from the fact that during the colonial-apartheid era we lost so much history, and this remains omitted or excluded from the history curriculum. To clarify the bewilderment, Gqeberha is the isiXhosa name for Walmer Township, which is one of the first and oldest Port Elizabeth townships (Straton, 2021). Initially, Walmer was called Gqeberha but because the Walmer name became prominent as industrialization grew, Gqeberha lost its popularity (Straton, 2021). In essence, Gqeberha refers to the Baakens River that runs through the city; see the below map:

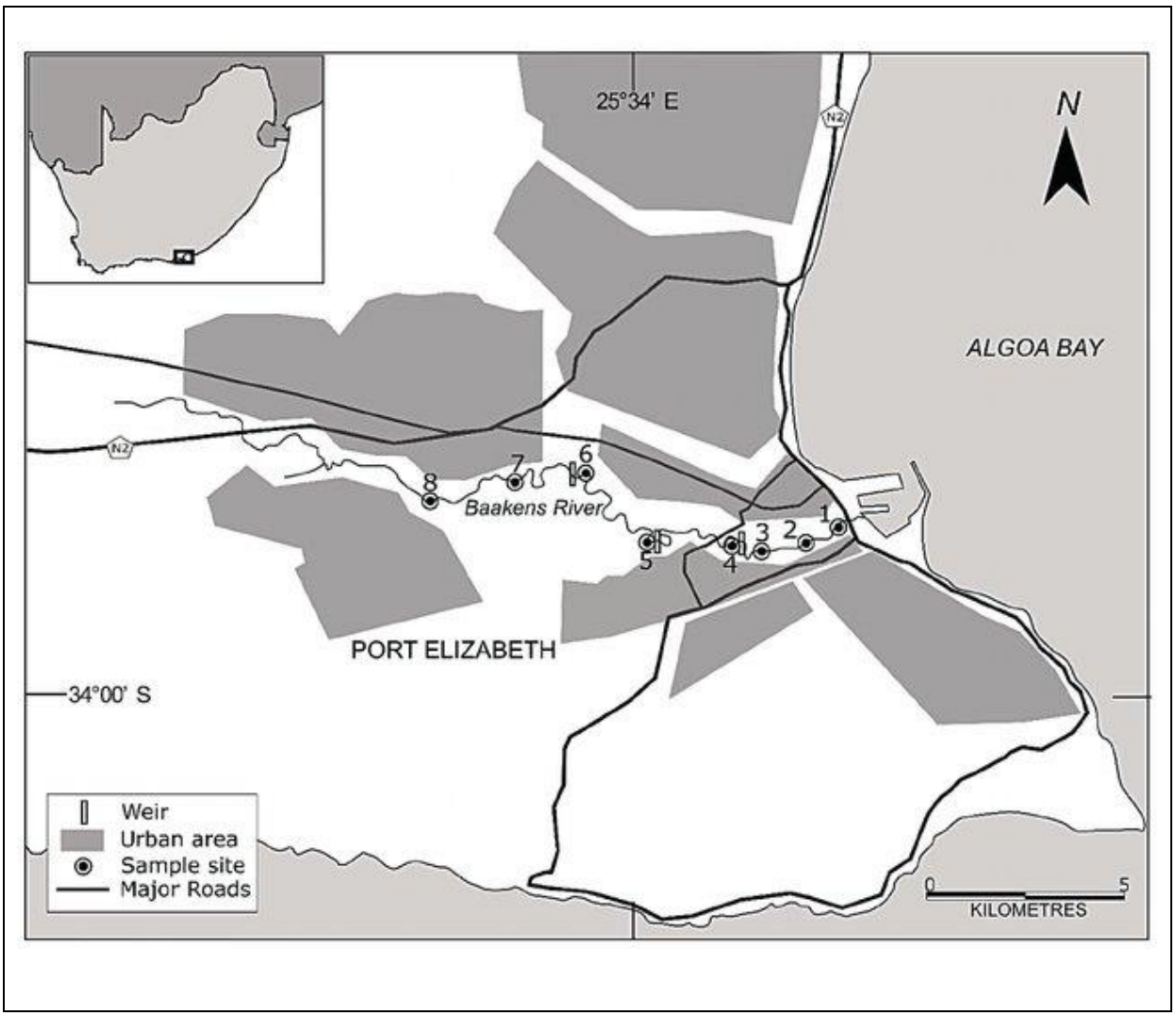

Figure 1: A map illustrating the Baakens River that passes through the city formerly known as Port Elizabeth, cited from Muller and Strydom (2015, p.747).

As anticipated, the renaming of Port Elizabeth was met with criticism, coming particularly from the Democratic Alliance11 and the society at large. The mayor of Nelson Mandela Bay who is a member of the Democratic Alliance[12], Nqaba Bhanga in a morning live interview which was held on the 3rd of March 2021 with the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) said that:

> the name Gqeberha has no meaning in isiXhosa; the name's origin is in the Khoi language. Writing a Khoi word in isiXhosa distorts the whole reasoning of restoring the dignity of the Khoisan. The majority of people in this part of town are Xhosa speaking.

Nqaba Bhanga was also quoted by the Timeslive news opposing changing the Port Elizabeth name.

[12] The Democratic Alliance is a South African political party and the official opposition to the ruling part, the African National Congress.

"I am of the opinion these new names are not inclusive and, in fact, have no isiXhosa meaning.

While not disputing the need for geographical names that portray an inclusive country, I believe that these names have no relation to and/or connection to the people of our metro,"

Taken from: https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2021-03-02-not-inclusive-and-no-IsiXhosa-meaning-mandela-bay-mayor-opposes-new-names/

Source B: An extract from a Timeslive DA mayor, showing his views about changing of Port Elizabeth name.

Unquestionably, Nqaba Bhanga is right to claim that the word Gqeberha has its origins from the Southern Khoe language, perhaps the word '! Gaibexa', meaning 'full of taaibos' (Raper, 2014). However, claiming that writing a Khoi word in isiXhosa distorts the whole reasoning of restoring the dignity of the Khoisan and that the word does not have any historical significance is pure ignorance owing to the impetus that 'as Africans, we do not know where we come from'. Nqaba Bhanga tends to forget that the known as Gqeberha/ '! Gaibexa' is a region where the Xhosa people and the Khoi people thrived through nomadic settlement (Raper, 2014). The Khoi people who seem to be the first people to settle there, named the place peculiarly to the landscape. It was a norm for the Khoi people to name places after the peculiarities in the landscape. For example in a Facebook post, Shemsu Anu who is a descendant of the Khoi people claimed that 'We named our places after the peculiarities in the landscape such as: Tsitsikama which is Tsētsisa/gamma meaning Clear water in KhoeKhoekobab...'. Equally so, the Khoi people named the place '! Gaibexa' because it was 'full of taaibos'. The Xhosa people also adopted the name after settling in that region but changed it to their language, which is why today it is called Gqeberha (Raper, 2014). It is clear that the Khoi and Xhosa people at some point coexisted in the same region. According to Raper (2014) 'the name Gqeberha depicts the deep-rooted & intermingled history of the Khoisan and Xhosa people, who lived together and intermarried for centuries. Further, the mayor and DA forget that the name 'Port Elizabeth' is a colonial name that was used by Sir

Rufane Donkin, who was once the acting governor of the Cape Colony in honour and memory of his deceased wife, Lady Elizabeth (Raper, 2014).

Many South Africans also found themselves in a state of confusion when the Khoisan people suggested that the Cape Town International Airport should be renamed after Princess[13] Krotoa of the Goringhaicona. The following provides a detailed description of who Princess Krotoa was:

The story of Princess Krotoa
"Princess Krotoa was born in 1643, in the Cape of Good Hope, in what is now the Western Cape. She was the niece of Goringhaicona Chief Autshumao. At the age of 10 she had her first real contact with the Dutch settlers when she was taken in by Jan van Riebeeck (the first settler) as a domestic worker in his house. She mastered Dutch and soon began to work as an interpreter, trading agent and chief negotiator between the indigenous population, the Dutch, Portuguese and the English in the Cape" (Mba, 2021, n.p). The Cape Town museum asserts that "she was born into the Camissa community of traders who founded the Port of Cape Town. Her name means a girl "in the wardship of others" (2018). Her uncle the Chief Autshumao can be credited with establishing the trading settlement. He was a leader of one of the Khoe or Khoena groups called the Goringhaicona (those who drifted away). The Camissa (//Ammi i ssa or Sweet Waters) is a river flowing from Table Mountain (Hoerikwaggo) to the sea at Table Bay. This was the contact point between the Indigenes and passing ships on the shoreline frontier of the Cape Peninsula (//Hui! Gaeb)". There is disagreement about how Krotoa came to be in the Van Riebeeck household. Some would contend she was possibly kidnapped while others claim it could have been the result of a deal struck between her Uncle Autshumao and Van Riebeeck (Cape town museum, 2018).

Source C: The description of Princess Krotoa`s life.

The confusion perhaps rose out of the fact that many people are not aware of who Princess Krotoa is. Amongst South Africans questions such as who could she be? And what is she known for? (Mba, 2021), were triggered. Princess Krotoa was a translator and a negotiator for the commander, negotiating relationships between the settlers and the indigenous population (Mba, 2021). What enabled her to be a principal interpreter and mediate between the settlers and native people in the early years of colonialism is the fact that she was well vested with the knowledge of

[13] The concept 'Princess' is contested when used in the African context as it is accused of imposing European structures on indigenous African socio-political settings. The concept of 'Princess' ascribed to Eva Krotoa also seek to presupposes the notion that a woman needs such tittles in order to be valued and humanized in society, whereas in fact, they do not need such (see, Abrahams, 1996 & Davis, 2020).

the Khoi and Dutch cultures (Mba, 2021). However, "her work as an interpreter was not easy at this time, as she was torn between her loyalty to the Dutch (who had taken her in and given her new clothes) and her people (whose land was being taken over by the Dutch in the late 1650s. Due to this dilemma, Krotoa often struggled to maintain trust[14] on both sides" (SAHO, 2021, n.p).

On 26 April 1664 Princess Krotoa got engaged to Danish surgeon explorer Pieter van Meerhof. The couple was then married to each other on the 2nd of June in 1664, and their marriage was recorded as the first interracial marriage in the history of South Africa (SAHO, 2011 & Mba, 2021). Krotoa continued to make history as Mba (2021) notes that:

> In 1662, Princess Krotoa made history as the first indigenous southern African to convert to and be baptized into Christianity. She was then given a colonial name, Eva. Her conversion and marriage to a settler left the Khoi and San people with many questions. Her decision to fall in love with a settler and adopt praises and worship for a 'foreign God' made her an outcast who was isolated by the Khoisan people. It also presented her with a challenge as to where her loyalties must lie (n.p).

This marriage took place 12 years after Jan Van Riebeeck`s arrival and the at a time, interracial marriages were not prohibited. Their marriage was cut short after her husband was killed. Consequently, with van Meerhof's death, the full weight of the years of trauma and displacement weighed heavily on her (Cape Town museum, 2018). This was followed by the vortex of social and economic change in a world of roughneck white men (Cape Town museum, 2018). It was at this point when she found herself in the shambles of abuse by men who held political power. In other words, "Princess Krotoa was a victim of rape by men who use authority, violence, and force to have sex with women who are in a lesser position of power in society" (Mba, 2021, n.p). This is evident in the fact she gave birth to two children with officialdom, the children were later called 'illegitimate' (Cape Town museum, 2018).

Mba (2021) asserts that there are also speculations that Jan Van Riebeeck might also have raped her, days after the death of his wife. Despite the hardships she endured, she remained resolute and stood up for herself when life was difficult. Her story is a reminder of the many rape victims

[14] "At first Jan van Riebeeck praised her work but later he began to distrust her and even treat her with disdain. He complained that Krotoa was 'Drawing the Longbow' in her interpretations, meaning that he believed that she was misleading him, exaggerating, telling him what she thought he wanted to know, rather than the truth. He intimated that she was disloyal and could not be trusted. During this time Krotoa's Uncle Autshumao was treated as an enemy by van Riebeeck and his community of Camissa traders were decimated. Krotoa built bridges between herself and her sister who had married into the Cochoqua tribe to the powerful Chief Oedasoa" (Cape Town museum, 2018).

(such as Fezekile Ntsukela Kuzwayo, Cheryl Zondi, Khensani Maseko, and many more others)[15] who stood up and spoke against the violation of women`s bodies despite who the perpetrator was. Their voices remain a voice for those who could not get a chance to condemn and speak against their perpetrators such as (Uyinene Mrwetyana and Kgaugelo Tshwane)[16] and the women who were never brave enough to share their atrocities or stories. One can extrapolate that the 'rape culture' (see, Gqola, 2015) in South Africa began in the early years of colonialism and it continues today in a democratic society. The situation is worsening instead of getting better as there is also a rise in femicide (the killing of women). Because of this barbaric behaviour agitated against women, Interpol has named South Africa the 'Rape/Femicide Capital of the World'. It is clear that not having knowledge that problematizes issues of rape and femicide drawn from stories such as the one of Princess Krotoa in the history curriculum where practices of rape and femicide are condemned and portrayed as a violation of human rights enshrined in our constitution contributes to the continuation of such behaviour. It is upon this background, that the history (legacy, contributions, and resistance)[17] of Princess Krotoa should find its way to the

[15] Fezekile Ntsukela Kuzwayo was "the woman who accused the former president of South Africa, Jacob Zuma of rape in 2005. She comes from a family of political exiles whose life was spread across Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Tanzania, Britain, the Netherlands and South Africa. Her life was a fractured existence punctuated by trauma, according to a memoir she was writing, where she recounts that she has been abused and raped by ANC members starting at the age of five when she was in Swaziland. During the trial, Fezekile was called a bitch by the African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL), threatened by the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) and the South African Communist Party (SACP), spat upon by the Zuma supporters outside the courthouse. The home that she and her mother lived in was burnt down" (SAHO, 2016, n.p). Cheryl Zondi is "known as the first witness and the woman who stood firm against badgering when she testified against controversial Nigerian pastor Timothy Omotoso during his human trafficking and rape trial" (Iol_news, 2017, n.p). Khensani Maseko, who was aged 23 years, "took her own life in 2018 after writing a post on Instagram that: "No-one deserves to be raped!" Days earlier she had reported to the authorities at Rhodes University in Grahamstown that she was allegedly raped by a fellow student in May" (John, 20218).

[16] On 24 August 2019, Mrwetyana had been told by a post office attendant and her future killer, Luyanda Botha, that her parcel was not ready for collection and that she should come back later in the afternoon, despite the post office closing at 1pm. Botha had planned his attack in advance, arranging with his post office colleague, Soraya Abdullah for her to leave work earlier. When Mrwetyana arrived after the official closing time, Botha locked the door behind her and began to violate her" (Nkanjeni, 2020, n.p). He [Luyanda Botha] "raped her and attempted to strangle her, before ultimately bludgeoning her to death with a two-kilogram weight targeting her head and eventually knocking her unconscious. He returned the following day to retrieve her body; drove to a nearby field doused her with petrol and set the body alight" (Etheridge, 2019, n.p). Similarly, Kgaugelo Tshawane was burnt alive in her car in 2019 by the father of her child.

[17] To understand Krotoa's resistance role "one needs to look at the Khoena's overall resistance strategy – one that ultimately failed after the second Khoena-Dutch war of resistance. The Khoena strategy was one of containment. That is to keep the Dutch isolated from the interior by means of a blockade and, to keep them economically dependent on the Peninsula Khoena. Jan van Riebeeck's counter-strategy was to break out of any blockade and to open direct contact with the interior by means of divide and rule tactics. The Khoena's Achilles' heel was their own divisions. There were three main tactical approaches to dealing with the Dutch and these were unfortunately competitive. Krotoa played her crucial part as an ally of Chief Oedosoa. Krotoa played a crucial part to realise this strategy. She first did her rounds raising enough cattle to provide Van Riebeeck with a taster for the economic gains

history curriculum as a woman "who defied the societal behavior and standards of native women during the early days of colonial settlement in the Cape" (Mba, 2021, n.d). In addition, she should be recognized as a woman whose legacy brought to the fore that, women should always voice out their struggles despite the circumstances. Mba (2021) describes her story as one that belongs to the archives of legendries.

The story of Princess Krotoa demonstrates that there is still much that should be considered in the history curriculum. Most importantly, it shows that the current government failed to recognize through inclusivity the vast and diverse history of South Africa which would take into cognizance of the various experiences and knowledge of all social and cultural groups. According to Ramoupi (2014), the first step towards shifting from a colonial rule is to radically change the colonial education system. Such changes should be done in a way that will foster the inclusivity of other knowledge systems, more especially of the people who have been marginalized in society. It is noteworthy that this view is not different from that of Robinson and Soudien (2009) who contend that:

> at the Centre of epistemological transformation is curriculum reform – a reorientation away from the apartheid knowledge system, in which curriculum was used as a tool of exclusion, to a democratic curriculum that is inclusive of all human thought (p. 89).

It is unmistakable in this case that when it comes to epistemological transformation, at the centre of facilitating changes in the curriculum is eradicating the knowledge systems of colonial-apartheid while democratizing the education curriculum. But a complete eradication of such knowledge will create a dilemma moving forward as the generation that will come after us, will not know about the atrocities committed by the evil system of apartheid. Instead, it should be taught as the knowledge that negatively affected and disturbed the indigenous people and other social groups as shown with the story of Trevor Noah. Nevertheless, Makgoba (1997) and Ramoupi (2014) are of the view that the South African government failed to commit to establishing a liberatory education system. Perceptibly, the liberation should speak to the addressing of the mission idiom in inclusive education. That is to say, the curriculum was supposed to be transformed in a way that acknowledges the inclusion of African epistemologies. But the South African government did not stress this as a significant portion of the history

that he could make. She then set up meetings at the highest levels between Jan van Riebeeck and the Cochoqua. And finally as interpreter she passionately argued the case for the Cochoqua" (Capetown museum, n.d).

curriculum. This is because most of the history of [South] Africa remains untold in the curriculum. Unlike the likes of Ghana[18], South Africa chose not to emphasize the relocation of its indigenous systems from the dustbins of colonialism.

The discussion on transforming the history curriculum is tilting towards a call for cognitive justice, which is amplified by Van der Velden (2006) who explains that "…cognitive justice asserts the diversity of knowledge and the equality of knowers. It is a notion that different forms of knowledge or their knowers should be treated as equal" (n.p). In other words, cognitive justice is concerned with the recognition and inclusion of other forms of knowledge. By implication, with social justice:

> firstly, we seek the acceptance, justification, and celebration of pluralism— especially the pluralism of knowledge systems. Next, we seek a new notion of rights, one that allows, among other things, for different knowledge cultures and systems to coexist, and to be treated equally. This obviously goes along with a different attitude to the right to information and access. We, therefore, seek openness and access, as opposed to secrecy and enclosures. We also demand the recognition and emphasis of the importance of context and of culture-specific notions of locality, space, and time in planning and development. Lastly, but critically, we seek the recognition of the irreversibility of matter and energy and a sustainable and peaceful model of development (Rajan, 2005, p.10).

In this excerpt, the message conveyed is that those whose knowledge systems have been disposed of, negated and undermined are calling for the acknowledgment of the plurality of knowledge and integration which expresses the right of the distinct forms of knowledge to co-exist. In the history curriculum, this means different perspectives drawn from different cultural knowledge systems should be recognized. However, Horsthemke (2019) questions the plausibility of plural 'epistemologies' on the basis that traditionally, epistemology has been defined as a theory of knowledge. Thus, it makes no sense to have multiple epistemologies since factual or propositional knowledge (according to Horsthemke 2019) is universally valid. Incontrovertibly, it is through the idea of universalism that our indigenous ways of knowing are considered to be irrational and to be not propositional. This idea seeks to retain the perpetuation

[18] After gaining independence, the founding president of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah made a bold commitment to change their education which was rooted in colonialism. The president of Ghana emphasised that the purpose of and a function of a university or/and education system in a post-colonial epoch is to teach the former colonised about their own existence as Africans and knowledge systems. That is to say, the colonial education system should be halted so that we can re-educate ourselves, and be in a position to regain our former attitude of mind (Ramoupi, 2014).

of *epistemic colonization* "the colonization of who people are and how they come to know about who they are is interlaced" (Sonkqayi, 2020, p.60).

Given that cognitive justice can be necessitated through the Africanization of the history curriculum, it becomes imperative to unpack what the process of Africanisation entails. Africanisation is seen 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 1997, p.203). In other words, Africanisation can function as a tool that attempts to halt epistemic colonisation. What seems to emerge from this passage is that Africanisation is a process of self-actualization for the African people. It is of interest to note however that Africanisation is not a mere exclusion of Europeans and their cultures but rather a way of enhancing the inclusion of African culture and identity in a world community. For, Letsekha (2013) Africanisation is a renewed focus on Africa and entails salvaging what has been stripped from the continent. Applied in the history curriculum, it would foster the embracing of knowledge systems that draw from the realities and experiences of local people and Africans. Hence, Letsekha, (2013) stresses that Africanisation is worth revisiting when deliberating about knowledge systems that should form part of curricula in the African diaspora. This stems from the stance that Africanisation is seen as a requisite in the process to re-assert a unique African identity and revive the African capacity for self-development, which was severely undermined during the period of colonial and apartheid domination.

Horsthemke (2004a) challenges the above claim by quarrelling that "an immediate problem with virtually any account of traditional, local or indigenous knowledge is that no proponent of Africanisation offers a definition or elaborates on the knowledge he or she is working with" (p. 582). Put differently, there is no clarification of what openly makes African knowledge indigenous 'knowledge' (Sonkqayi, 2020). Horsthemke (2004a) outlines that such attempts "make a certain limited sense when applied to skills and acquaintance-type knowledge. When applied to factual or propositional knowledge, either the term Africanisation or what is at issue would more correctly be called the Africanisation of beliefs" (p. 584). What seems to be ignored here is that the imperfections in the theoretical disposition of scholarship do not mean that indigenous knowledge does not exist (Green, 2008). This is to say, one cannot simply say that IK does not

exist simply because it is not theoretically defended or defined. Despite this, Horsthemke maintains "that there can never be IK in a propositional or theoretical sense since such knowledge should be underpinned by truth and that truth is universal" (Horsthemke cited in Sonkqayi, 2020, p.62). This view tends to ignore the notion that, knowledge is constructed by human beings through interaction with their respective environment. Therefore, claiming that IKS cannot be considered to be propositional can be considered as part of the Western doctrines that seek to undermine and exclude how indigenous people come to know.

3.6. INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS

As it stands, what constitutes indigenous knowledge systems has been a longstanding challenge with a plethora of authors attempting to clarify the concept, and there is still no widely accepted definition of indigenous knowledge systems (Warren, 1991: Semali & Kincheloe, 1999; Onwu & Mosimege, 2004; & Jacobs, 2015). As a point of departure, the word indigenous is considered to be associated with 'traditional', 'aboriginal', 'vernacular', 'African', 'Black', and 'native American' (Loubser, 2005, p.76). As a result, IK according to Semali and Kincheloe (1999) refers to "the dynamic way in which the residents of an area have come to understand themselves in relationship to their environment and how they organize that folk knowledge of flora and fauna, cultural beliefs, and history to enhance their lives" (p. 3). However, for one to fully grasp what is meant by IKS, one must provide a paradoxical view, which is Western Knowledge Systems. A cogent definition of Western Knowledge Systems is provided by Hammersmith (2007):

> the Western culture or Western civilization is a term used to refer to the cultures of the people of European origin and their descendants. It comprises the broad heritage of social norms, ethical values, traditional customs (such as beliefs) and specific artefacts and technologies as shared within the Western sphere of influence. The term 'Western' is often used in contrast to Asian, African, Arab, Indigenous, and other nations. Western Knowledge Systems refer to the content and context of knowledge systems driven by the values and cultures of Western civilizations (, p.29).

Through the process of universalism, this form of knowledge was then accorded a status of being 'objective'. According to Maldonado-Torres (2017), methods of verification were thus used to accord such as status. Hence:

> the idea of method as a guarantor of truth and knowledge in the sciences[19] emerged from a certain confidence about the capacities of the cognitive subject and the status of the object, method being that which allows the subject to produce and secure true knowledge about the object – that is, objective knowledge (Maldonado-Torres, 2017, p. 432).

In this congruent, Maldonado (2017) amplifies that universalism has been entrenched in the method used to generate such true knowledge within the sciences. Maldonado-Torres (2017) asserts that it is for this reason that "Western methodic knowledge acquired normative status and led to the rejection or subordination of other forms of knowing" (p. 433). This means the notion of universalism undermines others` ways of knowing more especially of those who are in the Global South. But for the fact that Western knowledge is also situated in a geographical context, shows that such knowledge is also constructed in relation to the Western people`s experiences and ways of living.

The notion of universalism tends to turn a blind eye to the notion that IKS is also the knowledge that is rooted in a geographical context, which speaks about the local experiences of the people residing in that particular area. This view also finds an expression in Bruchac`s (2014) articulation that indigenous knowledge refers to the knowledge which has been preserved by native people around the world, it involves distinctive understanding rooted in "the cultural traditions, values, beliefs, and worldviews of local people" (Dei, 1993, in Agrawal, 1995, p.418). This insinuates that IK is relative to indigenous communities. IK is stored "in peoples' memories and activities, being expressed in stories, songs, folklore, proverbs, dances, myths, cultural values, beliefs, rituals, local language and taxonomy, agricultural practices, equipment, materials, plant species, and animal breeds" (Hammersmith, 2007, p.34). Taken into consideration in the history curriculum, indigenization (which the thesis defines as the process of including all he lost and marginalized IK in the curriculum) would play an important of reclaiming culture, knowledge, history, and the identities of indigenous people by reflecting on their past histories and experiences. That involves utilizing locally situated cultural knowledge in developing contextually relevant knowledge production in society, particularly in institutions of learning (Phasha, Mahlo & Dei, 2017).

Conspicuously, the history curriculum should recognize the different histories indigenous people sourced in local settings. However, Green (2012) is of the view that there has been a

[19] Sciences are typical of too kind of knowledge (see Bunge, 1998a; Hars, 2001 & Markova, 2017).

homogenization of indigenous communities in a manner that assumes that the Cree people in Alberta and the San people in Southern Africa are the same. This homogenization denies certain groups of people in social recognition of their knowledge. This homogenization presents IKS as resistant to adaption to change, and unable to solve modern challenges (Masemula, 2013). Hence, Masemula (2013) stressed that "the marginalization of indigenous knowledge is a well-orchestrated plan that continues to bedevil the recognition and affirmation of indigenous knowledge as knowledge in its own right. Africans born under colonial rule might not recognize the impact of their lack of indigenous knowledge and its contribution to lagging development and neo-colonization in their countries" (p. 118). For instance, the crafts of how the indigenous people lived not in diverse ways and had distinct knowledge

systems are evident in the following Figure 2[20] and Figure 3[21]. It is noteworthy that the figures do not imply that IKS is primitive, they present that knowledge (i.e., of how-to) varies from one society to another.

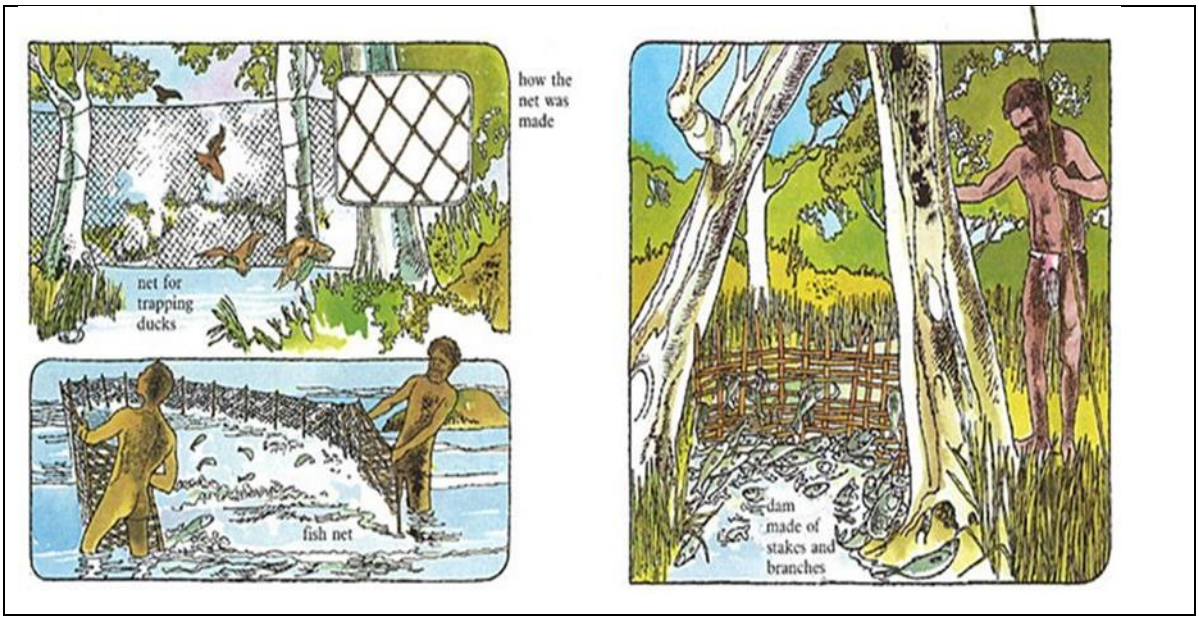

Figure 2: An illustration of local ways of knowing and doing, the Murray people.

[20] Figure 2: Shows how the people of Murray used to catch much of their food using nets and dams. Their nets were made out fibers derived from rushes that grew beside the creeks. The rushes were chewed and then twisted by rubbing them on the thigh. The figure also illustrates that, fish was caught by making dams across the narrow creeks. First, they pushed the stakes into the creek bed. Thereafter, they wove branches through the row of stakes. At flood time the fish swam into the shallow creeks and billabongs. As the flood waters went down, thousands of fish were trapped behind the dams. This amount to local knowledge, as it was geographically related to the people of Murray (source: www.murrayriver.com/about-the-murray).

[21] Figure 3: is an illustration about the San people who are frying locusts, according to a painting by S. Daniell in 1801 (Daniell 1804, p 6), showing inter alia a pot of Namaqua standing type on three stones; mat huts and a digging stick.

Figure 3: An illustration of local ways of knowing and doing, the San people.

Both figures: 2 and 3 show that indigenous communities were different, proving that the 'homogenizing' just seeks to deny the existence of different knowledge systems amongst the indigenous people. This infers that, that all communities had their ways of living and knowledge systems that deserve recognition in their respective geographical settings. This knowledge in figures 3 and 4, for example, belonged to a certain group of people (the Murray and the San) residing in a geographical area. Within that area, the people possessed, practiced, and protected a total sum of knowledge and skills which are constitutive of their meaning, belief systems, livelihood constructions, and expression that distinguish them from other groups (Dondolo, 2005; Hoppers, 2005; Nel, 2005; & Masoga, 2005). In so far, the discussion shows that decolonization is compatible with inclusive education, as will be demonstrated shortly.

3.7. A CONVERGING POINT BETWEEN DECOLONISATION AND INCLUSIVITY

After the first democratic elections in 1994, Archbishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu[22] fondly coined the concept of 'rainbow nation' to describe the multi- culturalism of South Africa, an aspect that was undermined during the Apartheid era. The concept was then advanced by the late former

[22] Desmond Mpilo Tutu is a South African Anglican cleric and theologian, known for his work as an anti-apartheid and human rights activist. He was also the chairperson of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

president Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, popularly known as Madiba[23]. In his inaugural speech held on the 11th of May 1994, he [Madiba] articulated that 'each of us is and intimately attached to the soil of this beautiful country as are the famous jacaranda trees of Pretoria and the mimosa trees of the bushveld – a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world'. It is well captured in the concept of 'rainbow nation that Tutu sought to create an inclusive ambiance that transcends racial slurs of exclusion and social ills such as sexism. However, the 'rainbow' nation is not reflected when it comes to epistemological representation in the history curriculum. This means, there is still a lack of historical knowledge that is diversified to reflect the multi-culturalism of the 'rainbow nation'. Through the process of decolonization, which speaks to the notion of opening up for multiple historical perspectives and the inclusion of multiple knowledges, a diversified history curriculum can be realized. It is therefore at this point that, decolonization converges with inclusivity, as both concepts propose the process of diversifying.

Makhubela (2018) opposes the view of diversifying the curriculum instead he suggests that decolonization should take its course without having to inculcate the process of diversification. According to Makhubela (2018), the notion of diversifying the curriculum is not attuned to the principles of decolonization and inclusion, he considers it to be absurd.

> The absurdity of the diversity/inclusion speak, such as the like of Smith and Schonfeld (see, Smith and Schonfeld 2000, p.17), is its refusal to recognize invasion and settler colonialism in the makeup of South Africa. Diversity and inclusion represent complementary discourses that call on whiteness to only relent and not necessarily pay for its crimes, and as qua master, to confer "some" citizenship to blacks, thereby preserving colonial power relations—the situation that sees blacks, as qua slaves, owing their freedoms (in this case, their existence in the university) to the mercy of the white master's kindness (Makhubela, 2018, p.4).

Makhubela justifies his claim by stating that, although 'diversity' is promoted in institutions of learning issues such as epistemic exclusion, racism and 'white culture' are still pervasive. However, this does not necessarily give one the credence to the incipient full rejection of decolonizing and fostering inclusion through the process of diversifying. If we do away with the practice of diversifying and only focus on knowledge that speaks to us as 'Africans' we will be falling into the trap of colonial practices, that amongst others exclude others` knowledge systems. In the same terrain, Makhubela tends to forget that even amongst ourselves as Africans, we are

[23] Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was an anti-apartheid activist who became the first black South African president in 1994 after the country`s first democratic elections.

different and come from different cultural backgrounds, hence, if we do not diversify the curriculum in a way that draws knowledge from various people`s experiences, it would mean others knowledge would be favored over others. This would undermine the purpose of decolonization and inclusion, which ought to have a pluriversity of knowledge in institutions of learning. Dei (2016) proposes that the curriculum should be reframed as a decolonization process. Dei (2016) contends that this process enables the academy to be more inclusive and more accessible in terms of its content to the diverse student body.

The driving impetus of the above assertion would be to first acknowledge that there exists a plethora of differences amongst South Africans. This acknowledgment would thus necessitate the recognition of different knowledge systems that reflects several of South Africans` differences. Secondly, it would challenge epistemological dominance (of the Western gaze) and then repatriate indigenous life and thought (that was destroyed and buried by colonialism and Apartheid). This shows that there is a need for epistemic diversity. As it stands, there exists what is known as interiorization of knowledge, by coloniality through the idea of universalism. This interiorization was done in terms of gender, race, knowledge, and education systems (Breidlid, 2013). This, for instance in the South African context means, Black people were denied an opportunity to learn about their existence (i.e., culture; experiences, and knowledge systems) during the colonial-apartheid era. This occurred because their existence was seen as not worthy to be taught or learned about. In this case, race was used to perpetuate interiorization. That being said, inclusive education becomes necessary for reframing and decolonizing the curriculum as a way of addressing issues related to race, gender, class, sexuality, and disability in all disciplinary areas and within all faculties (Dei, 2016).

A facet that also ties decolonization and inclusion, and concurrently harnessed the attainment of transformation envisaged by the two concepts, is Ubuntu. The concept of Ubuntu can be understood as an alternative to the individualistic and utilitarian philosophies that tend to dominate in the West. It is a Zulu/Xhosa word, with parallels in many other African languages, which is most directly translated into English as ‘humanness’. Its sense, however, is perhaps best conveyed by the Nguni expression ‘umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu’, which means ‘a person is a person because of other people’. The origins of Ubuntu as a concept can be traced to the Bantu people of southern Africa although the philosophy is now shared across much of the continent

(Bolden, 2014). It is perhaps best understood as a social philosophy based on principles of care and community, harmony and hospitality, respect and responsiveness that express the fundamental interconnectedness of human existence. It has been described as a philosophy of peace (Bolden, 2014). Makgoba writes that:

> Ubuntu puts an emphasis on respect for the non-material order that exists in us and among us, it fosters man`s respect for himself, for others, and for the environment; it has spirituality; it has remained non-racial; it accommodates other cultures, and it is the invisible force uniting African worldview. Therefore, unlike Confucian or European philosophies, it transcends both race and culture (Makgoba as cited in Enslin & Horsthemke, 2004, p. 24).

It is clear from the above extract that Ubuntu articulates a view of oneness defined by respect and social cohesion in the realm of social interdependence (Chachine, 2008, p.74). The extract further suggests that Ubuntu is different from Chinese and European philosophies and that it is the invisible force uniting Africans (le Grange, 2011). Thus, Ubuntu implies an interactive ethic in which our humanity is shaped by our interaction with others as co-dependent beings (Letseka, 2013). To amplify this, Swanson (2007) argues that Ubuntu is then underpinned by the philosophy that community strength emerges from the support offered by a community, respect and identity which are advanced through mutualism, generosity, and empathy, and community commitment. Therefore, Letseka (2012) is of the view that an Ubuntu- orientated paradigm in decolonization and inclusive education can play an important role in advancing South Africa`s objectives rooted in the constitution, of which can be summed up as liberating those who were historically and who remain marginalized, deprived, excluded, and discriminated against. This sentiment is echoed by Engelbrecht and Muthukrishna (2018) who posit that at the centre of Ubuntu is:

> creating inclusive schools and communities, including the development of inclusive school culture; creating an inclusive curriculum and inclusive pedagogies; creating safe, health-promoting schools; community partnerships; indigenizing education; ensuring educational access for all and achieving the goal of quality learning outcomes for all learners (p.8).

That is to say, the paradigm of Ubuntu can facilitate the orientation of decolonization through inclusivity, and also foster epistemic inclusivity of indigeneity (Pather, 2019). As suggested by the fact that Ubuntu is strengthened by the facets of mutualism and community commitment, if such is to be applied in the process of decolonization through inclusivity, it would ensure that communities cooperatively employ their knowledge systems for the betterment and

advancement of their respective societies thereby improving their standards of living and skills. In institutions of learning, this will go as far as creating a learning environment that is accepting of different knowledge systems. Engelbrecht and Muthukrishna (2018) argue that a part of this facilitation would encompass "humaneness, compassion, a sense of caring for one another's wellbeing and its recognition of rights and the responsibilities of every member of society in fostering individual and societal well- being" (p.7). This belief finds an elaborate expression in the conception of social cohesion, which also stresses the consolidation of the plurality of citizenship. It is often traced to the work of Pierre Bourdieu, who focused on "the benefits to individuals that accrue from the participation in groups, and the need for individuals to invest in these relations" (Norton & de Haan, 2013, p. 7).

Hence, the humanness that comes with Ubuntu and social cohesion, if applied in the history curriculum, will guarantee that multiple historical discourses are accepted, valued, and respected. Similarly, Le Grange (2015) advises that we should move away from embracing the individualistic form of knowledge of the West. Le Grange (2015) elucidates that decolonizing knowledge through inclusivity requires emancipating the thought from the restraints of Cartesian duality – from Descartes cogito, 'I think therefore I am'. If we do not move towards a humanistic approach that embraces other epistemic traditions and knowledge systems which can be done through the inclusion of IKS and other knowledge systems, education for local people will continue to be foreign and irrelevant. That is because, as put by Botha (2010) "for the majority of black South Africans and Africans in general, their education is neither situated in the day-to-day activities of their cultures nor builds on the cultural heritage of their communities" (p.224).

The thesis concurs with the view put forward by Botha because our knowledge as Africans is based on our day-to-day practices. Thus, if the knowledge is not situated in their localities, it becomes foreign and irrelevant to them, making it difficult for them to relate to such knowledge. Because of this contention, one can extrapolate that the '*restraints of Cartesian duality–Descartes cogito*' in knowledge production is necessitated by the notion of a universality of knowledge. This made it possible for Western knowledge systems to be seen as powerful. However, le Grange (2004) is of the view that a certain type of knowledge does not become powerful because of its alignment with objectivism or universality. Instead, le Grange (2004) believes that knowledge can

shift from "the site and moment of its production to other places and times" (p. 87). One would concur with this view because knowledge is not stagnant; it changes and varies from society to society and from time to time. It is this reason which compelled le Grange (2015) to propose that the use of Ubuntu would be ideal in the inclusion of IKS and embracing other knowledge systems which were distorted and destroyed by the notion of universalism.

3.8. CONCLUDING REMAKRS

The debates presented thus far show that there is a resurgence of 'modernism' which postulates that the foundation, objectivity, and reliability of knowledge are only derived through means of reason and science. But an opposing view that led to the resurgence of 'postmodernism' brought a different perspective on what constitutes knowledge. Herein, knowledge is considered to be a human construct. Hence, even the principles of 'reason' and 'science' are said to be Western traditions, created by the people who are situated in the Western geographical location. The ideologies of modernism can be thus associated with coloniality and universalism, whereas the ideologies of postmodernism can be associated with the multiversity of knowledge. Nonetheless, the thesis first explored where the conception of inclusive education originated, and it highlighted that it came from the disability crusade.

Global policies and discourses that shaped the inclusion doctrine were discussed and problematized at the same time. Secondly, the thesis provided an insight into how inclusive education is understood in South Africa. This did not go unproblematized. It was then brought to the discussion that, though physical inclusion was emphasized, epistemological inclusion remains yet a dream to be fully actualized. Consequently, the following chapter seeks to unpack what is presumed to be knowledgeable and deliberate on why postmodernism, which embraces a plurality of knowledge systems, has been selected as a theory underpinning the study.

CHAPTER FOUR: THEORETICAL INTERVENTION: META-THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter critically engages with the notion of a 'meta-theoretical framework' and its specific relevance to the broader thesis. According to Murphy (2007), there are varying views on what constitutes a meta-theoretical framework. For this thesis, "a meta-theory is a paradigm" (Aldridge & Strevy 1992 p.683). In the context of knowledge production, this implies a case in which social sciences are more closely tied to general views about the basic nature of human behaviour (Murphy, 2007). For this reason, there is a need to deliberate on the significance of epistemology and ontology pertaining to theories (Murphy 2007). Furthermore, Fleetwood and Ackroyd (2004a) maintain a similar view and argue that meta-theory is what lies beyond or outside any substantive theory, empirical research, or human practice. Meta-theory thus paves the way for the substantive theory that one is likely to create or endorse, the empirical research that one is likely to undertake (by drawing somewhat on a theory, framework, model, or hypothesis), or the practice that one is likely to affect (de Sousa, 2020). Taken into application, the meta-theory is used to question what makes knowledge to be valid and its implications for decolonization and inclusive education.

The basis of the meta-theoretical framework is that it provides a means to analyze, relate position, and validate concepts and theories that are in and from different theories and theoretical stances (de Sousa, 2020). Whilst on this view, the thesis in the discussion will show that notions of universalism and scientific justifications are not viable for the central argument of this thesis which is to promote multiversity. This is because the thesis argues that the hybrid of truth in knowledge is relative to people or society. For example, it would be senseless to argue that different historical moments that occurred in different societies should be narrated from a universal point of view in the history curriculum. This is because what counts as knowledge depends on a multitude of factors which include time, purpose, historical and theoretical contexts. As a result, different spaces, times, and cultures decide on what should then count as being valid knowledge for them (Siegel, 1986).

Nonetheless, to situate the set of assumptions about what constitutes knowledge in the presupposed body of assertions of decolonization and inclusivity, it then becomes essential to utilize a meta-theory. More so, the meta-theory will be utilized to provide general perspectives about the nature of knowing (epistemology) existing in the aforementioned main aspects of the thesis. The meta-theory will consist of positivism, epistemological realism, and postmodernism. To find a theory that will be in line with both decolonization and inclusivity, all of the three theories will be explored and scrutinized. However, the other two (i.e., positivism and epistemological realism) will be used to show that the chosen meta-theory postmodernism) is suitable for the undertaken study. The subsequent sections will show why that is the case.

4.2. POSITIVISM: AN EXPLANATORY APPROACH

In this epistemological stance, "experimentation, observation, and reason based on experience ought to be the basis for understanding human behaviour, and therefore, the only legitimate means of extending knowledge and human understanding" (Kuyini, 2017 & Kivunja, 2017, p.30). That is to say, knowledge is acquired from our sensory experience of the world and our interaction with it. Ryan (2018) propounds that this is a form of *empiricism*[24] where the social science discipline is given a 'scientific status'. This means, methods used in natural sciences should be used in the social sciences as a way of investigating human behaviour, social institutions, and organizations (Comte[25], 1856). According to Bhattacherjee (2012), this infers that "theory and observations have circular dependence on each other. While theories may be created via reasoning, they are only authentic if they can be verified through observations" (p.7). Simply put, knowledge claims are only possible about objects that can be observed.

Taken in the context of the thesis, the application of positivism to decolonization which also calls for the inculcation of knowledge systems that speak about the cultures of indigenous people, would not meet the criteria and principles of knowledge claims. This is to say; according to the positivism doctrine indigenous African spiritual knowledge would be considered to be invalid since much of it cannot be verified through empirical scientific methods. Take for example, in traditional rural communities as Africans we believe that people with *intwaso* (a calling by the

[24] Empiricism is based on the notion that knowledge should be objective and free from bias, that is, free from the values and beliefs of the researcher (Phillips & Burbules, 2000).
[25] Positivism was first coined by Auguste Comte in the 19th century.

ancestors) communicate with their ancestors through dreams (Buhrmann, 1986 & Mutwa, 1996). In a study carried out by Beauty Ntombizanele Booi in 2004, it was postulated that such dreams are realistic and convey a true or accurate message. One of the participants in the study who had *intwaso* had to say this:

> the ancestors used to talk to me through dreams, and they sent me to people who needed help, and I helped them as I was instructed. For example: there was an old woman who needed someone to help her with household chores, I used to go and help her. One night I was told in my dream to go and dig out a plant that was called "wild tea" and plant it in my garden, which I did. One day, when I was at home, I saw a dog urinating on the tree I planted, and I threw a stone at it, and my hand began to shake. That night, I dreamt of many dogs that came and surrounded me. I was so frightened that night, but I was told not to hit them anymore, as they are my ancestors.

The participant further narrated that,

> in 2001, we were going to attend a sports meeting at school, my ancestors warned me in a dream not to go there, but I did not listen, because I was a sports coordinator and was supposed to attend the meeting. When I arrived there, I fell down and sustained a fracture on the leg, and a sprained ankle.

The participant`s anecdote indicates that indeed, the spiritual knowledge system has a real and significant existence in some people`s lives. Yet despite the convention of the truth contained in the participant`s anecdote, the positivist doctrine would still regard such knowledge as irrational. Instead, it would argue that the person was suffering from hallucinations or psychosis that could have been caused by schizophrenia; depression, and anxiety (Dalasile; Paruk; Patel & Ramgoon, 2011). This doctrine fails to acknowledge that the understanding of illness varies from culture to culture. Hence, in South Africa what the Western culture calls psychosis, some Africans may call it intwaso. This infers that "…there is no objective standard against which such knowledge can be assessed since knowledge in itself is relative to a particular context" (Siegel, 1986, n.p).

Nevertheless, it is clear that the positivist doctrine rejects indigenous knowledge systems as true knowledge. It is without a doubt then that, based on this line of thought positivism "denies all non-experienced theoretical or metaphysical notion. Scientific knowledge excludes a value judgment as its validity cannot be tested by experience" (Majeed, 2020, p.120). In short, it insists that scientific or true knowledge should be founded on experience alone. Comte (1844) was of the view that each branch of knowledge evolves through three theoretical phases which are known

as the theological phase, the metaphysical or abstract phase, and lastly the scientific or positive phase. To explain these phases, Phillips (2000) stated that:

- the theological stage refers to understanding the world through religion.
- the metaphysical stage refers to an attempt to understand the world through speculative thinking.
- the positive stage refers to an attempt to understand the world through hypothetical thinking.

What can be deduced from the above points is that Comte was explaining that knowledge comes to exist through the three sequential phases. This suggests that Comte was of the view that any knowledge that cannot be empirically verified should be excluded or deemed meaningless. In short, as noted by Phillips he chose to stick to what was considered to be observable phenomena instead of hidden scientific entities. To add to this point, Sousa (2010) then sees positivism as a way that pursues "fiercely truth of (scientific) knowledge, hence attempting to make that knowledge a perfect mirror or accurate representation of the world. The truth of knowledge claims is assessed through empirical tests of hypotheses (postulated via induction[26] or deduction[27])" (Sousa, 2010, p.466). It follows then that the medical model of 'disability' was derived from this contention of the positivism doctrine. This is because it describes 'disability' through the medical or science-based model, implying that problems can or should be addressed through diagnosis and prescriptive cure (Sailor, 2016). The positivism doctrine believes that individuals afflicted with 'disabilities' benefit most from the acquisition of scientific knowledge through a specific branch of education called special education. This frame places the root cause of 'disability' within the individual, neglecting to recognize larger, societal factors contributing to a person's 'disability' (Skrtic, 1993). For instance:

> blindness differs according to the economic and cultural contexts. A classic study showed that in the United States blindness was experienced as loss requiring counselling, in Sweden as a problem requiring support services, in Britain as a technical issue requiring aids and equipment, and in Italy as the need to seek consolation or even salvation through the Catholic church (Scott, 1969, n.p).

[26] Induction is what sees knowledge as being observed numerous times in separate occasions before a generalization is made. In other words, induction makes inferences based on specific observed incidences that are then used to make a generalization (Bryman, 2008).

[27] Deduction is based on the presupposition of finding a theory then you make a prediction or hypotheses based on this and then observe or measure to prove or disprove (Bryman, 2008).

It can be inferred from the above extract that the knowledge constituting disability varies from society to society. Therefore, it is clear that positivism fails to account that 'disability' is a social issue that should be understood through the social model where social justice is central. The social model ought to challenge the discriminative attitude of positivism which shifts the issue to the learner. It would become very difficult to write and narrate different local histories from different perspectives from a positivism doctrine as evident with the example of the 'disability crusade'. This is because historical knowledge often cannot be verified through human senses, nor does it emerge as a result of induction or scientific methods. A similar logical bearing is evident in the contention that historical data are not available for observation and experimentation. This is because knowledge in history is a result of human thoughts and actions which are constantly changing (Talekau, Jyotrimayee Nayak & Harichandan, n.d). They therefore cannot provide dependable data for the formation of general principles and laws (Talekau, Nayak & Harichandan, n.d).

Because of this, applying this doctrine would undermine the purpose of decolonization and inclusivity which demand multiple forms of knowledge. In further elaborating this view, positivism encourages universalism while decolonization seeks to recognize context-specific knowledge systems. This is in line with inclusive education which delineates that people have different learning needs and experiences. Thus, it is necessary to include different knowledge systems as a way to decolonize the history curriculum. But the positivism doctrine argues that history should be seen as an area of knowledge that is an attempt to know the objective past. This objective past can only be accessed through sensory observations and "systematic archival research into material documents" (Green & Troup, 2016, p.1). This is problematic because language is used to communicate the past; hence, historical accounts should never be regarded as the 'truth' or 'objective'; because language conceals a lot of meanings and thus fails to construct the world as it is or was (Maluleka, 2018).

Despite the shortfalls of an objective history Bevir still believes that historical knowledge should be told from a positivist line of thought. Bevir contends that objectivity in history outlines an objective interpretation that best aligns with rational criteria of accuracy, comprehensiveness, consistency, progressiveness, fruitlessness, and openness. For Bevir, these interpretations should be considered to be a way of moving towards understanding the truth and as a regulative ideal.

Jenkins (2003) has rightly articulated that it is nigh impossible to obtain historical knowledge that is objective. In justification of this, Jenkins (2003) stated that the actual past has gone and constructing history in the present means content is as much invented as found. Although Bevir attempted to justify the notion of objective in history, it still got rejected on the basis that the possibilities of reaching or having objective historical knowledge are thin. This is because one does not have access to a given past against which to judge rival interpretations (Kundra, 2017). Rickman (n.d) adds in the discussion to argue that "history deals with a sequence of events, each of them unique while Science is concerned with the routine appearance of things and aims at generalizations and the establishment of regularities, governed by laws" (n.p). This can only happen from a scientific point of view where knowledge can be seen from a universal angle, in a sense that a person can arrive at generalizations that help him or her to control the present and predict the future (Talekau, Nayak & Harichandan, n.d). The notion of universalism is postulated in the epistemological realism doctrine; as a result, it becomes imperative to look at it to determine whether it can provide a better framework in decolonizing and fostering inclusivity in the history curriculum.

4.3. EPISTEMOLOGICAL REALISM: POSTULATIONS

Given that epistemological realism is a complex philosophical stance, the thesis does not intend to provide a detailed explanation of it. Thus, the emphasis will be more on what constitutes knowledge in epistemological realism. According to Pring, (2004) "realism is the notion that reality is not dependent on what people think or the language they use" (cited in Horsthemke 2010, p.9). This is to say, the realist doctrine holds the view that reality is independent of human thinking. For instance, Hospers asserts (1990) that a degree of belief regarding the truth of the matter has nothing to do with what is true. The fact that I believe tomorrow might be colder than today has nothing to do with what might transpire tomorrow at least in terms of weather. This insinuates that reality is independent of our beliefs. However, in South Africa, Modjadji – The Rain Queen[28] is believed to be capable of predicting the weather, and such predictions would

[28] The name Modjadji or Rain Queen refers to a line of queens of the Balobedu (Limpopo province, South Africa) known for their ability to control clouds and rainfall. The origin of the first Rain Queen is shrouded in mystery, but all accounts agree that she is a direct descendent of an old chief from the Karanga kingdom of Monomotapa (southeastern Zimbabwe) (Prinsloo, 2005, Joubert, 2011 & Owen, 2020). In one version of the story, it is mentioned that the first Modjadji's mother, Dzugundini, was forced to flee from her village after she was impregnated by her brother. With her mother's help, she stole her father's rain charms and sacred beads then headed towards Molototsi

transpire the following day. She is also said to be capable of controlling clouds and rainfall (Prinsloo, 2005 & Owen, 2020). The conviction that the Rain Queen was capable of affecting weather was demonstrated by the South African Weather Service who honored her for her contribution to South Africa's rainfall. In this case, a realist would argue that the knowledge that the Rain Queen is capable of controlling the rain cannot be true because propositional statements are not relative to people`s beliefs (Hospers (1990). This is because "a true proposition correctly reports reality, but what people think correctly reports reality may not do so" (p. 11).

The realist line of thought holds the view that truth carried by propositions has nothing to do with our beliefs (Sonkqayi, 2020). Therefore, just because there are people who believe that the Queen of rain is capable of controlling the weather it does not mean that their beliefs are true. This assumes that our beliefs with regard to prepositions should be universal. Hence, Horsthemke (2010) proclaimed that:

> can a realist account be given of the epistemological and scientific significance of diversity and context? In essence, the argument is as follows. Belief is the subjective component of (propositional/ theoretical/ factual) knowledge, while truth constitutes its objective anchor (p. 9).

Moreover,

> while beliefs may vary from individual to individual, society to society, culture to culture – and indeed in terms of strength and duration – truth does not so vary. Truth refers to what is the case, independently of what individuals believe, think, or feel may be the case – independently of their interests and preferences, and even of public and general consensus (p. 9).

In light of the above quotations, knowledge is said to be driven by facts that are (at all times) backed up by scope and evidence (Elgin, 2004, cited in Horsthemke, 2010). Hence, propositional knowledge cannot exist in a real context without being underpinned by the truth. Hence, the realism doctrine highlights that knowledge or truth is not context dependent. For realism, universally true knowledge is the only permissible knowledge. However, Green (2008) disputes this by pointing out that:

Valley (present-day Balobedu kingdom). Yet another version recalls that when rainmaking abilities started to decline within the Lovedu tribe, Mugodo, the last of the male line, decided to rejuvenate the process by having incest with his daughter. The girl child that was the result of this union became the first in a long line of Lovedu Rain Queens, known by the ceremonial name of Mudjadji (or Modjadji), which literally means 'ruler-of-the-day' (Prinsloo, 2005, Joubert, 2011 & Owen, 2020).

> arguing for a way of regarding scientific laws and models that moves away from the assumption of literal truth, Elgin points out that in the sciences, precision, accuracy, and falsehood are a matter of context. Newtonian physics, for example, is true enough for specific purposes, rather than universally true (p. 154).

Despite the argument put forward by Green, Horsthemke (2010) maintains that any true knowledge becomes universal knowledge since it cannot be true only to a particular group and not to other people. However, the claim that there is universal knowledge fails to recognize that people come from different or multi-cultural backgrounds or experiences which influences how they come to know. For example, the inclusion of 'disabled' people`s historical knowledge would be nigh impossible through this philosophical stance which opts for universalism. Because it would employ a blanket approach in the inclusion of their history and homogenize their experiences. Whereas people with impairments have different experiences, ethnic backgrounds, cultural and religious beliefs which attests that their situations cannot be understood in the same or, form a universal point of view. Horsthemke (2010) maintains that it is quite difficult to come to an understanding without the evidence of truth. Thus, he asserts that without truth there can never be theoretical or propositional knowledge in a real context. More so, "if truth is in the eye of the societally or culturally bound beholder, we could not realistically speak about the "transatlantic slave trade", "coloniality" (Horsthemke, 2019.p. 3), or about the under-funding of African universities in transculturally compelling terms" (Horsthemke, 2019.p. 3). Simply put, what is said here is that it would become pointless to speak about certain historical events as the knowledge and truth of those events would be relative to the person contemplating the proposition in question.

Taking a different view, Boghossian (2006) and Hospers (2009) stress that, it is worth highlighting those different interpretations or descriptions do not amount to different truths about the world, as long as they do not contradict each other. It is possible, for instance, for people to give two valid and yet different descriptions of the same event. However, this does not mean that the truth becomes relative. In the context of history, some historians may argue that the root cause of apartheid was racism. Others, or the Marxists to be specific, may hold the view that it was economic dominance. In this case, such different interpretations of the past cannot be considered relative because they do not contradict each other in any manner. In other words, it's possible that apartheid was caused by racism and the urge to economically dominate others. Therefore,

epistemological realism does not deny that knowledge is linked to power (Boghossian 2002). For example, some institutions choose which kind of knowledge they want to impart. However, the validity of such knowledge is independent of such power dynamics. We do not come to believe that there is such a thing as a blue sky simply because a powerful person convinced us to believe so.

Hence, this can be seen as a way of rebutting the idea of knowledge diversity since it is said to be driven by the assumption that there are multiple 'truths' (Horsthemke, 2010). Horsthemke (2004b) also refutes the idea of indigenous knowledge as factual knowledge. In other words, he is of the view that there can never be indigenous knowledge in a propositional or theoretical sense since such knowledge should be underpinned by truth and that truth is universal. This logic implies that we should reject some people's concept of knowledge in favor of another group's version of knowledge. In most cases, it is Western knowledge systems that are favored (see Mika, 2015). Shiza proclaimed that:

> …all knowledge forms start as indigenous. However, it is those who have the power to dominate and colonize others whose knowledge becomes reified. The worldviews and perspectives of "Others" (those who are on the margin of the global village) are side-lined and vilified as "traditional", "irrational", "backward" and "obsolete." (2013, p. 5).

Masemula (2013) argues that this argument of viewing indigenous knowledge as knowledge that is not adequate to adapt to change and solve modern challenges and that is primitive perpetuates the exclusion of indigenous knowledge. This exclusion had effects of marginalizing and/or disqualifying indigenous epistemologies as 'invalid' ways of knowing and living. Tied to Euro-colonialism was the idea of European superiority and universal validity of knowledge and way of life over other parts of the world, particularly over Africa. Masemula (2013) adds that:

> the marginalization of indigenous knowledge is a well-orchestrated plan that continues to bedevil the recognition and affirmation of indigenous knowledge as knowledge in its own right. Africans born under colonial rule might not recognize the impact of their lack of indigenous knowledge and its contribution to lagging development and neo-colonization in their countries (p. 118).

It is on this basis that Green (2008) contends that the existence of indigenous knowledge does not depend on the perfection of its scholarship. In a broader sense, it is not acceptable that one can simply claim that indigenous knowledge does not exist because it lacks theoretical justification, or it is not defended or justified. It is against this backdrop that Horsthemke's call for

authentication of universal knowledge is not in line with embracing multiple knowledge systems as envisaged in decolonization and inclusive education. That is because beliefs and perceptions in decolonization and inclusive education are seen to be multiple as opposed to being universal. In other words, it is human`s different perceptions that assign meaning to the world. However, according to Heil (1998), the world exists when observers are not aware of its existence. Candidly put, "our description of the world can only correspond with the way things are in and of themselves" (Sonkqayi, 2020, p.93).

Otherwise, that there is only one universal knowledge that applies to everyone, others` knowledge systems will be ostracized. This is because what counts as knowledge, varies from society to society. Therefore, knowledge cannot be reduced to the principle of universality. Therefore, the effect of applying epistemological realism will be similar to the exclusion and marginalization of non-Western knowledge systems as has been the case with colonialism and coloniality. Those local and indigenous communities who are not able to prove their versions of history according to the truth criteria stipulated by epistemological realism will be rejected and marginalized. This implies that having knowledge that is only abstract, universal factual and unconnected to the learners' experiences in the history curriculum would be as alienating as learning a colonial history. This is because according to Sankey (1997), knowledge is rooted within the notion that knowledge is relative to the context of the knower. This assumes that the knower's context influences how such knowledge is produced and applied (Sonkqayi, 2020). Nevertheless, the preceding debates on positivism and epistemological belief fail to account that knowledge is relative to one`s context and that historical knowledge is a result of human interaction. The thesis opts for postmodernism due to the acceptance of multiplicity and pluriversity when it comes to beliefs and knowledge systems.

4.4. POSTMODERNISM: NATURE OF EPISTEMOLOGY

Postmodernism is a philosophical posture that ascended in the early 1970s as a fierce reaction against positivism. It rejects the notion that knowledge can be reduced to observations and sense experience as is the case in positivism (Usher, 1996). According to the postmodernism posture, while we may be able to sense what is real, other factors come into play when it comes to the 'construction' of knowledge (Usher, 1996). This is amplified by Dixon (2011) who contends that

"as individuals, we are not one-sided. We are multifaceted and our identities are shaped by numerous people, places, events, communities and knowledge we are in contact with" (89). Thus, making it impossible for one to gain knowledge through observation and sense experience. This suggests that knowledge is relative to the context of the knower (Sankey, 1997). This is incongruent with the notion that IK is rooted in a geographical context, which speaks about the local experiences of the people residing in that particular area. Unlike in epistemological realism, the exposition of IK here is equally recognized as valid knowledge just like Western knowledge.

This is because the postmodernist`s position is that there is no universal truth or knowledge; there are no absolutes but rather societies and human beings who are in a constant state of flux and change (Usher, 1996). In other words, it holds the view that realities are subject to change, and that apparent realities are social constructs that limit individuals (Usher, 1996). However, Hospers (1990) rejects the view that knowledge can be true and relative simultaneously. Hospers (1990) contends that the existence of a certain true proposition does not depend on the knowledge of people of it. Despite this, for postmodernism, science is not the only source of knowledge and there is no absolute certainty. Further, Yilmaz, (2010) also notes that:

> postmodernism is not a single, unified theory with a fixed set of specific methods and techniques but an intellectual trend or a combination of intellectual perspectives. It is best characterized as a skeptical and questioning attitude toward the basic assumptions of modernism about knowledge and reality (p. 793).

The ongoing discussion shows that defining postmodernism is a challenge since it is not a coherent set of ideas. In other words, it rejects the notion of a straightforward reality. Instead, postmodernism argues for recognition of the complexities of reality. Though it is such, it is important to at least provide a meaning of it. Usher and Edwards (1994) are of the view that postmodernism can be understood as a philosophical stance which is a state of mind, a critical, self-referential posture, and style, a different way of seeing and working, rather than a fixed body of ideas, a worked-out position or a set of critical methods and techniques. Simply put, postmodernism rejects the view that there is an elementary reality that is stagnant. In the same vein, postmodernism is also seen as a common attitude or an intellectual position that poses heterogeneous yet interrelated questions to which unitary answers cannot be given (Hutcheon, 1989; Burbules, 1995; & Minnerup, 2003).

Giroux (1988a) shares a similar view: "postmodernism in the broadest sense refers both to an intellectual position (a form of cultural criticism) and to an emerging set of social, cultural, and economic conditions that have come to characterize the age of global capitalism and industrialism" (p.9). This is amplified by Harvey (cited in Yilmaz, 2010) who contends that "postmodernism expresses a skeptical, suspicious and questioning attitude toward the legacy of Enlightenment modernity; be it scientific rationality, objectivity, universal truth claims, progressive emancipation or human betterment" (p.781). In this instance, postmodernism seeks to expose coloniality which reinforces domination and exploitation of others' knowledge systems. It ought to halt the destructiveness of Western knowledge which presented itself as the only true universal knowledge. The reason why modernism seeks to expose coloniality is that it presents itself as a good phenomenon that seeks to solve the problems faced by the people of the global South whereas it perpetuates and reinforces domination and exploitation. According to Fuchs and Sandoval (2008), it is thus oriented on challenging hierarchies, does not accept the notions of truth and objectivity, and argues for liberal pluralism. For instance, it typically argues that: "there is no ultimate standard of judging what is true because such standards are themselves socially constructed and shaped by power relations. Therefore, there is no objective standard in society, only a plurality of different meanings and identities. It is therefore important to deconstruct truth claims, to accept other opinions as possible and legitimate ones and formulate one's own as equally reasonable" (Fuchs & Sandoval, 2008, p.121).

It is for the above-advanced reason that Usher (1996) contends that, postmodernism questions formerly secure foundations of knowledge and understanding. Furthermore, it "reflects the contemporary decline of absolutes and a questioning of the belief that following the correct method guarantees the true result" (Usher, 1996, p. 25). For Butler (1990) the notions of truth or universals are the argument that such categories can be used for legitimating grand narratives of domination. Hence, for postmodernism, science is not the only source of knowledge and there is no absolute certainty. This suggests that in postmodernism, multiple (scientific and lay) knowledge claims can be reached using human ingenuity and creativity (Kuhn, 1970). Into the bargain, it suggests that truth is relative to a context. In other words, it acknowledges the fact that people come from different cultural and socio-economic backgrounds as stated in inclusive education. Therefore, truth is influenced by our contingent needs and interests. Usher (1996) also notes that postmodernism disregards the narrative that there is a fixed or stagnant world that can

be understood in the same way by all human beings. Thus, it is seen as a variety of cultural positions. It further stresses the priority of the social to the individual, which discards the universalizing tendencies of philosophy (Potgieter & Van de Walt, 2015).

A rising question from the foregoing discussion is that: what then counts as knowledge in postmodernism? Accordingly, Nylund and Tilsen (2006) reckon that knowledge in postmodernism can be described as a re-cognition and/or creation. This shows that knowledge is created and is therefore not innate. Simply put, humans choose what counts as knowledge and what to recognize or construct as knowledge. That is to say, knowledge is persuaded by human beings for certain interests and purposes in society. For instance, the notions of coloniality such as modernity, objectivity, and universalism were created to serve the purpose of perpetuating exclusion and marginalization of other social groups in terms of epistemological representation. Hence, according to Patton (2002) postmodernism questions the belief in scientific knowledge as well or the capacity of science to generate objective knowledge or truth, viewing it as socially constructed and dependent on language like all other human communications. This is to say, "knowledge is considered to be relative to time and space rather than seen as absolute" (Patton, 2002, p. 100). This is echoed by Siegel (2011) who argues that knowledge (and/or truth or justification) is relative to time, to a place, to society, to culture, to historical epoch, and conviction. This insinuates that what constitutes knowledge depends upon the value of one of these variables (Siegel, 2011). Siegel (2011) clarifies that knowledge is relative in that, different societies, cultures, and epochs accept different sets of background principles of evaluation for knowledge claims and there is no neutral way of choosing between these alternative sets of principles.

The postmodernist posture undergirds that the world is dictated by broadly acknowledged conventions, which are peculiar to a certain area; now and then the nature of these conventions is challenged or questioned (Usher, 1996). Although we draw from what is assumed to be objective reality, the existence is restricted within the confines of discourse. Usher (1996) denotes that, the act of knowing what is believed to be the truth cannot be perceived as being either true or false. In short, what is believed to be true in a particular context may not be so in another context? Moreover, the truth is heavily reliant on conventions, agreements, and pre-requisites (Usher, 1996). For this reason, postmodernism holds the view that whatever is called objective knowledge

is created using language, language in use or discourse, and other meaning-making resources of a particular culture whose practices of communication, explanation, justification, truth-telling, and so on can be very different from other cultures' (Lemke, 1994; Burbules, 1995).

In light of the above, the epistemic status of those knowledge claims is determined through human convention, being inter-subjectively agreed upon (de Sousa Santos, 2010). This is to say, knowledge/truth is a matter of agreement, negotiation, and collective consensus (de Sousa, 2010). This line of thought is also evident in Usher (1996), who contends that postmodernism suggests that the world is built out of words and that the truth is a discourse. Knowledge in postmodernism is then the act of combining diachronic or synchronic views and also acknowledges that human beings are capable of shifting their perspectives (Usher, 2010). According to Giroux (1988b), this view of knowledge as a text or discourse brings to the fore the centrality of language and subjectivity, the issues of meaning, identity, and politics. Given the idea that every culture's language or view of the world is different from that of other cultures. Postmodernism endorses the partiality and specificity of discourse, rather than general abstractions or meta-discourses that deny the specificity and particularity of the local or a particular culture (Giroux, 1988a). For this reason, postmodernism is said to favor a:

> plurality of perspectives both in the sense of recognition of the validity of a multiplicity of perspectives ... and in the sense of encouraging a way of thinking that is eclectic, drawing on several perspectives, as in the synthesis of elements from more than one cultural tradition (Leicester, 2000, p. 74).

This means postmodernism is advocating for the acceptance of a plurality of views and knowledge as legitimate. This arose from the notion that there is not only one single truth (knowledge) that is universal to everyone. This is why the thesis argues that all knowledge should be accepted in equal measure. This variable is true if it is stressed that it is important that different opinions can be voiced and should be recognized as legitimate (Fuchs & Sandoval, 2008). Therefore, recognizing different voices in the history curriculum will allow learners to learn about knowledge that is true in their different local contexts while ensuring that knowledge is peculiar to their distinct areas. In the same line, Usher (1996) articulated that postmodernism encourages the voices or different perspectives when generating knowledge. It is through this doctrine that the history curriculum can be transformed in a way that acknowledges the inclusion

of African epistemologies, not to mention the other histories and experiences of other social groups existing in society.

Given that postmodernism opts for multiple and dispersed realities which are a consequence of complex grounds (Usher, 1996). It is noteworthy that postmodernism is of the view that people do not share an objective reality that makes sense to everyone all around the world as already stated earlier on. Alternatively, different multi-layered realities are caused by different things. An example that societies consist of different knowledge and that have different realities is evident in figure 3 and figure 4 which demonstrates how different societies lived their lives. The two figures indicate that knowledge from a postmodern perspective is plural (Usher, 1996). What this means is that the postmodernist perspective cannot undermine the voices of others and cannot homogenize them since knowledge in postmodernism is dispersed as indicated previously in this chapter. Drawing from the ongoing discussion, one would infer that the postmodern view of knowledge can be summed up as an understanding of knowledge as being relative, multiple, and unpredictable (Usher 1996). In short, knowledge from a postmodernist view is complex and cannot be reduced into a singular factor or basis. Moreover, Usher (1996) posits that postmodernism advances the view that knowledge can and is allowed to change at any given time.

The thesis concurs with the notion of multiple 'truths' and argues that multiple knowledge systems should be permissible knowledge to the teaching of the history curriculum. This is because decolonization and inclusivity are largely informed by multiple realities and knowledge systems that are relative to the postmodernism discourse. Without a blink of a doubt, postmodernism acknowledges that all people play a significant role in the creation of knowledge and that the creation of this knowledge is often the consequence of environmental stimuli that are experienced through senses and perceptions. This line of thought is congruent with the one put forward in decolonization that there should be a pluriversality of epistemology in the education system as shown in Chapter Two. Hence, Ashworth, and Tunbridge (2016) argue that various intellectual heritages need to be integrated so that they can embrace different knowledge systems. The demand for integration indicates that indigenous people and other groups who have been dispossessed and marginalized are calling for the integration of their knowledge within mainstream education as a struggle against the exclusion of their knowledge systems.

It is for this reason that decolonization in the context of this thesis can happen in the terrain of postmodernism as it emphasizes the notion that knowledge must be rooted in the aspirations of oppressed people whose knowledge systems are side-lined, distorted, destroyed, excluded, and marginalized (Santos 2014). In the context of this thesis, knowledge is thought to be a:

> group of elements, formed in a regular manner by a discursive practice, and which are indispensable to the constitution of a science, although they are not necessarily destined to give rise to one, can be called knowledge. Knowledge is that of which one can speak) in a discursive practice, and which is specified by the fact that: the domain constituted by the different objects that will or will not acquire a scientific status (the knowledge of psychiatry in the nineteenth century is not the sum of what was thought to be true, but the whole set of practices, singularities, and deviations of which one could speak in psychiatric discourse) (Foucault, 1972 p. 182).

In this case, knowledge is not a by-product of science. Bluntly put, knowledge cannot be premised on the presupposition that for one to have knowledge of the world they would have to be subjected to propositional checks and balances whose ideological foundation and superiority cannot be questioned as evident in Horsthemke (2004) and Sonkqayi (2020). Thus, knowledge as it is understood in this thesis goes beyond propositional statements which are, by the way, not self-evident. Consequently, one needs to have knowledge of them to have knowledge through them. For this reason, the thesis remains skeptical of the superiority and universalization of propositional knowledge which inwardly justifies itself by claiming to be self-evident. It is in light of the whys and wherefores that the thesis concurs with Foucault who is of the view that:

> knowledge is defined by the possibilities of use and appropriation offered by discourse (thus, the knowledge of political economy, in the Classical period, is not the thesis of the different theses sustained, but the totality of its points of articulation on other discourses or on other practices that are not discursive). There are bodies of knowledge that are independent of the sciences (which are neither their historical prototypes, nor their practical by-products), but there is no knowledge without a particular discursive practice; and any discursive practice may be defined by the knowledge that it forms (1972, p. 183).

In this case, the argument pursued by Horsthemke (2004; 2006; 2010) and Sonkqayi (2020) which reduces indigenous knowledge systems into a by-product of the so-called universal/propositional/theoretical/factual knowledge is incredulous since it is underpinned by the assumption that knowledge, as it is understood by different societies, can be traced to a particular widely acceptable point of origin. As a result, this leads to the presumption that indigenous knowledge can only exist as practical knowledge or a practical application of

universal knowledge. In fact, knowledge is dynamic and plural in its origin. Foucault (1972) correctly argues that "knowledge is to be found not only in demonstrations; it can also be found in fiction, reflection, narrative accounts, institutional regulations, and political decisions" (pp. 183-184). It follows from this conception of knowledge that the idea of plural knowledge, as it is embraced in the domain of postmodernism, is concomitant with the notion of decolonization which seeks to uplift those who were/are marginalized through varying forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Postmodernism allows for 'pluriversal epistemology of the future, which is an epistemology that delinks from the tyranny of abstract universals' (Mignolo 2007a: 159). As mentioned previously, just like postmodernism, decolonization stresses the priority of the social to the individual, which rejects the universalizing tendencies of philosophy, which prize irony over knowledge (Van de Walt, 2015). It is on this basis that the postmodernism paradigm will permit for the process of decolonization by 'ending the domination of Western epistemological traditions, histories, and figures' (Molefe, 2016: 32). This is purported by the notion that postmodernism is advocating for the acceptance of a plurality of views and knowledge as legitimate. Thus, allowing us to embrace diverse knowledge systems in the education systems envisaged in the process of decolonization. Fundamental to this view, is that knowledge in postmodernism should be accepted in equal measure. This is the epistemic openness that is harnessed by the process of decolonization. Likewise, postmodernism encourages the voices or different perspectives when generating knowledge. Hence, using this theoretical framework will ensure that different opinions can be voiced and should be recognized as legitimate in the history curriculum.

A diverse body of knowledge systems should be included in the history curriculum to ensure that the knowledge is relevant to the people who are taught in their respective local contexts. This is evident in the postmodernism standpoint which encourages that history should embrace demystification to open up a space of recognition of those whose voices are ignored and marginalized in history (Yilmaz, 2010). According to Windschuttle (2002), this will lead to freeing history from distortions and biases, as it will tell many equally legitimate stories from various perspectives. Postmodernism can be thus seen as "a radical reconstruction of history and knowledge production, demanding attention to a diversity of perspectives and priorities…" in the curriculum (Raghuram & Madge, 2006, p. 277). In the case of a history curriculum, this will

ensure that different histories of local people become part of the curriculum as opposed to having a history narrated only from a Euro-centric perspective. Hence, postmodernism encourages that history should be demystified so that it can allow those whose voices were ignored and marginalized to have an opportunity to write and learn about their historiographies (Yilmaz, 2010). It is observable from this contention that postmodernism allows for us to address the alienation of local histories which can be drawn from distinct perspectives.

4.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The thesis first engaged with the philosophical stance of positivism. It showed how the notion of positivism through its principles of objectivity undermines and negates others` knowledge systems in a diverse society. After demonstrating that positivism is not viable with the notions of decolonizing and fostering inclusivity in the history curriculum, the thesis engaged with the notion of epistemological realism. This philosophical stance argues that knowledge is universal. However, the thesis took a stance to dispute the notion that knowledge is universal as its main aim is to invalidate the existence of non-Western knowledge systems. Consequently, after a critical engagement with both positivism and epistemological realism the thesis chose to use postmodernism which opposes the aforesaid doctrines. The postmodernism doctrine addresses issues of exclusion and at the same time, it encourages a multitude of perspectives. Postmodernism convincingly addresses most of the issues raised in decolonization and inclusive education. The following chapter out to examines the type of paradigm(s) that was deployed in the study of history during the apartheid era. Furthermore, the chapter will also examine whether the paradigm(s) that were used during the apartheid era are still used in the post-apartheid history curriculum(s). Thereafter, develop a model that can best align with the teaching of history as a subject that embraces multiplicity.

CHAPTER FIVE: FROM A CRITICAL ACCOUNT OF THE IMPLICATION OF COLONIAL-APARTHEID HISTORY CURRICULUM TO A NEW REJOINDER

5.1. INTRODUCTION

It was noted in Chapter two and three that colonialism, coloniality, and apartheid affected and continue to affect every sphere of society, including the provision of education where patterns of marginalization and exclusion are perpetuated. The practices of exclusion and marginalization also found expression in terms of knowledge. It was therefore highlighted in the previous chapter that, the exclusion and marginalization of other social groups` knowledge systems are carried out through the imposition of principles of universalism and scientific verifications. It is with no doubt, that the history curriculum also became a victim of colonial- apartheid and coloniality and their processes of spreading prejudices and fostering exclusion. As a result, it is necessary to critically describe and analyze the nature of the history curriculum from its inception to the most recent curriculum. The thesis takes into cognizance that decolonization does not only necessitate the inclusion of different forms of knowledge but also requires casting some doubts on misrepresentations of the marginalized or oppressed groups as it will be shown in the chapter.

Magrini (2010) raises a significant point within the philosophy of the curriculum. She asserts that the knowledge valued in the curriculum is driven by a certain political ideology with its aim of shaping citizens into valuing some things over others. Similarly, in South Africa, the history curriculum has been tailored for a specific political ideology. According to Bertram (2006), the history curriculum is an antagonistic discipline that is used by the state to present a particular view. However, this does not imply that the history curriculum is devoid of criticality. It is based on this setting that this chapter aims to analyze history syllabuses/curriculums, mainly focusing on African history since it has been marginalized and excluded. The thesis will not only argue for the inclusion of African history which involves IKS, but it will also argue for the of inclusion other social groups` knowledge systems. Nevertheless, the focus on African history does not denote it exists in isolation from that of the world.

5.2. HISTORY CURRICULUM PRIOR 1994: KNOWLEDGE CONCERNS

5.2.1. HISTORY SYLLABUS AS A TOOL TO PROMOTE WESTERN DOCTRINES

In South Africa, the use of the history curriculum as a tool to promote Western doctrines can be traced as far back as the establishment of the 'Transvaal Education Department, syllabus for history standard 9-10 of 1967. The thesis deliberately chose to start with this analysis to show how the history curriculum since its inception has been utilized as a political-ideological tool by those who hold political power.

Components of the syllabus

- The syllabus begins with teaching 'the spread of nationalism and liberalism in Europe'. Within the causes of the French revolution, the syllabus states that ' a detailed knowledge of the course of the revolution is not required, but a study of the permanent achievements of the revolution in the political, economic and social spheres should be made'
- The learners were expected to learn about 'the rise of European nationalism…'
- It also fostered 'colonial policies followed by different European powers- social, economic and political philosophies'.
- On the South African history, the syllabus included inter alia:

a) Free Burghers

Establishment of a permanent white population in South Africa

b) Huguenots ;

Increase in population

Establishment of new towns and extension of boundaries.

Contribution to economic and cultural life of South Africa.

c) Trek Boers;

Expansion into the interior.

Establishment of new areas of local government,

Fore runners of Great Trek.

d) British Settlers

Economic, Political and social contribution.

Table: 5.1. Syllabus pointing out elements showing Western doctrines.

It is ostensible from Table 5.1 that the colonial-apartheid regime sought to first impart knowledge that focused on promoting Western culture. Hence, the syllabus begins with the teaching of European nationalism and liberalism. This affirms that the Western culture was taught as knowledge aimed at expanding Europeans` control and power through creating an impression that the Europeans came to Africa to civilize her people. To ensure that the control takes place, the colonial-apartheid regime taught knowledge that focused on the social, political, and economic ways of the Europeans. This was a way of cultivating colonialism. This is because the knowledge taught was one that aimed at changing the social, political, and cultural practices of the native people (Rehman, 2008 & Maluleka, 2018). In this case, as explained in Chapter Two, the life of those who are colonized became determined by those who imposed the colonial practices (Osterchammel, cited from Sommer, 2011). This eventually led to the devaluing and destruction of the natives` socio-economic and political practices (Shay, 2016 & Silowe, 2020). The Western ways of life were presented in the syllabus as scientific discoveries which are meant to be learned by everyone. This presumed that the Western knowledge regarding ways of living was considered to be objective; implying that it met the criteria to be taught as the absolute truth envisaged by the positivism doctrine. This infers that the colonial-apartheid regime ignored that people have different, multiple ways of knowing and doing as shown in the previous chapter.

Further, the European nationalism and liberalism knowledge was presented in the syllabus as a civilization program. Hence, topics such as the 'establishment of new areas of local government' and 'contribution to the economic and cultural life of South Africa' were stressed in the teaching of history. These topics were presented in ways that suggested that Africans were thought to be

incapable of rational thinking, thus there was a need to civilize their ways of living by the Westerns. This is congruent with the notion that racism and prejudices carried out by the Western gaze have been entrenched in the curriculum. This view was buttressed by Sardar (2008) where he argued that the western civilization and culture currere have resulted in the continuity of colonial racism. For Sardar (2008), the elements of this racism are found in knowledge and maintained through the curriculum.

It is explicit that the destruction of the South African natives` ways of knowing and doing took place because Western knowledge was offered as the only true universal knowledge. This was amplified by Heleta (2016) who postulated that "one of the most destructive effects of colonialism was the subjugation of local knowledge and promotion of the Western knowledge as the universal knowledge" (p.9). In clarifying this view, the indigenous people`s ways of knowing and doing (i.e., social, political, and economic structures) were subjugated in favor of Western ways which were deemed to be 'universal'. In other words, the Westerners used their hegemony to position their Eurocentric ways of knowing and doing as universal while localizing other forms of thought as, at best, 'folklore' (Sithole, 2018). This insinuates that the native ways of knowing and doing were marginalized and side-lined with the disputation which assumes that non-Western knowledge (which is considered particularistic), cannot achieve universality (Grosfoguel, 2007). Western knowledge turned a blind eye to the notion that their knowledge systems are also particularistic. This is because Western knowledge is also situated in a geographical context, just like any other knowledge system (see Grosfoguel, 2007 & Mignolo, 2009).

5.2.2. ELEMENTS OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES IN THE SYLLABUS

It is evident in Table 5.1 that the history syllabus in the 1960s was used as a political tool to perpetuate party political propaganda and ideology. In the syllabus, there is a part which states that 'the causes of the French revolution should be omitted and only teach about the permanent achievements of the French revolution'. The omission of the 'causes of the French revolution' is a demonstration that the apartheid regime used its political power to choose the knowledge that would suit their political narrative. The exclusion of this knowledge could be owing to the view that the apartheid regime did not want to expose the shortcomings of the Europeans` socio-

economic and political systems or structures. This was a way of imposing the 'hegemonic' Western canon (see Heleta, 2016). Hence, it was emphasized that only 'permanent achievements of the French revolution' should be taught. This was done to retain a positive image of European nationalism. This signifies that political symbolism was a discernible and viable tool during the apartheid era. According to Christie (1988), the teaching of the Christian doctrine in the history syllabus as a universal thought made it possible for the apartheid regime to foster its political agenda.

The use of the Christian doctrine was intended to lead towards the epistemicide of the African subject while promoting European cultures. The Christian doctrine was strongly used to promote Afrikaner nationalism (Tamarkin, 2020), at the expense of the Africans` nationalism. Hence, the African cultures were considered to be ''backward' which required "the colonizer to intervene and save the colonized from the abyss of many 'lacks' and 'deficits' that bedevil him and his lot" (Mpofu, 2013, p.110). The main motive with the Christian doctrine in the history syllabus was not just to distort and destroy the African cultures; it was also meant to impart values and principles that align with the workforce expectations such as respect and punctuality. Biblical verses such as Ephesians 6:5 ESV/11 which stipulates that 'Slaves, obey your earthly masters with fear and trembling, with a sincere heart, as you would obey Christ' could have been emphasized in the teaching of history as part of enhancing the Afrikaner nationalism. This was directed at ensuring that the natives do not question authority at the workplace, the same way they would not question Christ. This is what Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986) referred to as mental slavery or control imposed by colonialism. In the same vein, he asserted that colonialism`s "most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonized, the control, through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world. Economic and political control can never be complete or effective without mental control" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1986, p.16).

The colonial-apartheid architectures were conscious that to control the indigenous population, they had to first colonize their minds. Consequently, the Christian doctrine in the history syllabus was designed to prepare the natives` conformity to prudent Christian and European values. This affirms that indeed the colonial education aimed at training the natives for semi-skilled work which would assist the Westerns to exploit Africa`s rich resources (see Ocheni & Nwankwo,

2012). Speaking of the knowledge that should be taught to the natives, Sir George Grey, governor of the Cape in 1855 expressed that:

> If we leave the natives beyond our border ignorant barbarians, they will remain a race of troublesome marauders. We should try to make them a part of ourselves, with a common faith and common interests, useful servants, consumers of our goods, contributors to our revenue (Msila, 2007, p.148).

As a result, Sir George Grey, then proposed that they,

> make unremitting efforts to raise the natives in Christianity and civilization, by establishing among them missions connected with industrial schools. The native races beyond our boundary, influenced by our missionaries, instructed in our schools, benefiting by our trade would not make wars on our frontiers (Msila, 2007, p.148).

The expression made by Sir George Grey shows that the history curriculum has indeed selected knowledge systems that would serve the interests of the Westerns, who held political power. This also shows that the selected knowledge in the history curriculum was driven by a political ideology with its aim of shaping the citizens into valuing Western knowledge. In addition, the Christian doctrine further created patterns of exclusion through its heterosexual or sexually inane narratives. This is because the Christian philosophies were also used to construct a learner that was unquestionable of heterosexual or sexually inane. This was a narrow definition of gender that stripped people of their dignity and right to expression (Zulu, 2020). Although there is little work done on heterosexism in apartheid schooling (see Carrim, 1998), the history curriculum was not devoid of being used as a political tool to condemn homosexuality. The condemnation could have been justified and drawn from biblical verses like 'Sodom and Gomorrah' (Genesis 19:1–11), Levitical laws condemning same-sex relationships (Leviticus 18:22, 20:13)'. The condemnation could have been justified further through the positivist doctrine which states that, there is no scientific bearing evidence supporting same-sex relationships or that for example a person can be born as 'a gay or a lesbian'. This insinuates that those who held political power at the time ignored the notion that sexual orientation goes beyond the male and female gender, as it involves the LGBTQIA+ community. Hence, gay, and lesbian experiences under apartheid schooling remained silenced and invisibilized (Carrim, 1998). It is clear that the ideologies of Afrikaner nationalism were strongly influenced by the Christian doctrine.

5.2.3. PERPETUATING 'OTHERING' AND INFERIORIZATION THROUGH THE SYLLABUS

Components of the syllabus
The African history of the indigenous population 1. Indigenous population (Bushmen, Ovambo, Herero) 2. Problems of the national convention: Bantu and coloured franchise. 3. The Southern Bantu as part of the African Bantu.

Table 5.2. Extract from the Transvaal Education Department, syllabus for history standard 9-10 of 1967.

In this thesis, Mpofu (2013) raised that the colonizer manufacture accusations and labels against the colonized, among many of the accusations, are—laziness, drunkenness, backwardness, a propensity to violence, and use of derogatory labels. What Mpofu raised is evident in Table 5.2 where the natives are referred to as 'Bushmen'. The use of such names was problematic as they are pejorative. The names that natives are uncivilized, backward, lazy, savage, or primitive were meant to undermine the existence of Africans. These concepts were used to undermine the existence of the natives and to create a negative history of Africans. This was a way of ascribing an inferior identity to the natives. Due to the inferior connotations attached to their ethnic and cultural identities, as Freire (1970) warned, the colonized might develop a desire to rid themselves of such inferiorities and to emulate the colonizer. This happened as the colonized began to act like the colonizer as evident in the story of Princess Krotoa who became the first native to convert to Christianity in Sothern Africa. However, it is noteworthy that it could have been her choice to convert to Christianity. Nevertheless, Molteno (1984) raised that the teaching of such knowledge in history was a syllabus meant to prepare the Africans for an inferior type of citizenship. Therefore, it was likely that indigenous people like Princess Krotoa converts to religions that were deemed to be civilized.

5.2.4. MYTHS OF AFRICA AS A DARK CONTINENT AND SUBJECTIVITY IN HISTORY

The myths of Africa are well constructed and exposed in the history of Shaka Zulu[29] who was described as a monster and a felon in the colonial historiography. *The Timelines history textbook of 1985*[30], asserts that:

[29] Shaka Zulu was born in 1787 and he in died Sept. 22, 1828, he was a Zulu chief (1816–28) who is today known to be the founder of Southern Africa's Zulu Empire. He is credited with creating a fighting force that devastated the entire region. His life is the subject of numerous colorful and exaggerated stories, many of which are debated by historians (Wright 2006a & Maluleka, 2018).

> Shaka Zulu`s destructive wars started a terrible chain-reaction of killing. Wherever the remnants of these tribes fled, into the Transvaal highveld, Lesotho, the Orange Free State and beyond the southern boundary of Natal, they in turn attacked and destroyed all the Black tribes in their path so that a buffer zone was created between themselves and the power and cruelty of Shaka and his Zulu impis (p.66).

This infers that Shaka Zulu encouraged hostility amongst the native societies. Concurrently, maintaining a view that the colonial settlers were peaceful and creating an impression that they never started and engaged in any war with the natives. It is clear that a multiplicity of perspectives was not taken into consideration when writing about the history of Shaka Zulu and the indigenous people. Thus, "drawing on several perspectives, as in the synthesis of elements from more than one cultural tradition" (Leicester, 2000, p. 74) was not considered. Hence, there was only a one-sided view of the story told. Nonetheless, the colonial authors who wrote the *Timelines history textbook of 1985* did not consider the fact the colonial settlers were also responsible for the destructiveness that took place in the native societies (i.e., The Cape Frontiers Wars). The colonizer's settlement in Southern Africa was established through colonialism which denotes ferocious invasion. However, this does not mean that the natives did not instigate any wars against each other. It simply suggests that multiple perspectives should be considered when giving a historical account.

The genuine stories of the natives and their great leaders were barely told in a manner that does not distort their existence. Steve Biko amplifies that:

> Great nation builders such as King Shaka are portrayed as cruel tyrants who frequently attacked smaller tribes for no reason but for some sadistic purposes… If we as blacks want to aid each other in our coming into consciousness, we have to rewrite our history…we have to destroy the myth that our history starts in 1652, the year Van Riebeeck landed at the Cape (History news, March 1983, n.p).

In other words, Shaka Zulu was characterized as a villain, despotic, merciless, bloodthirsty, tyrant, dictator, despoiler, satanic mass murderer, aggressive, brutal militarian, sexually perverse destroyer, primitive savage, and barbarian (Wright, 2004; Mvenene, 2014 & Maluleka, 2018). Recently, there are attempts to reconstruct the image of Shaka Zulu as a nation builder and hero (see Wright 2006a & Maluleka, 2018). It is indisputable that the image of Shaka Zulu was over-blemished and negatively exaggerated. It is however regrettable that the thesis rejects the view that Shaka Zulu was a nation builder as postulated by Steve Biko. We should not fall prey to the

[30] Timelines, the book was written in 1985 by six Afrikaner writers, Vlok, van Wyk, Kreuser, F P J Smit and G J Smit. – History for standard 8 – Syllabus, second edition, (Maskew Miller Longman, Cape town 1985).

shambles of sanitizing history (writing history willy-nilly) as a reactionary response to reverse the colonial negative constructs of Africa and her people at the expense of truth.

Equally so, the view that Shaka Zulu was a nation builder is just a myth created to elevate Zulu nationalism. Lest we forget, the disorder which took place in Southern African societies cannot be discussed in isolation of the role Shaka Zulu played. The battles that he fought against the colonial settlers were not in the best interest of the natives but rather to protect the interest of the Zulu nation. Otherwise, during his tenure, there would have been not any wars that took place between the Zulu tribe and other tribes. It must be noted that the process of Africanisation as a way of revamping the African identity and history should not entail sanitizing of history.

One must further take note that most of the colonial accounts about Shaka Zulu were derived from two contemporaneous historical published diaries of two Englishmen namely Fynn[31] and Isaacs[32] (Maluleka, 2018). The two Englishmen are one of the first settlers to would have interacted with the Zulu kingdom but because of their immoral behavior and devious disposition, the kingdom expelled them from their 'territories'. As a result, both Fynn and Isaacs could have grown antipathies against the Zulu kingdoms (Du Buisson, 1974). Hence, in a letter to Fynn written by Isaacs, it was revealed that Isaacs already had plans to show how 'treacherous' the Zulu Kings were (Du Buisson, 1974). In an extract of the letter, Isaacs said that:

> make them (the Zulu kings) out as blood thirsty as you can, Isaacs advises, and endeavor to give an estimate of the number of people they have murdered during their reign, and also describe the frivolous crimes people lose their lives for (Du Buisson, cited in van den Heever, 1987, pp. 13/14).

It is not surprising that most of the negative and savage propensities of Shaka Zulu and the Zulu kingdom were derived from the biased Englishmen who were promoting their agendas against the Zulu kingdom. The apartheid regime then saw this as an opportunity to perpetuate a one-faced history of Africa and her people. Nevertheless, there is evidence showing that:

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[31] Henry Francis Fynn (29 March 1803 in Grosvenor Square, London, England – 20 September 1861 in Durban, Natal, South Africa) was an English traveller and trader. His diary covers the period from 1824 to 1836 and is the story of the first white settler in Natal who had reached an agreement with the Zulu by befriending Shaka Zulu, who gave him the strip of land in which the town of Durban was situated. His diary provides a contemporary account of Shaka and the kingdom of the Zulu in South Africa (Wright 2006a & Maluleka, 2018)

[32] Nathaniel Isaacs (1808–1872) was an English adventurer who played a part in the history of Natal, South Africa. He wrote a book spread over two volumes (whose accuracy is now disputed) called Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa (Wright 2006a & Maluleka, 2018).

> the Zulu kings treated the Whites with the greatest of courtesy. They gave them all the ivory they had and sent their soldiers out to hunt for more. They gave them enormous grants of land, thousands of head of cattle, and they elevated them to a position in society to which they could never aspire in the land of their birth. Yet when Fynn and Isaacs made it into print, they did such a thorough job of character assassination on the Zulu kings that it has dominated the world's perception of the Zulu people to this day (Cited in van den Heever, 1987, p. 14)

Despite this evidence, the apartheid regime failed to acknowledge the Ubuntu (harmony and hospitality, and respect) showed by the natives towards the colonial settlers. This affirms that the practice of Ubuntu is non-racial as people of other cultures were accommodated. This view further submits that "unlike Confucian or European philosophies, Ubuntu transcends both race and culture" (Makgoba as cited in Enslin & Horsthemke, 2004, p. 24). The provision of one-faced history ties with 'the danger of a single story' which was brought to the fore by the renowned Nigerian novelist, Chimamanda Adichie, when speaking in a TED Talk in 2009. She recounts how:

> at a young age, European literature was the only literature she was exposed to – which informed the stories she authored at the time. Later in her life she was introduced to African literature, and that is when she realized that she was only exposed to single stories of Africa (Maluleka, 2018, p. 28).

Her inference was that,

> a single story becomes dangerous because it creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. When we hear the same story repeatedly, it becomes the only story we ever believe. This stands especially true for the story of Africa. A single story of Africa exists in the West and Europe, and it is negative (Maluleka, 2018, p. 28).

This stands to be true as the apartheid regime used the history syllabus as an instrument of perpetuating propaganda that was used to justify a particular interpretation of the past, namely, that of the Afrikaner nationalists, and the result was history education that focused on an exclusive group (Nussey, 2018). This goes hand in hand with the relegation, marginalization, and exclusion of African knowledge systems and their experiences. This repression could be owing to the view that African knowledge and propositions do not have the status of rationality.

5.2.5. JUSTIFYING OF LAND THEFT THROUGH THE HISTORY SYLLABUS AND TEXTBOOKS

Shaka Zulu also forms a part of the discussion on the land question as he was described by George McCall Theal[33] as the sole cause of the Mfecane[34] debacle. Maluleka (2018) is of the view that the sole description of Shaka Zulu as an instigator of the Mfecane belligerence is to justify the 'empty land myth'. George McCall Theal claimed that Southern Africa was an empty land before the arrival of white people. He further claimed that the Bantu-speaking Africans were nomads (Babrow, 1962). These perspectives were later adopted by the apartheid regime in the history syllabus and textbooks (i.e., The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races, 1866'). The adoption of this myth is nothing short of the legitimization of the colonial settlers` land theft. A similar view of legitimizing land theft was also expressed in the Joubert and Britz history textbook of 1975. The textbook divulges that the turbulence of Mfecane was caused by black inter-tribal warfare, leaving vast stretches of land open to Boer, British, and Portuguese trekkers, and settlers (Hamilton, 1995; Richner, 2005 & Maluleka, 2018).

However, disputes are contending that violence that characterized Mfecane resulted from increasing inequalities within and between societies and from various environmental crises (see Eldredge, 1992 & Wright, 1995). W. C. Holden one of the early writers on South African history also gave a warped account of the land question, arguing that Europeans and the Bantu tribes had entered South Africa at roughly the same time and that up until that point South Africa had mostly been an 'empty land'. This was misleading information as there is a vast of research showing that the San33 and Khoe natives have been occupying most of the areas (i.e., the Cape) where the colonial settlers arrived at. A book written by Patric Tariq Mallet titled '*The Lie Of 1652_a Decolonised History of Land*' published in 2020 demonstrates archaeological evidence (i.e., proof that the San and Khoe were occupying some of the areas in Southern Africa) disputing the fabrications advanced above.

[33] George McCall Theal (1837–1919) was an Imperial Historian known as 'Colonial Nationalist'. His career as a historian began with the publication of his Compendium of South African History and Geography in 1873 following his return to teaching (Schreuder, 1986). Given that Theal was an Imperial historian, one can infer that he wrote extensive compendiums on the 'myths' of Southern African history. For instance, in 1886 he published a book titled 'Kaffir Folk-lore' a book narrating about traditional tales. The tittle of the book itself is derogatory as it used the word 'kaffir' to refer to the Bantu populace. It is such instances that compel one to infer that, his compendiums were biased, pejorative and contained myths or fabrications about the Bantus (Wright 2006a & Maluleka, 2018).

[34] The Mfecane concept was used to describe the period of mass migrations, cannibalism, upheavals, famine, state-building, and killings in Southern Africa (Maluleka, 2018). The concept 'Mfecane' in translation, it means 'the crushing' (Cobbing, 1984). Taken into application, implying the crushing of societies in Southern Africa.

The apartheid regime did not bring to the fore in the syllabus that the natives lost their land as a result of the Natives Land Act, which saw the formalization of land dispossession. Instead, it perpetuated the empty land myth. This land act marked the beginning of many sufferings for the natives. Sol Plaatjie[35] put it simply and starkly when he said: 'awakening on Friday morning, June 20, 1913, the South African native found himself, not a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth' (Mellet, 2020, p.276). It is this knowledge which the apartheid regime concealed by not making it part of the history curriculum. The driving impetus for this could have been that the colonial settlers always felt threatened and therefore had to protect themselves from 'the others'; and that South Africa rightfully belonged to colonial settlers. This protection was done through the propagation of the land myths in the history syllabus. This was a form of indoctrination that was meant to instil the mentality that South Africa was exclusively reserved for the white populace. Hence, the same attitude was spread through the '*Legacy of the past*' history textbook of 1966. For example, there is a chapter in the textbook titled 'the Basotho problem[36]', contending that Basotho caused a lot of problems and trespassed on Orange Free State territory. This is explicit in the following extract from the textbook:

> although the Basotho had gained an extension of territory, they continued to plunder the frontier farms…The Basotho continued to encroach on Free State territory, and so in 1865 President Brand called out the commandos… The Basotho were driven back and the siege of Thaba Bosiou began. It was during an attack on the Basotho stronghold that Louw Wepener, the heroic Boer commandant, was killed. The Boers gained extensive territory, and Moshoeshoe sought peace merely in order to gain time, as appeared later (p.82).

This view is about the domination of Western epistemological traditions, which in this case was done through the distortion and degradation of the Basotho history. The intention was to expand the narrative that the natives do not belong in the land of Africa. Thus, ensure their exclusion from participating in the country`s activities such as decision making and voting for a government of their choice. Words such as 'encroaching' were used in the textbook to imply that the natives were intruding on land that belonged to the colonial settlers, whereas in fact, it was the colonial settlers who intruded on the shores of Africa.

[35] Sol Plaatje was a founder member and first General Secretary of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), which later became known as the African National Congress (ANC).

[36] The Basotho were a group of people who lived by the Orange River, near the young republic of the Orange Free State (Boyce,). The Basotho was under the protection of Moshoeshoe, a powerful tribe leader with contacts with the British. "Moshoeshoe gathered all the remnant tribes which had fled to the mountains of Basutoland (present day Lesotho) (Thaba Bosiu – The Mountain of night) under his wing and welded them into a powerful nation" (Agaján, 2000, p.21).

According to Rehman (2008), this historical knowledge was used to legitimize the presence of the white people and on the other hand, to question the presence of the Basotho who was, in fact, the legitimate people of Southern Africa at that particular time. With the recent land question debates, similar views are resurfacing from right-wing organizations such as AfriForum and FreedomFront Plus who are against the notion of returning the land to the black people[37]. These right-wing organizations contend that the land belongs to the San and Khoe people, implying that the 'Bantu' do not belong in Southern Africa. This view is based upon the fact that upon their arrival, the colonial settlers first interacted with the San and Khoe people who occupied the Cape 'territories'. Nevertheless, these were not the only inhabitants.

This view that Southern Africa originally belongs to the San and Khoe inhabitants is absurd because firstly, the San and Khoe people were not the only inhabitants of present-day South Africa at the time of conquest and secondly, the San/Khoe are black people, implying that, the land belongs to the black people in any case. This ignorance is owing to the view argued in Chapter One that traditional sources of history have left out the voices, experiences, and stories of groups of people, creating a 'feel good' version of history that diminishes the issues of inequality, inequity, and race, ultimately reinforcing the view that racism was an issue of the past. Nevertheless, this arrogance is used by the right-wing organisations to oppose the call to 'expropriate land without compensation'.

For Mellet (2020) this call to 'expropriate land without compensation' popularly expressed by political parties may well be bizarre. This is because the wording of the skewed phrase creates a perverse scenario where the colonialist is presented as a victim whose land is being expropriated without compensation (Mellet, 2020). This provides the false impression that colonial descendants have a right to the land in the first place and that no crime on the part of their forebears occurred (Mellet, 2020). The reality is that it was the colonial settlers who expropriated land from the Africans without compensation, and the real victims are seeking restorative justice to return land which was unjustly and brutally stolen from the indigenous people, who are the original owners (Mellet, 2020). This is the type of knowledge that should form part of the history

[37] The thesis does not practically imply that the land should be exclusively returned back to the Blacks because we now live in a diverse society compromising of four racial groups. Therefore, the land should be shared amongst all the four racial groups of South Africa. Nevertheless, the statement/sentence is directed at advancing a particular argument.

curriculum to show that historical discourses are complex and needs to be drawn from different or multiple perspectives.

5.2.6. A RETORT OF THE WESTERN AND APARTHEID PROPAGANDA

Africa has been described as a 'dark continent' (Ogot, 2009), whose history only began with the arrival of white people. This implies that the indigenous people did not have a history before the advent of colonial settlers. It is not surprising that the apartheid history syllabus starts by covering European history and also focuses more on Afrikaner history, reinforcing the notion that before the arrival of colonial settlers Africa had no history. Hence:

> the history of South Africa was believed to have started in 1652, when the White settlers arrived at the Cape of Good Hope. Education planners and the missionaries of the time undermined the historiography of Black people and regarded it as heathen. The history that was taught at Lemana, just like any other missionary institution, was characterized by elements of superiority and subordination (Seroto, 1999, p.69).

The above extract reflects the connotation of modes of thought emerging from the so-called rationality. This perspective assumes that rational knowledge can only come from the so-called Western scientific ways of thinking. In other words, the colonial settlers characterized societies in terms of a single (Western) mode of thought (Ogot, 2009). Hence, African history was said to be 'heathen' implying that it is irrational. The colonial settlers turned a blind eye to the notion that societies can have multiple rational realities. It was further propagated that; history only begins with writing and the indigenous people did not have any forms of written history. What stems from this narrow-minded observation is the view that the colonial settlers went as far as coining fabrications as a way of destroying the African subject. Notwithstanding, Africans did preserve their histories through writing. A clear example is the '*Nubian stone tablets*[38]' discovered in the 'city of the dead'. See figure: 5 below,

[38] The discovery was made at site of Sedeinga, located on the western shore of the Nile River in Sudan, about 60 miles (100 kilometres) north of the river's third 'cataract,' or set of shallows (Choi, 2018).

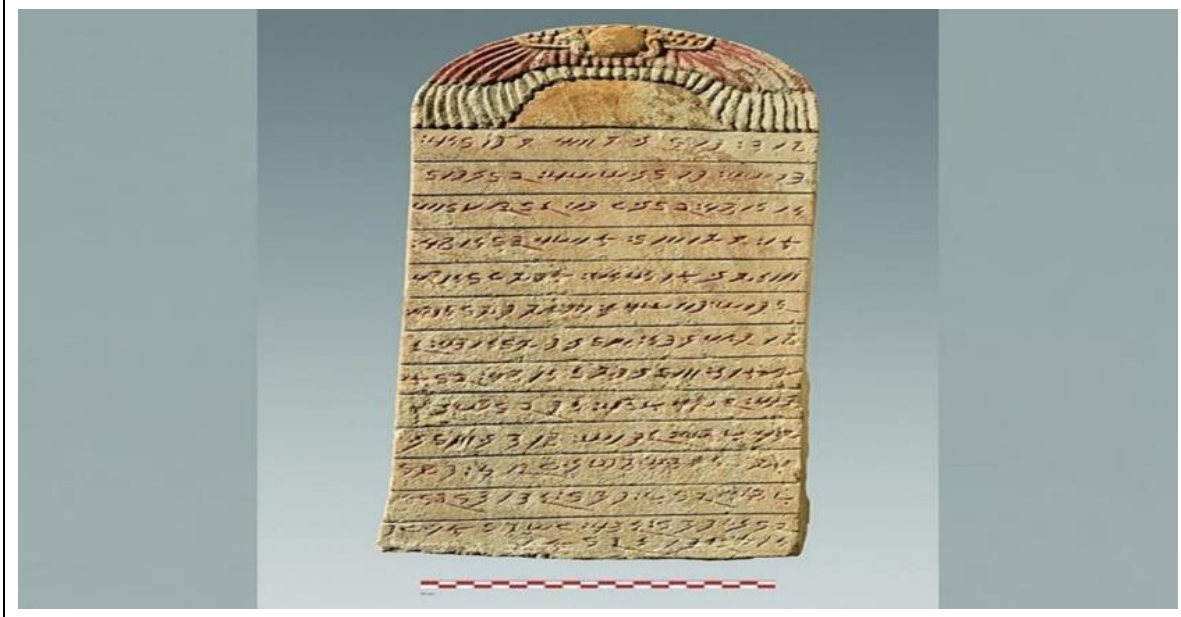


Figure 4: A Nubian stone tablet taken from Vincent Francigny/Sedeinga archaeological mission.

The stones contained historical accounts of our existence as the Africans dating back to 2, 700 years ago. With regard to the above one, the inscription reveals a tale that is funerary in its nature. In an interview, one of the archaeologists revealed that "every text tells a story — the name of the deceased and both parents, with their occupations sometimes; their career in the administration of the kingdom, including place names; their relation to extended family with prestigious titles," (Rilly & Vincent, 2018, n.p). Furthermore, Rilly and Vincent (2018) suggest that from these writings "we can, for example, locate new places, or guess their possible locations, or learn about the structure of the religious and royal administration in the provinces of the kingdom" (n.p). This affirms that the African subject has been constructed and disseminated through (mostly negative) images and theories by Europeans (Ogot, 2009). Africans have a vast history that spans from the case of *Bokoni*[39] to the case of Mapungubwe[40]. This history was silenced and subordinated because the colonial settlers used a canon that singularized knowledge through universalism. These ties with the notion of *Orientalism* which was coined and conducted by Edward Said in 1978, in his seminal book Orientalism (see Said, 1978).

[39] The case of Bokoni shows "terraced settlements [which] represent a significant example of agricultural innovation and one that was unique in pre-colonial South Africa" (Delius, Maggs & Schoeman, 2012, p. 409).

[40] The case of Mapungubwe proves "that the pre-colonial state engaged in things such as trading with the Arabs, China and India…" (Sonkqayi, 2020, p.133).

5.3. POST-COLONIAL-APARTHEID HISTORY CURRICULUM: KNOWLEDGE CONCERNS

5.3.1. NATURE OF EPISTEMOLOGY IN CURRICULUM 2005 (C2005)

With the demise of the apartheid system, the first democratic government was faced with the challenge of deciding what to teach the diverse student populace of South Africa. While ensuring that the historical injustices are corrected such as recognizing the history of LGBTQIA+ and women who have faced the axe during the apartheid era; and the inclusion of IKS which has been distorted, undermined, silenced, and trashed by the colonial-apartheid system. It also had to accentuate the African- oriented history as a way of refurbishing the African subject (i.e., ways of knowing and being) that has been disregarded. The study of history in C2005 was integrated with other subjects under the study Human and Social Sciences Learning Area (DoE, 1997). History as a subject that has existed as a solitary subject during the colonial- apartheid epoch was then silenced in C2005. Sieborger (2000) inferred that the amalgamation of the history subject with other subjects in C2005 was a guise to deny and conceal what occurred in the past from being reviewed and reinterpreted. This reveals what Quijano (2000a) called coloniality of power, to imply that social and political hierarchies of colonialism continue to exist though it has ended. This is because most of the people (the bureaucrats) who were working under the apartheid regime were part of the curriculum reform. This is confirmed by the following:

> adoption of an integrated approach to education, especially concerning history in post-apartheid South Africa, was not solely made on pedagogical grounds. It might have been influenced by political influences, given the fact that the curriculum was designed mostly by bureaucrats, the majority of whom had worked in the previous political dispensation and had been responsible for designing the old curricula under apartheid that were criticized as being biased against the majority of the South African population (Ebot, 2008, n.p).

It is clear that, through coloniality of power, the bureaucrats managed to perpetuate their political agendas as was the case during the apartheid era. Thus, it follows then that the bureaucrats who designed the integrated curriculum intended to destroy and bury their obnoxious past, characterized by racism, injustices, and brutality. Not surprisingly, knowledge about the apartheid events was not covered in a manner that deserved to be covered in the curriculum. This is what Mignolo (2009) warned us about when speaking of coloniality of knowledge.

As evident in C2005, the bureaucrats attempted to conceal and silence the atrocities committed by the apartheid regime. This shows that even after the dispensation of democracy in South Africa, the history curriculum continued to reflect the story of the colonizers and elites. This is amplified by Bertram (2009) who cites Kros to argue that little fundamental change was done in the teaching of history to move away from the first nationalist history syllabus of the colonialists and Afrikaners. This is because the history curriculum which was integrated with other learning areas was not devised from a pluriversity of perspectives. Hence, the knowledge of apartheid only reflected a one-sided point of view concerning the events that transpired at the time of apartheid. Before commencing to the other curriculums, it must be acknowledged that the Social Sciences curriculum, on the face of it, what is prescribed for the study of history looks very different from an old apartheid curriculum. For example, it includes pre-colonial history, the Bhambatha rebellion, the 1913 Land Act. But the issue is that the curriculum/the way it is taught does not allow for an exploration of and understanding of African sources.

5.3.2. REVISED NATIONAL CURRICULUM STATEMENT (RNCS): NATURE OF KNOWLEDGE

After several concerns were raised with the integration of history with other learning areas, the department of basic education decided to afford history a solitary existence in the RNCS. Following "the restoration of history in the school curriculum in South Africa, in the revised National Curriculum Statement, which was approved by The South African Cabinet in April 2002, history was given a status of its own within the social sciences and was made compulsory from Grade R-9 and an optional status at the FET level" (Ebot, 2008, p.58). With this curriculum, the DoE wanted to re-introduce the human rights, social and environmental justice approach (DoE 2000a, 2000b & 2000c). This is evident in the aims of the history curriculum where it states that through history, it intends to:

> heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice, and fundamental human rights" and also "at contributing to the development of informed, critical, and responsible citizens who are able to participate constructively in a culturally diverse and changing society. That also equips learners to contribute to the development of a just and democratic society

What was problematic about this approach is that the social justice model that meant to address the plights faced by the people who have been historically marginalized still occurred. For example, the historical discourses of women and the LGBTQIA+ community were not a part of

the curriculum. Just like the apartheid history syllabus, the histories were organized around the perspectives, experiences, and triumphs of 'men'. This patriarchal dominance of 'men' in the history curriculum shows that a multiplicity of perspectives or histories that reflects a balanced 'sexual orientation' was snubbed. As mentioned earlier, social justice or human rights cannot be fully achieved without diversifying the knowledge in the curriculum and this applies to the history curriculum as well. It is therefore perceptible that they dominate politics and the culture of 'men' reflected' in the RNCS has undermined the potential to rectify the past injustices. This repression of women and the LGBTQIA+ community`s historical knowledge in the history curriculum can be associated with the notion of universalism. In this case, the notion of universalism expressed itself in a manner that demonstrated that the only true knowledge reflects the realities and histories of 'men'.

Although African history is covered in the Social Sciences curriculum (i.e., early civilizations, early African cities, organization of African societies, and Xenophobia), it was not addressed in a manner that would ease social ills such as xenophobia which continues to happen in South Africa. The persistence of the barbaric practices of xenophobia can be in part alluded to the fact that African history in the curriculum was disintegrated. This is because it did not stress the importance that all Africans in the diaspora played to help each other fight against colonial practices. Should it have been the case, where South Africans were exposed to historical knowledge outlining and stressing the role played by other African countries in the fight against the apartheid system, it is unlikely that South Africa be experiencing the constant spike in terms of xenophobic attacks. This point to a lack of emphasis on Ubuntu in the curriculum. This phenomenon of Ubuntu could have harnessed principles of care and community, harmony and hospitality, respect and responsiveness that express the fundamental interconnectedness of Africans, thereby educating South Africans against engaging in inhuman acts and instead start viewing other African people and foreigners in a humane way. Nevertheless, the xenophobic upsurges are evident in the following graph:

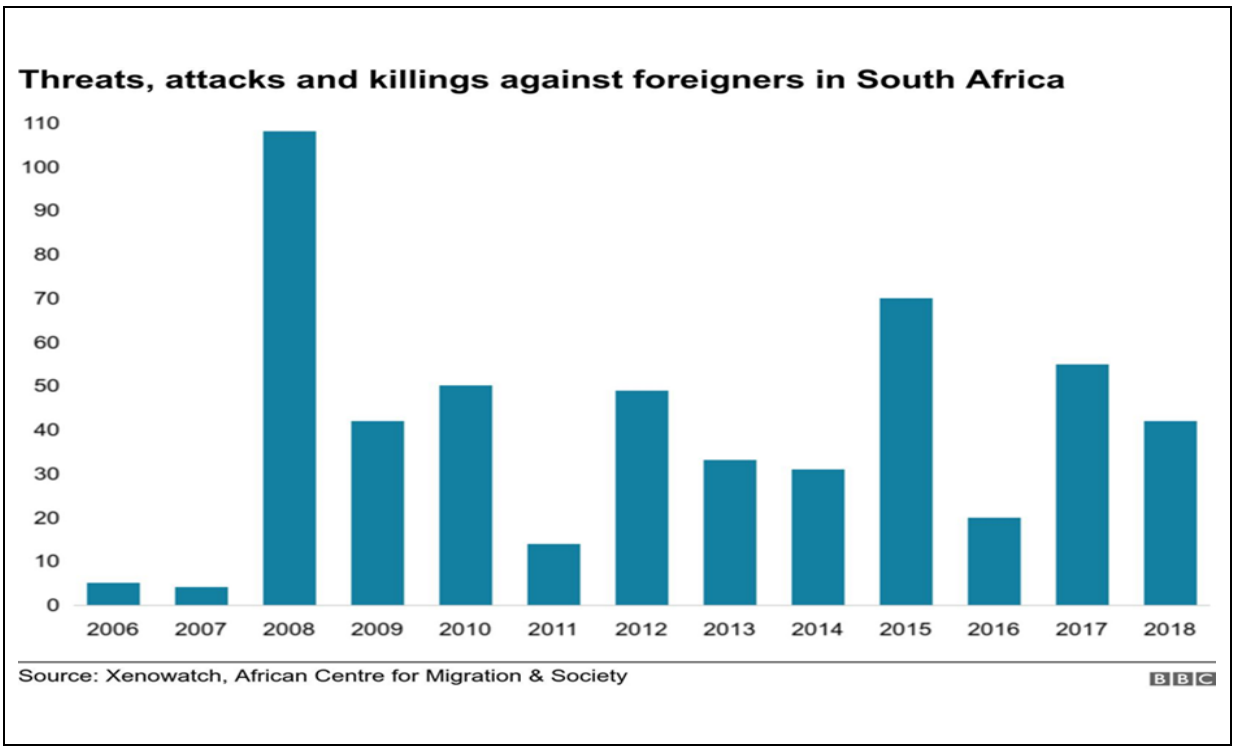


Figure 5: A graph showing xenophobic acts between 2006 and 2018 in South Africa.

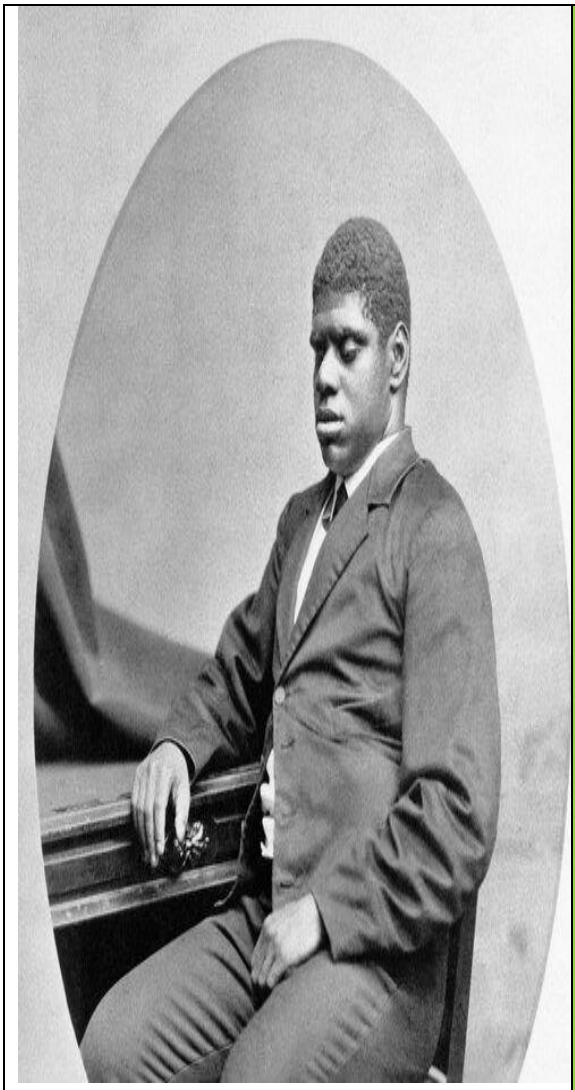
What can be deduced from the above graph is that the xenophobic attacks are routine and lethal as several people die, some are being left wounded and others living in fear. It is also evident that despite the curriculum encouraging the teaching of knowledge which encompasses xenophobia, South Africans repeatedly committed the crime of attacking African nationals and other foreign nationals. This behavior perpetually occurs because the xenophobic attacks were not problematized as inhumane acts that should not be committed by any conscious human beings. As already mentioned, what seems to be conspicuous is that attention to knowledge about the role played by other African countries during the fight against the apartheid regime was either not emphasized or little emphasized.

Knowledge was also seen as a construction in the RNCS. This is evident in the Social Science curriculum where it is specified that "the rich heritage of indigenous knowledge found within the diverse/multicultural society we live in has worth and must be emphasized" (DoE, 2003d, p. 22). It further specified that "this learning area emphasizes the construction of knowledge by encouraging learners to ask questions and to find answers about society and the environment in which they live, at the same time developing the principle of social justice" (DoE, 2003d, p. 22). Openly put, acknowledging that knowledge is a result of human construction permitted the use of different knowledge systems sourced from different geographical settings. For example, the

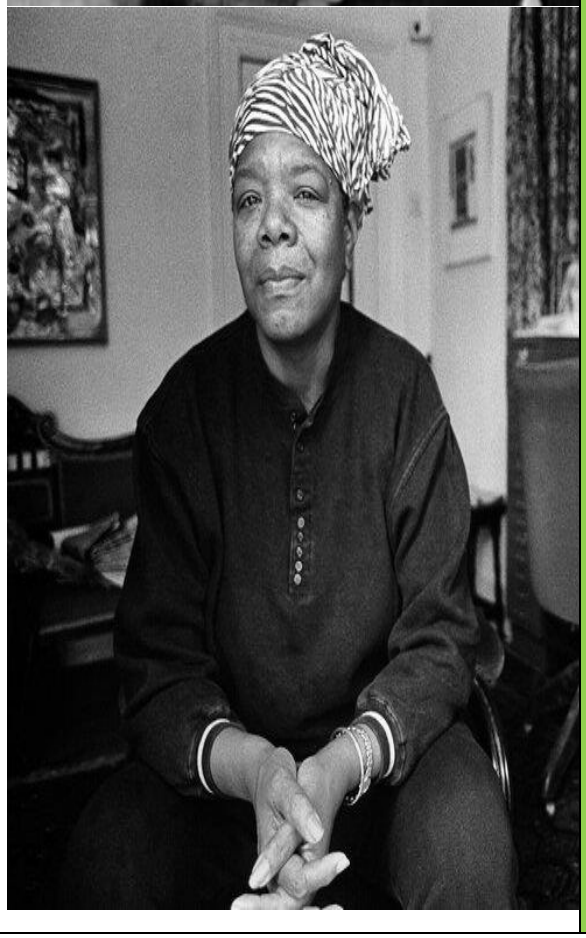
teachings of knowledge based on indigenous ways of medicine were advanced. The Social Sciences curriculum clearly:

> encouraged the teaching of indigenous medicine by looking at the history of health care that was available in ancient African societies. More so, the curriculum in grade 6 also encouraged engagement with comparable types of traditional healing and indigenous medicine that were and are still used by other cultures (Sonkqayi, 2020, p.106).

The above quotation shows the inclusivity of indigenous knowledge. Thus, affirming that knowledge is relative to every society. In other words, knowledge characteristics can be described as contextually situated. Hence, the curriculum encouraged the teaching of indigenous ways of healing sourced from different societies, cultures, and in different epochs. However, the inclusion of IKS was partially done in the RNCS. This is because there is a lot of African indigenous knowledge that still faced the axe of omission. Knowledge of African histories is enough to be a curriculum on its own. But in this curriculum, was treated in a homogenized way. Not only did the RNCS try to bury the vast histories of the indigenous people, but it also failed to acknowledge that social groups like the disabled communities have a history to tell that deserves an equal recognition to that of the other histories. For instance, the following figure illustrates some of the amazing histories of people (African Americans) who were disabled and have made a drastic impact on the world:



Thomas Wiggins was a musical prodigy and one of the most well-known pianists during the 19th century. He was born blind and sold into slavery as a child. The plantation owners wanted to kill him because he could not perform work, but he was instead left to explore the plantation where he had access to a piano. He learned by ear and began composing by the age of five. Wiggins also had an extraordinary memory. Although he passed before autism was commonly known, most historians believe he was on the autism spectrum. He went on to tour the world and his music inspires people to this day.



Maya Angelou was a writer, poet, singer, and civil rights activist. In her famous autobiography '*I Know Why The Caged Bird Sings*', Angelou illustrates her childhood and the racism and trauma she faced. When she was eight years old, she was sexually assaulted by her mother's boyfriend and the resulting trauma led to five years of muteness. She overcame her selective mutism however and became an international voice for black people and women. Maya Angelou's career spanned over 50 years and her writing has inspired millions.

Harriet Tubman was an abolitionist and a political activist. Born into slavery, she later escaped and became a powerful force in the Underground Railroad, where she helped lead enslaved people to freedom. What is lesser known is that Harriet Tubman also suffered from epilepsy. As an adolescent she suffered a severe head injury at the hands of an overseer. She endured painful headaches, seizures, and spells of unconsciousness. Nevertheless, she was the conductor of the Underground Railroad for eight years about which she said, 'I never ran my train off the track and never lost a passenger'.

Figure 6: short biographies of African-American, who were disabled and had a drastic impact in history, cited from:https://www.goodneighbor.care/neighborly-news/black-history-month-famous-african-americans-with-disabilities.

The figure above demonstrates that people who are considered to be suffering from 'disabilities' also have a history to tell just like the people who are 'abled'. Therefore, their histories and experiences must be acknowledged and told in the history curriculum. As a result, in terms of knowledge representation, this will lead to cognitive justice for the disabled community which has been marginalized and silenced in the history curriculum. That is to say, through the conception of cognitive justice multiple experiences and knowledge will be treated as equal with other knowledge systems.

5.3.4. REPRESENTATION OF KNOWLEDGE IN NATIONAL CURRICULUM STATEMENT (NCS)

The NCS (DoE, 2007a) states that IKS "in the South African context refers to a body of knowledge embedded in African philosophical thinking and social practices that have evolved over thousands of years" (p. 9). In this instance, the department of education acknowledged that IKS has been existing despite the attempts to silence it in the previous history syllabuses and curriculums. This shows that the DoE debunked the notion that IKS does not exist as factual knowledge (see Horsthemke, 2010). Hence, the history curriculum "enables us to listen to formerly subjugated voices and focuses on the crucial role of memory in society. This comes particularly through an emphasis on oral history and an understanding of IKS" (DoE, 2007g p.9). This comes from the fact that most indigenous societies including African societies used to preserve their knowledge through oral tradition. This way of preserving knowledge has been criticized and said that it lacks truth in it. This is because the Westerners through their methods of evaluating what constitutes true or false knowledge orals as a method of preserving knowledge, could not meet the standard of 'sensory knowledge'. The notion that true knowledge can be only accessed through senses undermined the acuity that knowledge in history is generated through oral and archeologically sources. However, in the NCS it was recognized, though at no point in the content sections where the use of orals containing IKS and sourced from multiple contexts has been emphasized. Instead, the content was bombarded with foreign histories as evident in *Annexture A*.

The content in the NCS FET phase does not show any knowledge that is embedded in the African philosophies that were preserved through orals as outlined by the DoE (2007a). In essence, the content covered from grade 10 to 12 barely focuses on the history of Africa in particular oral history. The focus has been emphasized on foreign histories despite the vast recorded oral history which has been passed from one generation to another through rituals and re-enactment ceremonies particularly the installation of new kings. On these special occasions, some of the traditions were publicly recited and dramatized partly as ritual offerings to ancestors and partly entertainment and education of the people at large (Vansina,1960).

5.3.5. AN OUTLOOK OF KNOWLEDGE IN CURRICULUM ASSESSMENT STATEMENTS (CAPS): CONVERTS OR CONTINUANCE?

Looking at *Annexure A*, it is clear that little changes were not done in CAPS. It was just a matter of reducing the content and breaking it into small sections as opposed to the NCS. The decision not to begin with the teaching of African history in the FET phase also insinuates that the history of Africans cannot exist without at least linking it with foreign history or an interaction between them (Africans) with other countries particularly the Western countries. It seems as if the curriculum still holds apartheid ideas of imparting certain knowledge and prioritizing other knowledge systems over others. This could have been done on the basis that most of the foreign knowledge is seen to be more valued (universally true) over the African knowledge. This continues to perpetuate dominance over the African knowledge systems. The knowledge prioritized becomes distant to the experiences of the learners. To think of it, our cultures do not align with "…the knowledge or the resources that engage with China in the 14th and 15th Centuries, Songhai in the 14th and 15th Centuries, the Mughal empire – or even early modern Europe" (Kallaway, 2012, p.39). This becomes a part of the assimilation plan discussed by Battiste (2017) which involves imposing foreign cultures on learners as theirs are rejected and suppressed. This is because; the learners are expected to familiarize themselves with foreign cultures instead of learning about their own, sourced in their respective local settings. As much as the curriculum reflects the recognition of diverse knowledge, it was done at the expense of the African subject.

It is evident in *Annexure A* that the histories of women are still silenced. In essence, it is disturbing that after 20 years of democracy the curriculum from grades 10 to 12 is barely covered.

This creates an impression that the role played by women in history is insignificant as opposed to the one played by men. This undermines their historical experiences as rational beings who contributed enormously to history. In agreement with Wills (2016), the curriculum does not represent women`s political discourses, experiences, and contributions to the past. There is no specific theme in the curriculum that is specifically dedicated to the historical roles played by women. Instead, "women in history textbooks are largely portrayed in stereotypically traditional feminine roles in a domestic environment. It is only on rare occasions that they are shown in more traditionally masculine roles outside the home" (Chiponda & Wassermann, 2011, p.15). Clear examples can be found in the 'New Generation' history textbook.

New Generation history textbook: Photograph A

Photograph A: An illustration of a black woman looking after a white toddler, taken from a place in the City: A people`s history of South Africa by Luli Callinicos, 1992, Johannesburg.

Photograph B: An illustration of a white woman doing house chores in the kitchen, taken from www.proquestkiz.com.

Photograph A is an illustration of a black 'domestic woman' and a white child that she looked after. On the other hand, *photograph B* is an illustration of a white woman performing house duties. Both photographs illustrate the women in a traditional domestic way. This was a process of …interiorization, which was done in terms of gender, race, knowledge, and education systems (Breidlid, 2013). This shows that those who hold political power in society continue to marginalize certain groups and silence their voice. Another view that might emerge concerning photograph A would be that the author(s) were trying to say that African women found themselves having to look after white children — this is a central feature of South African society with very important implications for the way that children grow up and their later perceptions, as well as often having a terrible impact on African women who are looking after other people's children rather than their own. The page where the photograph is extracted also mentions that women joined trade unions and that working-class women-identified and joined with African workers.

Both photographs are thought-provoking as many of our mothers were expected to adhere to the ideal represented in the photographs in the 1950s. Therefore, having such illustrations which perpetuate the same notions through coloniality that presents itself as modernity (see Mignolo,

2000a & Quijano, 2000), will evoke a strong feeling of revulsion. A notable example that women also assumed other societal roles beyond the 'traditional domestic roles' is evident in the history of Dahomey's famous women soldiers who were the elite troops in the kingdom's army, in what is now the Republic of Benin.

> These fearsome women soldiers surpassed their male counterparts in courage and effectiveness in combat. Women soldiers distinguished themselves on many occasions in the history of the Kingdom of Dahomey, particularly in the battles of Savi (1727), Abeokouta (1851 and 1864) and Ketu (1886), as well as during the two wars against the French, until the fall of Abomey in 1892 (UNESCO, 2014, P.7).

Another notable example is the history of 'the liberation stories of Guinea Bissau'. The contribution of women towards the fight for independence in Guinea Bissau against Portuguese colonial rule is barely recognized or popularized. The women`s participation in the fight is evident in the following photograph which was taken from africasacountry.com/2021/02/the-untold-liberation-stories-of-guinea-bissau:

Photograph C: An illustration of militant women with Amilcar Cabral.

In the photograph is a couple of women dressed in their camouflage, berets, and determined gazes and holding guns readied at their hips. In the centre of the crowd, is Amilcar Cabral. Despite the women`s involvement, most recognition was accredited to Amilcar Cabral. Today Amilcar Cabral is well known as a hero in history but what about the women who played an equal role as him? The likes of Joana Gomes, Titina Silá and Carmen Pereira`s role has been silenced or negated. According to Wills (2016), the women`s histories are marginalized because

there is a "short of a radical reorientation of themes and topics of history which can adequately account for the multiple identities and experiences women in the past have had" (p.24). This plays a pivotal role in not only contributing towards the marginalization of women as subjects of history but most significantly, it ignores or reinforces oppressive gendered ideas (Wills, 2016). Nevertheless, racial classification based on gender was at the centre of the presentation of women`s stereotypical experiences. For example, photograph A is accompanied by a description stating that 'African domestic workers played an important role in white South African households as they cared for their employer`s children'. While *photograph B* is captioned that 'a homemaker prepares a meal for her family'. This infers that woman of color and white women did not face and still do not face the same issues.

For instance, the description of *photograph A* and the caption of *photograph B* suggest that black women are objects that only deserve to work in the yards of white families, while white women are looking after their own families. This implies that it is only white women who are capable of looking after their families. For instance, the white woman in the above extract is said to be preparing a meal for her family whereas the black one is said to be a domestic worker, working for a white family. This is subtle racism as it denotes that, black women are objects that only deserve to work in the yards of white families, while white women are looking after their own families of which implies that it is only white women who are capable of looking after their families. This is subtle racism that Maldonado-Torres (2007) articulated about in coloniality of being. Maldonado-Torres (2007) warned us that we should be cautious about the knowledge we know and have about ourselves. This is because such knowledge is written from assumptions that tend to misrepresent and mis- portray our beings. What Maldonado-Torres (2007) warned us about, is evident in the presentation of women`s role in society. In Hooks` (2000) understanding, this happens because "since our society continues to be primarily a 'Christian' culture, masses of people continue to believe that God has ordained that woman be subordinate to men in the domestic household" (p.1). Hence, women continue to be portrayed in a manner that lessens them and silences their histories as evident in photographs A and B.

5.4. NEW APPROACH: A DECOLONIAL AND INCLUSIVE MODEL

In light of the enticing discussion above, I found it imperative to propose what can or could be assumed to be a generative approach underpinned by Michel Foucault's (1968) epistemic presuppositions. Thus, the proposed approach seeks to free history education and inclusive education from what they are thought to be to what they are. In other words, in this approach, I argue that knowledge should not be conceived in a fixated manner. Instead, its discontinuities and continuities should be embraced for what they are and not how they are supposed to be. It is for this reason that pre-existing or yet to exist communities should be allowed to define themselves rather than being compelled into ticking boxes of existing modern forms of identities and understandings of the world. In the production of, what I believe to be, a less problematic history curriculum, I argue that future history curriculum planners should embrace the following three epistemic principles extrapolated from Foucault (1968):

Figure 7: An illustration of Foucaultian's epistemic principles.

In the context of the proposed approach, statements about the world refer to ways in which people make sense of the world and this includes their being in the world. On the other hand, the systematization of statements about the world in the process of rationalizing and irrationalizing or delegitimizing some of the existing statements about the world in the quest to produce what is assumed to be legitimate knowledge. Consequently, in the proposed approach, for the history curriculum to be inclusive and less colonial, it will have to first be conceived and conceive of itself as a statement about the world made of statements about the world. Thus, what (assumed

dominant knowledge) and how much (knowledge) goes into the curriculum is a by-product of systematization. The process of systematization is, unfortunately, embedded in power dynamics. Therefore, for the history curriculum to be truly inclusive, it would have to be rooted in the idea that what counts as a valid historical account is an imposition of one form of systematization or rationality at the expense of others. As a result, an inclusive history curriculum should embrace varying statements and not necessarily for relative purpose but to understand different identities and conceptions of the world.

In light of the discussion thus far, I propose an approach that seeks to foster multiperspectivity in the history curriculum. This multiperspectivity should be grounded on epistemic diversity (see Xu, 2021). The epistemic diversity will allow for different hermeneutical horizons of experience and reservoirs of knowledge (Xu, 2021), the history curriculum. What is assumed to be knowledge of the world should draw upon multiple perspectives. multiperspective in history curriculums has been described by Ann Low-Beer as the process of "viewing historical events from several perspectives" (Low-Beer, 1997, n.p). As shown in the previous chapters, the history curriculum is mainly mono-cultural, sexist ethnocratic, patriarchal, universalistic rather than pluralist, and exclusive rather than inclusive (Stradling, 2003). Therefore, deploying multiperspectivity will function as a "way of viewing, and a predisposition to view, historical events, personalities, developments, cultures, and societies from different perspectives through drawing on procedures and processes which are fundamental to history as a discipline" (p. 14). I argue for an approach that acknowledges different perspectives drawn from different experiences, ideologies, beliefs, cultures, racial groups, sexual orientations, and communities. For example, the curriculum can be informed by the following:

- Feminist discourses as a praxis that ought to dismantle the hegemonic and male-dominant history.
- Incorporating LGBTQ+ experiences in the history curriculum (for example listen to the following podcast https://www.learningforjustice.org/podcasts/queeramerica/incorporating-lgbtq-history-in-your-classroom.
- Critical Race Theory will function as a tool that maximizes cohesiveness and positive representation of those who have been marginalized and excluded in the history curriculum because of race.

- Foregrounding indigenous epistemologies and voices as valid knowledge that seeks to reclaim and value IKS (For instance the history curriculums should be harbingers African values and they should regard African experience as a point of departure (Chepkuto & Kipsang, 2013).
- Disability discourse: Looking at contributions of people from the disabled community.
- Localization of the history curriculum (for instance, in Kenya notes that the knowledge taught embraces local culture and traditions as a way of addressing local problems. With the integration of local knowledge that is more appropriate to the needs of the indigenous communities it is hoped that local problems can be addressed effectively (Owour, 2007).

The proposed model seeks to debunk the notion of having a universal and objective history curriculum that perpetuates exclusion, marginalization, and mis/under- representation. Taken into action, the five processes of decolonization identified by Le Grange (2018) from the work of Chilisa (2006) of decolonization discussed in Chapter Two perfectly fits well with the three epistemic principles. In the case of the history curriculum: rediscovery and recovery will speak to the notion of bringing back all the lost indigenous knowledge, recovering all the excluded and marginalized discourses; mourning speaks to the notion of voicing out victimization by all the social groups that have been undermined and misrepresented; dreaming, in this case, different experiences, realities, and cultures will be explored; commitment and action speak to the notion of ensuring that the histories of the once colonized are recognized through implementing.

5.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this chapter, the thesis has revealed that the Apartheid regime adopted a monocultural positivistic approach in the teaching of history knowledge. In this instance, only the European and Afrikaner knowledge systems were taught as the only universal true knowledge systems. At the heart of this, was the exclusion and marginalization of others` realities, experiences, and knowledge systems. The thesis further revealed that the apartheid regime used derogatory, prejudiced, and offensive language when writing about the history of Africans. The syllabus was also told from a masculine gaze which perpetuated sexism and patriarchy. In addition, the thesis also showed that IKS has been negated and silenced in the apartheid history syllabus. The thesis also revealed that, despite living in a democratic society, the history curriculum still suffers from

the effects of colonialism which are maintained through coloniality. As a response to the above situation, a new decolonial and inclusive model was proposed. The next chapter will be providing final remarks where the author places focus on reflecting on personal family history and the arguments raised throughout the thesis.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUDING THOUGHTS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

6.1. INTRODUCTION

Collingwood (1946) reminds us that history is about self-knowledge, knowing who we are and where we come from, implying that all people have a history. Just like everyone in society, I also have a history that is worth sharing, just like every African person whose history has been silenced, negated, and distorted; I also have a history that has been seen as a myth. In his words, Steve Biko encourages us to rewrite our history and to re-tell our stories; particularly the ones which we have been told that are unrealistic. Steve Biko further encourages us that we must destroy the myth that our history starts in 1652, the year Van Riebeeck landed at the Cape. Telling our histories and stories begin with outlining who we are and where we come from. As a descendant of the African ancestors whose existence has been undermined and vilified, I have a responsibility to act in accordance to Steve Biko`s words. It is about time to tell the story of the lions. Consequently, in this chapter, I will be telling my family story by drawing on the kinds of knowledge that I was advocating for in the inclusive-decolonized history curriculum. I will also make recommendations for future prospectus researchers that aim to take a similar research journey that I took. I will also weave together the key ideas from each chapter, showing how the research questions raised in Chapter One were addressed in later chapters.

6.2. IN SEARCH FOR MY SOUL: MY PERSONAL HISTORY

According to the realist paradigm, knowledge can never be relative to a person whilst the positivist paradigm claims that true knowledge can only be achieved through empiricism. Both paradigms are Western philosophies meant to perpetuate coloniality. The paradigms fail to acknowledge that as Africans, our knowledge is relative to our origins and societies, just like it is the case with their western knowledge which is accorded the status of universality. But because of the western hegemony, many of us became accustomed to the belief that the only true knowledge is the one told by colonial settlers, concurrently we were made to believe that our knowledge is based on fairy tales. Hence, many of us in African societies grew up thinking that anything associated with our Africaness, is not worth learning or knowing. Some of us would even laugh when we see people with *amadlozi* (ancestral calling) responding to their calling and

some would call it demonic. This was because we were never exposed to the local histories that would conscientize us about *imvelaphi yethu* (our roots) in the history curriculum.

Up to this day, there is still not much change as many of our stories or histories would be considered to be fiction by the positivist and realist paradigm. This would be owing to the view that we cannot substantiate our *relative knowledge* or provide evidence for such knowledge. But do I need evidence to prove my historical origins to colonial settlers? That is a question that grappled me, and in response to it, I will recount my family history as a way of demonstrating that the existence of our knowledge or histories as Africans does not necessarily depend on Western philosophies of validating knowledge. That is to say, whilst writing the thesis, I was reminded to embark on a journey of searching for my soul: my historical knowledge and origination. Along the journey, I have come to understand that my soul is intractably linked to the land of my ancestors.

> The land is where our ancestors were born, died, and are now buried. We are from that land. The stuff of our bones and our soul comes from there. We and the soil are one. Every grain of my land carries the memories of all our ancestors within it. And every part of me carries the history of that land within it. The land of others does not know me. I am a stranger to it, and it is a stranger to me… My land is my nobility (Turki, 1988, p.49 & 50).

As Africans, our historical knowledge may be passed from one generation to another through oral traditions. But upon realizing that we have been preserving our knowledge and histories, the Westerns have distorted the use of oral traditions as a way of preserving histories and argued that history only begins with writing. I will therefore use my family history to debunk the notion that history only begins with writing and to show how the realist and positivist paradigms marginalize other's knowledge systems. According to the realist and positivist paradigms, the claim that my history is intractably linked with the land of my ancestors does not contain any truth as there are no written accounts to prove this. Despite these paradigms which seek to silence my history as it did with many local histories, I posit that I have learned that my history of origination has been preserved and passed down from one generation through my clan praises. Consequently, my surname clan, Shabangu carries within itself the historical origination of the land where I come from. The surname clan is narrated as follows:

Shabangu Mbele

Loluhlata Njengengcoshane

Wena Madlokode

Wena Wahlokota Imbila

Tayenta Busakasaka Emdzibini Wato

Wena Wacedza Libombo Ngekuhlehla

Wena Mabophela Engculwini

Wena Maphatsa Tombili

Ungaphatsa Yinye Iyakubulalisa

Ngwane Mahlokode

The IsiZulu and SiSwati dialects in the surname clan convey that I hail from both the Zulu and eSwatini land. However, originally, I hail from the region that is presently known as KwaZulu Natal, which was once led by the spiritually gifted Ngwane Shabangu. Ngwane predicted a lot of King Shaka's victories but after a conflict with him, he left KwaZulu Natal with the Shabangu's and settled in the Swazi nation, which presently is known as eSwatini under King Sobhuza the first. My clan name comes from Ngwane Shabangu, who later became the trusted *isibonda* (the right-hand man of a king) for King Sobhuza. Hence, every time people came to report or ask for advice from the king, he would say '*sitawubuta ka Ngwane*' meaning 'we will ask from Ngwane'.

The friendship between my great ancestor and King Sobhuza grew. However, tables turned around when King Sobhuza chose a gorgeous daughter of Dlalisa to be one of his wives in a reed dance. The problem arose because the son of Ngwane, Silwane, was in a relationship with the daughter of Dlalisa. As he could not let her go, he then resorted into running away with her at night as the King was already aware of the affair. Hence, there is a part in the surname clan which says '*Wena Wahlokota Imbila, Tayenta Busakasaka Emdzibini Wato*' which loosely translates as 'the one who provoked people in their territory and created anger amongst them'. By implication, the Shabangus provoked King Sobhuza.

From there, all the Shabangu`s were on the run from Swaziland until they settled in Bergville near the Drakensberg Mountains. That is why today, eSwatini is known as 'ka Ngwane' and undoubtedly that is why the Shabangu`s are mainly based in KwaZulu Natal and eSwatini, and also in some parts of Africa. There are some connotations attached to the surname which demonstrates the character and historical ways of living for the Shabangu people. For instance,

the part which says '*Loluhlata Njengengcoshane*' signifies that just like some strong and green trees, the Shabangu people are original strong people. This is evident in the case where the Shabangu`s led by Ngwane, managed to 'kill' a lot of the Swati army. This occurred where there was a big fight along the Tugela River between the Shabangu's and the Swati's in that area. Nevertheless, the Swati army only went back after they have managed to kill usiLwane, her girl, and Ngwane himself.

Ever since then, the Shabangu`s spread out to the neighbouring societies. Some of them went to Mozambique, while some went to the Northern Province now known as Limpopo. With my family lineage, they have settled at Nkomatiport. However, because of evictions agitated by the white colonial settlers, my family was forcefully evicted. As a result, they then went to reside at Ngomendwane near Lower-Sabie. At this point, I am reminded of my great grandfather, Mafutha who fought against a lion and defeated it. One evening, when he was patrolling at Skukuza where he was a guard, he came across an aggressive lion and shot it. In his mind, thinking that the lion died, he then went to check it only to find out that the lion was still alive. He was then involved in a physical fight with the lion where he fought against it up until he took a knife and stabbed it. The lion died and he eventually died as well. The story of Mafutha also affirms that the Shabangus are indeed strong people.

Nevertheless, the spiritual realm that was carried by Ngwane has been also passed down from one generation to another generation in my family. This is evident in the story where Mafutha had a son who was not using our surname, Shabangu, and he has been troubled by our ancestors to a point that he even went blind. This was a wake-up call for him to go and change his surname so that he could use his ancestral surname. After consulting traditional healers, who revealed to him that the ancestors were not happy with him not using his real surname, he then changed it. A few days after, he was able to see. In my culture, we also preserve the names of our ancestors by passing them on to others through divine means. In essence, the ancestors will choose as to who should keep their names amongst the family members. I am one of those people who were chosen, hence today I am known as 'Mafutha' in the family. The reason why I was named after Mafutha was that I resemble his attitude and values.

But my story according to Western principles would not stand as truth or as valid knowledge; instead, it would be regarded as a fallacy, as it has been the case with the histories of the natives.

A Western person just to silence my history, and my existence would ask: *but this knowledge cannot be true because it does not meet the criteria standards of assessing knowledge*? For example, Hospers (1990) rejects the view that propositional statements can be true and relative simultaneously as is the case with my story. Nevertheless, the validity of my existence and history does not depend on the standards of assessing knowledge set by the Westerns. As a result, I recommend that future prospectus researchers can look at how they can use personal stories or histories of learners to make the content relevant to the learners. In the same line, I recommend that researchers can look at pedagogies that can be used in the teaching and learning of history which will ensure that the experiences and histories of learners are recognized.

6.3. A POINT OF CONVERGENCE

Herein, I draw up a figure of the decolonial-inclusive model – this model will show how the various elements from decolonization discourses come together with Foucault's epistemic principles and the elements of inclusive education. Concurrently, the figure also functions as recommendations on how to implement a decolonized compulsory school history curriculum. It recommends that the western hegemony which promotes universalism and empiricism of knowledge should be irrationalized as they promote exclusion of other knowledge systems for instance, such as IKS. It also recommends that the knowledge systems that have been marginalized, inferiolized, silenced, negated, and excluded should be rationalized. This recommendation seeks to promote social and cognitive justice for all the social groups that have been alienated in the history curriculum.

The figure first identifies the issues underpinning the history curriculum in South Africa. The point of departure is that colonialism and coloniality perpetuate western hegemony. Thereafter, the figure shows that the western hegemony results in the *epistemicide* of IKS, local histories, African history, and other social groups` knowledge. I reveal in the figure that this *epistemicide* has led to the exclusion and alienation of many social groups and their knowledge. I then offer a new outlook of a history curriculum that would be fair to the diverse populace of South Africa. Herein, I recommend that the knowledge representation should be as diverse as our rainbow nation. That is to say, the knowledge in the history curriculum should be multiple, where the experiences of all learners are considered. A clear example of this is my family. A realist with

doubt about the practicality of this would ask: *how would you expect teachers to be cognizant of the experiences/histories of diverse learners*? This is a pedagogical question that I have recommended that needs to be explored through research. Therefore, this is one of the questions that should be addressed when researching pedagogies that can be used in the teaching and learning of a decolonized history curriculum that promotes inclusive education.

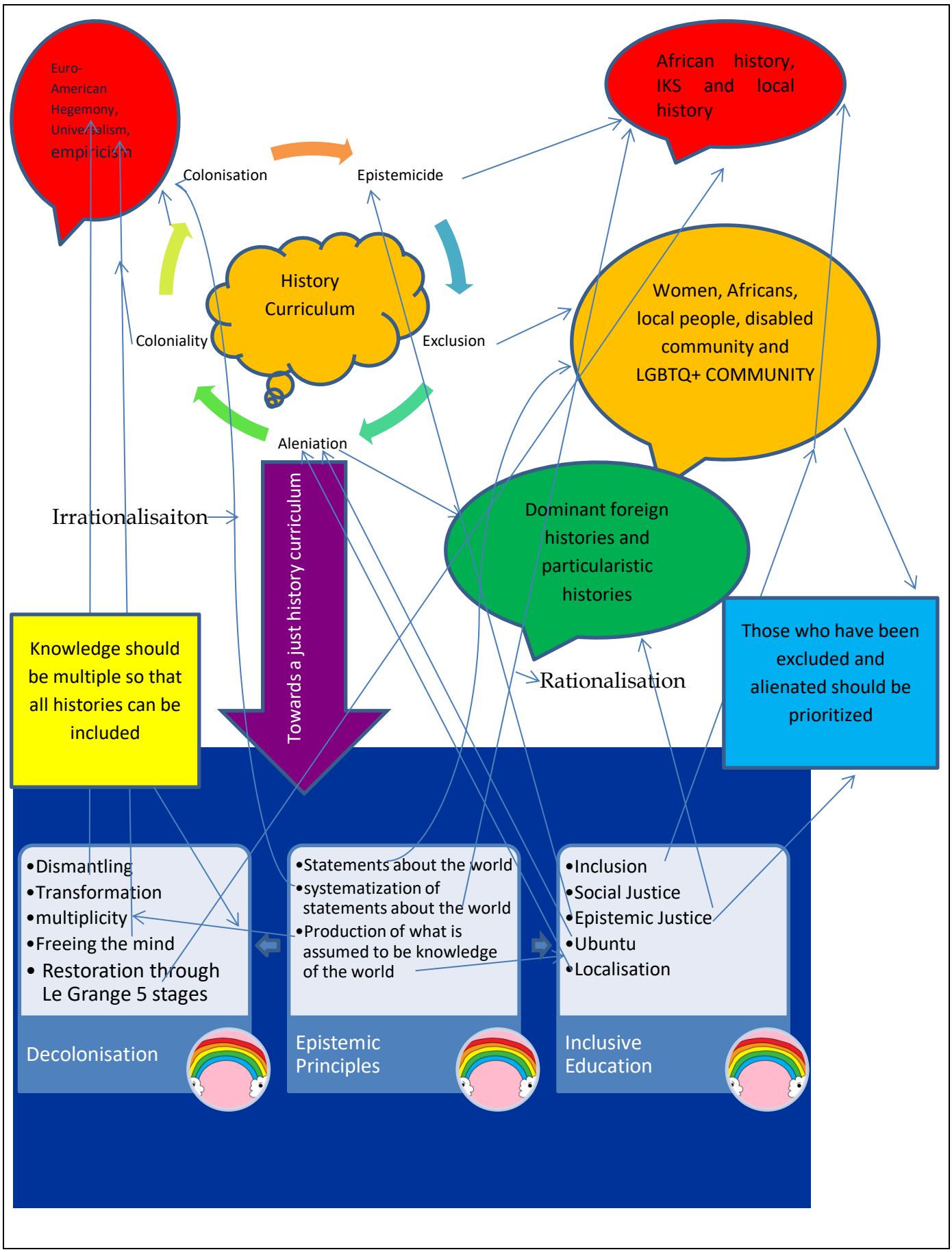

Euro-American Hegemony, Universalism, empiricism
African history, IKS and local history
Colonisation
Epistemicide
History Curriculum
Coloniality
Exclusion
Women, Africans, local people, disabled community and LGBTQ+ COMMUNITY
Aleniation
Irrationalisaiton
Towards a just history curriculum
Dominant foreign histories and particularistic histories
Knowledge should be multiple so that all histories can be included
Rationalisation
Those who have been excluded and alienated should be prioritized
•Dismantling
•Transformation
•multiplicity
•Freeing the mind
• Restoration through Le Grange 5 stages
Decolonisation
•Statements about the world
•systematization of statements about the world
•Production of what is assumed to be knowledge of the world
Epistemic Principles
•Inclusion
•Social Justice
•Epistemic Justice
•Ubuntu
•Localisation
Inclusive Education

Figure 8[41]: A model through which decolonizing the history curriculum can be understood.

6.4. BY WAY OF CONCLUSION: MAIN THOUGHTS RAISED

In Chapter One I have raised four questions, one was the main question and the other three were secondary questions that guided the entire thesis. I will now show how the research questions raised in Chapter One were addressed in later chapters. The main question raised was: *In which ways could decolonizing the history curriculum foster a more inclusive approach to the teaching and learning of local history in South African schools*? In response to the question, I first identified the existing issues with regard to the history curriculum. In Chapter one, I raised that the history curriculum barely covers African historiography. I highlighted that the lack of covering African history in the curriculum is suppressed by colonial Euro-American history. I also highlighted that the histories of other social groups such as women are marginalized and excluded. The chapter further raised the issue that history is told from a paternalistic, nationalistic view and is somewhat binding to all the schools. Thereafter, in Chapter Two, I showed that the history curriculum since its inception has been defined by colonialism which was maintained through coloniality. This was proven in Chapter Five, where I first examined the Apartheid history syllabuses and also the post-apartheid history curriculums.

I, therefore, proposed that decolonization can be used as a tool to foster inclusivity in the history curriculum. I outlined in Chapter Two that; decolonization should first dismantle the western[42] hegemony perpetuated through coloniality. I argued that dismantling the western hegemony will open up space for the inclusion of other knowledge. In Chapter Four, I argued that adopting pluriversity instead of universalism and empiricism can foster a more inclusive approach to the teaching and learning of history. In Chapter Three, I further suggested that Ubuntu should be used as a part of decolonizing the history curriculum as a way of recognizing that everyone`s history deserves to be respected. I articulated that doing this will ensure that there is inclusivity in the history curriculum. Nevertheless, the first ancillary question was: *What kinds of knowledge do decolonization and inclusive education envisage and promote in education for the point of a socially*

[41] The colours in the figure are drawn from the rainbow colours to signify that South Africa as a rainbow nation consisting of multiculturalism should have knowledge that represent the diverse histories of all South Africans.
[42] The name western is not capitalised as a way of protesting against the western hegemony and dismantling western self-imposed supremacy. It functions as a way of showing that the western ways of knowing and being are not superior to the ones found at the global South.

decolonized/African education? When addressing this question in Chapter One, I created a threefold figure consisting of three paradigms namely, positivism; epistemological realism, and postmodernism.

The three paradigms were used to determine which one best aligns with the knowledge envisaged by decolonization and inclusive education. The arguments raised in Chapter Two and Chapter Three-point that decolonization and inclusive education are favored by the knowledge that is relative to one`s context. In both chapters, I have shown that knowledge is relative to every society. I further proved this in chapter three through the postmodernism paradigm. I also affirmed in Chapter Four that decolonization and inclusive education are favored by a multiplicity of knowledge. I argued that the acceptance of multiple knowledge in the history curriculum will ensure that the lost IKS and the histories of the marginalized social groups are recognized as a way of promoting epistemic/cognitive justice. The second ancillary question was: *What are there possible contextual factors shaping such knowledge envisaged by decolonization and inclusive education in the context of history teaching and learning*? In response to this question, I argued that it was colonialism and coloniality which influences the knowledge envisaged by decolonization and inclusive education. This is because, as argued in Chapter One and Chapter Two, the western knowledge canon suppresses the global South`s epistemologies.

In South Africa, this was done through the colonial-apartheid history curriculum that cast stereotypes about African history. The same colonial-apartheid curriculum only promoted Afrikaner nationalism and western knowledge. It is therefore these factors that shaped the understanding of decolonization and inclusive education to opt for a multiplicity of knowledge in the history curriculum. The last ancillary question was: *What are the (possible) epistemic implications of such perceptions or delineations of decolonization and inclusive education in the context of the history curriculum*? The epistemic implications of the perceptions and delineations concerning decolonization and inclusive education were mainly raised in Chapter Four.

I argued that drawing from positivism which calls for objective and empiricism, and epistemological realism, which calls for universalism will undermine having different ways of understanding the world. In Chapter Five, I further showed that the use of positivism and epistemological realism in the history curriculum goes against the wishes of decolonization and inclusive education. This is because both paradigms promote marginalization and exclusion of

others` knowledge. As a result, I opted for postmodernism which implies that knowledge is relative. Thereafter, I used Michel Foucault's (1968) epistemic presuppositions to show the implication of such knowledge envisaged by decolonization and inclusive education.

In closing, our duty as decolonial scholars is to make sure that we resurrect all the lost histories of our ancestors, otherwise, we will have ourselves to blame when the next generation is taught that Jan van Riebeeck, the first colonial settler brought civilization in our society whereas, he instead brought problems amongst others rape culture, land theft, and poverty. It is also our responsibility to be critical of myths such as that King Shaka Zulu was a great leader who united African societies. He must be described as the monster and warmonger that he was. Lest we forget, Shaka Zulu created destructiveness in Southern Africa. Ours is not to sanitize history, but to tell the truth, all the time while fostering inclusivity of those who are marginalized in society.

Lastly, as part of decolonization and promoting inclusivity, I call for epistemic freedom in academia where one is free to express his or her views and him/herself as much he or she wants, not to be limited by word count that is determined by the universities. In the case of history, I see such practices as colonial tendencies which unconsciously restrict one to provide a full account of his or her history, which contributes to the perpetual of silencing, excluding, and negating history.

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ANNEXTURE

Below is annexure A, which is a comparison of the content covered in NSC and CAPS.

GRADE 10

CAPS	NCS
1. The world around 1600	1. What was the world like in the mid-fifteenth century? Africa (Songhay); China (Ming); India (Mogul); Ottoman Empire; the Americas; European societies; Southern African societies.
2. Expansion and conquest during the 15th – 18th centuries	2. What was the impact of conquest, warfare and early colonialism in the Americas (Spain), Africa (Portugal, Holland) and India (France, Britain)?
3. The French Revolution	3. Slavery: slavery and the Industrial Revolution; the Atlantic slave trade and racism?
4. Transformations in southern Africa after 1750	4. The quest for liberty: American War of Independence; French Revolution
5. Colonial Expansion after 1750	5. Industrial Revolution
6. The South African War and Union	6. What transformations occurred in Southern Africa between 1750 and 1850?
	7. How did the world change between 1450 and 1850?
	8. What are the constructed heritage icons from the period that are celebrated today?

GRADE 11

CAPS	NCS
1. Communism in Russia 1900 to 1940	1. What was the world like by 1850? African state formations; the Americas; Europe; Asia.
2. Capitalism and the USA 1900 to 1940	2. Imperialism: Nature, World War 1, entrench ideas of race and segregation.
3. Ideas of race in the late 19th and 20th Century	3. What were the range of responses to colonialism in Africa and Asia? Resistance – armed, passive, diplomacy; Other.
4. Nationalisms - South Africa, the Middle East and Africa	4. Challenges to capitalism: the Russian Revolution and the establishment of the communist state.
5. Apartheid South Africa1940s to1960s	5. Crisis of capitalism: the Great Depression in the USA and its wider impact.
	6. What was the impact of pseudo-scientific racism and Social Darwinism on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (including the eugenics movement in the late nineteenth century and its impact on ideas of race and racism in Africa, the USA, Australia, Europe and particularly leading to genocide in Nazi Germany)?
	7. Competing nationalisms and identities in Africa: Pan-Africanism to 1945; South African nationalisms; impact of World War 2; construction of heritage and identities?
	8. How unique was apartheid South Africa? How did apartheid entrench ideas of race? What was the nature of resistance to apartheid?
	9. How did the world change between 1850 and 1950?
	10. How has the South African past been publicly represented (e.g. in museums and monuments)

GRADE 12

CAPS	NCS
1. The Cold War	1. What was the impact of the Cold War in forming the world as it was in the 1960s? USSR/USA; China; conflict: Vietnam, Cuba, Angola, Middle East; UN, OAU, NAM.
2. Independent Africa	2. How was uhuru realised in Africa in the 1960s and 1970s?
3. Civil Society protests 1950s to1990s	3. What forms of civil society protest emerged from the 1960s up to 1990? 1960s: civil rights, disarmament, student movements, peace movements, Black Power movement, women's movements; 1970s: Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa; apartheid South Africa and Eastern Europe in the 1980s.
4. Civil resistance in South Africa 1970s to 1980s	4. What was the impact of the collapse of the USSR in 1989? On South Africa; on Africa; on the dominance of the USA.
5. The coming of democracy in South Africa, and coming to terms with the past	5. How did South Africa emerge as a democracy from the crises of the 1990s? Crisis of apartheid in the 1980s; collapse of apartheid - internal and external pressure; making of the new Constitution; dealing with the past and facing the future; new identities and the construction of heritage.
6. The end of the Cold War and a new global world order 1989 to present	6. What do we understand by globalisation? The global economy; information age; globalisation of culture; migration; Africa in the global world; responses and challenges to globalisation.
	7. What are the ideologies and debates around the constructed heritage icons from the period?