

**Perspectives on Knowledge and Higher
Education within Marginalised
Communities in South Africa**

Emma Jackson

PhD

University Of York
Department of Education

September 2023

Abstract

With increasing calls to decolonise education across the globe, the inclusion of different knowledges in mainstream education has become a priority. Initiatives have included diversifying curriculum content and the creation of modules with a focus on localised knowledge. These initiatives have rarely been undertaken in collaboration with local communities and students, but rather have involved extracting and repurposing local knowledges for mainstream education (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2008; Shizha, 2014; Mkhize & Ndimande-Hlongwa 2014).

In South Africa, colonialism, and apartheid systematically marginalised traditional and indigenous ways of producing knowledge. The end of apartheid brought with it a move away from segregated education and new policy emerged to increase the access to higher education. However, many universities remain segregated, which means that students from historically marginalised communities are still attending universities that are under-resourced (Heleta, 2016). The curriculum in many higher education institutions remains Eurocentric, reinforcing Western dominance and privilege. The lack of meaningful decolonisation led to student protests in 2015, which propelled decolonisation and the demand for an Afrocentric curriculum to the forefront of the national debate (Kwoba, Chantiluke & Nkopo, 2018).

Through utilising a collaborative approach as part of a decolonising methodology, this study attempts to challenge Eurocentric research methods that can undermine local knowledge and the experiences of marginalised groups. As well as being collective, this approach requires the researcher to critically reflect on their own participation in a research project (Smith, 2002). This research highlights the tensions inherent in meeting the aspirations of a decolonisation agenda and student expectations of the currency afforded by attending a neoliberal higher education institution. The findings of this study add to the critical research base on decolonisation by focusing on indigenous perspectives of received education, their own knowledge, and how this knowledge can/should be used. Furthermore, this research is a recognition of the complexities and contextual considerations necessary when exploring decolonising.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis: *Perspectives on Knowledge and Higher Education within Marginalised Communities in South Africa*,

- is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author.
- This work has not previously been presented for a degree or other qualification at this University or elsewhere.
- All sources are acknowledged as references.

Acknowledgements

A doctorate is a journey of self-discovery, there are high times where you think you may just be on track, and low times in which you question all your life choices. In these good and more challenging times, there have been a community of people that deserve my recognition and gratitude.

My supervisor Dr Eleanor Brown, thank you for your guidance, encouragement, belief (especially when I lost mine) and advice over the past few years. I would not have reached this stage without your kindness and patience. My advisor Prof. Paul Gready, thank you for the time and mentorship, which has been above and beyond. I highly value and appreciate the critical feedback and opportunities you have given me.

A heartfelt thank you to everyone that participated in this research who generously gave me their time and insights, the staff and students at UWC who were bold and honest in their observations, the indigenous stakeholders and a particular thank you to the Guriqua community for making such beautiful stories.

Thank you to my community at the Centre of Applied Human rights that have supported me with endless encouragement, chocolate, and open ears. Above all, thank you to my family, to Heidi Milson for being my forever cheerleader, to my mum for supporting me, to Ben Piercy for being my motivation to be the best of myself, to my unofficial sister and PhD comrade Tallulah Lines for always being by my side (even from the other side of the world) and finally, thank you to Duncan Jackson, for putting up with many unpredictable emotional moments, reluctantly entering into many decolonisation debates and for believing in me.

Table of Contents

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	9
1.1 Background.....	9
1.2 Object of analysis	10
1.3 Research problem	11
1.4 Research Question(s)	12
1.5 Research Value	13
1.6 Research Methodology and Data Collection.....	17
1.7 Research Ethics.....	19
1.8 Structure of the thesis.....	20
2. Research Context	22
2.1 Introduction.....	22
2.2 Colonial history of South Africa.....	22
2.3 Political situation in South Africa	25
2.3.1 Apartheid	25
2.3.2 Opposition and Resistance to Apartheid.....	27
2.3.3 Education During Apartheid	28
2.3.4 Higher Education under Apartheid.....	31
2.3.5 Transition to Democracy	33
2.3.6 The Truth and Reconciliation Commission	34
2.3.7 The Mbeki and Zuma Presidency	34
2.3.8 The Ramaphosa Presidency.....	35
2.4 Overview of higher education system in South Africa.....	35
2.4.1 The two lenses of higher education in South Africa.....	36
2.4.2 “The pedagogy of big lies” in South African higher education.....	38
2.4.3 Student protest and social movements	40
2.4.4 Indigenous Knowledge and Africanisation in Higher Education in South Africa.....	43
2.5 Conclusion	45
3. Theoretical Underpinnings	47
3.1 Development and Education in the wake of Colonialism	47

3.1.1 Dominant Development Agenda	47
3.1.2 Education and Human Capital in the Neoliberal Economy	48
3.1.3 The impact of international education standards on policy and practice.	51
3.1.4 The Capabilities Approach	53
3.2 Critiques of the development agenda.....	54
3.2.1 Education beyond socioeconomics	57
3.2.2 A consideration of alternative approaches to higher education	59
3.2.3 Considering a Hybrid education	61
3.3 Postcolonial theory and education	63
3.3.1 The Subaltern and the Other.....	65
3.4 The role of indigenous knowledge in Education	68
3.4.1 Ubuntu	70
3.5 Decoloniality and Decolonising Education	73
3.5.1 Epistemologies of the South.....	73
3.6 Theoretical Framework	76
3.7 Conclusion	80
4. Decolonising Education, Indigenous Knowledge and Drivers of Development - A review of the literature.....	83
4.1 Introduction.....	83
4.2 Transformation and Decolonising Education.....	83
4.2.1 What is decolonising and why is it important?	83
4.2.2 What does it mean to decolonise higher education and why is it important?.....	86
4.3 Indigenous Knowledge	89
4.3.1 Defining indigenous and indigenous peoples	89
4.3.2 How is indigenous knowledge viewed?.....	90
4.4 Indigenous knowledge and education	93
4.4.1 Indigenous knowledge and the curriculum	97
4.5 Indigenous Knowledge and Higher Education	99
4.6 Collaboration between Western Education and Indigenous Knowledge - Is there a third space?.....	104
4.7 Typology of decolonisation for education	107
4.8 Conclusion	109

5. Methodology.....	111
5.1 Introduction.....	111
5.2 Epistemology.....	111
5.2.1 Experiential knowledge construction.....	113
5.2.2 Social Constructivism.....	114
5.2.3 Participatory Worldview.....	115
5.3 Rationale for Research Design.....	116
5.3.1 Decolonising Methodologies.....	117
5.3.2 Storytelling.....	119
5.4 Research Agenda.....	120
5.4.1 Why the University of Western Cape and why The Guriqua?.....	121
5.5 Introduction to Data Collection.....	124
5.5.1 Covid19.....	124
5.5.2 Collaborative research.....	126
5.5.3 Case studies.....	127
5.5.4 Interviews.....	129
5.5.5 Digital storytelling.....	130
5.5.6 Grey Literature.....	131
5.6 Data Collection.....	131
5.6.1 Research Ethics.....	131
5.6.2 Semi- structured interviews.....	132
5.6.3 Digital Stories.....	133
5.6.4 Analysis of the Grey literature.....	136
5.7 Introduction to Data Analysis.....	137
5.7.1 Grounded Theory.....	137
5.8 Evaluations and Limitations.....	138
Chapter 6: An evaluation of how indigenous students experience mainstream higher education in South Africa: A case study of the University of Western Cape (UWC).	140
6.1 Introduction.....	140
6.2 Complexity of Race and who is indigenous in South Africa.....	142
6.2.1 Identity Culture and Values.....	143
6.2.2 What constitutes indigenous knowledge in South Africa?	144

6.3 Inclusion in Higher Education.....	147
6.3.1 Access to higher education for students from marginalised communities	148
6.3.2 Social Justice and Education	160
6.4 Society in the classroom.....	164
6.4.1 Critical engagement.....	165
6.4.2 Assessment backwash and meaningful change	167
6.5 Decolonising Higher Education	168
6.5.1 Decolonising or transformation?.....	169
6.5.2 The student voice	173
6.5.3 The ‘sweeping away’ of knowledge.....	174
6.5.4 The custodians of the canon	176
6.5.5 Bringing together of Western and African	179
6.6 Purpose of higher education - the neoliberal and decolonising tension.....	181
6.6.1 Education as the key to open doors	182
6.6.2 Globalisation versus contextual knowledge.....	183
6.7 Challenges to attending higher education for students from a marginalised community	186
6.8 Conclusion	188
Chapter 7: How do indigenous people in rural communities perceive their knowledge and its role in education?	191
7.1 Introduction.....	191
7.2 Contextualisation lived experience and marginalisation	192
7.2.1 “Duality of Culture”	193
7.2.2 Disempowerment through exclusion	197
7.2.3 Lost knowledge and culture	201
7.2.4 The ‘Whitewashing’ of histories	207
7.2.5 Gender, tradition, and power - “I have a big conflict, in terms of dealing with my own tradition”	215
7.3 Indigenous communities’ relationship to their knowledge and the land.....	220
7.3.1 Land as a living entity	220
7.3.2 ‘To keep their knowledge alive, they almost have to play the game and do things in a Western way’	227
7.4 Conclusion	233

Chapter 8: Discussion chapter - Is decolonising possible in higher education in South Africa?	235
8.1 How has marginalisation of communities in South Africa affected the realities and ideas around the purpose of education?	239
8.1.1 Historically marginalised are still marginalised	239
8.1.2 The denial of African histories	241
8.1.3 The land and nature	243
8.1.4 The role of indigenous knowledge in higher education	245
8.2 Has education further marginalised communities in South Africa?	248
8.2.1 The role of the economy in education	248
8.3 What are the ideas around decolonising education in South Africa?	250
8.3.1 Why is decolonising education important in South Africa?	251
8.3.2 Decolonising education in a neoliberal society	253
8.3.3 Inclusion of Afro-centric knowledge or an Africanisation of higher education?	254
8.4 Is decolonising higher education possible in South Africa? A typology of decolonising in South Africa	256
9. Conclusion	265
9.1 Project Summary	265
9.2 Findings, contributions, and significance	266
9.2.1 What are the perspectives of marginalised students in higher education in South Africa?	266
9.2.2 How do indigenous people perceive their knowledge?	269
9.2.3 Is decolonising higher education in South Africa possible?	270
9.3 Limitations of this study	271
9.4 Framework for decolonising	272
References	276

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

The Fees Must Fall and Rhodes Must Fall student movements (collectively known as the Fallist movement) renewed calls for the decolonisation of higher education in South Africa. However, demands to decolonise African universities are not new, with rich conversations and debates occurring that examine the relationship between knowledge formation and colonial influence (Nyamnjoh, 2022). As such, the inclusion of different knowledges in mainstream education has become a priority, with a particular focus placed on indigenous knowledges. Initiatives have included diversifying curriculum content and the creation of modules with a focus on localised knowledge. These initiatives have rarely been undertaken in collaboration with indigenous communities and students, but rather have involved extracting and repurposing local knowledges for mainstream education (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2008; Shizha, 2014; Mkhize & Ndimande-Hlongwa 2014).

Despite having the second largest economy in Africa (IMF, 2020), and possessing an upper-middle-income-economy (World Bank, 2020), South Africa still has high levels of crime, poverty and is beset by widespread inequalities. Higher education is viewed by some as an important vehicle to achieve economic growth and accelerate social change. Although access to higher education is increasing, the racial divide is still extremely disproportionate. In 2021, 24.6% of White 18–19-year-olds attended higher education. This compares to only 5.3% of Black and 6.2% of Coloured (these terms are used widely in South Africa and will be discussed later in chapter 2) 18-19 year olds (Statista, 2023). Of all the students attending higher education, only 55% of students entering university in South Africa will complete their studies, and only 25% will finish their degrees in the allotted time (Gwatirera, 2018)

Education in South Africa is strongly influenced by colonialism, the apartheid vision, and neoliberal pressures. Colonialism and apartheid systematically marginalised traditional and indigenous ways of producing knowledge. After apartheid was established in 1948, epistemic violence and racism in universities was exacerbated. Universities were separated and designated for exclusive use by a particular racial group. White, English-medium universities were largely elitist and benefited from apartheid's policies, and they

contributed to maintaining the prevailing social order; meanwhile, universities established for Black people existed to prepare students to first serve the colony, and later apartheid. The end of apartheid brought with it a move away from segregated education and the introduction of a new policy to increase access to higher education. However, this has had limited success (as the statistics above demonstrate), many former 'White' universities were, and remain, well-funded compared to their 'Black' counterparts, which tended to be located in more rural settings (Heleta, 2016). Further, many universities remain segregated, which means that students from historically marginalised communities continue to attend those institutions that are under-resourced and poorly staffed (Heleta, 2016). The curricula in the majority of higher education institutions remains largely Eurocentric, thereby reinforcing White and Western dominance and privilege (Govender & Naidoo, 2023). It is the case that new policies and values have been introduced by universities with the intention of transforming and decolonising their curricula and pedagogy; however, these initiatives have had limited success (Govender & Naidoo, 2023). The lack of uneven progress in diversifying curricula and the student experience led to student protests in 2015, which propelled decolonisation and the demand for an Afrocentric curriculum to the forefront of national debate (Kwoba, Chantiluke & Nkopo, 2018).

1.2 Object of analysis

Education has the capacity for both positive and negative impact (Bush and Salterelli, 2000). It has the capacity to empower or disempower. It can strengthen or it can devalue identities. The choice of content syllabi presented through formal education can serve to elevate and legitimise knowledge and the source of knowledge, but through omission, it can also devalue knowledge and disempower the holders of knowledge. History is particularly sensitive to manipulation in that the way a history is interpreted can change how a community is regarded and valued. If histories are omitted completely, cultural heritage can be dismissed and forgotten, identities and values eroded. In South Africa, the call to decolonise education is growing louder with a variety of demands and concerns coming to the fore. Student movements such as Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall (referred to collectively as the Fallist movement), demanded a free, decolonised education and initiated attempts to change institutional practice (Nyamnjoh, 2022). Decolonising is an agenda with the goal of disrupting existing colonial power structures which impact marginalised

communities (Nyamnjoh, 2022). If decolonising higher education has a potential to disrupt the oppressive forces that keep communities marginalised, the relationship between higher education and marginalised communities requires further investigation. The object of my analysis, therefore, is higher education in South Africa focusing specifically on The University of Western Cape (UWC). I will examine how globalised (primarily Eurocentric) influences and structuring of higher education, set within UWC's complex context, impacts on the capacity and extent that decolonisation in higher education is possible.

1.3 Research problem

Decolonising higher education institutions has risen up the agenda in recent years; however, the concern and debate about Eurocentric influences on higher education through institutional cultures, knowledge production and globalisation, have a long history in postcolonial and neo-colonial discourses (Fanon, 1967; Young, 2001; Escobar, 1995; Santos, 2012). The Fallist movement referred to in Section 1.2, led to a shift in the language of South African higher education, whereby reforms that had been framed by the terminology of 'transformation' were recouched using the emancipatory term 'decolonisation' (Nyamnjoh, 2022). Nevertheless, higher education in South Africa has been historically embedded within a Eurocentric structure and is situated within a neoliberal society and a globalised education system. As in many countries, access is restricted to the few rather than the many, which in itself is marginalising. Also, despite the rhetoric of decolonisation, the content of education remains primarily influenced by the Western canon, which devalues and marginalises indigenous and African knowledge. None of this is to say, however, that higher education does not have the potential to lessen inequalities. Through shining a light on marginalisation and social justice issues it can do just this, and through its unique position, it can have an impact on society more broadly.

Dissatisfaction with a Eurocentric model of education that discounts the history, heritage, identity, and culture of many of the students attending South African higher education, is apparent throughout my research. However, what has also emerged through my study is that one of the purposes of education from a student perspective is the economic and social mobility that higher education offers. Also of importance is the certification of achievement that recognises the students' capabilities and attainment, that stands up in, and gives access

to, the global marketplace. This calls into question what decolonising might mean when certain key elements of a neoliberal, Western influenced education system are valued.

Decolonisation has become a popular term on the global stage, and it is applied across a multitude of contexts. Within higher education it is a word that is used quite liberally in seeking to instigate institutional change. This raises the following problems: Does everyone understand the concept of decolonising in the same way? Can decolonising approaches be applied uncritically across multiple contexts that exist in different political, social, and cultural environments? Can the word decolonising account for the complexity of needs that students attending higher education have? As alluded to above, decolonisation is currently used in a fairly blunt way; its utilisation in different contexts and disciplines is not necessarily interrogated, and nor are the different outcomes and aspirations that various stakeholders may hold for a decolonising agenda.

1.4 Research Question(s)

This research problem invites us to consider the question: *To what extent is decolonising higher education in South Africa possible?* In trying to answer this question, the following research sub-questions emerged:

What are the perspectives of marginalised students in higher education?

How do indigenous communities and stakeholders perceive their indigenous knowledge?

And then:

What is the role of higher education for marginalised communities?

Originally, my questions were focused on the role of indigenous education in higher education in South Africa, however, as I engaged with the literature and began to connect with actors in South Africa, complexities around who is considered indigenous within the country emerged. As such I reframed the question from indigenous to historically marginalised. This ambiguity also made the conceptualisation of indigenous knowledge

within South Africa problematic. When discussing how students and staff at UWC experienced their education and their thoughts regarding decolonisation, a more Afrocentric model came to the fore as an alternative to the current Euro-centric model of education. This led me to consider shifting the focus of my question from indigenous education to the Africanisation of education. Africanisation is defined as a counter-hegemonic discourse that emerges from a desire for an autonomous African identity and for critical African scholarship which will serve to create an education that is relevant (Brizuela-Garcia, 2006; Nyamnjoh, 2022). However, as part of my data collection I came into contact with several people who have been working with rural communities in South Africa for many years. These 'stakeholders' confirmed that the communities identify very strongly as indigenous and, furthermore, that they consider their knowledge to be indigenous. This is the case with the Guriqua community who produced the digital stories that form part of my research data (chapter 7) and for whom culture and tradition forms an important part of self-identity. Similarly, when interviewing students at UWC, although it became clear that not all participants considered themselves indigenous, they all shared a view that the communities from which they came have been historically marginalised. As such, the following terminologies are used intentionally to reflect these nuances.

Indigenous - is used when referring to various communities within this study that all consider themselves and identify as indigenous.

Historically marginalised - Is used to refer to the students that participate in the study, that do not all identify themselves as indigenous, but all recognise themselves, their ancestors and their communities have been marginalised in South Africa.

Decolonising - is an agenda with the goal of disrupting existing colonial power structures which marginalised/marginalises communities.

Africanisation and Afrocentric - is a counter-hegemonic discourse that emerges from a desire for an autonomous African identity and for critical African scholarship.

1.5 Research Value

In this project, I interview students who are studying at UWC, staff members at UWC who are engaged with the decolonising agenda, and stakeholders of indigenous communities. I also engage in storytelling with members of the Guriqua indigenous community. The purpose of these different forms of interaction is to consider the perspectives of members

of marginalised communities who are engaged in higher education as well as members of the indigenous communities whose knowledge has been devalued, dismissed and omitted from higher education in South Africa. There are two themes in which I situate this work. The first is concerned with questions around the appropriateness of including indigenous knowledge in higher education. The second is the limitations of decolonisation when it is viewed as a singular process which is applicable across contexts.

Against this framing, my research will add value to our knowledge and understanding in the following ways.

Is indigenous knowledge 'too' of a place and localised to be placed in mainstream higher education?

By considering the appropriateness of including indigenous knowledge in mainstream education, this project contributes to efforts to think critically about what it means to decolonise, and who decides this. Indigenous knowledge is highly contextual, and it is not often possible to transfer this knowledge across contexts; in other words, it is localised and relevant to the community to which it belongs (Brigg et al, 1999; Briggs, 2005). With this in mind, to include indigenous knowledge in a mainstream education context that is in a different location, and built on Western structures, could risk the knowledge losing its efficacy and becoming depersonalised or tokenistic (Briggs, 2005).

The call to decolonise is in part a result of a recognition that many people are subject to a Western-centred education despite the fact that this education is essentially imported and prioritised over more traditional, localised and contextualised knowledge. This imported education has devalued many non-Western ways of knowing that, in addition to the negative impact it can have on the way a community is valued, can also mean that the knowledge itself becomes less sustainable. In this research, I recognise the power and influence that higher education institutions hold, and that they can occupy a unique place in society that allows them to highlight and respond to issues in a way that other organisations or structures cannot (Gready & Jackson, 2023). This positionality, along with the historical prioritisation of Western ways of knowing, gives a certain responsibility to universities.

However, formal higher education institutions have a strong neoliberal influence that shapes how they are organised and the ways in which they are held accountable, often through global league tables that demand educational attainment and 'success' to be measured in very rigid and transferable ways.

The rigidity of formal education translates into curriculum design and structuring that is often expected to be applicable and recognisable between contexts. Therefore, to add indigenous knowledge into a curriculum assumes that indigenous knowledge is static and timeless, conveying a sense that indigenous communities are stagnant and unchanging, whereas the reality is that knowledge acquisition is often dynamic and evolving, and communities adapt, test and continuously develop their environmental knowledge (Brigg et al, 1999; Briggs, 2005).

Further, there is the question of to whom does the knowledge belong? If it belongs to the community, who gets to decide if and how that knowledge should be situated within mainstream education? Will the community have any ownership of how the education is treated and interrogated once it is placed within an educational setting? Exploring these questions will allow this research to contribute to the debate of decolonisation by highlighting the challenges surrounding the inclusion of indigenous knowledge into a formal education setting.

Are there alternative ways to raise awareness of the value of indigenous knowledge away from mainstream higher education?

The tensions concerning the inclusion of indigenous knowledge are important, not just for the conceptualisation of what decolonisation is, but also in understanding the importance of the sustainability of indigenous knowledge. In considering this issue, the question of whether indigenous communities must adapt in order to survive within a neoliberal society is raised? According to Spivak (1988), there is a danger that for indigenous knowledge to be accessible in a neoliberal society, it needs to be expressed in a European way, and as such risks losing some of its original meaning. She argues that the subaltern (see chapter 3) is not truly speaking, if to be heard they must dilute their truth into Western ways of knowing.

However, if the decision to adopt some of the Western influence comes from the community itself, to dismiss this decision or regard it as somehow imposed could also devalue and dismiss the agency of the community. By considering this question it is highlighting the nuances of the needs of the marginalised students and communities to come to the fore when constructing a decolonising agenda, and if there are alternative ways to sustain and recognise indigenous education away from the mainstream, neoliberal structures of higher education.

Can higher education be meaningfully decolonised without the inclusion of indigenous knowledge?

Different definitions of decolonising are considered and debated in my research; however, the definition that frames my thinking is that it contests the hegemony, legacy and limitations of Eurocentric epistemologies and the Northern control of knowledge production, whilst interrogating whose interests are met by the prioritised knowledge and its practices (Mignolo & Escobar, 2013; Hayes, Lockett and Misiaszek, 2021). The reason I prioritise this definition is that it leaves space for decolonising to be contextual and adaptive, depending on the situation and circumstance in which it is located. There is also an emphasis on understanding whose interests are being met by the prioritised knowledge, and I would add here an interest in fully understanding the needs of the marginalised communities for whom the education is being decolonised. In this, it can be argued that to fully contest the colonial power structures that have driven educational programming (decolonisation), is to allow the marginalised recipient of the education to have the agency to inform the agenda for change.

This includes considering the binaries that exist in current discourses on decolonisation, such as 'African knowledge vs Western knowledge, and indigenous knowledge vs science'. It raises questions about the usefulness of these binaries (Jansen, 2019; Mbembe, 2019), including whether they take the fluidity of epistemologies into account, It also gives cause to question whether decolonising allows for an ever-changing world, and how the needs of marginalised peoples in such a world can be navigated.

By considering the importance of indigenous knowledge in a decolonial agenda highlights the importance and agency of the indigenous community in regard to their knowledge and how or if it should be repurposed for the sake of formal education.

My research is not a global education study, and it does not seek to resolve all these problems. However, the intention is that it can contribute towards *beginning* to understand these problems by examining what decolonising means in a context where the term has considerable currency, that is politically complicated, and in which multiple stakeholders have a vested interest.

1.6 Research Methodology and Data Collection

In this study, I deliberately utilised a collaborative approach as part of a decolonising methodology. Decolonising methodologies bring together indigenous, transformative, liberating, critical and feminist methodologies to aid decolonising research. It is an approach that challenges Eurocentric research methods that can undermine local knowledge and the experiences of marginalised groups. The impetus to decolonise methodologies stems from a discontent with the focus on knowledge production centring on the Global North, and the aim is to disrupt universal narratives and to give voice to the marginalised. Smith (2021) in her consideration of decolonising methodologies, suggests that research undertaken must be of use to the community who are being researched. Additionally, a decolonising approach requires the researcher to critically reflect on their own participation in a research project.

I chose to use conventional interview methods as part of my data collection but utilised in a way to construct joint narratives. I conducted semi-structured interviews with 12 students studying at UWC who are from historically marginalised communities and with 5 UWC staff. I also interviewed 5 stakeholders who work with indigenous communities in South Africa with the purpose of gaining insight into their conception of indigenous knowledge and its role within the community. Beyond this, I engaged indigenous community members in a process of digital storytelling (10 digital stories were created), knowing that the resources produced will also be used by the community and by Natural Justice in their advocacy. This

approach allowed a narrative inquiry, where the research participants were able to select, recollect and reflect on their stories within their own cultural context.

Case Studies

UWC was chosen as a fieldwork site as it has a long history of activism and is viewed as 'the intellectual home of the democratic left' (Nyamnjoh, 2022). UWC is a historically disadvantaged institution (HDI), and despite educational reforms since apartheid, the majority of students attending the university today are from historically marginalised communities. This, along with progressive political history, makes the university an interesting and relevant site to focus on for this research. In addition, I have working relationships with some academic staff and postgraduate students at UWC which allowed me to recruit and gain the trust of participants and have an underlying understanding of the institution (which was particularly important given the way the research was impacted by Covid-19, as discussed in Chapter 5).

Natural Justice works with indigenous peoples and local communities in Africa. It is an organisation that aims to enhance the collective rights of people through legal empowerment, research, policy influencing and litigation. They support communities to know the law, use the law and shape the law. As was the case with UWC, I had an established relationship with Natural Justice through the Centre of Applied Human Rights at the University of York, in which I work as a Research Associate. Through Natural Justice I became aware of The Guriqua community. The Guriqua are part of the Khoi-Khoi and are an indigenous subsistence farming and traditional fishing community belonging to the historical Guriqua tribe which claims San descent. Their way of life and identity is deeply connected to biodiversity and wildlife. The Guriqua have suffered marginalisation through historical dispossession of their land and livestock (IWGIA, 2023).

Working with participants from a higher education institution, and participants that hold indigenous world views, was important to fully understand both the experiences of higher education by students from marginalised communities, and how an indigenous community perceived their knowledge and their marginalisation. This helped to build a picture of the current role and the potential of higher education in serving these communities.

1.7 Research Ethics

There are two key ethical considerations in this study. The first is the mandatory ethical procedure as stipulated by the University of York and includes a consideration of conflicts of interest in regard to any payments to research participants, of which there were none for this study, and the importance of doing no harm to participants or communities through this research. Full ethical approval was given by the department of Education at the University of York for the research. All research participants gave informed consent prior to being interviewed or participating in the digital storytelling workshops. Interview participants were allocated specific identifying codes, after which any personal data that could be used to identify individuals was removed. The participants from the Guriqua community all wished to have their first names on the title of their stories, and many chose to include images of themselves. This was decided upon after full acknowledgement of how and where the stories could be used and published. Despite these identifying factors, the participants are anonymous in the sense that their stories are referred to via codes and their full name does not appear in my records or at any point of this thesis. I have ensured that the data management and storage obligations are met for all research materials in accordance with University of York and GDPR requirements.

My interest in this field of study comes from a combination of my personal and academic background. I was raised in a very working-class environment and found education to be both a marginalising and freeing experience. Formal education, in particular academia, has been difficult for me to access as a working-class woman that did not have the cultural or social capital of my peers. Yet, at the same time education allowed me to find language to express my thoughts and understand the political environment I inhabit. This complex contact with education led me to pursue a greater understanding of the potential it has for both societal and individual change. This leads to a further ethical consideration that is not explicitly captured by the university's ethical procedure, relates to the realities of my power and positionality researching, as a Western White woman, a postcolonial context. Despite shifts in the concentration of funding and knowledge exchange between the so-called Global North and South, it is still the case that the traditional centres of power are located within the former. Mindful of this, I adopted an ethical framework influenced by the work of

Spivak (1988), North (2017) and Smith (2021), all of whom argue for the importance of giving the 'oppressed' a voice in the research process (Spivak, 1988; North, 2017). As such I have adopted an ethos of collaboration and inclusion in this study. In line with the work of Smith (2021) my main consideration, particularly when working with the Guriqua community, was to do no harm. A further consideration was to create opportunities for the Guriqua community to find value in the research process. This was achieved through funding the local researchers at Natural Justice to facilitate the participants in the creation of their digital stories (which as mentioned previously, will be used to support Guriqua advocacy). I would also suggest that the digital stories workshop is a collaborative and creative space that itself benefits participants. Finally, I repurposed my fieldwork funding to train local indigenous researchers from Natural Justice in facilitating digital storytelling workshops, which they have used since to create further resources for their advocacy.

1.8 Structure of the thesis

Over the course of nine chapters of this thesis, I assess the role of higher education for marginalised communities through the lens of decolonisation. In chapter 2, I reflect on the colonial history of South Africa, recognising the legacy of apartheid and the influence this has had on the structuring and content of the mainstream higher education institutes in the country. I aim to unravel some of the complexities that are inherent in efforts to transform and decolonise higher education in what is still a divided and highly politicised context. Chapter 3 I explore the role of development, and I debate alternative narratives that have evolved in post development theory, postcolonialism and the capabilities approach, in order to develop a theoretical framework that borrows from all of these discourses. Chapter 4 reviews the literature around decolonising education, the role of indigenous knowledge, and whether such knowledge can exist alongside a Western canon. I discuss alternative epistemologies and engage in the debates concerned with knowledge extraction. Chapter 5 outlines my methodological approach to this study, exploring the epistemologies that have influenced the design and delivery of my research. I outline the challenges experienced due to Covid19 and how this led to further opportunities to decolonise my research approach. In chapters 6 and 7 I offer an analysis of my findings, and through the words and stories of my participants I draw out themes of race, inclusion, identity, and representation. I highlight the 'whitewashing' of history and the impact this has on communities, and I explore the lived

realities of marginalised communities and their connection to the land and to nature. In chapter 8 I reflect upon my data using the lens of my theoretical framework to embark on a process of meaning-making of my findings. This allows me to argue for greater contextual consideration in forming a decolonising agenda, one that reflects the nuances of marginalised communities' needs in terms of higher education. Chapter 9 presents a summary of my core argument and its relevance. I present a framework for considering a decolonising agenda for higher education, and questions to be asked. I conclude with a recognition of the limitations of my study, and recommendations for future work and practice.

The following chapter will set out my theoretical framework through exploring the development agenda and its critiques, engaging with the postcolonial theories and relating them to decolonising education.

2. Research Context

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will explore the context within which this research is embedded, and which has set the scene and influenced the conceptualisation of the research questions, the chosen methodology and the theoretical framework. I will start by exploring the colonial history of South Africa and the historical marginalisation of communities to better understand the complexities of what it means to be indigenous in the country. I then examine the more recent political situation in South Africa, including apartheid and the segregation of education during this period. The transition to democracy will be discussed to further comprehend the complex political environment of South Africa today. I present an overview of the higher education system of South Africa more recently, how student activism has encouraged changes within the system, and how and if indigenous knowledge or Africanisation has influenced the higher education system.

2.2 Colonial history of South Africa

In the first millennium AD, the population of South Africa comprised three distinct groupings: Hunter gatherers (later known as San, speaking one of the Khoisan 'click' languages); Pastoralists (speaking Khoikhoi, which is also Khoisan); and agriculturalists, who speak one of the Bantu languages. Although the groups were homogenous, contact between them was frequent (Ross, 1999). What has been referred to as an 'unofficial Colonisation', happened 2000 years ago in South Africa, when some farmer and metal worker groups left North Africa and migrated southwards (Meyer, 2012). The Khoikhoi social group differed from the San, in that every member of the San group was thought of as a relative and addressed as such, whereas the Khoikhoi placed more emphasis on the biological male line. Amongst the Khoikhoi, cattle were passed on to sons and a ruler's authority was derived from wealth (Ross, 1999). As well as the Khoi and San, the Bantu-speaking people settled in the northern, eastern, and central regions of South Africa, forming clans with their own identities and hierarchical socio-political rank structures (Oliver & Oliver, 2017). This history is important to fully appreciate the complexity of what

‘indigenous’ means in South Africa. Furthermore, it is important to note how the groups that inhabited South Africa before colonialism shared commonalities, even if they were not homogenous.

South Africa was colonised later than North Africa. In the 1590s the Khoikhoi traded their cattle with English and Dutch mariners for copper, iron, and tobacco, leading to the establishment of the Table Bay trading post (Oliver & Oliver, 2017). However, the Khoikhoi could not satisfy the demand for these goods, which led the Dutch to establish a colony at Table Bay in 1652 (Ross, 1999). Two wars followed, during which the colonists sought to reappropriate land on which the Khoikhoi and San lived, and thereafter a protracted period of guerrilla warfare by allied Khoikhoi and San forces (Ross, 1999). As a result, the Cape government sanctioned the ‘extirpating’ of the San, thus formalising a genocidal practice that had been in operation for most of the century. Hundreds of Sans were killed, and the children taken as de facto slaves (Ross, 1999). After 1652, the Cape was populated with immigrants from Europe and involuntary immigrants, or slaves. Between the foundation of the colony in 1652 and the abolition of the overseas slave trade in 1807, about 60,000 slaves were imported into the Cape from Indonesia, India, Madagascar, and the east coast of Africa (Ross, 1999). From the 1690s, settler farmers began dispossessing the Khoisan (The collective term that the Khoikhoi and San have become known as) of their land and stock and introduced forced labour (Ross, 1999). This accelerated a process by which the rights of the Khoisan were eroded, and they were separated from the land upon which they relied, and which was instrumental to their culture and identity.

During the seventeenth century, the Dutch possessed the largest trading enterprise called Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC). However, by 1775 VOC was on the verge of bankruptcy and the British had founded the British East India Company, conquering the Cape at the Battle of Muizenberg (Oliver & Oliver, 2017). In 1803, the colony was returned to the Batavian Republic; however, three years later the British took back control of the colony to protect the sea route to their Asian Empire. The Incorporation into the British Empire altered the society and political relations within the colony (Ross, 1999; Oliver & Oliver, 2017). This unstable and frequently changing political landscape has resulted in a

complex and lasting legacy (for example, in relation to the value placed on language, which will be explored in terms of instruction later in this chapter). During their rule, the British maintained the existing system of law and maintained an alliance with the major landowners of the colony (Ross, 1999). The Dutch language remained widely spoken and gradually evolved into Afrikaans, which is still the third most common language in South Africa, after Zulu and Xhosa (Giliomee, 1996). The incorporation of South Africa into the British Empire resulted in the expansion of the colony's commercial relations. British immigrants arrived in 1820 as a large group of assisted settlers.

Under the rule of the Dutch, commandos had waged a genocidal war against the Khoisan (Penn, 2013, p.183), which the British in their occupation of the Cape was committed to stopping (Penn, 2013). Britain justified its rule in terms of 'making the world a better place', and as such the Slave trade to British colonies was forbidden in 1808. This led to the Khoisan becoming fully incorporated as labourers in Cape society (Ross, 1999) with the intention of 'civilising' the Khoisan, and to 'rescue this unfortunate race from the deplorable state of barbarism to which they have been so long condemned' (Collins, 1809 cited in Penn, 2013). Yet this period of British rule has been referred to as "one of the bloodiest tragedies acted under the British government, and within the last few years too, that ever disgraced any European nation" (Philip, 1828), on the basis that the British policy and intention was to eliminate the way of life of the Khoisan, something which Adhikari (2010) recognised to be, at the very least, ethnocidal. Certainly, although the policy may have shifted during British rule, the Khoisan were still being dispossessed of their land and they were being targeted and killed by settlers, or coerced into labour (Adhikari, 2010). Although these events happened over 200 years ago, they are an important period of history to highlight in this study as it not only led to the dispossession and slaughter of the indigenous people in South Africa, but it also ingrained the prejudice against, and discrimination of, the Khoisan people by setting policy that labelled them as 'uncivilised', as a race that was in need of rescuing from their own 'barbarism' (Collins, 1809). In this, the belief that the Khoikhoi and the San were in some way backwards and their traditions needed modernising, became embedded. Indeed, much of this established rhetoric has caused the marginalisation of these communities in South Africa and directly impacts upon their lives today.

From 1834, the Afrikaner groups (originally called Voortrekkers) invaded the country from the east, moved to the north and began a battle with the black migrants. After 1852, most of South Africa was conquered by White people (Oliver & Oliver, 2017). By 1880, there were four White polities in South Africa: the Cape Colony and Natal (under British Reign); the Oranje-Vrijstaat (Orange Reign) (under Dutch or Boer Reign) ; and the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (under Afrikaner rule) (Chanaiwa, 2000). During this time, the black inhabitants of South Africa were placed under a 'policy of severely unequal segregation' (Betts, 2000). The majority of the Khoikha were forced to the south and south-west, and some were incorporated by the Xhosa Chiefdoms (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007). This racial segregation, although more prevalent and cruder in apartheid, has left its legacy in South Africa to this day, seen through vast disparities in wealth and culture.

Issues with identity around race became a more significant issue in South Africa with the offspring of the European colonists and the Malay slaves, often referred to as *Cape Coloureds*, or mixed-race people. The settlers and the soldiers who came to the Cape had mixed offspring with the Khoikhoi, the San and later the Xhosa people (Oliver & Oliver, 2017). The Indians who came also had children with the San and Xhosa. These children of mixed race became classified as coloured (Oliver & Oliver, 2017). The mixed-race people in South Africa have contributed hugely to the culture of the country, not least in terms of language where Afrikaans has merged with different African Languages (Oliver & Oliver, 2017). This is an important part of South African history to identify, both to understand the build up to the apartheid system that categorised individuals based on their race, but also how the legacy of apartheid is still impacting upon education in present day South Africa.

2.3 Political situation in South Africa

2.3.1 Apartheid

This section will explore the era of apartheid more closely. Although apartheid ended in 1994, its legacy lives on in present day South Africa, contributing to the continued marginalisation of communities and impacting on the higher education system, both in terms of hierarchy of institutions (formerly White higher education institutions still viewed as superior to formerly Black education institutions) and the education that different groups

have access to. Apartheid was introduced into South Africa in 1948 by the ruling National Party (NP) and is a translation from the Afrikaans meaning 'apartness'. The apartheid system was justified as a means to allow freedom of cultural expression by separating the development of different racial groups (Gordon, 2021). In reality it led to gross inequality, with these groups forced to live separately and accorded different rights and differing access to society. Integration between different racial groups was viewed as suspicious and discouraged through the introduction of laws that denied certain groups access to certain areas (Hart, 2002). It is important to note here that segregation was not new in South Africa. It had been encouraged during the colonial period and it was part of the existing principles of the policy of the South African government before the Afrikaner Nationalist Party came into power in 1948. The difference is that apartheid embedded segregation in law and therefore gave the state the ability to enforce it, often in cruel and inhumane ways (Gordon, 2021).

Apartheid was introduced at a time when other colonised countries were gaining independence and many countries were moving away from policies of segregation. The Nationalist Party passed numerous laws to enable the operation of the apartheid state. For example, the Population Registration Act, passed in 1950, forced people to be registered according to their racial group: White, Coloured, Black, Indian, or Asian. People were treated differently according to their registered group (Ross, 1999; Gordon, 2021). This law was accompanied by the Groups Areas Act, which allowed the physical separation of races and was particularly enforced in urban areas (Ross, 1999). Nine years later, the Bantu Self Government Act required different racial groups to live in different areas. Despite making up the majority of the population, black people were only allowed to inhabit a small percentage of South Africa's landmass. This Act also disallowed 'Black spots' - that is areas where Black people lived inside predominantly 'White areas' - and meant moving the majority of Black people out of the cities. Notorious examples of this happened in District 6, Sophia Town and Lady Selborne. Black people were placed in townships outside of towns and were unable to own property because land could only be 'White owned' (Ross, 1999; Gordon, 2021). This dispossession of land and rights cast a lasting legacy on communities that, as we shall explore in Chapter 7, features strongly in the stories of study participants.

2.3.2 Opposition and Resistance to Apartheid

Opposition to apartheid came from both within and outside of South Africa. Within South Africa, the most prominent opposition organisations were the African National Congress (ANC); the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC); the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Black Consciousness Party (BCM). In addition to these Black movements, there were Indian and Coloured organised resistance movements, such as the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), and White organised opposition groups, such as the Armed Resistance Movement (ARM).

The ANC was formed before apartheid in 1912 and was originally called the South African Native National Congress (SANNE). It was founded as a movement of the Black elite and originally peaceful; however, after the introduction of apartheid, the ANC adopted a more militant approach, starting the 'Progression of Action' campaign in 1949 (Gordon, 2021). At this time Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambe, and Walter Sisulin became prominent members (Desai & Desai, 2002). In 1952, the ANC initiated what was termed the Defiance Campaign, which included actions that defied the laws of apartheid, with the intention of being purposefully arrested in the hope that this would cause the system to collapse (Desai & Desai, 2002). Actions included boarding White only buses and using White only toilets. However, the movement did not have the desired impact, and in 1959 some members broke away to form the PAC, a more violent and militant group (Oliver & Oliver, 2017).

On June 16, 1976, thousands of children in Soweto (a huge Black township on the outskirts of Johannesburg) demonstrated against a government policy that they should be taught in Afrikaans rather than English. In response, the police used tear gas and bullets against the protesters which proved a catalyst for a cycle of protests and violence (Gordon, 2021). As events unfolded, the situation in South Africa attracted the attention of the international community, resulting in a UN embargo on the export of arms to South Africa and the imposition of sanctions from neighbouring countries (Hart, 2002). In the late 1970s, the national economy entered a period of recession, and many skilled White people emigrated (Gordon, 2021). In 1986, a high-level Commonwealth mission travelled to South Africa to try and persuade the government to suspend its military action against the townships and to release political prisoners. This mission was unsuccessful. However, later that year the US congress passed the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, which banned new investments

and loans and the importation of many commodities. Other governments followed suit (Ross, 1999; Gordon, 2021). In 1983, a new constitution was introduced to try and appease the increasing criticism of the apartheid system (Gordon, 2021). This allowed more rights to Indian and Coloured but gave no further rights to Black people. As a result, more than 500 community groups formed the United Democratic Front, which had close links with the then exiled ANC (Ross, 1999). By 1985, a state of emergency was declared in much of the country. Police and army patrols of black communities intensified, the detainment and killing of Black people increased, and rigid censorship laws were introduced. All the while, South Africa's GDP fell, and inflation rose (Gordon, 2021). Whilst the economy declined, dissent against President Botha increased and government officials began talks with the imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela (Ross, 1999). Botha was forced to step down in 1989 and F. W. de Klerk became the leader of the National Party. De Klerk announced a programme of radical change and Mandela was released from prison. During 1990, the South African Parliament repealed the apartheid laws and freed many political prisoners (Gordon, 2021; Ross, 1999).

Although these events are not directly related to this study, they impose a legacy on the marginalised communities that are at the heart of this study. Indeed, the impact of apartheid and the segregation of rights and access is still very prevalent in South Africa today, through continuing marginalisation of certain communities, through the challenges some groups still face in trying to access land, through obstacles to the restoration of land rights, and through a huge disparity and division of wealth and resources.

In the next section, we will consider the impact that apartheid has had on education to further set the scene for this research.

2.3.3 Education During Apartheid

Education was segregated in South Africa prior to apartheid. Universal schooling was introduced for Whites from 1905 (Chisholm, 2012) and was taught in Afrikaans and English. This effectively excluded Africans from the polity and economy of South Africa (Chisholm,

2012). The formal¹ education available to the African and Coloured children was provided by mission schools. This became problematic when the numbers of students increased but funds remained static (Chisholm, 2012). As the missionary schools began to adopt a state curriculum, Afrikaner nationalists became concerned that they would provide a breeding ground for African nationalism. In 1948 when the Afrikaner National Party came into power, this led to a transfer of the schools into state control (Chisholm, 2012).

In the 1950s, schooling was segregated into four streams, each with different levels of financing: African, Indian, Coloured and White (Chisholm, 2012). The aims of education were explicit: to maintain White dominance and superiority in the South African state and economy (Chisholm, 2012). This segregation reflected what was happening throughout South African society, with Africans being systematically removed from urban and, what were considered, White areas, to the so-called homelands or Bantustans. The Bantustans had their own departments of education that were separately funded, but controlled from Pretoria (Chisholm, 2012). Teacher training colleges were established in the Bantustans, but education was vastly underfunded (Chisholm, 2012). The Bantustan legacy remains, with many of these areas still being the poorest in South Africa with schooling that is considered inadequate (Chisholm, 2012).

In 1958, the Bantu Education Act was passed. In its introduction, the Minister of Native Affairs stated: "There is no place for [a Black man] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his community, however, all doors are open" (Verwoerd speaking in 1954, cited in Pelzer, 1966, p. 83). To justify this view, Verwoerd claimed that the previous education system - modelled on the same curricula as the education for the Whites - was exposing the Black man to a world he could not realistically enter, and therefore was adding to frustration among the Black population because they were becoming qualified for jobs that they then could not gain access to. Conversely, the new education system was based on Bantu values and community and would be of more value (Giliomee, 2009). This is an interesting justification to draw from in this research. Part

¹ The author recognises that children may have access to valuable informal education through the passing down of knowledge and culture through generations.

of decolonising education is to provide an education that recognises more diverse, and often what is regarded as indigenous, knowledges that are applicable and relevant to a person's culture and identity, and which are not solely focused on a Eurocentric model (Hayes, Lockett & Missiaszek, 2021). Here, then, is such an educational system. However, it can be argued that it was not decolonial, in that to decolonise is to break down the European power structures which the Bantu education system was seeking to maintain and strengthen. Furthermore, the Bantu education system was further marginalising the communities by denying them choice or access to an education that could allow them to have a more participatory role in their society. However, it demonstrates the care that must be taken in making assumptions about what knowledge is 'best' for groups of people, or what is most 'appropriate' for them to succeed, and how sensitive this potentially is in a South African context in particular.

The enforcement of Afrikaans as a language of instruction in South Africa was accelerated in the early 1970s (Davies, 1996). In 1976, the Department of Bantu Education enforced Afrikaans in selected schools. At this time most of the children in Soweto were multilingual and English and Afrikaans would often be their fourth or fifth language (Ndlovu, 2006). Children received their learning through rote and recitation, which was reportedly frustrating for the staff and the students (Ndlovu, 2006). Dissatisfaction amongst students, staff and parents increased given that students would now be taught in Afrikaans by teachers who did not have Afrikaans as a first language (Ndlovu, 2006). The Soweto Youth Uprising started on June 16 in 1976. The student action committee had planned a peaceful march to include students from all over Soweto that would finish at the Department of Bantu Education where they intended to deliver a memorandum (Ndlovu, 2006). The protest was a reaction against the introduction of compulsory teaching in Afrikaans, which was seen as the main language of the ruling White minority, and is associated with oppression, force, and rule (Ndlovu, 2006). They were faced with tear gas, live ammunition, and police dogs. The number of fatalities is unknown, but as the protests continued, it is estimated that by the end of 1976 between 400 - 700 people may have died, many of them children (Beall, 2004). The violence initiated by the Soweto Youth Uprising spread throughout South Africa, the now famous photo of Hector Pieterse, a schoolboy who was shot and killed during the uprising, was sent to news outlets across the globe, and was instrumental in the introduction of the economic sanctions that would eventually help to reform South Africa

(Time Magazine, June 15, 2016). This event also demonstrates the significance of education in South Africa and how what is delivered, the language of instruction and the purpose of education all have political consequences. This further seen in later years with the more recent student protests #feesmustfall and #rhodesmustfall (explored in section 2.4.3).

2.3.4 Higher Education under Apartheid

During apartheid there were 9 higher education institutions, universities were divided by ethnic and racial lines before apartheid, the majority classified as White, where universities were either English speaking or Afrikaans speaking, and the University of Fort Hare (English speaking), was reserved for the Africans. The 'White' English language universities did, on occasion, admit a small minority of 'non-White' students (Davies, 1996). Apartheid brought the statutory segregation of universities and Blacks were denied admission to White universities. 'Africans' were required to attend tribal institutions in the Bantustans, and Coloured and Indians had their own exclusive campuses (Davies, 1996, p. 322). The provision of Black University education was contested within the National Party and the State. The extreme right opposed any expansion, whereas the Prime Minister, Verwoerd, argued that there was a need for a loyal university-trained Black bureaucracy (Davies, 1996). We see here again that during this time the purpose of education for Black students was to further the apartheid vision, rather than to aid social mobility or encourage critical awareness.

Tension between Afrikaans universities and British cultural imperialism persisted (Davies, 1996), and after 1948 the Afrikaner universities became recipients of state investment (Lazar, 1997, p. 93-94). However, after the assassination of Verwoerd in 1966, the political landscape shifted to prioritise White privilege (Van Zyl Slabbert, 1989, p.20). However, in 1966, the English-language universities declared themselves 'open' universities and pledged to restore academic freedom. Despite this, the relationship between the state and the English language universities maintained largely good terms with only occasional hostility (Davies, 1996).

The uprisings in the 1970s, including a student-based Black consciousness movement and the revolt against 'Bantu education', sparked a shift in higher education. External pressures led to reforms in South Africa, including the reconstruction of apartheid which resulted in a reconsideration of class structure and racial order (although not the elimination of White domination) (Davies, 1996). The Black universities were upgraded in the hope of making them more acceptable to Black students (Davies, 1996), and access to Black students was widened within English speaking universities (although not Afrikaans universities) (Davies, 1996). Despite these initial reforms, the major beneficiaries were the Coloured and Indian universities, which were granted more autonomy.

However, between 1980 and 1993 significant numbers of Black students were enrolled in the aforementioned White 'open universities' (Davies, 1996). This changed university politics on White campuses and students began to forge links with other opponents to apartheid (Davies, 1996). The relationship between the academy and the state deteriorated as universities became sites of student activism. In the context of the present study, the then Coloured University of the Western Cape (UWC) aligned itself with the student activists (Davies, 1996, p. 328). Viewed by some as the 'South African university of the future' (Gwala, 1998, p. 168), it was referred to as the 'people's university', serving the needs of the vast majority of the population, rather than the privileged few (Kruss, 1988, p.35). Acts of 'rebellion' against the apartheid regime became commonplace at UWC, and in 1975 UWC's Rector spoke of reimagining the university as a place that was accessible to all those who wished to enrol (Thomas, 2014). In the early 1980s, the Rector declared UWC 'the intellectual home of the democratic left' distinguishing it from other universities (Africa is a Country, 2012). Meanwhile, riot police began invading the campuses of White 'open universities', which led to institutions accusing the state of preventing them 'from discharging their responsibility to their students' (Davies, 1996, quoting from *Cape Times*, 28 August 1986). There were some "White" universities that considered themselves anti-apartheid, but in reality, it was a case that they were 'less closed' to Black students than some other institutions, rather than being authentically 'open' to Black students. (Philips, 2000; Murray, 1997). This was the case with Witwatersrand (Wits) University, an institution outwardly opposed to apartheid and attended by several prominent anti-apartheid activists (including Nelson Mandela). Wits claimed that it was ahead of the White mainstream in its

opposition to apartheid and through its admission of Black students, whilst proclaiming that it was maintaining its academic freedom in opposition to apartheid oppression (Shear, 1996; Philips, 2000). However, Mandela himself reported that he felt very marginalised during his time at Wits and, indeed, Wits included amongst its graduates various National Party Cabinet Ministers (Philips, 2000; Murray, 1997). Clearly, therefore, there were differences between perception of the prevailing situation and the lived experience of the marginalised individuals and groups.

This era is an important inclusion in this chapter, as well as the aforementioned legacy of apartheid still being felt in many communities in South Africa, the education system is also still impacted by these events. The inclusion of UWC in this study was founded on its reputation formed through its role during the apartheid study and its values based on being a university of the public good with an aim of building a more equitable society (webportal@uwc.ac.za, n.d.).

2.3.5 Transition to Democracy

I will now move on to explore the transition from the apartheid era into democracy, a further important period for situating the experience and the context of the marginalised communities included within this study. In 1991, Mandela was elected president of the ANC. Mandela and de Klerk both met with representatives of most political organisations in the country with a mandate to draw up a new constitution. Eighteen other parties endorsed an interim constitution in which the country was divided into 9 new provinces, land was returned to the Black communities and substantial powers were given to provincial governments (Gordon, 2021). This constitution took effect after South Africa's first election by universal suffrage in April 1994. In the elections, the ANC secured almost two thirds of the vote, the National Party one fifth and the IFP most of the remainder of the votes cast. Seats in the South African parliament were allocated in line with the principles of proportional representation and Mandela became the president on May 10, 1994. However, not all were satisfied with the compromises being made and both White and Black extremists sought to sabotage the process (Desai & Desai, 2002).

2.3.6 The Truth and Reconciliation Commission

In 1995, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established to review the atrocities committed during apartheid. The TRC received more than 7,000 amnesty applications, held more than 2,500 amnesty hearings, and granted 1,500 amnesties for thousands of crimes committed during apartheid (Hart, 2002). The TRC received widespread criticism by both the White and Black population, with some White's claiming they felt targeted and some Black's viewing the process to allow criminals to escape justice (Gordon, 2011). However, the TRC succeeded in uncovering information that would otherwise remain hidden, with many finally able to learn the fate of 'disappeared' relatives or friends (Gordon, 2011). One of the recommendations of the TRC was that South Africa's society and political system should be reformed, to include a reconciliation process of educational institutions (Hart, 2002) This demonstrates the impact of the segregation of education, with Desmond Tutu referring to the Bantu Education Act as "the most evil of all pieces of apartheid legislations" (cited in Horsthemke, 2005), and some calling for a Truth and Reconciliation Commission for education in South Africa (Horsthemke, 2005).

2.3.7 The Mbeki and Zuma Presidency

In 1997, Mbeki replaced Mandela as president of the country, pledging to address the economic problems facing South Africa. Mbeki's presidency was marred by corruption allegations against the deputy president, Jacob Zuma. Despite facing criticism, Zuma remained a popular figure within the ANC and was selected as leader of the party over Mbeki in 2007. Although the charges of corruption persisted, the ANC still won the 2009 election with 66% of the vote and Zuma was officially inaugurated in May 2009 (Ross, 1999). Zuma's presidency was problematic and controversial. The economic situation in the country was still challenging and several long-term strikes erupted into violence. Unemployment rates remained as high as 25% and the corruption allegations kept resurfacing (Gordon, 2021). Disruption was also seen in higher education, with the largest student protest since the apartheid era occurring in October 2015 due to rising university fees (detailed later in this chapter). In 2016, the ANC experienced its worst performance in an election, and pressure mounted on President Zuma until he stepped down in December 2017 (Gordon, 2021).

2.3.8 The Ramaphosa Presidency

After Zuma, Ramaphosa was officially elected president by the National Assembly. Ramaphosa vowed to tackle corruption and in 2019 set up a special tribunal to handle complaint cases; however, progress has been slow (Gordon, 2021). Having previously been reluctant to support land reforms, he shifted his position and committed to a policy of land expropriation, without compensation to the owner, to enable redistribution to Black South Africans (Hart, 2002). Ramaphosa remained in post after the 2019 elections, and announced a new cabinet, in which women were appointed to half the posts, creating the first gender-mixed cabinet in South Africa's history (Gordon, 2021).

In this section, I have sought to demonstrate that even with the ending of apartheid, inequalities faced by citizens in South Africa were still prevalent. Particularly impacted were the communities who had already suffered marginalisation for generations through colonialism and apartheid. The next section will begin to explore the education system that has emerged in the post-apartheid era.

2.4 Overview of higher education system in South Africa

This section will discuss higher education in South Africa and the influence that colonialism and apartheid has had. Whilst scholars in the field are in agreement that the current offering of higher education in the country is lacking, there is no consensus on a solution. Further, the role that education should play in the society of South Africa generally is also contested (McGrath, 2004; Habib, 2016).

Higher education in South Africa has a history of influencing social change, as can be seen when considering the role universities adopted in apartheid. At the advent of the democratic era in 1994, the higher education system was ethnically fragmented and racially divided. In 2005, education in South Africa moved to an outcome-based model, coined Curriculum 2005. This change was intended to address social inequalities within the country. However, the education system remained Eurocentric and largely ignored traditional African values and learning (Botha, 2010). The National Development Plan in 2011 prioritised equity through the principle of massification. Although the National Development Plan confronted issues such as knowledge development and differentiation, it did not tackle the roots of

inequalities and the historic use of education to pursue ethnic and racial agendas (Habib, 2016).

2.4.1 The two lenses of higher education in South Africa

Education and higher education in South Africa can be viewed through two different lenses: one focusing on its potential as a vehicle for economic growth, the other, focusing on how it can aid societal change away from colonialism and apartheid. In this section will unpack these debates.

Despite having the second largest economy in Africa (IMF, 2020) and possessing what is classified by the World Bank as an upper-middle-income-economy (World Bank, 2020), South Africa still has high levels of crime, poverty and is plagued by widespread inequalities (McGrath, 1996; McGrath, 2004). Higher education in South Africa has been viewed as an important vehicle to achieve economic growth and accelerate social change (Habib, 2016; Philips, 2000; Shear, 1996; Murray, 1997). Although access to higher education is increasing, 55% of students entering university in South Africa do not complete their studies, and only 25% finish their degrees in the allotted time (Habib, 2016).

A significant proportion of the literature focusing on higher education in South Africa emphasises how universities relate to society. However, the inefficiency of higher education has also been shown to have had a detrimental effect on the economy (Habib, 2016). Universities in South Africa have historically been segregated by race, (section 4.3.3) (Bozalek & Baughey, 2012) and although there have been moves to deracialise, there are still some universities that are largely attended by Black students and historically White universities that are still Afrikaans in both culture and attendance (Philips, 2000). Habib (2016) argues that failing to promote cultural change within society has contributed to South African universities' inability to be competitive on a global economic scale. A proposed solution is to adopt a racial integration approach - that is an approach that rejects cultural homogeneity and favours an organisational space where new identities are built (Calitz, 2018). With this approach, universities would be organised to enable continuous integration, with the intention of evolving students away from racial identities (Calitz, 2018).

Habib suggests that this approach would prepare students for a cosmopolitan work environment, in which they will be expected to work across ethnic boundaries (Habib, 2016).

South Africa's national motto "unity in diversity" was invoked by the Minister of Education Kadar Asmal in his national Education Policy in 2003. His intention was to celebrate the diverse language, cultures, and religions in the country, to view the diversity within South Africa as an asset rather than a problem (Chidester, 2008). This outlook was integrated into the *Values of Education* Initiative which aimed to develop a new anti-racist and anti-sexist education by promoting equity, tolerance, and accountability (Chidester, 2008). However, it has been argued that despite high-level rhetoric supporting de-racialisation, after twenty years of democracy many higher education institutions remain racial enclaves (Habib, 2016).

To enable the higher education sector to be competitive globally, Habib (2016) points to a need for a greater investment from the South African government to enable infrastructural transformation (Habib, 2016). It is argued that this should include more financial support for Black postgraduate students to allow them to develop the skill set which will lead to a sustainable academic career (Calitz, 2018). Further, Habib (2016) argues that a differentiated system, whereby universities work together to meet the multiple needs of an economy, would promote greater economic growth in South Africa. In his research, he proposes that each university should focus on a different skill set, so that all the skill sets required in South African society are met collectively through higher education (Habib 2016). Further, he argues that for this to be accomplished, there would need to be a move away from a racialized system that prevents universities working together (Habib 2016). However, Dlamini (2016) claims that this initiative does not go far enough, arguing that although this might recognise the problems inherent in a racialised higher education system, it does not allow for the importance of one's racial identity to be recognised, nor how deeply such identities can be felt (Dlamini, 2016).

This section has highlighted the tension between the neoliberal influence on education and the need for education to recognise racial and cultural differences. The frustrations at the

education system's inability to lessen inequalities have been at the forefront, with the need for greater resources emphasised.

2.4.2 “The pedagogy of big lies” in South African higher education

This section will explore the decolonisation of higher education in South Africa, recognising concerns that there has not been a meaningful shift towards decolonisation and away from the apartheid system (Heleta, 2016; Mamdani, 1996). Many scholars agree that colonialism resulted in higher education becoming an influential symbol of European dominance, through which European structures and systems could be installed. This was certainly the case in South Africa, where higher education was used to consolidate Western ideas and knowledge systems and impose racial hierarchies (Coates, 2020; Kelley, 2000; Heleta, 2016). Writing in 2016, Heleta focuses on the roots of Eurocentrism and epistemic violence at universities in South Africa, placing particular attention on the curriculum. He claims that imperial and colonial rule saw the exploitation of the resource-rich parts of the world by European powers, involving direct and indirect socio- economic and political control (Heleta, 2016; Mamdani, 1996). This discourse allowed the subjugation of local knowledge and also subalternised the indigenous population, turning them into the ‘other’ (Kelley, 2000; Heleta, 2016). This “omissions” of indigenous knowledge is arguably motivated by the desire to maintain structural domination (Heleta, 2018), which Macedo refers to as “the pedagogy of big lies” (1993).

Similarly, Kelley, writes of colonial universities as unapologetically Eurocentric, positioning themselves as local representatives of ‘universal’ knowledge (Kelley, 2000; Heleta, 2016). In the context of South Africa, the establishment of apartheid in 1948 exacerbated the epistemic violence and racism in universities (Bunting, 2004; Heleta, 2016). Indeed, Bunting suggests that higher education was designed to entrench the power and privilege of the ruling White minority (Bunting, 2004, p. 52). Universities became separated and designated for exclusive use by a particular racial group, Afrikaans-speaking academia worked closely with the government, but Heleta argues that the English-speaking universities also played their role in maintaining segregation and oppression (Heleta 2016). For example, he highlights that White, English-medium universities received funding from the government

despite viewing themselves as 'liberal' agents for change in opposition to of apartheid. (Heleta, 2016; Gibbon & Kabaki, 2004). Both Heleta (2016) and Gibbon & Kabaki (2004) claim that White, English-medium universities were largely elitist and benefited from apartheid's policies, and moreover that they contributed to maintaining the prevailing social order. Universities that were for Black people, meanwhile, existed only to prepare students to first serve the colony, and later serve apartheid (Heleta, 2016; Bunting 2004 and Mudimbe, 1985), as demonstrated by the majority governance of Black universities by White Afrikaners (Bunting, 2004; Heleta, 2016).

As discussed above, since apartheid ended 25 years ago, higher education institutions in South Africa remain racialized, unequal, and 'untransformed' (Habib, 2016; Fomunyan, 2017; Ahmed, 2017; Heleta, 2016). Indeed, Fomunyan (2017) argues that universities have stifled decolonisation by presenting and reifying Western knowledge. This is illustrated by the curricula in the majority of higher education institutions which remain largely Eurocentric, reinforcing White and Western dominance and privilege (Heleta, 2016). Despite many universities in South Africa having progressive, decolonising policies within their mandate that expressly speak to equity and transformation, in reality these may not be being implemented (Heleta, 2016). Indeed, Heleta argues that universities are still colonial and still reproducing hegemonic identities (2016). It can also be suggested that the curriculum in higher education in South Africa remains colonised as a consequence of power remaining in the hands of scholars who were trained during the colonial era. These same scholars shape curriculum discourse and dictate the direction education will take (Fomunyan, 2017; Heleta, 2016), with the result that that Eurocentric epistemology is still in place, African indigenous knowledge systems are being neglected (Heleta 2016).

However, there has been a significant shift in the student demographics since the end of apartheid, with most of the student body now being Black students and women (Heleta, 2018). Despite this shift, the majority of academics in South Africa are White, and this is particularly the case in the more senior positions (Department of Education, 2015). The end of apartheid also meant that Black university staff and students were permitted to enter the formerly "White" space, however, Heleta (2018) argues that the Black people accessing these "White" spaces have little or no opportunity to question or disrupt the status quo.

Furthermore, it is argued that much of the academy in South Africa fails to reflect on the country's history of oppression and the role higher education played in the maintenance of the inequality, and that this omission lays the foundation for the "pedagogy of big lies" (Heleta, 2018; Macedo, 1993).

The following section will examine the student protests starting in 2015, these protests were the first of their kind post 1994 and have been accredited as resulting from the aforementioned slow pace in the transformation of education since the end of apartheid and the official end of segregated higher education (Badat, 2016).

2.4.3 Student protest and social movements

This section will examine the student protests in South Africa that took place in 2015 and 2016, which are in many ways a consequence of the issues and concerns highlighted above.

In March 2015, a student at the University of Cape Town (UCT), initiated the #Rhodesmustfall movement by throwing human faeces on the statue of Cecil Rhodes (Nyamnjoh, 2022; Pillay, 2016). Although the movement started by focusing on a colonial statue, the protest evolved into a broader call for the decolonisation of the university, including calls for reform relating to race, culture, epistemic injustices, inequality, and representation (Nyamnjoh, 2022). The movement extended beyond UCT, to historically White universities, such as Stellenbosch and Pretoria, where the focus was on the politics of language, in particular the sustained use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in higher education, and its aforementioned links to the oppressive apartheid regime (Jansen, 2019; Nyamnjoh, 2022).

The #Rhodesmustfall movement transcended academia to highlight inequalities in other facets of society. For example, a shack village was established to demonstrate solidarity with the homeless and landless people's movement. This was a deliberate attempt to link one of the most prestigious universities in South Africa with the struggles of the poorest in society (Nyamnjoh, 2016), and it is a further example of how interlinked society and higher education are in South Africa, how issues affecting one effect the other, and how higher education is extremely politicised.

The #feesmustfall movement was a student led protest movement that began in October 2015 at the University of Witwatersrand (Wits). The aim of the movement was to stop increases in student fees as well as to increase government funding of universities (Chikane, 2018; Bawa, 2019). Protests started at Wits and spread to the University of Cape Town and Rhodes University, before spreading across the country (Chikane, 2018). However, the #feesmustfall movement did not unite all universities. For example, although the historically advantaged institutions (HAIs) championed the removal of all fees (a proposal that quickly entered the public domain given how it would benefit prominent members of society), students from historically disadvantaged institutions (HDIs) were reluctant to engage because they perceived it as a policy that would, ultimately, mean already wealthy students not having to pay for their higher education (Bawa, 2019). In this, and unlike #Rhodesmustfall which was concerned with the content of education and how this was reflected in society, #feesmustfall arguably did not act to benefit marginalised peoples (Pillay, 2016). Overall, whilst for the most marginalised, higher education was out of reach, even for those who were able to attend, the content of the curriculum was outdated. In short, in its lack of resources and the way it exacerbated inequalities, higher education was just another symptom of a failed state (Bawa, 2019).

The protests described above have resulted in ongoing unofficial and official university name changes in South Africa. The #Rhodesmustfall movement led to substantial changes within the institution of Rhodes, including the formation of the Black Student Movement, which have challenged issues of race, gender, and rape culture (Swartz et al., 2018). The pressure of the protests also led to the introduction of free tertiary education for marginalised students in 2017 (Daniel, 2021). A less measurable outcome has been the intensified conversations and critical thinking around coloniality in higher education in South Africa, with questions regarding 'what is taught'; 'who is teaching', and 'how we teach' (Swartz et al., 2018; Nyamnjoh, 2022).

In addition to the motivation to decolonise, it is important to consider the societal setting from out of which the protests emerged. The aforementioned Soweto uprising in 1976 has been argued to be the result of an 'organic crisis' (Saul & Gelb, 1986) - a result of economic

inequalities, mass unemployment combined with oppressed groups becoming organised and mobilising (Badat, 2016). Although the student movements in 2015 and after occurred post-apartheid, many of the triggering factors of the earlier protests remained (Badat, 2016). The exclusion and alienation of 'the Black child' from the higher education space, for example, arguably prompted the resurrection of many Black Consciousness ideas from the 1970s (Nyamnjoh, 2022). Moreover, the 2015 student movements highlighted the failure of the government and education to provide opportunities for socio economic mobility in South Africa (Nyamnjoh, 2022).

In relation to this research, the student protest movements are important in the way they highlight how the historical segregation of universities remains prevalent to this day, as well as providing insight into the motivation behind the eruption of unrest. It is also interesting to note that it is the students at the forefront of the decolonisation movement rather than university leaders, which, as the previous section alluded to, highlights the continued maintenance of the hegemonic status quo of universities in South Africa (Heleta, 2018). The HAI, for example, are assumed to have adopted a decolonising agenda to address issues of belonging and alienation in students who are from historically marginalised communities (Nyamnjoh, 2022). The HDIs, on the other hand (and in particular UWC), with their history of fostering social movements and anti-apartheid identity, were already, at least in part, decolonial (Nyamnjoh, 2022). That said, as noted in a recent study of students at the University of Limpopo in South Africa, if decolonisation is regarded as confronting power imbalances, students from HDIs can understand decolonisation as receiving the same standard of education as those students attending HAIs, as the students wish to have the same opportunities to enter a modern economy (Malabela, 2017; Nyamnjoh, 2022). Conversely, Heleta's (2016), view is that to decolonise education, the epistemic violence and hegemony of Eurocentrism needs to be dismantled and the curriculum needs to be completely reconstructed placing South Africa, Southern Africa, and Africa as a whole at the centre of teaching, learning and research. Some advocate that for students in South Africa to benefit from decolonisation all knowledge must be integrated in teaching and learning through the Africanisation and indigenisation of education (Kgari-Masondo & Chimbunde, 2021; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015).

Despite the impact of the student protests, higher education in South Africa still relies on a centralised authoritative management style, operating alongside epistemological rigidity and restrictive practices relating to access and funding, that are arguably restricting transformation of the academy (Heleta, 2016). This, albeit brief, explanation of the 2015 student movements in South Africa further demonstrates the complexities and nuances of decolonising, and how not only is the concept and focus of decolonising contextual, but it is also dependent on the marginalisation one has experienced. Recognising that the proposed ways and intentions to decolonise should be dependent on the needs identified by the students receiving the education, this may mean different approaches and outcomes in different settings.

2.4.4 Indigenous Knowledge and Africanisation in Higher Education in South Africa

In this chapter so far, I have shown that although South Africa is considered to be located within a post-apartheid era, many racialised structural inequalities remain. As a result, the South African government incorporated Africanisation into its policies to enable a nation-building project on its own cultural terms (The Bastion, 2017). This coincided with the 2004 Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) policy which sought to boost the economy of the country and enhance the positive self-image for many previously marginalised South Africans (The Bastion, 2017). In 2015, the South African government introduced a bill to protect and develop IKS, including the documentation of indigenous knowledge.

As has been explored, 'indigenous' is a complex and at times contested term in South Africa due to the country's diversity. In this context, no one group, or community is explicitly regarded as indigenous. Similarly, indigenous knowledge is also a complex and loaded term that does not have a single definition. As discussed in Chapter 4, indigenous knowledge is not one knowledge universal in its content or values. Rather, it often refers to a place in that it is localised to specific lands and cultures. Given this, talking about indigenous knowledge in the context of higher education is highly problematic. A more salient approach, perhaps, is to focus on an Africanisation of higher education and what this means for historically marginalised communities in South Africa. However, this is not uniformly accepted.

Indigenous knowledge, or Indigenous Knowledge Systems, are often referred to in policy

and literature, and indeed the terms indigenous knowledge and Africanisation are frequently used interchangeably. For the purpose of this research, indigenous knowledge is defined as unique to a particular culture and society and is embedded in community practices, institutions, relationships and rituals (Higgs, Higgs, & Venter, 2003). Africanisation is a process of inclusion that highlights the importance of African cultures, identities and knowledge (Higgs, Higgs, & Venter, 2003).

As explored in chapter 4, the concept of indigenous knowledge systems in higher education has gained significance (Kaya & Seleti, 2013). African indigenous knowledge is seen to incorporate non-Western worldviews and is not produced in formal research and academic institutions (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999; Cresswell, 1998 and Kaya & Seleti, 2013). Despite this, higher education in South Africa is still based on a predominantly Western model. Scholars attribute this to a continued social, economic and technological tie with the former colonial powers (Walter, 2002, Kaya & Seleti, 2013). As such, rather than being culturally relevant to marginalised and indigenous communities, reforms are still made within a Westernised framework, thereby further marginalising African cultural values (Smith, 2002; Kaya & Seleti, 2013). Further, because most academic and research activities are still undertaken in colonial languages the development of research and theory based on indigenous worldviews is undermined (Kaya & Seleti, 2013). Again, the lack of intellectual investment in conceptualising African theoretical interpretations of society is attributed to the legacy of apartheid and its Westernised worldview (Kaya & Seleti, 2013). This is unsurprising given higher education in apartheid was designed to enhance the education of the White population and not to address the intellectual needs of the African population, but rather provide them with a 'Bantu' education that was based on assumption of what suited the needs of the African communities (Kaya & Seleti, 2013).

Despite the neglect of indigenous worldviews in South African higher education, scholars still highlight the important knowledge that still exists among the African local communities (Kaya & Seletti, 2013; McNeely, 1999), arguing that African indigenous knowledge should be elevated beyond an 'alternative' knowledge to be seen as an equal to Western-orientated education (Wa Thiong'o 1986; Kaya & Seleti, 2013). This sentiment is observable in some academic practices in South Africa. For example, in 1998 the University of North Western

hosted a National Workshop on IKS in South Africa with the goal of devising a program of IKS that would contribute to the academic offering (Higgs, Higgs, & Venter, 2003). As a consequence of the workshop, in 2000 the Portfolio Committee of Parliament requested that the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology draft a policy to promote and protect indigenous knowledge in South Africa (Higgs, Higgs, & Venter, 2003). The renewed focus on IKS has not only led to the incorporation of indigenous knowledge at the North Western University, but has inspired an IKS programme at the University of the Western Cape. This programme, running alongside Western scientific programmes, is intended to promote the adoption of traditional scientific methods to generate solutions for South Africa's development goals.

Nonetheless, and despite these initiatives, the introduction of indigenous knowledge into higher education has been rare. An explanation for this is that the need to reform the epistemological foundations of academic activity through the meaningful inclusion of indigenous worldviews into higher education has not been met (Higgs, Higgs, & Venter, 2003). To succeed here would require substantial structural change and resources that are currently not available in the higher education system in South Africa.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted to set the scene for my research through exploring the complexities of the South African higher education system, as impacted upon by the legacies of colonialism and apartheid. I have sought in this way to frame why my research is important, by showing that it is essential to fully conceptualise and understand the challenges and barriers inherent in South African higher education, before being able to move away from deep-rooted inequalities and segregation. This chapter has explored elements of South Africa's history in an attempt to reflect on how many communities within South Africa have been historically marginalised in a way that is still continuing and impacting on their opportunities in society today. I have demonstrated this through exploring the political circumstances that have impacted and influenced the education marginalised communities have access to, and the inequalities that have been exacerbated through higher education practice. I shall use these understandings to situate and explain

the methodology that I use in this research (Chapter 5), and to support the analysis of my findings (Chapter 6 and 7).

The following chapter will endeavour to explore the theory that underpins this study and form the theoretical framework I apply to my data in chapters 6 and 7.

3. Theoretical Underpinnings

In this chapter I will define the theoretical framework that will be used to analyse and interpret my research data. To do this, I will begin by outlining the debates pertinent to the development agenda and how these have framed education policy in the so-called Global South (section 3.1 - 3.2). This will include exploring alternative perspectives and movements in both development and education, including contestations about the role of development, and how this has impacted education, in particular in relation to marginalised groups. I will then consider the role that education plays in exacerbating inequalities within a society. The question of whether increased access to education is sufficient, or if further care needs to be taken regarding the quality and relevance of the content of the education, will be explored. These debates are essential in trying to understand higher education in South Africa and the ambition that many higher education institutions in the country have in order to decolonise and transform. Moreover, the consideration will provide essential context for a subsequent critical analysis of key theories that I will bring together in constructing my theoretical framework. I will focus here on principles of postcolonialism and the capability approach, drawing on the work of Fanon, Spivak, Santos and Sen to define a lens of decolonial analysis through which I will interpret the data derived from my research fieldwork.

3.1 Development and Education in the wake of Colonialism

To understand the development agenda and how education in South Africa has evolved, it is important to recognise the influence of the global development strategy that evolved after colonisation.

3.1.1 Dominant Development Agenda

The development agenda has set the tone for where, what, and how international resources have been placed in the Global South, and it is important to outline how this agenda has evolved in order to describe an appropriate lens through which to conduct this research. This section will explore how the development agenda has matured from initiating policies prioritising increasing access to education, to placing greater consideration on the quality of the education provided.

It was with President Truman's inaugural speech in 1949 that development was born. At this time the need for, and certainty of, development was not questioned; only one truth was considered and that was that the world had to evolve (Escobar 2011; Hart, 2006). Although the speech spoke of social justice and helping those in need, some argue that development became a means by which Britain and France sought to hold onto their African colonies (Hart, 2006; Cooper & Packard, 1997). This cynicism around development was not helped by its politicisation during the Cold War, where international development assistance became entwined with foreign policy and a means to either attract or keep Asian, Latin American, and African countries within a sphere of influence (Escobar, 2011). The following section will examine the relationship between education and economic growth with the intention of understanding the meaning placed on higher education today.

3.1.2 Education and Human Capital in the Neoliberal Economy

Human Capital Theory (HCT) has been highly influential in policy discourse in the field of education, at both a national and supranational level (Gillies, 2015; Marginson, 2017). HCT, which came to fruition in the early 1960s, characterises education as an investment that results in returns in the form of employment and economic growth for both the individual and society (Gillies, 2015; Marginson, 2017). The theory sees state education as an instrument for economic growth and aligns with the concept of the "knowledge economy", setting out strong connections between education and training and economic growth (Gillies, 2015). HCT places importance on the education of an individual to accrue material advantage, rather than social background, which in turn benefits the economy as a whole (Gillies, 2015, Marginson, 2017).

The prominence of HCT led to an increase in investment in education as a means to improve the economy in both the Global North and the Global South (Gillies, 2015; Kerr, 2001). Consequently, education policy was largely focused on what was deemed to benefit the economy the most, and the areas that would give the best return for the investment of education were prioritised (Gillies, 2015; Marginson, 2019). This coincided with the rise of neoliberalism, and from the 1980s a neoliberal ideology focused upon economic deregulation, small-government and privatisation, became the *de facto* way of understanding society. Writing in 2014, Giroux argues that neoliberalism has driven the

policies of international organisations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB), thereby determining the economic policies of developing countries. The societal and individual economic role of education cannot be completely overlooked. Although the data is dependent on context, education can be a means to assist a person to find employment and makes themselves less vulnerable in the labour market, which in turn can elevate a person's standard of living and protect them and their family from poverty (Robeyns, 2006). This is seen in a study conducted in the US in 2000, showing that the median income of undergraduate degree holders was nearly \$20,000 higher than the median income for people with high school diplomas. It was also found that increased human capital benefits society as a whole, with increased education levels in the US increasing economic growth by 25 percent and reducing crime on average (Saxton, 2000).

Due to the aforementioned increase in resources placed into education as a result of HCT, neoliberal globalisation may reduce some aspects of social inequality. Yet it can also reinforce or deepen social hierarchies and many theorists are calling for a more critical alternative (Brown, 2018; Gandin, 2006; Giroux, 2014). Human Capital Theory and neoliberal thought both advocate an individualistic behaviour (Gandin, 2006). Here, neoliberalism is a system that exacerbates inequalities and halts social inclusion by relying on the economic elevation of a few at the expense of the many (Gandin, 2006; Metcalf, 2017; Rizvi & Ligerd, 2009). This is based on the premise that neoliberalism inherently encourages individualism, competition, and a motivation for self-gain. In this way, it equates the individual with profit-and-loss, and in its prioritisation of market forces, can result in a weakened welfare state, deregulation and, in turn, social exclusion (Gandin, 2007).

Like neoliberalism, HCT views the world through the lens of contemporary mainstream economics, which discounts the cultural, social, and non-material dimensions of life (Robeyns, 2006). HCT has faced criticism in relation to the limits it places on the purpose of, and reason for education. Viewing education in purely economic terms excludes other benefits that education can offer, and it downgrades the notion of humanity to economic agency (Gillies, 2015). For example, education can be important in itself, as well as a means of economic advancement, in that a person may simply value knowing something (Dreze & Sen, 2002; Robeyns, 2006). Viewing education purely through an economic lens can also

negatively impact the resources and investment placed in expressive arts and the humanities (Gillies, 2015). Gillies (2015) argues that HCT fails to consider motivations of human behaviour other than those driven by personal advantage (Gillies, 2015). Further, HCT does not take into account intersectionality in relation to outcomes. If an individual fails to achieve economic growth relative to their level of education, HCT attributes this to the shortcomings of the individual rather than being the result of overarching social inequalities (Gillies, 2015). This identity criticism is echoed in the work of Marginson (2019), who argues that HCT cannot explain how education augments productivity, and nor can it explain the persistent inequality of salaries. HCT does not consider the impact and issues of culture, gender, identity, emotions, and history (Davies, 2003; Robeyns, 2006). Furthermore, it is argued that HCT is only suitable for a pre-existing successful economy, in that well qualified young people emerging into a weak economy will not be able to achieve economic returns on their education (Gillies, 2015).

Neoliberal values are largely equated with the West; however, many Western values have been imposed on Africa through colonisation, and these values have then shaped African education systems (Despaigne, 2018). Many authors agree that the effects of Western neoliberalism are replicated in the education structures, pedagogies, and curricula of non-Western countries, further exacerbating inequalities, and impacting negatively on social inclusion (Gandin 2007; Khoo & Walsh, 2016). Giroux (2014) suggests that neoliberal education is used to further disseminate the rhetoric of neoliberalism, serving to normalise its values, thus encouraging individuality, and increasing the gap between the rich and the poor. This in turn fosters a pedagogy that promotes self-interest. Here, formal education is seen to promote knowledge and skills that reproduce social divisions of labour and legitimise capitalism (Gandin 2007; Giroux 2006; Giroux 2014). Gandin (2007) warns that schools propagate hegemonic relations in society that oppress the marginalised in society. Authors such as Jain and Akomolafe (2016) question what a narrow, neoliberal depiction of education omits and what valuable aspects of society it damages. They question what effect this one-dimensional system has on cultural and ecological diversity (Jain and Akomolafe, 2016, p, 111). Such concerns are echoed elsewhere in the literature, for example in arguments that suggest the limiting lens of neoliberal education does not allow for the

important indigenous skills that aid sustainability to be reinforced through education (Sandoval & Mendoza-Zuany, 2017; Esteva, 2007).

In the next section, I will explore further how the rise of HCT, and neoliberalism has impacted on global education standards.

3.1.3 The impact of international education standards on policy and practice.

Despite its critics, HCT has certainly had an influence on international and national education policy, such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Education for All (EFA) initiative. The MDGs focused largely on primary education, whilst the formation of EFA began to consider all stages of education. This was superseded by the formation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which also consider the content and inclusiveness of education. Despite this expansion of consideration, education policy remains heavily influenced by the potential of education to drive economic growth, and in this section, I will review debates around the broader role that education has within society. According to the UNESCO report *Education for All 2000 - 2015: Achievements and Challenges*, EFA led to significant progress, halving the number of children and adolescents out of school since 2000, enabling an estimated 34 million children to attend school, and encouraging governments to increase efforts to measure learning outcomes (UNESCO, 2015). Despite this success, however, the EFA has been criticised for focusing on access to education rather than on the quality of education itself. The SDGs, on the other hand, aspire to go beyond these earlier initiatives by increasing access to secondary and higher education as well as primary education, whilst also focusing upon equal opportunities and the quality of education. The SDGs take an overarching and global view that is applicable to both North and South ^[1], seeing education as an important tool to create social change and reform, to foster sustainability, lower poverty and create an inclusive and peaceful society. UNESCO claims the SDGs become contextualised at a local level through their integration into planning frameworks, thereby ensuring their presence in the policy, planning, monitoring and evaluation stage of national education programming (SDG4 -Education 2030, UNESCO, 2015).

The SDGs' focus on all levels of education, including adult education, has been welcomed, as has the emphasis placed on equality, sustainability, and the quality of education (Unterhalter, 2019; Webb, et al., 2017). Education is the primary focus of SDG4 (although featured in several other Goals), which has ten targets with an overall aim to “ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all” (UNESCO, 2030, Unesco.org, 2017). The SDGs as a whole aspire to ensure equal access to quality education, increase relevant skills, achieve gender equality and include education for sustainable development and global citizenship that is inclusive and effective. The goals promote the development of skills beyond those that are work specific, to include critical thinking, creativity, communication, and conflict resolution (UNESCO, 2030, Unesco.org, 2017).

The SDGs have been praised for their global outlook, one that is not purely focused on ‘less developed’ countries. However, the policies driven by the SDGs do not always reflect such a focus; in fact, they often orientate primarily on ‘developing’ countries (Webb, Holford, Hodge, Milena, & Waller, 2017). This highlights an underlying concern with the language of the SDGs and the development agenda as a whole. The terms ‘developed’ and ‘undeveloped’ suggest a hierarchy and a sense of worth (Skinner, Baillie-Smith, Brown, & Troll, 2016; Unterhalter & McCowan, 2015). Indeed, the development narrative might be viewed in terms of overdeveloped countries gifting resources to underdeveloped countries (Roig & Crowther, 2016). SDG 4.5 states that all people, including indigenous people, should have access to inclusive, equitable and quality education. SDG 4.7 claims that education needs to contribute to human rights, peace, responsible citizenship and sustainable development and health, and that these outcomes should be achieved through education for sustainable development and global citizenship education, including peace and human rights education (UNESCO, 2030, Unesco.org, 2017). However, some argue that this education as a human right assumes a version of education that, by its nature, diminishes indigenous knowledge and traditions, and labels a significant proportion of the world as uneducated, undeveloped, and poor (Prakash & Esteva, 2008). This notion of people in ‘developing’ countries as lacking can lead to a disempowerment of communities, and both detracts and undermines the notion that education can enable inclusion. This chapter will now explore the capabilities approach, which forms an important part of my theoretical framework.

3.1.4 The Capabilities Approach

The capabilities approach is considered in this section as an alternative to the neoliberal agenda (ElKhayat, 2018), with some theorists arguing that this approach is capable of re-balancing the commodification of higher education through promotion of critical thinking and diversity of thought (ElKhayat, 2018; Robeyns, 2006; Sen, 1993).

The capability approach provides a means for exploring people's agency and power within education, where capabilities refer to the opportunities and potential that people have to make choices. This approach has its origins in lectures delivered by Amartya Sen in the late 1970s (Sen, 1980), and is defined as "a person's ability to do valuable acts or reach valuable states of being it represents the alternative combinations of things a person is able to do or be" (Sen, 1993, p.30). Further, it considers "...what people can do and what lives they are able to lead. The capability approach cares about people's real freedoms to do these things, and the level of wellbeing that they will reach when choosing from options open to them" (Robeyns 2017, p 7). It contrasts with other ideas with respect to how decisions are made to ensure a just and fair distribution of resources (Walker & Unterhalter, 2007), focusing not merely on the resources a person has, but rather whether a person has the capacity to make use of that resource (Walker, 2018).

This shifts the emphasis from merely considering whether a student has access to higher education, to the potential and ability that the student must make meaning of their experience at university. For example, this might include examining if taught knowledge is relatable to the student, whether they can meaningfully engage with it, if the curriculum is transferable to their life or the life they are striving for, and if the student has the support and freedom to fully engage in the opportunities available to them within the higher education environment. These issues can be investigated by considering the agency of a student, as the level of agency a student has will affect how they can develop their capabilities and reach their goals (Robeyns, 2017). In this way, the capability approach moves away from a focus on what kind of inputs will shape a particular outcome, to considering each person as an end in themselves and not a unit of economic growth or social stability (Walker & Unterhalter, 2007). The purpose, ultimately, is to evaluate the freedom of individuals to be able to make decisions they value, so that the obstacles to those freedoms

can be identified and removed, thereby enhancing their capabilities (Walker & Unterhalter, 2007). However, the capabilities approach is not in itself an individualistic framework, but rather a normative one which posits that actions should be judged by their effects on individual human beings (Brighouse & Swift, 2003). In practice, when designing educational policy this approach would evaluate capabilities, rather than resources and outcomes, and in so doing evaluate the conditions that enable individuals to make decisions based on what they value (Walker & Unterhalter, 2007).

With the capabilities approach, 'Functionings' are achievements of capabilities, such as the attainment of a degree. However, considered on their own, functionings can obscure inequalities in that two people might have the same degree qualification, for example, but still may not have the same opportunities afforded to them as a result of that qualification (Walker, 2018). Robeyns (2017), defines conversion factors as the conditions and structures that allow or hinder students to transform their resources into capabilities and functionings. These conditions and structures can be personal, social or environmental, and they often intersect and are shaped by context (Walker, 2018). The capabilities approach recognises the significance of human capital when evaluating the importance of education on the formation of a person, especially for disadvantaged students, making this an important lens of evaluation and analysis for this study.

In the following section I will discuss how the neoliberal agenda has impacted upon education development, picking up and elaborating some of the themes already touched upon.

3.2 Critiques of the development agenda

"The very idea of development is under challenge to an extent not foreseen even a few years ago. Voices from the "post-development" school claim that, at best, development has failed, or at worst it was always a "hoax", designed to cover up violent damage being done to the so-called "developing" world and its people."

(Thomas, 2000, p. 3)

This section explores the work of post-development theorists with the aim of assessing how their work can be applied to the higher education of historically marginalised students in South Africa. One of the main criticisms of the development agenda is that it has been used as a means to propagate Western values, often through formal education (Escobar, 1997; Rahnema, 1997; Ziai, 2007). With these Western values also come Western forms of power, meaning that Western notions of class, gender, race, and nationality filter through, and influence the notion of, development which aims to universalise a Western way of life (Escobar, 1997; Ziai, 2017). Development is further criticised as a Eurocentric and hierarchical movement that promotes a capitalist logic whilst devaluing other ways of being (Ziai, 2017). As a result of these perceived deficiencies, post-development theory emerged from a post-structuralist and postcolonial critique and analysis of development. From a post-development perspective, development is seen as a set of discourses and practices that have had a profound impact on how Asia, Africa and Latin America came to be seen as 'underdeveloped' (Escobar, 2011). The aim of post-development thinking, therefore, is to decentralise development and open a space that allows for alternative interpretations and ways of thinking (Escobar, 2011; Lehman, 1997; Arab, 2018). Post-development critiques and subsequent debates have sparked revision in the development sector, in particular influencing the approaches by which we understand development.

Post-development theorists argue that development has encouraged a view that indigenous populations need to be modernised by adopting 'right' (Western) values (Escobar, 1997), by implication portraying the 'Third World' as 'inferior' (Escobar, 1997), 'underdeveloped' (Rahnema, 1997) and 'backwards' (Ziai, 2007). Further, it has been suggested that 'underdevelopment' is an artificial construct that sustains the development discourse, enabled by universal representations of Third World people (Escobar, 1997). Indeed, labelling a majority of the world as 'underdeveloped' can strip them of their identity and diversity (Esteva, 2010). Post-development theorists argue that development devalues cultures through dismissing their traditional knowledge along with the worldviews and concepts that underpin it. For example, the language of development uses words such as 'primitive' (Escobar, 1997), 'underdeveloped' (Santos, 2014; Rahnema, 1997) and

'unproductive' (Illich, 1971). Rahnema (1997, p. 119) compares development to colonialism, stating that whilst colonialism subjugates through a traditional master-slave relationship, development aims to colonise from within, still maintaining the 'Otherness' of colonialism. Ziai (2017) echoes this, stating that development is a means of maintaining control of decolonising countries in Africa and Asia through the promise of material wealth.

Rahnema (1997) argues that the development agenda promotes neoliberalism by convincing individuals that their 'needs' are not being met within the bounds of their existing experience, thereby convincing them to 'freely participate' in something different.

Underdevelopment, in this context, might be argued to be a state of mind in that people are being persuaded that their genuine needs will be fulfilled by mass manufactured products (Illich 1971). Furthermore, the efficacy of development based on a Western model has been questioned because of the way it discounts culture and race (Andrew & Bawa, 2014).

Andrews & Bawa (2014), draw from the work of Sen and the capabilities approach (explored in section 3.1.4) to argue that the potential of people will only materialise through the conscious expansion of choices, rather than the denial of agency.

Rather than viewing development as inevitable, post-development theory identifies alternatives to development, rather than development alternatives. This distances post-development writers from development debates that are split between advocates of market-based approaches, state-based approaches, and community-based approaches, highlighting instead the need for different ways of thinking that should emerge from the knowledge and practices of social movements (Escobar, 2010; Lehman, 1997; Arab, 2018). Post-development theorists advocate a more contextual approach. They criticise the universality of human rights, highlighting they are global by nature and based on Western ideals and are therefore inherently not contextual (Esteva, 2006; Prakash & Esteva, 2008). As such, it is argued that development and global education destroys diverse cultures and diminishes cultural practices, which in turn undermines the kind of sustainable practices that are passed down through generations through indigenous knowledge (Esteva, 2006; Prakash & Esteva, 2008). In effect, development can trivialise non-Western understanding. Often movements in the Global South, such as indigenous movements, start from a non-Western

perspective and non-Western cultural and political imagining. Therefore, post-development theorists rationalise that Western human rights thinking lacks the theoretical and analytical tools to understand such movements (Esteva, 2006; Prakash & Esteva, 2008; Santos, 2014).

3.2.1 Education beyond socioeconomics

This section will begin to examine how post-development theorists perceive education. The dominant discourse of education for development is that formal education is a way to connect schooling to economic development and is often based on a presumption that ‘poor’ communities have a deficit that education can fill (Underhill, 2016). For post-development theorists, imposing this notion of ‘deficit’ on communities devalues their knowledge and skills (Rahnema, 1997). For example, in development education, literacy is seen as a tool to empower the underdeveloped. However, if literacy is valued above knowledge already present in the community, whilst also labelling those that are not literate as ‘uneducated’, it can be deeply disempowering. On the other hand, if local education is recognised and elevated it can empower communities by giving respect to their existing knowledge (Rahnema, 1997; Illich, 1971; Underhill, 2016, p. 172-173).

It is also argued that the development education agenda ignores the vibrant, non-formal education that already exists in ‘under-developed’ countries, instead packaging education up as something that is confined to the classroom and results in certification for employment (Santos, 2014). Rather than benefiting the intended recipient of development, it is suggested that increasing schooling has further widened inequalities and dissatisfaction (Escobar, 1997; Illich, 1971). Further, Santos (2014) has argued that the Global North has lost the ability to learn from the world and therefore should no longer be teaching the world. In this, Colonialism can be seen to have disabled the Global North from learning in non-colonial terms: Western thinking has become rigid and narrow and is no longer fit to steer a complex world (Santos, 2014).

Illich argues that under-development is the result of rising levels of aspiration, coupled with the marketing of products to enable this aspiration to be achieved (Illich, 1971). From an educational perspective, aspiration is created that is then marketed as being achievable via a pre-packaged solution (as seen in Human Capital Theory). This pre-packaged education—the

Western school system introduced through colonialism— turns education into a need and is marketed as a tool for ‘defoliating’ local cultures and converting colonies’ ‘potential elites’ to a Western worldview. More specifically, school is offered as a scarce commodity.

Development gives school graduates social prestige and economic reward - this then creates a need. School then becomes a means of gaining personal achievement and social acceptance (Illich, 1971; Rahnema, 1997). This pre-packaged solution is the opposite of what Illich believes education should be: “the awakening awareness of new levels of human potential and the use of one’s creative powers to foster human life” (Illich, 1971).

Furthermore, the blanket international education standard imposed on the ‘Third World’ means that the vast proportion of ‘Third World’ populations are now considered under-educated, creating more stigma than it removes (Illich, 1971). In this sense, the school system has been introduced as a means to solve the problem of ‘underdevelopment’ (Rahnema, 1997, p. 158) whereas post-development theorists argue that, in reality, it has fostered processes of exclusion against the poor and the powerless in society, whilst destroying previously established systems of cultural reference (Rahnema, 1997).

If the poorer members of the ‘Third World’ are able to access schooling, it may be that they can often only attend for a limited time. Illich argues that this is just long enough to be taught that those who can afford to stay longer have earned the right to more power, wealth, and prestige (Illich, 1971, p. 96), thereby reinforcing inequality and the discourse of privilege. Once schooling is seen as a means to elevate people from poverty it can become a priority for development organisations and governments. This, perhaps inadvertently, justifies people being taxed to provide schooling that often may be only for the rich and elite to attend (Illich, 1971, p. 97). In addition, schooling has enabled the creation of official languages, excluding many indigenous languages which, it might be argued, serves to further marginalise ethnic groups (Rahnema, 1997). Imported ‘modern schools’ serve to exclude adults, peasants and those in rural areas who cannot afford to attend (Rahnema, 1997). Schools impose new values, attitudes and goals that lead to a gradual rejection of culture, tradition and identity, and this instils a superiority of the educated generation over preceding generations and the community, resulting in a ‘cultural gap’ between newly schooled ‘elites’ and the rest of the population (Rahnema, 1997).

In this section I have explored the literature that views education initiatives in the Global South through a critical lens. The next section will explore the role of critical pedagogy in the education of marginalised communities that have suffered oppression.

3.2.2 A consideration of alternative approaches to higher education

Gandin asserts that if we start to pay attention to the 'noise' of the subaltern, we will see that it is telling us there is another way to organise education (Gandin, 2006, p. 217). The term subaltern (explored in more depth in the section 3.3.1) refers to populations which are socially and politically subordinate to the hegemonic power or class, which do not fall under the category of the elite, and which are in a position of disempowerment without political agency (Gramsci, 2006). According to the literature, the majority of education systems, including South Africa, function to prepare citizens for the neoliberal world by reinforcing the status quo and training students to contribute to the economy through employment (Giroux, 2014). Gandin (2007), argues that the knowledge schools transmit is often decided by the state and is therefore not neutral, and that there is little discussion about what knowledge is considered valuable. Education in many countries is locked into the neoliberal and human capital cause, preparing people to increase productivity, and prioritising the development of a portfolio of employability skills rather than valuing a student's intelligence or ability to critically engage with material (Gandin, 2007; Gee, 2000, p. 414). However, many theorists talk about an alternative education, delivered through an alternative and critical pedagogy. When considering the inequalities in education facing the afro-Brazilian population in Brazil, King -Calnek (2006) suggests that if education is meant to be empowering, to represent the population and lessen social inequalities rather than reproduce them, educational content and pedagogical methods need to be redefined.

It is also important to note that the literature sourced through this research does not just advocate for an alternative education because this would make it more culturally relevant, (as inspired by writers such as Illich and Freire), it also recognises that education can be more than a means of economic development and inclusion; that, in fact, it can be a means to transform the structural conditions that perpetuate inequalities. Here, through a pedagogy alternative to that of the mainstream, education can empower and liberate subaltern populations (Esteva, 2007; Freire, 1970; Illich, 1971; Sandoval, 2017).

Freire (1970, 1973, 1985) theorises that education should encourage students to recognise the structural inequalities that surround them; that students should be encouraged and given the tools to realise and question situations of oppression so that they might eventually reach 'critical consciousness'. He further argues that education is currently based on a 'banking' system where teachers are the all-knowing leaders who pass down information to an unknowing follower (the student). This mode of education discourages critical engagement and reinforces a power hierarchy that perpetuates an oppressive system (Freire 1970). Within Freire's critical pedagogy, conversations between students and between students and teachers enable co-learning to take place, thereby giving students the confidence to look at their daily reality and gain the clarity to change it (Freire 1970). Similarly, to Freire, Giroux (2014) argues that the mainstream education systems that exist in the majority of countries do not facilitate critical learning because learning is measured by tests. He claims that the rote curriculum-content driven rote-style of learning does not provide space to question authority and nor does it allow learners to develop critical consciousness. His solution is to move towards a critical pedagogy.

It is suggested that a critical pedagogy will give individuals the space to critically engage, not just in their schooling, but also in their society as a whole, and that it will furnish them with the skills and confidence to challenge inequalities (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 2014). With this in mind, it is important to consider if the initiatives to decolonise higher education in South Africa are allowing for any critical engagement by the students from historically marginalised communities. As Freire (1970) and Giroux (2014) contest, if indigenous people do not have an input into their own education, the community will struggle to grow in confidence and develop the ability to challenge their social inequality. Some educationalists argue that critical dialogue and participatory pedagogy is a way to prevent the reinforcement and reproduction of stereotypes and prejudices in that it will create safe space to allow and encourage a range of voices and multiple perspectives (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 2014). To achieve the empowerment of marginalised communities, Giroux proposes that the knowledge that is taught should link to the experiences students already have, and which they can bring to the classroom. This then makes education meaningful, and in this way

pedagogical practices can raise questions and expand the capacities of the indigenous students to become critical and responsive social agents (Giroux 2006).

The next section will consider criticisms of post-development and an emerging literature that focuses on ways by which the development agenda can move forward, whilst acknowledging the validity of the post-development critique.

3.2.3 Considering a Hybrid education

One of the common criticisms of post-development theory is that it romanticises grassroots and localised solutions, when in reality there is no guarantee that such solutions or movements will be democratic or inclusive and indeed, potentially, they could perpetuate local forms of oppression (Jakimow, 2008; Storey, 2000). Furthermore, by focusing exclusively on local knowledge, post-development is criticised for its exclusion of both global level solutions to issues, for example in addressing global structures of inequality (Jakimow, 2008; Storey, 2000), and the progress that has been made through global-level development initiatives, such as the reduction in child mortality rates (Ziai, 2017). Post-development theorists argue that the development agenda promotes a shift from identity and tradition through assimilation policies; however, critics argue that when given the opportunity, marginalised people often choose development interventions, discredited as neoliberal by post-developmentalists (Jakimow, 2008; De Vries, 2007). We might add here the important role the introduction of global standards has played in helping to expose forms of oppression (Andrews & Bawa, 2017). Possibly the most important critique of post development theory for this research is that it does not account for the dynamic in Africa, which is arguably the biggest recipient of 'development' (Andrews & Bawa, 2017; Matthews, 2020). Matthews (2020) criticises post development theory as lacking an African perspective. In conducting a study of projects that can be referred to as 'post-development' in South Africa, she found that in reality the situation was complex. The projects she considered all claimed to reject the concept of 'development', yet they were all engaged with skills development initiatives that were compatible with mainstream development theory. Matthews' conclusion is that this demonstrates a willingness of people to reject certain aspects of development whilst embracing more useful elements (Matthews, 2020). In this, a hybrid approach to education may be effective.

It is important to note that not all post-development theorists regard all development as 'bad'; indeed, there are numerous development projects that have clearly had beneficial impact on communities with little or no harm done (Rahnema, 1997; Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2016). We can see here, then, that the intended recipients of development are not necessarily inherently opposed to change, but rather they want initiatives that will enable them to change their situation according to their own culturally defined ethics and aspirations (Rahnema, 1997; Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2016). With this in mind, we will go on now to consider how international agents can work with local actors to adapt initiatives so that they will be more effectively implemented.

Hybridity refers to the social thinking and activity that emerges from the interaction of different groups, practices, and worldviews (Mac Ginty, 2008). Hybridity is a reaction to the post-development critique of development, it recognises that there is still a place for international intervention, that global standards have an important role and can hold inequalities to account (Sivaramakrishnan, Agarwal & Corbridge, 2003). Hybridity also recognises the importance of local context and local agency and that for initiatives to be successful they require an investment and acceptance from local stakeholders (Sivaramakrishnan, Agarwal & Corbridge, 2003). Achieving hybridity can be complex, but it can happen organically when local actors have power and agency that counterbalances the intentions of international intervention (Mac Ginty 2008; Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2016).

It's important here to recognise that post-development theorists have largely discredited attempts to make development plausible through such hybrid initiatives (Esteva, 2010; Rahnema, 1997; Shiva, 2010; Nandy, 2010). Escobar (2011), for example, argues that we should not be searching for an alternative model to development, but rather we need to identify different representations and practices at local level, focusing on a shift to grassroots movements, local knowledge, and popular power. This reinforces the argument that there is much to learn from how indigenous societies were governed in the Global South prior to colonialism and, in particular, how different cultures solved their problems (Rahnema, 1997). Here we can identify an emerging body of writing that focuses on non-Western ideas of progress, development, and emancipation, and how they are universalised

and inform "Western" ideas of development (Roy, 2016). This work uses contextual examples to demonstrate and explore how marginalised groups negotiate their own emancipation and change (Roy, 2016; Hudis, 2012).

However, I argue that there is a place for hybridity in the decolonising agenda, and that in a neoliberal context that is influenced by globalisation, hybridity may be a way in which change can occur. As highlighted above, I emphasise for hybridity to be meaningful it requires the local actors and local stakeholders to be at the forefront of any initiative. Furthermore, there needs to be a genuine multiculturalism, beyond simply observing or celebrating multiculturalism, it needs to be embedded, not a means to gloss over inequalities, but rather a genuine inclusion of multi cultures that gives equal power, agency and meaning in society and education (Kraidy, 2002).

In the preceding sections (3.1 - 3.2) I have provided a contextual exploration of the development agenda, tracing the debates around its impact on education and on marginalised groups, and how critiques have led to broader discussions on the nature of education and the role it plays in society. In the next sections (3.3 - 3.6), I will build from this foundation and engage with the key theoretical approaches that I use to construct my own theoretical framework for this research, namely the aforementioned capability approach, postcolonial theory and decolonisation.

3.3 Postcolonial theory and education

The first half of this chapter evaluated the approaches that have been used in exploring education in the aftermath of colonialism and the conception of development. In light of the critique of these approaches, I will now consider alternative and progressive approaches to consider education in the so-called Global South. The purpose of this examination of alternative education is to develop a framework and a lens through which to critically analyse the higher education received by historically marginalised students in South Africa to further understand their experience that I explore in this thesis.

As noted previously, there is a drive to decolonise education in South Africa. With this in mind, this section will explore postcolonial theory and education. Postcolonialism is a

expansive movement and has its origins in the fight for independence of the British and French colonies in the 1950s and 1960s (Hiddleston, 2014). The term “postcolonialism” refers to the many political, cultural, philosophical, and economic responses to colonialism (Hiddleston, 2014). Postcolonial theorists have critically examined the ways in which Western theory and knowledge have dealt with alternative voices and different ways of knowing (Briggs & Sharp, 2004), and promise “a radical rethinking of knowledge and social identities authored and authorised by colonialism and Western domination” (Prakash, 1994, p. 475). However, although challenging colonialism, postcolonialism does not offer a single, agreed line of resistance (Hiddleston, 2014), but rather an epistemological shift in how factors of colonialism are interpreted (Tikly, 1999, p. 605). The purpose of this section is not to provide an exhaustive account of postcolonialism, but rather to draw together the ideas of postcolonial thinkers that are most applicable to this study to form the basis of my theoretical framework, viewing postcolonialism as a means to offer “responses to the influential master discourses of imperial Europe” (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2006).

For some scholars, postcolonialism is a way to understand how Europe exercised its control over a vast proportion of the world’s population, and how this continues to shape much of our contemporary discourses today (Rizvi, Lingard & Lavia, 2006). Postcolonialism seeks to draw attention to ways in which language works in the colonial formation of discursive and cultural practices (Rizvi, Lingard & Lavia, 2006). Robert Young (2003) argues that “postcolonialism claims the rights of all people on this earth to the same material and cultural well-being” (p. 2); “it seeks to change the way people think, the way they behave, to produce a more just and equitable relation between different peoples of the world” (p.7). Postcolonialism is a particularly useful lens when exploring higher education in a postcolonial setting, with Tikly (1999) arguing that consideration of the postcolonial condition enables a less Eurocentric understanding of education. In this thesis a postcolonial lens will be used to explore the “contestation of colonial dominance and of the legacies of colonialism” (Loomba, 1998, p. 12). The next section remains in the postcolonial canon, placing particular emphasis on the work of postcolonial thinkers that explored the ‘othering’ effect of colonialism.

3.3.1 The Subaltern and the Other

This section will further explore the work of postcolonial theorist Gandin and Spivak in relation to the subaltern, to discern which aspects are relevant and adopted in my theoretical framework. Gandin suggests that the neoliberal version of education is restricting the ability of the subaltern to be heard (Gandin 2006, p. 217). In 1988 Spivak wrote her seminal work *Can the subaltern Speak?* in which she shows how power relations in society allow certain narratives to be turned into discourse and certain others to be rejected. Those without power, the subaltern, are unable to generate discourse and therefore unable to speak (Spivak 1988). Spivak argues that the law, political economy, and ideology of the West created an 'Other' of Europe, this was done by centering the European as the 'Subject' in everything, and the Other as the 'Subject's' shadow (Spivak, 1988). This is seen most clearly in colonialism, which positioned the colonised as the Other. Similarly, the work of Fanon (1968-1984) has been very influential for postcolonial theory. He argues that the colonised sense of 'Self' is constructed by the coloniser through a discourse in which the colonial master is set as the superior being (Fanon, 1967).

Spivak aligns with Foucault's (1980) assertion that colonialism achieved imperialism through ensuring "a whole set of knowledges that have been distinguished as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naive knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy" (Foucault, 1980, p.82). This led her to argue that knowledge is never innocent, but rather it expresses the interests of its producers, and that knowledge has become a Western commodity that is exported for financial gain. Furthermore, she contends that "knowledge", "education" and "research" have been used as a justification for the conquest of other cultures (Spivak, 1988). This presents an ethical problem in investigating different cultures based on a 'universal' concept and framework, in that she argues that research is always colonial, as it observes the researched as an Other and 'over there'.

Despite this alignment with Foucault, Spivak positions herself against Foucault, arguing that he seeks to disguise what the Subject is, whereas she herself reasons that there is not a universal identity, but rather, an identity is formed and restrained by the social and political factors, which places limits on individuals to ensure the status quo is maintained (Spivak, 1988). Whereas Foucault contends that humans have the potential to undo power and are

free to change their circumstance, Spivak regards his idea of the homogenised human experience as losing sight of the potency of ideology (Spivak, 1988). She recognises that many people are exploited by race, class, and gender and that these exploitations push people into a conformity that does not allow for the option of change that Foucault alludes to (Spivak, 1988).

Like Spivak, Fanon argues that independence from colonialism does not mean liberation due to the fact that the aspirations of the colonised are primarily based on the colonised bourgeoisie (Rizvi, Lingard & Lavia, 2006). He suggests that the European "Self" develops in its relationship with the "Other", an argument that is echoed in Spivak's conceptualisation of the relation between those in power and the subaltern.

A further criticism of Foucault by Spivak is that he does not draw from the voices of the marginalised, positing that the voices heard in colonised contexts are those with power, such as political representatives, colonisers, or people with power on local levels. The common people on the other hand are not heard and these, including women and children, form the subaltern, that is those who have European political life imposed upon them. This group of people do not understand an imposed and unfamiliar political process and cannot relate, access, or speak to the power that leads it (Spivak, 1988). She continues that the Normative way of being is formed and built on the labelling and making different the Other. The privilege of the normative, therefore, comes from the discount of the Other. The Othering of the colonised is contingent on the assumption that the Subject is superior, meaning that the Other is an ideological creation - formed in response to those in power.

Although aligned with Spivak on the creation of the Other, Fanon differs from her position in terms of the incapacity of the subaltern to speak. In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon (1961) argues for a greater, pan-African cause, whereby the colonised Other should have the opportunity to create their own stories and histories and celebrate their own culture. Here, in rejecting the imposed culture of the Subject or coloniser, they would then have the capacity to Speak.

It is important to recognise that postcolonialism does have its critics (including scholars from indigenous communities), not least for the way it is seen to comply with contemporary structures of global capitalism (Rizvi, Lingard & Lavia, 2006). The 'post' in postcolonial has two meanings. One is to indicate the end of occupation by one country on another; the other refers to the use of post structural and postmodern forms of analysis in postcolonial theory (Crossley & Tikly, 2004). Both these uses have been seen to be problematic. Firstly, many people do not regard colonialism to be 'post' at all. Rather they see that the form of domination has changed (McLintock, 1992; Crossley & Tikly, 2004). Secondly, it is argued that to adopt the language of post-structuralism and post-modernism reinforces Western dominance, in that the language is only accessible to the Westernised intellectual elite (Crossley & Tikly, 2004; Tikly, 1999). Similar to post development theorists, postcolonialists criticise development for being colonial by design and function, and that development does not listen to the subaltern. In contrast, developmentalists argue that postcolonialism is too complex and theoretical and cannot be applied in practice (Briggs & Sharp, 2004). Moreover, some conservative critics suggest that postcolonialism undermines Western culture and is not committed to Western conceptions of social development and human progress (Rizvi, Lingard & Lavia, 2006; Ferguson, 2003). That said, the criticism of postcolonial theory is not restricted to conservative ideologies, in fact it also faces criticism from the neo-Marxist left, who argue that the position is complicit with new power structures of global capitalism (Ahmad, 1995; Dirlik, 1994).

Despite the various criticisms, there is still value in a postcolonial approach when exploring how education systems have maintained a colonial discourse through curriculum, where these have aided the maintenance of a colonial world view (Crossley & Tikly, 2004).

Postcolonial literature on education works towards 'critical multiculturalism' as a way to represent the diversity of postcolonial societies in challenging the colonial mind-set (Crossley & Tikly, 2004). This vision often draws from the works of the aforementioned critical thinkers such as Freire and Giroux, as well as anti-colonial activists such as Julius Nyerere (Mulenga, 2001; Crossley & Tikly, 2004).

3.4 The role of indigenous knowledge in Education

This research engages with indigenous communities to explore their relationship to their ways of knowing, and how this has been disrupted by colonialism. This section will examine further how colonialism has impacted upon diverse and indigenous ways of knowing, and will create a lens in which to contribute to the analysis of my data.

Despite a recognition for relevant content and curricula that move beyond the neoliberal model, scholars concede that an economic focus still dominates education planning. The disadvantage of indigenous people in education is widely accepted; however, the solution is highly contested. Context is important. Different ways of learning can preserve cultures and knowledge, and it is not always appropriate to import knowledge from elsewhere (Skinner, Smith, Brown and Troll, 2016). The literature highlights a need to move away from the colonial perspective of dominant Western ideology towards a mutual respect for equality and the valuing of diverse approaches and methods of education. It also highlights that basing education on a predetermined set of goals and principles can be damaging to the identity of marginalised and indigenous groups (Skinner et al; Nyerere, 1967).

Colonialism has condemned the diversity of indigenous people's history, culture, learning systems and world views as 'backward' and needing to 'catch up' (Jain and Akomolafe, 2016). When Julius Nyerere came to power in Tanzania, he recognised that the education system in the country was at odds with the society that was emerging. He argued that the existing colonial education system reflected a country reliant on a subservient attitude conducive to the perpetuation of a capitalist society. Nyerere claimed that this education was elitist and only catered for the interests and needs of a small proportion of the population, and that it emphasised and encouraged individual instincts over cooperation which, in turn, induced attitudes of human inequality and domination of the weak by the strong (Nyerere, 1967).

Nyerere further criticised the education in Tanzania, like many postcolonial countries in Africa, for disregarding the knowledge of indigenous communities. The UN *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* states that 'Indigenous peoples have the right to determine

and develop priorities and strategies for exercising their right to development' (article 23) and "the right to establish and control their education systems and institutions providing education in their own languages" (article 14) (United Nations 2007). Like Tanzania, indigenous groups in South Africa face exclusion from higher education. One of the reasons for this is that higher education institutions largely exist in urban areas, which are not often accessible to people living in less resourced rural areas. If students do attend from these areas, it takes them away from their rural community and gives them skills that are only of use for employment in urban areas. However, rural skills are vital for a sustainable community. In Tanzania, Nyerere, like Esteva (2007) in the Mexican context, wanted to shift the emphasis in the education system from the development of skills aligned to the demands of urban living, to one where there was greater recognition of rural skill development (Esteva, 2007; Nyerere, 1967). His vision was that education should be focused upon conveying society's knowledge and wisdom from one generation to the next and allowing young people to actively participate in and develop their community. In this, he wanted schools in rural areas to provide the skills that would enable the work in rural areas to be undertaken to a high standard. In addition, he saw value in encouraging students to engage critically in both their communities and in political life. (Nyerere, 1967).

Although Nyerere was writing sixty years ago, his observations are still important today. Indigenous groups have a distinct culture and traditions, often with a different first language to the official language of the country they inhabit. If young people from indigenous communities manage to access formal education there is a risk that their traditions and culture will be lost, potentially exacerbating resentment (Oyarzún et al., 2017, p. 852 – 853; Esteva, 2007). Yet communities often value the qualifications formal education brings as it can give them access and agency in mainstream society (May 1999, Spring 2000). Although much of the literature criticises educational curricula for not being culturally specific in relation to marginalised groups, Oyarzún et al. (2017) emphasise that it is a complex task for formal educational institutions to incorporate culturally specific curricula for all marginal groups, as well as catering for the dominant majority group.

It is important to note that there is body of literature that argues for a reimagining of education based on the concept of reclaiming knowledge systems and cultural imaginations

to restore or re-envision ways of knowing that are localised, in that they are meaningful and relevant to the current needs of the learners (Mandel Lopez Amaro & Teamey, 2022). Examples of this ethos in practice are Swaraj University in Udaipur, India; Unitierra in Mexico and Tamera eco-village in southern Portugal. These institutions have a shared ethos of regenerating local ecological and cultural ecosystems, sharing a knowledge that is rooted in place and local struggles, embedded in communities and ecologies (Mandel Lopez Amaro & Teamey, 2022). This movement is a shift away from the modernist university's emphasis on one set knowledge and way of knowledge transmission, but rather emphasises the importance of co-creation and unlearning/uplearning to explore diverse knowledges (Mandel Lopez Amaro & Teamey, 2022). Although the above alternatives to the mainstream endorse contextual and local knowledge, there are commonalities in their values, such as learning for sustainability and social justice, the drive to unlearn and decolonise and to re-embrace indigenous knowledge centres on local ecologies (Mandel Lopez Amaro & Teamey, 2022). This demonstrates that a way to engage with indigenous knowledge may be away from the structures of a mainstream university, but rather in a learning environment that is created to investigate and support this way of learning.

This section has considered the ways in which indigenous and local knowledge are impacted by colonialism and the Western education system that now dominates many colonised contexts, followed by a brief exploration of educational spaces that have localised ways of knowing at the heart of their practice. This understanding is important when considering the role of colonialism on the marginalisation of indigenous communities in this research. The following section will engage with the African philosophy of Ubuntu and how this can be an alternative way of viewing education.

3.4.1 Ubuntu

This section explores the meaning of the African philosophy of Ubuntu, important because it is a way of thinking that originates in southern Africa and is viewed by many as a foundation for an Africanised education (Murove, 2012; Lefa, 2015). The word Ubuntu is derived from a Nguni (isiZulu) aphorism: Umuntu Ngumuntu Ngabantu, which can be translated as "a person is a person because of or through others" or "I am, because we are" (Fraser-Moloketi, 2009, p.243; Tutu, 2004, p.25-26). Ubuntu is an African philosophy of human

kindness which captures “the substance of collective ethos” and advocates that each individual’s humanity is ideally expressed in relationships with others (Beets, 2012, Piper, 2016). Ubuntu supports the enhancement of the community in opposition to the neoliberal agenda; in African traditions, a person is not just an individual, but a being who is inseparable from the community (Beets, 2012). Ubuntu places a moral obligation, not just on how we treat each other, but also on our relationship with the environment. Ubuntu encourages co-agency as co-creators. Ubuntu can be related to Western ideas of human rights’ however, Ogude (2018) argues that Ubuntu differs from discourses of the West in that it warns against individualism, preferring instead a sense of individuality that allows for independence and freedom but is against self-referential action.

Ubuntu can be related to other indigenous philosophies, such as *Buen Vivir*, which translates as “good life” or “good living”, a collective idea about people living well together and not for their own self-interest. It emphasises the subjectivity of the non-human world and the relationality of humans with each other as well as with nature. It promotes a worldview fundamentally different from western capitalism, focusing instead on community (Acosta, 2017, p. 1) and living harmoniously and with plenitude in the present, rather than on a linear notion of progress (Brown & McCowan 2018). *Buen Vivir* has become more prominent due to the battles of indigenous communities in the Ecuadorian Andes. Similar ideologies exist in indigenous communities such as Mapuche in Chile, the Kuna in Panama, and Chiapas in Mexico.

As mentioned, the concept of Ubuntu is often related to an Africanisation of education, Africanisation is defined as a counter-hegemonic discourse that emerges from a desire for an autonomous African identity, and for critical African scholarship which will serve to create an education that is relevant (Brizuela-Garcia, 2006; Nyamnjoh, 2022). An Ubuntu education is self-critical in that it is investigative of itself in exploring which ideas are outdated and no longer serve the community (Piper, 2016). Scholars who support Ubuntu are critical of the way the current education sector in the Global South claims that education is the path by which inequities in society can be resolved, especially given the returns of education for poorer communities are less than anticipated (Piper, 2016). Further, it has been argued that no formal education, or ‘schooling’, is neutral despite the fact it is viewed as a long-term

development strategy (Shah 2016). This is particularly problematic when formal schooling is implemented in regions that have previously had no such system, a strategy that Shah suggests is rooted in colonisation (Shah, 2016). Indeed, although introducing formal education to indigenous regions is widely seen as a positive, in fact there are many unintended negative consequences. These include the undermining of self-esteem and lessening local traditions, which in turn can escalate societal breakdown, unemployment and poverty and the emergence of a culture that overly relies on natural resources (Norberge-Hodge, 2000, p.50). Against this context, an Ubuntu education recognises the shared contribution of all actors and Piper (2016), suggests that adopting the philosophy could improve the development sector by revising the attitudes and perspectives of educationalists themselves (Piper, 2016). Further, he suggests that an Ubuntu education would find a role for all as it is contextually placed and is focused on elevating the skill sets that are already prevalent in the community, thus valuing rural skills rather than demeaning them as western development has previously done (Piper, 2016).

When discussing the role of alternative, non-Western concepts of education, it is important to remember that there are many alternative institutions of education that exist outside the mainstream, where the aim is to provide a space in which human beings share and develop in a way unrestricted by formal structures (McCowan, 2016, p. 208). Illich advocated what he termed 'deschooling society', recognising, like Freire, Nyerere and Giroux, the fluidity between education and society. He argued that education is institutionalised and ineffectual, increasing social inequalities by benefiting the privileged in society (Illich, 1997). As Nyerere found in Tanzania, and Esteva has advocated in Mexico, Illich recognised that school does not reflect the society it is preparing children for but is driven by rules that restrict freedom and which enable the development of relevant skills. He proposes instead an education that is self-directed and supported by society, where rigid structures and certification are removed, and students are enabled to learn in unstructured ways (Illich, 1997). Brown argues that non-formal education provides different perspectives and generates critical reflection, which in turn creates shifts in attitudes and behaviours (Brown, 2018). She recognises that these can be small actions but argues that non-formal spaces encourage networks to develop and that this in turn supports collective action and links to social movements (Brown, 2018).

An example of this alternative form of education is the Citizen School Project in Brazil. The school, like other non-formal education institutes we highlight in this review, adheres to the principles of Buen Vivir (Gandin, 2006). The Citizen School Project aims to construct a lived experience of citizenship, employing a student-centred critical pedagogy concerned with social transformation. The school is interdisciplinary and engages all the community (Gandin, 2006, 223). As part of his study, Gandin witnessed communities interacting with teachers to create curricula; quality was measured by engaging students through a culturally embedded curriculum and promoting creative thinking. Gandin concluded that it is ‘when the subaltern speaks that the real problems begin to be addressed’ (Gandin, 2006, p. 223). This is an important inclusion in this chapter, to recognise that there are important sources of educational practice that are outside of what is considered to be the mainstream model. These alternatives offer examples of practice that can be learnt from when considering how to decolonise education to better serve marginalised communities.

3.5 Decoloniality and Decolonising Education

This section will explore the work of Santos in relation to decolonising education, drawing, and identifying elements of the previously discussed work of Spivak, Fanon and Sen to construct a theoretical lens that will frame the upcoming discussions and analysis of decolonising higher education in South Africa.

3.5.1 Epistemologies of the South

De Sousa Santos (2014) recognises the value of a pluri-university of knowledges, with foundations centred on an epistemic openness (De Sousa Santos, 2014; Walker, 2018). Santos (2014), in the seminal work *Epistemologies of the South*, highlights the importance of diverse knowledges. Here he argues the importance of giving credibility and value to non-Eurocentric experiences that are informed by other cosmovisions from different parts of the world, and which are informed by other ways of observing life and other ways of seeing and understanding nature. In order to expand this perspective, he suggests there needs to be an exposure to other forms of knowledge, since Eurocentric knowledge was built to undervalue other cultural experiences that form other ways of knowing (Santos, 2014). An example that

Santos uses is viewing nature as a natural resource, for example, viewing a river and mountains as objects that we can explore and exploit without limitation (Santos, 2014). He deems this concept of nature as Eurocentric, whereas there are other concepts, such as the aforementioned philosophy of Ubuntu, that see nature as a living being, not separated from human life, not a resource, but where everything comes from. Through Eurocentric scientific knowledge, this way of life and being is discredited (Santos, 2014).

Santos (2014), like Spivak (1988) and Fanon (1963), highlights the ways in which colonialism has 'Othered' ways of being that do not align with Eurocentric values. However, unlike Spivak, Santos claims the antidote is an epistemological revolution to achieve global cognitive justice, and that this can be achieved through the epistemologies of the South - that is by bringing other knowledges into conversations that are currently dominated by Western Science. Similarly, Fanon argues that a way to allow the subaltern to speak is for them to have an opportunity to create their own stories and histories and create their own culture (Fanon, 1963), thereby bringing their own narratives into education. Santos recognises that 'Other' sciences are sciences that exist and are valued in other symbolic contexts (Santos, 2014). He highlights that these 'Other' sciences are actually understood and recognised by the majority of the world's population. China and India's cosmovisions and knowledge are distinct from Europe, as well as Africa and indigenous people in Latin America.

Santos built the epistemologies of the South on four ideas: **The sociology of absences** - this is the assertion that knowledge will rescue nonvisible experiences, therefore disrupting the 'universal' concept and framework that Spivak (1988) identified (see section 3.3.1). **The sociology of emergencies** - this is that knowledge will bring awareness and give a voice to innovation in the Global South. Santos explains that this is not framed exotically, but rather through the emergence of new happenings. **The ecologies of knowledge** - this refers to the pluricultural nature of knowledge, that knowledge is not just mono-cultural, which to be realised requires the fourth idea of an **intercultural translation of knowledge**. Santos suggests that intercultural translation of knowledge is possible as many concepts of the global North and South share similar meaning but use different terms and words, such as socialism in Europe and social emancipation in Latin America.

All the thinkers outlined in this section recognise that education can further reinforce oppression (and limit a person's capabilities) by being non-inclusive to marginalised subaltern groups and by undermining their culture and heritage (Asgharzadeh, 2008). Like Santos, Walker (2018) argues that to decolonise knowledge is not actually about de-Westernising education, but rather cultivating knowledge-making that encompasses both East and West, both indigenous ways of knowing and Western knowledge. Decolonised spaces are therefore those that recognise epistemological diversity and are inclusive, with a meaningful relationship between university and society (Walker, 2018). In this respect, it is also appropriate to consider if the initiatives to decolonise higher education are being driven by institutions rather than by the marginalised community themselves, and if this is the case, whether this is preventing those communities from generating discourse and, as Spivak (1988) recognised, restricting their ability to 'speak'.

The obstacles to a person's self-formation capability are interrogated by Walker (2018 and DOE 2008), who identifies that racism and racial classification in South Africa that are grounded in apartheid structures and histories have persisted post 1994 in universities, resulting in human experience being "imprisoned" (Sekyi-Otu, 1996, p. 17 cited in Walker, 2018). Furthermore, Fanon (2008), writes that the Othering effects of colonialism and racism mean that identity has been reduced to a being-for-Other (Fanon cited in Walker, 2018). Conversely, decoloniality allows for an increase in capability through re-humanising and enabling dignity by breaking hierarchies and liberating the oppressed (Fanon, 2008; Maldonado-Torres, 2016). Writing in 2015, Fricker emphasises the importance of "epistemic contribution capability", that is, the ability to both receive information and to make interpretive contributions to the pool of knowledge and understanding (Fricker quoted in Walker, 2018). Fricker proposes that this capability is vital to ensure human flourishing and that failure to recognise identities in knowledge seriously undermines capability. In this, if students cannot recognise themselves as knowers because they are so far away from the knowledge being presented, they are denied the opportunity to be part of the epistemic community (Fricker (2015), cited in Walker, 2018).

The following section will present my theoretical framework, which draws from the discussion, evaluations and explorations of the theories presented in this chapter to create a framework that is applicable to the context of considering the Perspectives on Knowledge and Higher Education within Marginalised Communities in South Africa.

3.6 Theoretical Framework

An important aspect to remember in setting out my theoretical framework is that it needs to be relevant to the context the study is concerned with. Higher education in South Africa exists in a neoliberal setting, and although much of the literature I have drawn from in this chapter is critical of the neoliberal influence, it is the reality for this context. As Matthews (2020), found with development (section 3.2.3) in Africa, there are complexities around the experiences of the Westernised education system in South Africa (as analysed in chapter 6), with not all elements of the education being rejected, requiring a nuanced approach. Similarly, there is a strong colonial influence on higher education in South Africa. These factors underpinned the theories that have been chosen to construct a relevant and effective lens through which to view, interpret and analyse my data.

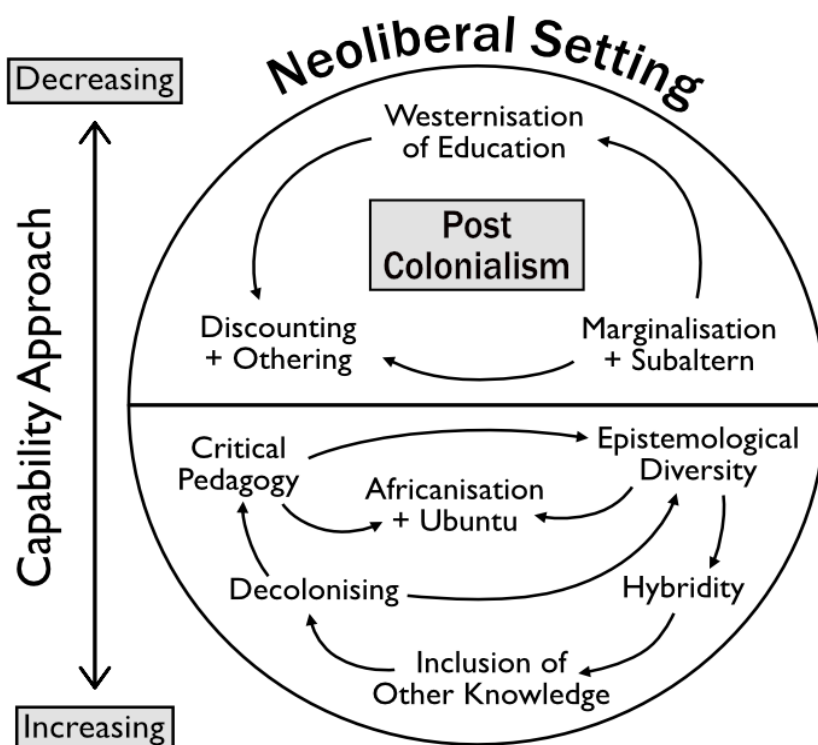


Figure 1: Theoretical Framework

Due to the potential of a neoliberal westernised education to further marginalise communities, it seems pertinent to consider if the higher education that students are accessing is increasing or decreasing their opportunities and potential, i.e., their capabilities. Therefore, the capabilities approach is used as a means to view the data to consider the impact of education on the participants of this study. This is an important approach to employ in this research, as the capabilities approach is not just concerned with the access to education of marginalised groups, but what capacity a person has to then make use of this resource (Walker, 2018). This allows for a consideration of the potential and ability that the student must make meaning of their experience of higher education. As discussed in section 3.1.4, this approach can include examining if the knowledge the student has access to is relatable and transferable to their lives, and if the student has the opportunities to fully engage in their higher education. This is highly valuable when considering ways in which to improve the effectiveness of higher education for marginalised communities.

To further consider what may impact a person's capabilities within a postcolonial, neoliberal setting, various aspects of postcolonialism form part of my theoretical framework (see *figure 1*). As highlighted in section 3.3, postcolonialism is a way to understand how colonialism has influenced contemporary discourse (Rizvi, Lingard & Lavia, 2006). As this chapter has demonstrated, postcolonialism considers the discounting and 'othering' that is a consequence of colonialism (Fanon, Spivak). Spivak (1988) argues that the law, political economy, and ideology of the West created an 'Other' of Europe, this was done by centering the European as the 'Subject' in everything, and the Other as the 'Subject's' shadow (Spivak, 1988). Spivak aligns with Foucault's (1980) assertion that colonialism achieved imperialism through ensuring "a whole set of knowledges that have been distinguished as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naive knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy" (Foucault, 1980, p.82). My framework (see *figure 1*) contends that the 'othering' product of colonialism further marginalises, creates, and sustains the subaltern.

Importantly for this study, postcolonialism is a way to understand how Europe exercised its control over a vast proportion of the world's population, and how this continues to shape much of our contemporary discourses today (Rizvi, Lingard & Lavia, 2006). A big part of the 'othering' in education is exacerbated by the concentration of the Eurocentric one source of knowledge. Therefore, counter to this is the diversification of knowledge. In the context of this study (South Africa) the knowledge that has been neglected is African knowledge. With this in mind Africanisation and the concept of Ubuntu are considered when analysing the data. The importance of diverse knowledges that represents the non-Eurocentric experiences is also argued by Santos, 2014. When considering the principles and ethics of decolonising education, it is important to reflect upon Spivak's contention that many people are exploited by race, class, and gender, which can push them into a conformity with few options for change (1988).

Postcolonial thinkers not only discuss the content of education, but also the importance of pedagogy, and aligned with thinkers such as Giroux, Friere and Illich, there is an argument that a critical pedagogy can contribute to societal change, and transform the structural conditions that perpetuate inequalities, which I argue as part of my framework, aids the increase in capabilities. Furthermore, Freire (1970, 1973, 1985) theorises that education should encourage students to recognise the structural inequalities that surround them; that students should be encouraged and given the tools to realise and question situations of oppression so that they might eventually reach 'critical consciousness'. It has been argued in this chapter (section 3.3.1), that education has the potential to transform the structural conditions that perpetuate inequalities. Here, through a pedagogy alternative to that of the mainstream, education can empower and liberate subaltern populations (Esteva, 2007; Freire, 1970; Illich, 1971; Sandoval, 2017). As such the consideration of critical pedagogy is also included in the theoretical framework (see *figure 1*).

Hybridity is a suggested alternative to the westernised neoliberal influenced education, that can allow for the aforementioned positive elements of the development agenda (section 3.2.3) to still be available but incorporates more localised initiatives. As previously defined, hybridity refers to the social thinking and activity that emerges from the interaction of different groups, practices, and worldviews (Mac Ginty, 2008). Although the literature in this

chapter refers to a reaction to the post development critiques, this concept is useful when looking at education in a complex context like South Africa. As discussed in this chapter (3.2.1), elements of the Western influence have not all been negative, but rather, recipients of the education need the potential to change their situation according to their own culturally defined aspirations (Rahnema, 1997; Mac Ginty, 2008; MacGinty & Richmond, 2016). For hybridity to be achieved local agencies need to have power and agency that counterbalances the Western influence (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2016), as such this is considered in the analysis of my data.

With this in mind, the framework set out in *figure 1: Theoretical Framework* is used to evaluate the student experience that emerges through the data. The capabilities approach, which is shown as a scale or measure at the left of the infographic, is employed to evaluate the freedoms of individuals to make decisions they value, whilst identifying the **obstacles** to those freedoms, and the opportunities to remove these barriers to enhance capabilities (Walker and Underhalter, 2007). The **obstacles** are presented in the top half of the graphic, and are drawn from postcolonialism, which acknowledges the predominantly Western education, and how this education discounts and 'Others' certain groups, which in turn marginalises or creates a subaltern, which then normalises the Western education system. Which, as *figure 1* shows, has the potential to decrease a person's capabilities.

Opportunities to remove these barriers are presented in the bottom half of the graphic (figure 1), and are aligned with thinkers such as Friere, Illich and Giroux. I contend that epistemological diversity can allow for a hybridity and the inclusion of other ways of being, in this context that is an Africanisation of knowledge through philosophies such as Ubuntu. This is aligned with the work of Santos (2014), in that Santos claims the antidote is an epistemological revolution to achieve global cognitive justice, and that this can be achieved through the epistemologies of the South - that is by bringing other knowledges into conversations. Further **opportunities** are presented through adopting a critical pedagogy, which in turn encourages more epistemological diversity. This all lends itself to a decolonial education system, in that decolonised spaces are therefore those that recognise epistemological diversity and are inclusive, with a meaningful relationship between

university and society (Walker, 2018). This increases capabilities through enabling individuals to make decisions based on what they value (Walker & Unterhalter, 2007), and allows the potential of students to materialise through the conscious expansion of choices, rather than the denial of agency (Andrew & Bawa, 2014). I will use this framework to analyse my data by reflecting if the practices and content of education that the students at UWC, and the lived experience of the Guriqua community in relation to their knowledge, is increasing or decreasing their capabilities through a postcolonial lens.

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I began by outlining the shift in the development agenda, moving from the primary goal of increasing access to education adopted by EFA and the MDGs, to a greater focus on quality and inclusivity in the SDGs. Although this chapter focuses a critical lens on neoliberalism, human capital theory and the development agenda, it recognises the importance of the link between education and the economy. Economic gain can provide an important protection from poverty; however, I argue that the role of education is more complex than HCT allows. It can provide knowledge and skills that are not measured by economic gains but are important for one's identity. HCT lends itself to policies that emphasise increased accessibility to formal education but does not give space to consider the content of education and which groups are getting access to it. The chapter explores how the development agenda became subject to criticism from post-development theorists who argued that it exacerbates inequalities through the imposition of Western ideas on the global south, often at the expense of indigenous knowledge and traditions. Post-development theorists call for a different way of thinking, for a move away from universalist ideas and standards to a position where learning from indigenous communities is valued. However, I also showed that post-development theory itself has come to be criticised. Emerging literature seeks to find a new way forward. This included a focus on radical pedagogies, postcolonial thinking and non-western philosophies which will provide a lens for this research, to explore the relationship between indigenous knowledge and higher education.

The chapter moves on to examine alternative and progressive approaches to education, with a continuing focus on the purpose of education, highlighting the potential of education to

critically engage students to allow them to fully engage in society and give them the confidence to challenge inequalities. Postcolonial theories were interrogated with a particular focus on how they recognise colonial discourse through education. The capabilities approach was looked at and how this marries with the decolonising agenda and Spivak's work on the subaltern was highlighted. Finally, this chapter considered the role of indigenous knowledge in higher education and the effects of colonialism on how indigenous knowledge is viewed.

Through my exploration of the theories above, I recognise that in the context of South Africa it is impossible to ignore the neoliberal hold over higher education in both its content, structure, and motivation for many students to attend. The importance of economic gain through education is therefore not downplayed in this research. However, I will adopt elements of post development in my analysis of neoliberal education in South Africa. I will also draw from the work of Freire and Giroux in considering elements of higher education practice that the students who participated in my research are exposed to. Although my theoretical framework owes a lot to Spivak's work on the subaltern, it adopts the, perhaps more positive assertions of Fanon and Santos that a way to decolonise is through the inclusion of other knowledges and world views. Looking at the education marginalised groups are receiving through the lens of the capability approach will allow for a realistic view of the opportunities education systems are allowing, and how the education marginalised communities experience can help or hinder these opportunities.

These elements will form the lens through which I will consider the context of my study (chapter 2) and the existing literature (chapter 4). I will also use this lens to analyse my data (chapters 6 & 7). As mentioned, there is an undeniable Western influence on the content and culture of education in South Africa, and this has implications for the expectations of the students experiencing that education. In this, Sen's capability approach will be important in examining the opportunities granted or denied to students from marginalised communities who are engaged with South African higher education.

The following chapter will further set the scene of this thesis through engaging with the literature regarding indigenous knowledge and decolonising higher education.

4. Decolonising Education, Indigenous Knowledge and Drivers of Development - A review of the literature

4.1 Introduction

The call to decolonise education has grown louder in the last few years (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008; Prakash & Esteva, 1998, 2008). This is especially prevalent with the #Blacklivesmatter movement gaining traction as a result of the killing of George Floyd in 2020. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the literature surrounding decolonisation and indigenous knowledge and its relationship with education. This chapter begins with an exploration of what is meant by decolonising education and why it is important, and the role of indigenous knowledge in this process. It then reviews international literature with a hope of gaining insight into the relationship between indigenous knowledge and formal education. The chapter also considers the role of education in social and economic development, and the tension between this driver and the ambition for an education that incorporates more diverse knowledges. Finally, the chapter will discuss the literature focused on the interplay between Western education and indigenous knowledge.

4.2 Transformation and Decolonising Education

4.2.1 What is decolonising and why is it important?

Colonialism is viewed as a system of domination and subjugation of people from another culture, where the values, norms, customs, and worldviews of the colonised are rejected (Blunt, 2005; Sommer, 2011; Mampane, Omidire & Aluko, 2018). Authors such as Grosfoguel (2007) and Maldonado -Torres (2007) argue we are still in a state of coloniality despite colonialism itself being over. This is “the continuity of colonial forms of domination after the end of colonial administrations, produced by colonial cultures and structures in the modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal world system” (Grosfoguel, 2007, p.219). Coloniality encompasses the social, cultural, and epistemic impacts of colonialism, which affects cultural and social systems and the ways in which knowledge is produced (Quijano, 2007). Quijano (2000; 2007) argues that coloniality has naturalised European systems and ideas so that they appear universal and inevitable and are therefore now viewed as the governing

ideology of the modern world system. As part of this hierarchy of culture and knowledge, Quijano (2007) goes on to argue that coloniality denies indigenous, pre-colonial, or non-European systems of knowing, thereby depriving colonised societies the opportunities afforded by knowledge production (Quijano, 2007). This “paradigm of difference” is argued to reproduce the rhetoric that the global south and in particular Africa was - and continues to be - primitive, underdeveloped, unscientific and irrational (Kgari-Masondo & Chimbunde, 2021). Further, Quijano (2000) suggests there still exists an imposition of rational and ethnic classification that underpins everyday social existence (Quijano, 2000, p.342).

Decolonisation can be broadly understood as “an umbrella term for diverse efforts to resist the distinct but intertwined processes of colonisation and racialisation, to enact transformation and redress in reference to the historical and ongoing effects of these processes, and to create and keep alive modes of knowing, being, and relating that these processes seek to eradicate” (Stein & Andreotti, 2017, p.370). In order to decolonise there first needs to be a process which identifies the ways in which Western modes of thought and systems of knowledge have been universalised (Walsh, and Mignolo, 2018).

Decoloniality aims to move away from Eurocentrism by recovering ‘alternative’ or non-Eurocentric ways of knowing (Walsh, and Mignolo, 2018). Bhambra, Gebrial & Nişancioğlu (2018), discuss the term ‘decolonising’ as having two key meanings. First, it is a way of observing the world that situates colonialism as a shaping force, which accepts that through empire and racism, values and norms were influenced and changed on a global scale. Second, decolonising allows space and consideration for other forms of knowing and values distinct from the Eurocentric domination of ways of being (Bhambra, Gebrial & Nişancioğlu, 2018). For the purpose of this research decolonising is defined as contesting the hegemony, legacy and limitations of Eurocentric epistemologies and the Northern control of knowledge production whilst interrogating whose interests are met by the prioritised knowledge and its practices (Mignolo & Escobar, 2013; Hayes, Lockett & Missiaszek, 2021).

Decolonising is a term often associated with education, knowledge, and values, with an impact that is often hard to measure. However, for some, the process of decolonising can be more literal and tangible, for example, Tuck and Yang view decolonising as the repatriation

of indigenous land and the returning of imperial wealth, arguing that ‘decolonisation is not a metaphor’ (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Bhabra et al stress the importance of decolonising as a global project, with the Western university at its centre. They argue that it is within, and from, the Western university that colonial knowledge was and is produced, naturalised, and disseminated, and that this has in turn allowed and given intellectual grounds for dispossession and oppression (Bhabra, Gebrial & Nişancioğlu, 2018). The university here is positioned as a site of knowledge production, that has the power and potential to elevate, promote and disseminate certain knowledge, histories, and academic contributions over others (Gebrial, 2018). Whilst I see value in the range of views and expectations of decolonising, for the context of this thesis, I think the idea of negative and positive programmes of decolonising offered by Mitova (2020) are useful. Mitova defines the ‘negative epistemic programme’ as one that eliminates all Western influence of knowledge supplies and production in non-Western countries. Whereas the ‘positive epistemic programme’ is to proactively utilise marginalised epistemic resources to allow for and encourage the advancement of knowledge in various fields (Mitova, 2020, p.193). This would allow for the Afro-centric and indigenous knowledge to become part of a re-centering of knowledge, which Mitova (2020) argues will enable the “correcting the distorted human relationships that emerged from the social classification of human species and their racial hierarchisation” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018. p.9). This re-centering will then allow these diverse knowledge systems to be credited and move from their current positioning of an anthropological object (Mitova, 2020, p.195). This ‘positive decolonisation’ is the most common way to view decolonisation currently and is considered a more realistic way forward by many scholars (Mitova, 2020; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018).

The following section will highlight some of the many movements across the globe to decolonise education, whilst demonstrating that decolonisation is a complex process that often faces tensions, particularly in regard to education, due to the globalised nature of higher education and the reliance and historic privilege given to Western knowledge over non-Western traditions and knowledges (Zembylas, 2018; Mbembe, 2016).

4.2.2 What does it mean to decolonise higher education and why is it important?

As previously mentioned, the focus on decolonising education, in particular higher education, has gained traction in recent years (Bhambra, Nişancioğlu & Gebrial, 2020). This focus is not surprising given the university has been the scene of political protest and social movements for generations. Dasgupta (2020) considers the potential of public universities. He suggests that universities are places of critical reflection and spaces in which relationships can develop that extend beyond those of normalised societal hierarchies.

There is much reflection in the literature about what it means to decolonise education. Some interpret it as increasing access to Black Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) students, revising reading lists and recruiting diverse staff members (Bhambra, Nişancioğlu & Gebrial, 2020). Others argue that the decolonisation of higher education should be focused on the inclusion of marginalised indigenous voices into mainstream education (Steinberg & Kincheloe, 2008). Still others define it as moving away from the hegemony of Northern and Western epistemologies and knowledge systems that are of a detriment to identity and culture of the recipient of that education (Heleta, 2016; Mampane, Omidire and Aluko, 2018). Indeed, it has been argued that communities which are marginalised or oppressed are more likely to feel protected if their experiences and worldviews are reflected in the values and knowledge provided by universities (Gready & Jackson, 2023).

What it means to decolonise an education system can also differ depending on the context, history and how that education system is formalised. Decolonising is a nuanced and loaded term, in that people with different positionality can have different motives and expectations of what it means (Bhambra, Nişancioğlu & Gebrial, 2020). Although not opposed to the idea of decolonising, Bhambra, Nişancioğlu & Gebrial, (2020) reflect that decolonising has become a market opportunity for neoliberal managers to encourage more participation in universities as a way of increasing profit, the so-called 'capitalisation of decolonising'. They cite the example of Kehinde Andrews, who was given resources for a Black Studies programme in Birmingham, and who later learned that the decision to support the programme was influenced by the perception that it was a low-cost, high return way of

capitalising by increasing students' fees and remove students' caps (Bhambra, Nişancioğlu & Gebrial, 2020). Rather than representing a market opportunity, Bhambra, Nişancioğlu & Gebrial, (2020) argue that decolonisation should be an opportunity to create an alternative version of the current establishment, one that is free of colonial systems and is critical in its desire to create informed citizenship. Indeed, they argue it should represent an opportunity to unlearn coloniality and challenge neoliberalism. Further to this, Begum and Saini (2018) argue that decolonisation is actually a crucial initiative, as unlike many other 'watered down' initiatives, it acknowledges the power relations at play in the production and dissemination of knowledge (Begum and Saini, 2018, p. 198).

There are, therefore, some interpretive nuances around the definition of decolonisation, but it is possible to distil useful overarching characteristics. These include decolonisation as a force to give space to those who have been historically marginalised to communicate from their own frame of reference (Le Grange, 2018). In this, we can see decolonisation as a means to create opportunity, resources and dialogue that is accessible to all cultures and knowledge systems, providing curricula that individuals can identify with and which (re)consider how knowledge is created and how it frames the world (Charles, 2019; Kgari-Masondo & Chimbunde, 2021).

Despite the aforementioned motivations to decolonise, there is much debate about *how* to decolonise, which includes debate about what decolonising education means at a curriculum level for higher education (Heleta, 2016; Zembylas, 2018). For example, many programmes have increasingly come under fire for over-representation of White male authors, as exemplified through campaigns such as "Why Is My Curriculum White?", "Why Is My Professor White?" and #LiberateMyDegree (Begum & Saini, 2018; Bhambra, Gebrial & Nişancioğlu, 2018). These movements are UK based but take their inspiration from similar movements in other parts of the world, such as #RhodesMustFall in South Africa and campaigns highlighting caste prejudice in some Indian universities (Bhambra, Gebrial and Nişancioğlu, 2018). It is argued that to decolonise the curriculum, the context of the learners needs to be considered, such as their culture and knowledge system, and that this needs to be incorporated into curriculum construction (Kgari-Masondo et al, 2021: Ndlovu-Gatsheni,

2015). Language, for example, is argued to be vital to knowledge production (Olatunji, 2010), and ensures epistemic and cultural identity. If certain languages are left out of education it can lead to the subjugation of cultures (Higgs, 2012). On the other hand, Zembylas (2018) highlights that focus needs to be placed on what decolonisation means pedagogically. Keet (2014) has similar concerns, arguing that due to the role of higher education institutions in the epistemic 'othering', it is important to generate new pedagogical language and practices to fully allow decolonisation to be meaningful. This argument is further supported by Kgari-Masondo & Chimbunde (2021), who contend that decolonising requires a pedagogy that is informed by different positionalities and ideologies with 'humanisation' - that is an underpinning of respect for others, for different identities, histories, and experiences - at its core. They further argue that decolonised pedagogy needs to address diversity, reconciliation, promote social cohesion and mediate inequalities (Kgari-Masondo & Chimbunde, 2021).

Decolonising education faces many challenges in both the so-called Global North and Global South. As stated, decolonising as a process can be highly contextual and it is important to recognise the different experiences and expectations of different regions. In the UK, despite efforts to decolonise, there are still fewer than 100 full Professors of African descent (Ackah, 2021). Further problems identified in the UK higher education system include a lack of space for African descendents to draw on their own experiences to generate knowledge (Ackah, 2021). This is perpetuated by the lack of attention placed on Britain's role in colonisation and the othering of different knowledges and cultures (Ackah, 2021). Numerous efforts have been made to transform and decolonise British universities, and Ackah emphasises the importance of international decolonising movements in this struggle, such as the Rhodes must Fall movement, which originated in South Africa but then was adopted in the UK to highlight issues of colonising education in Britain (Ackah, 2021). Further barriers to decolonising can originate in a reluctance to grapple with the complexities of decolonising. Begum and Saini (2018) recount colleagues who object to the term "decolonise", which they describe as the 'whitewashed', neoliberal interpretation of 'diversification' (Begum and Saini, 2018, p. 198). There are arguments in the literature that education, particularly, but not exclusively, in the Global North, has become too neo-liberal. However, economic growth remains a societal and individual concern in most contexts, and education is an important

driver for this growth. One of the challenges to decolonising presented in the literature is the impact that engaging with more diverse knowledges would have on standard understandings and globally recognised qualifications that support employment and growth (Bhmabra, Gebrial & Nişancioğlu, 2018). Literature is also emerging that considers the impact of Covid19 on decolonising education. For example, Kgari-Masondo et al (2021), argue that policy around education in the Covid19 pandemic has allowed for a re-colonisation in education. Covid19 resulted in a great deal of formal education across the globe moving onto online platforms. Due to the disparity in resources between being the Global North and the Global South, Kgari-Maondo et al's study found that different groups have received a different quality of education, and that this has exacerbated existing inequalities (Kgari-Masondo & Chimbunde, 2021).

This section has explored some of the debates and challenges around decolonisation before taking a more focused look at the potential of the university to invoke societal change through decolonisation and how decolonising education is a contested notion with many nuances and complexities.

4.3 Indigenous Knowledge

4.3.1 Defining indigenous and indigenous peoples

The previous section explored decolonising education and the inclusion of other ways of knowing. This section will try to unpack the concept of indigenous knowledge, in particular how it is perceived by different agents, and this will include exploring the tension around definitions and language and how the view of Western education has been interrogated by some authors.

According to the Oxford English dictionary, indigenous can be defined as “to be born in a specific place” (2022). The UN refers to Indigenous Peoples as the “inheritors and practitioners of unique cultures and ways of relating to people and the environment” (UN, 2022). The World Bank describes Indigenous Peoples as “distinct social and cultural groups that share collective ancestral ties to the lands and natural resources where they live”

(World Bank 2023). Although within this study the term indigenous is used to refer to the population that were native prior to colonialism, it is recognised that the term indigenous is itself problematic. The root of the word is from *indegna*, meaning native, and in the West, this term has been affiliated with naïve, primitive and backwards, grouping together peoples that may not share ideologies or culture but have divergent histories and identities (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008). A number of different words are seen as more appropriate and acceptable in different contexts. For example, in the United States and Canada the preferred term is First Nation to describe the Indian, Métis and Inuit populations, whilst in Hawaii native Hawaiian is used (Cunningham & Stanley, 2003). Indigenous people generally live in countries controlled by dominant ethnic groups and are often excluded from power, i.e., marginalised (Steinberg & Kincheloe, 2008, P: xviii). The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples states that “Indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for exercising their right to develop” (United Nations, 2007, Article 23).

For indigenous people the word indigenous is more than a descriptive adjective, “it is a way of being, it is a verb!” (Cajete, 1999 p.189). Indigenous also refers to the perception that, historically speaking, all people originate from some ‘place’ that place is both a national and soulful place (Cajete, 1999 p.189). A further definition is offered by Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal (2003) who, when explaining an indigenous worldview, he usefully contrasts three major worldviews - a Western view that sees God as external and in heaven, an Eastern view, which focuses internally and reaching spirituality within through practices such as meditation, and an indigenous view which sees people as having a seamless relationship with nature and spirituality (Cunningham & Stanley, 2003).

For the purposes of this research “‘Indigenous’ may be defined as belonging to a locality or originating in a place in reference to races and species that have not been introduced from elsewhere.

4.3.2 How is indigenous knowledge viewed?

Although Western centric education is still the foremost education within universities globally, its dominance has been subject to criticism and alternative approaches have been suggested by intellectuals from as early as the 1930s. The Progressive Education Association meeting in 1932, held at Columbia University, played host to a speech delivered by George Counts questioning if Western education was still fit for purpose or if a new education order was required (Gaudelli, 2020). This was followed by a widespread critique of Western education, as explored in the previous chapter, including John Dewey's *Democracy and Education* (1944), Ivan Illich's *Deschooling Society* (1971), Maxine Greene's *Teacher or Stranger* (1973) and *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* by Paulo Friere in 1968 (Gaudelli, 2020). The criticism directed at Western education included the way it is delivered and structured means there is a separation of people from the lived world, in that students learn about aspects of the world they have little contact with (Gaudelli, 2020). Through his work, Friere drew attention to what he referred to as the 'banking' way of learning within Western education, which he argues allowed education to be a tool to perpetuate social norms, rather than create critical citizens (Friere, 2014). This critique of Western dominance can also be seen in aspects of the development agenda. Briggs and Sharp (2004) refer to what they perceive to be the 'failure of development', encapsulating criticism of the North to South transfer of knowledge (Briggs & Sharp, 2004; Escobar, 1995). This criticism, along with the increasing focus on decolonising education (outlined above), has led to a renewed value being placed on indigenous and local knowledge and has led to a shift in perception, by some scholars, from Western knowledge as the only legitimate option to a consideration of a range of knowledge (Duncan & Sharp, 1993; Briggs & Sharp, 2004). It is argued that for development work to continue in a meaningful way, Eurocentric biases need to be countered with other approaches (Duncan & Sharp, 1993; Briggs & Sharp, 2004).

Indigenous knowledge is defined by some scholars as an integrated system of information in the form of human knowledge, beliefs, and behaviours (Warren & Rajasekaran, 1993; Triyanto, & Handayani, 2020). This encompasses experiential knowledge and addresses diverse and complex aspects of native peoples and their livelihoods. It is holistic in that it includes spirituality, socio-cultural context, ontological realms, culture, art, music, life skills and more (Jacob, Cheng & Porter, 2015; Triyanto, & Handayani, 2020). The interest in indigenous knowledge in the educational literature can be traced back to the late 1970s

when there was increasing concern for sustainable development. Here indigenous knowledge was seen to exemplify a way by which people could live harmoniously with nature, and over time it was integrated into mainstream development agenda policy (Eyzaguirre, 2001; Briggs, 2005). This resulted in increased prominence of, and efforts to include, indigenous knowledge within development agenda work (Briggs, 2005; Shepherd, 2015). However, there has been little focus or criticism in the literature on the way indigenous knowledge is included in development. Briggs & Sharp (2004) argue that the inclusion of indigenous knowledge has been very limited, tokenistic in nature and lacking in terms of a substantial desire to change. This treatment of indigenous knowledge has cast it as an object that can be essentialised and transferred (Briggs, 2005). A further concern has been that the call to include indigenous knowledge is in itself inferring indigenous knowledge is one type of knowledge, whereas there are many different indigenous communities, all with different values, norms and knowledge (Aikenhead, 1996). An example of this can be found in Gadické's work (2005) with Canadian First Nation people, which found that values, beliefs, and knowledge varied substantially across regions and tribes. Similarly, it is recognised that indigenous knowledge that is concerned with nature is place-specific and never intended to be generalised (Snively & Williams, 2008; Webb, 2013).

Various literature identifies the complexity of indigenous communities (Maddox, Giblin & Kimambo, 1996; Briggs, 2005). Briggs (2005) argues that indigenous knowledge can be problematic at the local level, noting it is important to consider power/legitimacy and gender politics within the indigenous community (Briggs, 2005). Studies exploring the perception of gender roles of indigenous women in Oaxaca in Mexico, the Philippines and Namibia, all found that women continued to be governed by cultural gender norms, inadequate access to resource, education or sources or income, with a woman's worth centred around motherhood with little or no focus on female empowerment (Karver, Sorhaindo, Wilson and Contreras, 2016; Gabriel, De Vera, Antonio, 2020; Sylvain, 2011). Indeed, the danger of romanticising indigenous knowledge is widely discussed in the literature (Briggs, 2005; Maddox et al, 1996; Kapoor, 2002). Indigenous knowledge can serve to empower local communities, but this should neither be seen as a 'given', nor assumed to be a consensual knowledge (Maddox et al, 1996). What's more, in his 2005 piece, Briggs discusses what he perceives to be the misrepresentation of indigenous knowledge as static

and timeless, finding such representations restrictive in that it creates an image of an unchanging culture. In reality, Briggs found empirical evidence from studies in the Andes and Kenya that demonstrates knowledge acquisition to be dynamic and always evolving, with communities testing and developing their environmental knowledge (Brigg et al, 1999; Briggs, 2005). Moreover, indigenous knowledge is highly contextual, and it may not be possible to transfer it between different geographical areas because it is the localness of the knowledge that makes it so relevant to the community. In other words, there is a risk that it could lose its agency and efficacy if it becomes depersonalised and used in a top-down manner (Briggs, 2005).

This section has explored the shared concern by some writers that the concept of a shared community of indigenous knowledge ignores individual agency and that it is unrealistic to ignore factors such as age, experience, wealth, gender, and political power (Briggs, 2005; Ellen & Harris, 2000). An example of this intersectionality is seen in research carried out in Nigeria, where a considerable transfer of knowledge between men and women was identified, but also different knowledge transferred between women not shared with the wider community was identified; as such, this knowledge had a different value (Briggs, 2005). This reaffirms the danger of imposing uncritically the blanket term ‘indigenous knowledge’ and the assumption that it can exist as a single entity, or as a static and unsophisticated form of knowledge. Conversely, it has also been shown that it can be problematic to romanticise indigenous knowledge without acknowledging the sometimes unequal and restricting power dynamics, particularly in respect of gender in some indigenous communities, that it may embed.

4.4 Indigenous knowledge and education

“The education of a particular people is shaped by the way in which this system of relations is lived through, the traditional pedagogical action of its transmission, especially to the younger ones. For indigenous people there are critical moments in their life cycle in which the education of the members of communities occur through pedagogical actions in which almost all the community participate” (Mello, de Sousa, Palomino, 2018, p. 2).

This section will move on to discuss the literature concerned with the role of indigenous knowledge and education. The 2010 documentary, 'Schooling the World: The White Man's Last Burden' takes a critical look at Western centred educational aid work. Filmed in the northern Indian Himalayas, the film explores how Western imported education systems rigidity is often not fit for purpose in remote settings. The film portrays this imported education as contributing to the distinction of traditional knowledge and calls for a deeper dialogue between cultures, suggesting that "modernised societies have at least as much to learn as they teach" (Black, 2010). Within the decolonial literature there is a sustained argument that knowledge should be localised and grounded in insights from subaltern perspectives and social struggles (Appadurai, 2000; Connell, 2014; Windle, 2020, Spivak, 1988). Briggs & Sharp, (2004) align with Spivak (see theory chapter 3) in their argument that the subaltern can never truly speak, and in order to be heard they must dilute their truth into Western ways of knowing. Therefore, the danger is that the only inclusion of indigenous knowledge will be translated and inauthentic (Spivak 1988; Briggs & Sharp, 2004). An example of this is that for indigenous knowledge to be accessible it is often expressed in a European language, and that the original meaning will be lost in the process of translation (Briggs & Sharp, 2004). Postma & Postma (2011) in exploring African language use, found that reality is enacted in different ways within different language communities, and that when pupils were made to use a different language at school this created a tension as there were opposing ontological assumptions embedded in the different languages and culture (Postma & Postma, 2011), Writing on their experience disseminating their indigenous knowledge, hooks (1990) argues that by telling her experience from a Western point of view the indigenous voice is merely used as an example, for a Western 'expert' to interpret. Briggs and Sharp (2004) recognise the inclusion of indigenous technical skills, such as agriculture, in development initiatives, but assert that the inclusion of indigenous knowledge is not done at a fundamental or conceptual level, arguing this is because there is no real intention to challenge the Western value system. Briggs asserts that the interest in indigenous knowledge has focused on the practical and empirical knowledge of the environment and less on a deeper understanding of the epistemology of indigenous knowledge (Briggs, 2005). An example of this is the World Bank's policy: 'Indigenous knowledge for development - a framework for action' (World Bank, 2016), which advocates a position 'to learn from indigenous knowledge', but goes on to limit the knowledge to

technical knowledge that does not include the wider world view of social justice, gender relations or familial responsibility (Briggs & Sharp, 2004).

Education spaces can offer an opportunity to explore cultural identities, multicultural values and civic participation; however, education can also be a catalyst for inhibiting ethnic identities (Banks, 2013. Bush & Salterelli, 2000). As previously detailed, there is increasing support in some areas for the decolonisation of education, and recognition that in many cases this involves the inclusion of indigenous knowledge (Heleta, 2016). There is much acknowledgement about the tension between traditional cultures and knowledge, and Western Eurocentric notions of scientific knowing. Western science has been viewed by the international community as systematic, objective, rational and intelligent, whereas indigenous knowledge has been viewed as closed, parochial and unintellectual with little to offer (Briggs, 2005; Beckford & Baker, 2007; Beckford, Jacobs, Williams & Nahdee, 2010). This had led to Western science being viewed as a superior and legitimate knowledge (Briggs, 2005), thus making it less likely that indigenous knowledge could be construed as sophisticated or relevant within an education context.

A way of increasing awareness of indigenous knowledge is to consider how it is represented on the global stage through International Non-Governmental Organisations (INGOs). This chapter has already touched upon the relationship between indigenous traditions and knowledge and the development agenda. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are a more holistic consideration of the role of development than their predecessor, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (UNESCO, 2030, Unesco.org, 2017; Skinner, Baillie-Smith, Brown and Troll, 2016). The emergence of the SDGs has inspired a wave of literature linking the sustainability that is inherent in indigenous ways of living and the aspirations of the SDGs. Berks (2012), in the work "Sacred Ecology", recognises the growing interest in traditional ecological knowledge, and argues this is an indicator of the relevance of indigenous practices in the use and management of ecosystems. Furthermore, studies have shown a loss of biodiversity being related to restrictions placed on rural indigenous communities (Diegues, 1996; Arruda, 1997; Sandoval-Rivera, 2020). An example is research conducted by Sandoval-Rivera in Veracruz, Mexico (2020). The research was an ethnographic educational project conducted in the indigenous community of Zaragoza

between 2013 and 2016 (Sandoval-Rivera, 2020). It identified cultural practices that generate indigenous knowledge that aligns with the SDGs (Sandoval-Rivera, 2020). Sandoval-Rivera suggests that these cultural practices come from philosophical perspectives and local wisdom which contain ideas and practices that aid in the sustainable challenges. He further argues for the protection of indigenous knowledge based on its importance in sustainability, whilst recognising that additional investigation is needed to ascertain how to include and embed indigenous knowledge in formal education without losing its meaning and relevance for the holders of the knowledge through decontextualisation (Sandoval-Rivera, 2020). This point is salient to the work of Mendoza-Mori (2017), who has found that indigenous people have not been considered fully in to how to best include their knowledge in education, and reports that the process has been neither inclusive nor respectful of traditional practices. Similarly, it is argued that educational interventions in Latin America generally involve de-contextualised processes (Santos, 2006), and that Education for Sustainable Development is framed in a global way which diminished the importance of local and indigenous knowledge, the value systems of Indigenous Peoples and their learning processes (Lotz-Sisitka & Lupele, 2017). Furthermore, there is criticism by some scholars that argue that despite adopting transformative language, essentially the SDGs are primarily concerned with a pro-growth module at the cost of social and environmental justice (Brissett & Mitter, 2017).

Where indigenous knowledge is integrated in a thoughtful manner, it can have significant impact. An example is a study based in Canada from research conducted with a Canadian First Nation community from Walpole Island First Nation found that the Aboriginal people of Canada have been excluded from environmental initiatives (Beckford, Jacobs, Williams & Nahdee, 2010). The research identified that the respect and knowledge that the Walpole Island First Nation people had for the land was able to inspire children to form healthier relationships with the environment. It was also found that the Aboriginal perspectives can be used to teach children to see the natural world in contexts other than purely economic terms (Beckford, Jacobs, Williams & Nahdee, 2010). The research concluded that the inclusion of these perspectives in mainstream curricula will contribute to the multicultural nature of Canadian classrooms and must be done in order to achieve a truly inclusive pedagogy (Beckford, Jacobs, Williams & Nahdee, 2010). In order to achieve a new ecological

ethos, it is argued that it is imperative that indigenous knowledge needs to be present in mainstream education (Beckford, Jacobs, Williams & Nahdee, 2010). This demonstrates the importance of indigenous knowledge and the potential contribution it could make; however, due to the aforementioned complexity around the inclusion of indigenous knowledge in mainstream education, there needs to be a further focus on how this inclusion can meaningfully be achieved. The following sections on curriculum and higher education will focus further on inclusion.

4.4.1 Indigenous knowledge and the curriculum

The section above has explored some of the complex debates surrounding indigenous knowledge and mainstream education. This section will examine the debate in the literature more specifically on the inclusion of indigenous knowledge in mainstream education. As the research of Latin America and other contexts explored in the previous section demonstrated, there are complexities and debates around including indigenous knowledge in the curriculum of mainstream education. This section will aim to unpack these debates further.

Despite increased rhetoric on creating an education that is more accessible to indigenous people in Canada, there is still a disparity of graduation rates between indigenous and non-indigenous students. Wilson (2020) argues that the problems that need understanding are namely: the diversity of indigenous students (they are not all one autonomous unit); communicating and understanding new curricula; transitioning existing classroom practice; authenticity of presenters; the necessity of expert knowledge; problematic textbooks; assigning value to indigenous programming and navigating a multicultural framework. This emphasises how the current structural design with regards to pedagogy, content and practice is not always compatible with the needs and values of indigenous communities. Despite the challenges, Wilson (2020) places value on evolving education to include indigenous perspectives, and that this better serves all students and society. Particular importance is placed on addressing the historic disharmony between indigenous communities and formal education (Wilson, 2020). Similarly, research conducted in Indonesia also advocates the inclusion of indigenous knowledge into mainstream education (Triyanto, & Handayani, 2020). The research found that the inclusion of indigenous

knowledge is important in recognising student diversity. Also, by its nature, indigenous knowledge encourages a social, moral, and emotional respect for the environment (Renowati, Anantasae, Marfai & Dittamann, 2014; Triyanto, & Handayani, 2020). It was also found that social identities are recognised if included in formal education, so to not include indigenous identities is detrimental to an already marginalised group (De Beer & Whitlock, 2009; Triyanto, & Handayani, 2020).

There is very little research conducted on how indigenous people themselves perceive their knowledge. An exception is the work of Neeganagwedgin (2020), looking at the indigenous systems of knowledge in Canada through the lens of an indigenous perspective. This research was conducted on the premise that colonialism disrupted and harmed the transition of learning and demonstrates the role in formal and non-formal education settings of indigenous Elders in teaching and learning. The paper explores how an indigenous epistemology could be brought into schools through the perceptions of the Indigenous Knowledge Holders and Elders. This includes the way in which indigenous epistemologies and pedagogy can be part of everyday formal schooling (Neeganagwedgin, 2020). The article highlights the importance the Elders have in passing down the knowledge to create cultural continuity, whilst highlighting the damage caused by the forced attendance of indigenous children at schools where they are exposed to a culture away from their own (Neeganagwedgin, 2020). Despite this issue, Neeganagwedgin argues for the inclusion of indigenous knowledge in formal education rather than indigenous knowledge being solely passed down through informal settings. This is based on the recognition that indigenous knowledge in formal education will contribute to a more just education system that keeps indigenous knowledge alive and asserts indigenous rights (Battiste, 2013; Neeganagwedgin, 2020). Neeganagwedgin (2020) suggests schools should include an indigenous pedagogy that teaches through storytelling and draws from the relationship to the land and spirit. Storytelling is a traditional way that Elders pass knowledge through a community. Iseke (2013) writes that storytelling is a practice in indigenous cultures that sustains communities, validates experiences, and nurtures relationships. Furthermore, storytelling is a central focus of indigenous epistemologies, pedagogies, and research approaches (Iseke, 2013). Iseke's research found that storytelling pedagogies encourage broader understandings of identity, community, culture, and relations (Iseke, 2013).

As demonstrated within this chapter, several scholars point to the negative impact mainstream education can have on indigenous students. The suggested solution to this has been to inject indigenous knowledge into the mainstream curriculum. However, some research findings have led scholars to conclude that indigenous knowledge is so embedded in the environment and community of indigenous people that it cannot be transported into a formal education setting (Sarangapani, 2003). Working with a small tribe, the Baiga, who inhabit forested regions in Central India, Sarangapani observed how knowledge was viewed and passed on within the community. The research found that children's knowledge of the forest was developed over the stages of childhood and the children learnt through socialisation and initiative taking. There was mutual respect between adults and children and learning took place at the pace of the learner. The author reflects that the institute of modern schooling has a different perspective of knowledge and learning, and childhood is viewed very differently. In this work Sarangapani is alluding to the particular context the indigenous knowledge exists in and how this does not always directly translate into a modern school structure. She concludes that reinventing this indigenous knowledge to suit mainstream schooling would take away the essence of the knowledge. In this context, finding ways to ensure indigenous knowledge systems continue to function is important, and where indigenous knowledge is injected into formal education systems, careful thought needs to be given as to how this can be done in an effective way (Sarangapani, 2003).

This section has started to move from an exploration of the meaning and importance of other ways of knowing to a more practical consideration of the relationship between indigenous knowledge and the curriculum and what this means for indigenous communities. The following section will have a more specific focus on the role of indigenous knowledge in higher education.

4.5 Indigenous Knowledge and Higher Education

This section will look more specifically at the role of indigenous knowledge and higher education. The aforementioned dominance of Western education has been upheld and exacerbated by universities, prioritising a Westernised education system and content, and it has been argued that this makes universities responsible for shifting the culture in former

colonies away from indigenous knowledge (Steinberg & Kincheloe, 2008; Prakash & Esteva, 1998, 2008; Appadural, 2006; Marker, 2019). As demonstrated in the earlier part of this chapter, there is increasing support for the decolonisation of education, and recognition that this may include indigenous knowledge (Kelley, 2000; Heleta, 2016). Decolonising knowledge and universities mean many different things. For academics, particularly Western academics, it means de-centring themselves and striving to work in a deeply collaborative way (Briggs and Sharp, 2004). For students, it opens up the possibility of understanding the experience of others, on their own terms, and of being exposed to other ways of knowing (Rose, 1996; Harrison, 2017).

The previous sections have demonstrated a willingness to include indigenous knowledge within some facets of education, yet also revealed issues in how this is best achieved. This section will focus on indigenous knowledge and its relationship to higher education and will review the literature around how higher education can be more inclusive and relevant for indigenous students and communities. This exploration will provide a base knowledge to begin to answer the research question of ***Is indigenous knowledge too 'of a place' and localised to be placed in mainstream higher education?***

Higher education is often a space that is less inclusive than primary and secondary education, in that to attend higher education often requires a person to have the means to pay for tuition fees and delay entry into full time work, a privilege that is often not afforded to all in a community. Moves to create a more inclusive environment in higher education include strategies and initiatives to decolonise education. Harrison (2017) argues that students need to learn there is more to knowledge production than prescribed content, stating that students need ways of understanding the experience of others, that the focus should be on the difference as much as the similarity, and he suggests that students need to be exposed to other ways of knowing to fully understand how we are interconnected (Rose, 1996; Harrison, 2017). For this to happen, it is argued that universities need to undergo a systemic change, one that does not simply involve a change of curriculum (Champagne, 2015; Kuokkanen, 2007; Marker, 2019). With this in mind, Marker (2019), conducted research in Canada outlining how indigenous academics have been drawing on indigenous revival movements to challenge the convention of what constitutes research. It was found

that universities are in conflicted positions in that they invite indigenous expression, but resist the undoing of conventional hierarchies (Marker, 2019). Specifically, Marker highlights that universities seek to consider alternative knowledges that recognise language, ceremonies and cultural enactments, whilst they are themselves characterised by economic and cultural pressures (Champagne, 2015; Kuokkanen, 2007; Marker, 2019). This is argued to have contributed to a lack of ownership for indigenous academics and students over their academic production and participation (Marker, 2019). If a university wishes to include indigenous knowledge, Marker argues it is important to consider how much universities are prepared to open up and place indigenous values as equivalent to Western assumptions (Marker, 2019). It is proposed that indigenous knowledge is a necessary component of transformation and the survival of universities (Kirness, & Barnhardt, 1991; Marker, 2019). Marker concludes that institutions must do more than engage in tokenistic gestures to meaningfully decolonise, arguing it is imperative for universities to stretch their methodological and epistemological boundaries (Marker, 2019).

There is agreement among some scholars that although many higher education institutions claim to be culturally inclusive, in reality they are reproducing mono-cultural assimilation (Tomlinson, 1998; Webb & Sepúlveda 2020; Steinberg & Kincheloe, 2008; Prakash & Esteva, 1998, 2008). Higher education can be an alienating space that under-represents minority groups, who in turn believe it is not a place for them (Loo & Rollinson, 1986, Webb & Sepúlveda, 2020). Despite the barriers facing indigenous students, some students do persist in higher education. Webb and Sepúlveda (2020) explore the role indigenous students play in renegotiating their participation in higher education, arguing that marginalised and hybrid identities can enable forms of resistance and the generations of counter-narratives to dominant ideologies and assimilating practices. They focus on the way ethnic minority youth re-signify curricular content and resist colonising tendencies by developing politicised identities that are empowering both for themselves as individuals, and their communities (Pidgeon, 2008; Webb & Sepúlveda, 2020). Although they acknowledge that higher education in Chile focuses on human capital formation for a capitalist economy which may sit at odds with indigenous identity, Webb and Sepúlveda discovered that students found creative and agentic ways to establish meaningful connection with indigenous identities and political vindication (Webb & Sepúlveda, 2020). These included using some tools from their

studies, such as Anthropology, to engage further with their culture and value their difference, and to look critically at their communities. Students in the study relayed how university had enabled them to further embrace certain aspects of their culture, such as renewed interest in Mapuche weaving, and integrate norms in their culture, such as gender roles. Furthermore, the agency and transcultural capacity of indigenous youth enabled alternative pathways to be forged away from assimilation (Webb & Sepúlveda, 2020). Although the research emphasises the agency of indigenous people in higher education, Webb and Sepúlveda conclude that more resources should still be focused on retention of indigenous students (Webb & Sepúlveda, 2020).

Conversely, a study of the Igorot community of the Philippines found that in order to fit in and meet the expectations of formal education the indigenous students had to adapt from their culture and assimilate into the urban mainstream culture (Adonis & Couch, 2017). As in other colonised settings, scholars report that in the Philippines colonialism and the subsequent Americanised education system has shifted the culture in that Filipino culture is deemed second rate to the culture of the colonisers (Constantino & Constantino, 1999; Ponce 1980; Adonis & Couch, 2017). This has reportedly led to young Filipinos suffering an identity crisis due to their lack of self-respect as Filipinos (Revilla, 1997; Adonis & Couch, 2017). Igorot scholars argue that colonisation and missionary schools have made the Igorot community “misinformed, miseducated, misrepresented, marginalised, left confused and forlorn” (Dacog, 2003). Despite the criticism of higher education in the Philippines, as with the aforementioned research conducted by Webb (2020), Adonis and Couch (2017) found that the Igorot’s that completed higher education were left empowered in that they had overcome the obstacles that colonialism placed in their path, including, for example, those of language, lifestyle and poverty. The Igorot students reflected that this was possible as their traditional cultural values and concepts were there as a source of strength and determination (Adonis & Couch, 2017). The research concludes that these traditions are diminishing, and it is important to keep them alive by incorporating them into mainstream education (Adonis & Couch, 2017).

As previously shown, the body of literature surrounding indigenous knowledge and education recognises the colonial and Western epistemologies that have shaped the current

offering of higher education (Louie, Poitras-Pratt, Hanson, & Ottmann 2018). To try and reverse the effects of colonisation in Canada, research was conducted to explore the Canadian strategy of increasing indigenous scholars and incorporating indigenous ways of knowing (Louie, Poitras-Pratt, Hanson, & Ottmann 2018). The research aimed to document effective decolonising practises for classroom experience, interaction and learning that reflect indigenous values within teaching practice (Louie, Poitras-Pratt, Hanson, & Ottmann 2018). The low level of education achievement of indigenous people in Canada is attributed to the deficiencies in higher education, not to indigenous people or the culture. It is explained that post-secondary institutions have not done enough to create a diverse education model to eliminate discrimination (Louie, Poitras-Pratt, Hanson, & Ottmann 2018). The research found a need for pedagogical and strategic reform, stating that indigenisation is too often limited to content.

This section has explored indigenous knowledge and its relationship with formal higher education. Although there is a recognition in the development agenda of the importance of indigenous knowledge, its inclusion in development policy has in some cases been tokenistic. Moreover, the relationship between Western and indigenous knowledge is often expressed as binary, although there are examples where this is not the case. Importance has been placed on the inclusion of indigenous knowledge in education. I examined how this has been implemented through different initiatives with varying success and highlighted the risk that indigenous knowledge is often diluted when taken out of its original context. There is an acknowledgement in the literature that for education to be decolonised, it needs to include indigenous education. Despite the existence of some literature exploring how best to include indigenous knowledge in higher education, it is clear that what has not yet been sufficiently investigated is how indigenous communities and students perceive their knowledge and how they view its integration within formal education. The following section will consider if there is an opportunity within higher education for a more meaningful collaboration between Western education and Indigenous Knowledge.

4.6 Collaboration between Western Education and Indigenous Knowledge - Is there a third space?

This section of this chapter will consider the possibility of a collaboration between Western education and indigenous knowledge. This will be explored through examples in the literature of land-based pedagogy and “Two-eyed seeing”. What is considered ‘developed’ and what is considered ‘underdeveloped’ is often represented as a division in the literature on indigenous knowledge, and that those who consider ‘development’ often ignore the utility of the knowledge of rural people (Steinberg & Kincheloe, 2008; Prakash & Esteva, 1998, 2008). However, Pfeifer (1996) argues that things are not so polarised, and that the literature on development and on indigenous knowledge both ignore complexity, for example the fact that in rural areas there can be an unequal distribution of power and the existence of inequality within indigenous communities. Discussing the aforementioned film “Schooling the World: The White man’s last Burden”, McGrath (2019) agrees with the sentiment that modernised societies have much to learn from indigenous communities, but he is critical of how the film crudely dichotomizes “Western education” with “traditional or indigenous education”. He argues that globalisation is an undeniable fact, and rather than be in denial it is important to reconsider pedagogy and curriculum and re-work them, with a particular focus on the history of education and its ties to colonialism. This reworking, it is suggested, should not just consider national context, but also localised cultural, economic, and social political context (McGrath, 2019).

Similarly, Briggs (2005) argues that the divide between indigenous knowledge and mainstream education is not binary, stating that in rural areas there is more likely to be a hybrid use of both knowledges and, as such, indigenous knowledge no longer exists in its pure form but has evolved into a local knowledge (Briggs, 2005). It is argued that the dichotomy of Western science and indigenous knowledge is unhelpful, when actually both can complement each other and should collectively be part of the curriculum (Beckford, Jacobs, Williams & Nahdee, 2010). Furthermore, it is argued that many current approaches assume a set of fixed borders around indigenous knowledge which results in it being seen as an ‘alternative knowledge’, further maintaining Western knowledge as the only legitimate knowledge (Bartmes & Shukla, 2020). Whilst it is argued that decolonising education

involves leveraging indigenous language and culture, Mampane, Omidire and Aluko (2018), recommend a hybrid or 'glocal' solution, that is an education that is foregrounded in indigenous knowledge but also adopts and interweaves international worldviews. This is further justified through the recognition that, although a nation's education should reflect the culture and identities within that context, countries cannot afford to "reject all advances of modern medicine, education and science that originated elsewhere in the world" (Wingfield, 2017).

Despite being critical of how indigenous knowledge is being utilised in development agendas, Briggs & Sharp acknowledge that the criticism surrounding the inclusion of indigenous knowledge has meant researchers now fear engaging in the topic or undertaking research in communities in which they are not a member of (Briggs & Sharp, 2004). Radcliffe (1994) argues that avoiding such research is not a solution, and that doing so is in fact an abdication of responsibility to global relations as it would mean privilege is not recognised. Indeed, he argues that it is important to keep highlighting issues as, in reality, Western values do get more widespread attention and to ignore other worldviews will further exacerbate inequalities (Radcliffe, 1994; Briggs & Sharp, 2004). To elevate indigenous and marginalised voices, it is necessary for Western academics to de-centre themselves rather than abandon fieldwork, and to undertake fieldwork in a collaborative way (Briggs & Sharp, 2004).

A suggested way forward proposed by Bartmes and Shukla (2020), is the creation of a "third space". This third space would then include a land-based pedagogy (LBP), the purpose of LBP is to elevate the land to a source of learning and to further understand and accept cultural differences through the contextualisation of other knowledges. The authors advocate for a curriculum which teaches LBP in a holistic and contextualised knowledge system (Bartmes & Shukla, 2020). The work of Bartmes and Shukla (2020), defines a transformative third space as a process allowing and encouraging the meaningful engagement of diverse cultural perspectives to achieve a "deep structural shift in the basic premise of thought, feeling and actions" (Bartmes and Shukla, 2014, p.5). This framework is not a new idea, being first conceptualised in 1994 by Hami K. Bhabha with the intention of bringing together two separate spaces to create a new third space based on hybridity

(Bartmes & Shukla, 2020). The creation of this third space was an intentional space to challenge the authority and priority placed on Western perspectives, making space for new thinking, and meaning to emerge (Sterret, 2015, Bartmes & Shukla, 2020). The authors found that this third space encourages students to experiment with unfamiliar ways of knowing to encourage critical thinking and an expansion of social consciousness (Bartmes & Shukla, 2020, p.147). It is claimed that an LBP encourages students to reflect on limiting assumptions about indigenous knowledge (Bartmes & Shukla, 2020). The authors suggest that this can be done through encouraging students to spend time learning about indigenous knowledge from the indigenous community in context alongside studying the “academic” knowledge in the classroom (Bartmes & Shukla, 2020). To further investigate this idea the authors, draw from a case study of the University of Winnipeg in Canada. This included a combination of in case learning and land-based learning and some examples that were explored and prioritised one over the other. The case study found that LBP does not just act as an addition to the more Western curriculum of a university but rather it challenges the concept of the colonial construct of the ‘university’, creating something new that is a hybrid of different knowledge, and which expands students’ perception and ways of knowing (Bartmes & Shukla, 2020). Despite an observed tension between indigenous knowledge focused on ‘living knowledge’ and needing time to absorb and feel, and academic knowledge focused on ‘published knowledge’ independent of personal experience, the benefit of text-based learning was still recognised. It was found that this more Western learning style aided students to engage in a theoretical framework and offered a preliminary understanding of social and historical contexts (Bartmes & Shukla, 2020). Furthermore, the case study found that the indigenous knowledge holders saw LBP courses as a positive aspect of post-secondary education. However, they did have concerns that the knowledge taught should be part of a holistic knowledge system - that is an incorporation of body, mind, spirit, and community (Bartmes & Shukla, 2020).

A suggested framework in the literature to create a more hybrid learning space is the idea of ‘Two eyed seeing’ suggested by Hatcher et al (2009), described as “Learning to see from one eye with the strengths of indigenous ways of knowing, and to see from the other eye with the strengths of Western ways of knowing, and to use both of these eyes together” (Bartmes & Shukla, 2020, p. 146). This is broken down into three steps to then enable a

transformative third space. Firstly, structuring a curriculum around the holistic inclusion of indigenous knowledge. This includes students experiencing the land and learning from indigenous knowledge holders. The second stage is a weaving together of indigenous knowledge through land based and text-based learning. Thirdly, the navigation of the juxtaposition between indigenous knowledge and Western knowledge which includes students reflecting on contradictions between indigenous knowledge and academic knowledge - this is done with the aim of creating a third space with the potential to transform how students interpret knowledge and reality (Bartmes & Shukla, 2020).

This section argues against the dichotomy between Western and Indigenous knowledge, recognising how Western and indigenous knowledge can complement each other. The impact of globalised education has been discussed, asserting that a more realistic way forward could be to explore possibilities of a hybrid or “third way” of conceptualising education. The following section will build up literature presented in this chapter and the previous chapter (chapter 3) to suggest a typology of decolonisation for education.

4.7 Typology of decolonisation for education

Drawing from the ideas explored in section 4.2 and building on the work of Tikly from the previous chapter in section 3.5, I would like to present a typology of decolonisation for education. I will apply this typology to my empirical data in my Discussion chapter (chapter 8).

Through consideration of the literature surrounding decolonising education, I assert that the decolonising of education requires:

1) Decolonisation as representation

Decolonisation has several definitions, one of which (see section 3.5) is the breaking down of colonial power (Macleod, Bhatia & Liu, 2020). This requirement considers this element of decolonising in reference to the demographic of students and staff that are represented within higher education. This can include access to the academy, such as are certain groups of students less likely to gain access than other groups. What historical inequalities are behind this difference of access? What steps can be taken to increase access to marginalised

communities? Are students from marginalised communities accessing the same quality higher education as other students from more privileged backgrounds? A further consideration of representation under this requirement is the profile of the staff of higher education institutions, such as are the staff demographically representative of the students? How diverse are the staff in the institution in regard to race, gender, culture, religion etc? It is also important to note where the diversity exists in the university within the hierarchy of the institution. For example, is the gender balance in the lower graded positions the same as in the higher graded positions.

2) Decolonisation as content and pedagogy

This requirement is concerned with the role of decolonisation as allowing space and consideration for other forms of knowing distinct from the Eurocentric ways of being (Bhambra, Gebrial & Nişancioğlu, 2018). Drawing on this idea I contend there is a continuum from the inclusion of voice in the curriculum and the classroom, to teaching content in different languages and recognising different epistemologies or world views. It is important to recognise all elements of this continuum when reflecting on decolonial practice within higher education.

3) Decolonisation as recognition

This requirement could in fact include much of what is stated in requirements 1 and 2, but particularly on other measures a university can take. These measures include the naming of things, are these named based upon colonial figures or representative of colonial power? Are the statues in university grounds representative of a decolonised academy? These are all ways in which a university is viewed and indicative of their commitment to decolonise. The importance of such emblems is evident in the Rhodes must fall movement (explored in chapter 2) that originated in South Africa and led to a wider movement to decolonise education.

4) Decolonisation as hybridity/third space

This study is mindful of the conditions that impact marginalised communities in South Africa, and the important role education can have as a means to access socio economic gains and allow for a degree of social mobility. With this in mind, this requirement recognises that a goal of decolonisation is to allow staff and students to have the best of both worlds – to be contextually embedded and globally linked, anchored in communities and ready for the global market. This is a version of decolonisation that seeks to work *within* the system.

5) Decolonisation as power/resistance

This requirement is to address the deeper and more systemic colonial power structures inform and influence the higher education system in many contexts. The goal here is to *overturn* the system, which would imply contesting the hegemony, legacy, and limitations of Eurocentric epistemologies (Mignolo & Escobar, 2010). This would include the breaking down of barriers between staff and students, the university and communities and society. Furthermore, this requirement encompasses the space and agency for marginalised communities to shape their own education. This requires a bottom-up approach that would place marginalised people at the centre of the decolonising process through exploring what decolonising means to them and how they perceive their education. This includes what content these communities would value and how they identify the purpose of education.

This typology will be revisited in the Discussion chapter (chapter 8) and applied to my findings of this research to see how the typology relates to empirical data.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter explores the literature surrounding decolonisation and indigenous knowledge and its relationship with education. This chapter began by recognising how colonisation has affected cultural and social systems and the ways in which knowledge is produced (Quijano, 2007). The meanings of decolonisation are unpacked and described as a way of observing

the world that situates colonialism as a shaping force and that the process of decolonising allows space and consideration for other forms of knowing and values that are distinct from the Eurocentric norms and ways of being (Bhambra, Gebrial & Nişancioğlu, 2018). The potential role of education, and in particular higher education, in decolonisation is explored and the complexities and challenges facing a globalised education system in this endeavour. It is argued that what is meant by decolonising education is often contextual and is dependent on the history and politics of the education and the society it is within. The chapter moves on to explore indigenous knowledge, how it is perceived by different agents and the tensions around definitions. What follows is a robust debate about the potential role of indigenous knowledge in higher education, including the recognition of the prioritising of Western knowledge which has led to a normalising and legitimisation of the Eurocentric education model. I then examine the debate in the literature on the inclusion of indigenous knowledge in mainstream education, highlighting the benefits this offers in terms of the diversification of knowledge, the assertion of indigenous rights and the potential of increased understanding and respect for the environment. The inclusion of indigenous knowledge in mainstream education is not without its problems, these include the diluting of knowledge when removed from its locality, the difference in the pedagogic transmission of knowledge and that indigenous knowledge does not easily translate to a formal education setting. The chapter explores the possibility of a 'third space' in which both knowledge come together to form something new, demonstrating the effectiveness of this through exploring a case study in Canada. The chapter concludes by outlining a typology of decolonising, that outlines the requirements of decolonising higher education, and will be applied to my empirical data in chapter 8.

5. Methodology

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will explain how I conducted the research, and explore the worldviews, theories, debates, and circumstances that informed and influenced the research process. I will start by discussing my epistemology, with a candid explanation of my positionality, the perspectives that have informed my interpretation of the world and how this has impacted my research design. Particular attention will be paid to experiential knowledge construction and social constructivism. I explore my interpretation of a decolonised methodology and how I have attempted to use a decolonial approach in this study, particularly in adopting storytelling as part of the data collection. I follow this with a justification of my focus on the UWC and The Guriqua community. I then break down the research design and data analysis to explain my decision making around this process and the limitations and opportunities that have impacted this research. I finish this chapter with an evaluation of my methodologies and an acknowledgement and discussion of the limitations of this study.

5.2 Epistemology

In this section I will explore the worldviews and theories that have informed my positionality. I am a researcher of White European origin, I grew up in a working-class community, which has led to both a research and personal interest in exploring the social injustice that further marginalises communities. Despite coming from a poor socio-economic background, it is important to recognise the privilege I experience as a White European, and the impact this may have in a highly racialised context such as South Africa, where historically oppression has been at the hands of people from European descent. It is also important to note that as a White European I am researching out of my context. This can offer learning opportunities, including to contribute to the field of decolonising education and recognising power imbalances and the role of higher education within these.

With this positionality in mind, I have consciously resisted adding a ‘recommendations’ section to this thesis; this is to avoid the risk of patronising the study participants. Rather, it is hoped that this thesis will explore the tensions and barriers around decolonising education in South Africa by engaging with the recipients of the current system and those who are potentially marginalised by the education system. I aim to offer an open critique, with the intention of provoking further discussion about the complexity of decolonising, and at the same time I argue for contextual consideration and for listening to the voices of the marginalised.

As was explored in chapter 3, historical inequalities resulting from colonialism continue to manifest in a multitude of ways, including the ways by which knowledge and resources are accessed. Chapter 3 highlighted how the Eurocentric epistemology that gained traction in the 1970s and 1980s has been critiqued (Ziai, 2017). This critique enabled us to perceive the ways in which a Western education agenda dominated international education policy and practice and led to some theorists adopting a critical lens on scholarly practices (outlined more fully in Chapter 3.2). The criticism not only focused on education, but on how research has been conducted. Ake (1979) argued that Western social science practice continued and exacerbated imperialism. He argued that Western-dominated social science research was based on the principle that ‘developing’ countries should be working towards capitalism, with the assistance of the West, through projecting their values onto the developing world (Ake, 1979; North, 2017). This is similar to the work of Said (1978), who suggested scholarship was concerned with aiding the problematic ‘other’. In her essay *Can the subaltern speak?*, Spivak (1988) further proposes that Western scholarship on non-Western culture was motivated by the needs of the West. Further, she argued that although many Western scholars claimed to be working in the interests of the oppressed, their intentions were devalued by not giving the ‘oppressed’ a voice in the research process (Spivak, 1988; North, 2017).

Despite these critiques being written in the 1970s and 1980s, they serve as an important reminder of the ethical considerations and mindfulness required as a Western-based academic, with issues around colonialism and its impact yet to be resolved. Whilst certain

imbalances between the so called North and South are beginning to be addressed through a shift in the concentration of funding and knowledge exchange, it is important to recognise that the traditional centres of knowledge are still predominantly in the so-called Global North.

This again prompts me to explore my positionality and motivation as a white Western researcher working outside of my context on issues of decolonisation. Considering the work of bell hooks (1990), my intention is to interrogate my work and to attempt to question complacent assumptions. My interest in this research has evolved from my experience of growing up in a socio-economically deprived area of the UK, and the marginalisation implicit in this. I went on to study in higher education and always felt that the space was not for me, and I faced challenges that non-marginalised people did not face. This led to an interest in examining the purpose and power of higher education and its potential to lessen or exacerbate inequalities. I lived in South Africa for a year in my early twenties, I currently work as a Research Associate at the Centre of Applied Human rights (CAHR) at the University of York, where I have worked on numerous research projects focusing on the role of the university in social justice. This has included projects working alongside academics and grassroots organisations in South Africa and participating in several field trips. By undertaking this research there is a hope that this work will contribute to an understanding of the complexities surrounding decolonising education. Taking these factors into account, I have strived to ensure that an ethos of collaboration and inclusion underpins my study. The following section explores ideas around experiential knowledge, constructivism and egalitarianism that influence my research.

5.2.1 Experiential knowledge construction

The term 'experiential knowledge' was first introduced by Borkman in 1976, and in the last ten years it has been increasingly used in a variety of disciplines. Borkman defines experiential knowledge as "truth learned from personal experience with a phenomenon rather than truth acquired by discursive reasoning, observation, or reflection on information provided by others" (Borkman, 1976 p.446). This raises the important question of whose experience comes to constitute knowledge, an issue that informs my aim to respect the experience-based truth of the participants in this study. However, on reflection, the fact

that I am analysing the data through an epistemological lens means that, by its very nature, the data is being filtered through my truth rather than that of the participant. I attempt to mitigate this concern by using participant-created digital stories (see section 5.5.5), and although their 'truth' is still then analysed and reflected upon independent of their input. I have attempted to ensure that their voices remain at the fore as much as possible.

The other way that I acknowledge experiential knowledge in my research is by considering and valuing the knowledge of the Guriqua community gained not through discursive reasoning but through [their] personal experiences. I hope that in this work I am taking their experiences and trying to create new understandings.

5.2.2 Social Constructivism

Constructivism recognises the importance of culture and context in understanding what occurs in society and how knowledge is constructed (Derry, 1999; McMahan, 1997; North, 2017), whereas social constructivism focuses upon human social interactions as a fundamental element of learning within context (Vygotsky, 1987). Social constructivism and its principles are implicit throughout this research. Specifically, I very much focus upon the context in which participants live; in my analysis I consider carefully their educational experiences, and I remain aware of how my own interpretation of findings is influenced by how my knowledge has been constructed. Social constructivists regard knowledge and reality to be a human product, in that individuals create meaning through their interactions with each other and the environment they live in (Ernest, 1999; North 2017). This aspect is particularly evident in the digital stories that form part of my data, in that these stories are a direct interpretation of how the participants from the Guriqua community create meanings about themselves and their community through their experiences. Learning is viewed as a social process and occurs when individuals are engaged in social activities (Vygotsky, 1987; McMahan, 1997; North, 2017). In this research I adopt a social constructivist lens, in that when the participants' ideas on education are being considered, it is done through their experience of this education. Also, my own learning and the interpretations I have formed in undertaking this research have evolved through my interactions with, and understanding of, the responses and stories of the participants. Social constructivism underpins my analysis and, I would suggest, the transferability of my findings. Although individuals experience the

world differently, shared meaning can allow for consequential reflection, social change, and the enhancement of community experience. Furthermore, the construction of knowledge is also influenced by the intersubjectivity formed by cultural and historical factors (Gredler, 1997; Kim 2001), which further validates a focus on how my study participants have come to be marginalised in the South African context (as explored in chapter 2).

An egalitarian lens is adopted in this research, in that the formation of legitimate knowledge is not considered the preserve of an elite, but that it can also derive from communities and can be passed down through generations. Here, therefore, my position is that knowledge should not be constructed solely by universities, which then dictate what we know and learn in a hierarchical way, but rather that knowledge can be co-created. Within my research, I manifest this position in two ways. First, through holding a position that knowledge is co-created and knowledge that exists outside of the academy is valuable in its own rights. Second, by acting upon that assertion through co-creating knowledge with participants via a digital story approach (section 5.5.5).

5.2.3 Participatory Worldview

The aforementioned participatory worldview (also referred to as the transformative framework) arose during the 1980s and 1990s in reaction to post-positivist imposition of structural laws and theories that did not apply to marginalised individuals, and a sense that the constructivist stance did not go far enough in advancing an agenda for change (Creswell, 2018; Creswell 2009). Worldviews are a set of beliefs about the nature of reality and how it may be known (Reason, 1998). The participatory worldview accepts there is a primordial reality and human presence participates in it. It is this participation that shapes a subjectively articulated world (Reason, 1998). In a Western scientific view of the world, the creation of knowledge is for specialist researchers, whereas in a participatory world view, research is a collaborative activity or form of inquiry (Reason, 1998). This form of research involves cooperative engagement and the application of research methodologies that seek to find ways to represent and share experience in a way that results in a revised understanding of the original question (Reason; 2018). This worldview is particularly influential in the digital story components of this study, in that the training and creation of the stories was collaborative and represented the experience of the storytellers. Both the

data from the interviews and the digital stories provoked me to revise my framing of the research problem (as discussed in Chapter 1 and 8). This worldview means that the research should be collaborative to not further marginalise the participant (Creswell, 2018; Creswell 2009; Reason, 1998), which is the underlying ethos of my research.

5.3 Rationale for Research Design

My research adopts a combination of a social constructivist, participatory worldview, and collaborative research. As explored above, social constructivists contend that individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences; these meanings can be varied and multiple (Creswell, 2018; Creswell 2009). In other words, objective existence is determined through a person's perspective and through communicative acts that eventually give it meaning. The social process of defining an object is its construction, and this enables it to exist in a social context (Keaton & Bodie, 2011: p. 192). Therefore, to fully understand the impact of higher education in South Africa on historically marginalised groups, it is imperative to see how it is perceived by the students. The value of something is determined by social perception (Keaton & Bodie, 2011).

To gauge the full complexity of views from the participants, I attempt to foster a detailed understanding of the participants' contextual situation, including an exploration of the history and politics of South Africa, in particular in relation to historically marginalised groups, including the Khoisan, of whom the Guriqua community belong. Although this work does not claim to be a psychological study of indigenous people, the field of indigenous psychology is useful when considering research with indigenous communities. General psychology seeks to discover universalist principles to establish theories that are decontextualized (Kim, Yang, & Hwang, 2006). Conversely, indigenous psychology places importance on contextual understanding to interpret knowledge and behaviours (Kim, Yang, & Hwang, 2006). This aligns with social constructivism in that how a situation is perceived is dependent on a person's lived experience. This is also an important consideration in regard to the analysis of this data, which will inadvertently be influenced by my lived experience.

The methods used in this research allow for a complexity of views to be realised. Two core methods are utilised (explained in detail in section 5.5.4 and 5.5.5): interviews and digital stories. The interviews were semi-structured, thus creating space for different views and opinions to surface. The creation of digital stories gave participants the opportunity to use their own voices to convey their own stories in a way undisturbed by any researcher bias. These approaches are in accordance with a constructivist approach, which by nature necessitates the researcher to recognise her own bias and positionality within the research. As previously mentioned, it is important to recognise that I am a Western White woman and I am not from South Africa, nor am I of indigenous heritage. Additionally, I am very cognisant of the fact that my own working-class background has led me to develop a sceptical view of neoliberalism and the impact of neoliberal philosophies on educational systems. In my experience as both a student and staff member in academia, neoliberalism has influenced higher education in a way that has placed an inordinate emphasis on individual economic gain and neglects the opportunities of the academy to motivate societal change and act in the public good.

5.3.1 Decolonising Methodologies

As this research is taking place in a previously colonised region and involves collaboration with an historically marginalised group, it is appropriate to adopt a decolonising methodology. Decolonising methodologies bring together indigenous, transformative, liberation, critical and feminist methodologies to aid decolonising research (Barnes, 2018). It is an approach that challenges Eurocentric research paradigms that can undermine local knowledge and the experiences of marginalised groups (Keikelame and Swatz, 2019, p. 1). The methods used are often innovative and creative and can include photovoice, storytelling, visual methods, and participatory approaches (Barnes, 2018; Smith, 2021). The drive towards decolonising methodologies stems from a dissatisfaction with the dominance of the Global North in the production of knowledge (Barnes, 2018). They aim to disrupt universal narratives and give voice to the marginalised (Zavala, 2013; Barnes, 2018). Decolonisation is a complex, and at times contested concept (as discussed in Chapters 3 & 4), this thesis aims to highlight the realities of marginalised communities on this topic (Barnes, 2018).

A key contribution to the Decolonising Methodology paradigm is Smith's "Decolonising Methodologies", first published in 1999 (Louie, Poitras-Prait, Hanson and Ottmann, 2017). Smith argues that Western researchers have maintained relationships with indigenous populations through the use of methodologies that do not engage in indigenous traditions, and do not interact with indigenous communities as equals (Smith, 1999, 2021). She promotes instead a methodological philosophy that energises self-determination for indigenous peoples (2021).

When researching with local communities, Khupe, Keane and Seehawer (2017) argue that for the research to be relevant it should be driven by indigenous world views, cultural values, and language (Khupe, Keane & Seehawer, 2017), on the other hand, Smith (2021) maintains that through the process of engaging with participants and abandoning any preconceived ideas, researchers' identities can become reshaped and reformed. These points are particularly of importance for this research, as it is intended that I, as the researcher, learn how the Guriqua community perceive their knowledge, and how the students from marginalised communities view their higher education, in order to be able to add to the debate on how and if higher education can be decolonised. With this in mind, my research will adhere to the principles outlined by Keikelame and Swartz (2019) in seeking to realise and understand my own positionality as the researcher in the community. Keikelame and Swartz (2019) emphasise the need to be completely clear with participants about how their knowledge will be used and protected, while Smith (2021) focuses on trust building between researchers and the researched, stating that it is vital in a decolonising research process to that trust, respect, reciprocity, collaboration and cooperation are prioritised. These values will frame my intentions in this research process.

Keikelame and Swartz (2019) also highlight that although it is important for researchers to understand the principles of decolonising methodologies when working with marginalised groups, this alone is not sufficient. They argue that there is a need to apply critical consciousness, because situations and context are fluid, not static. Reflexivity and self-reflection of the researcher is key here, and for white researchers to conduct research with

indigenous groups appropriately, they must turn their “focus inwards” by examining their own approaches and reactions (Keikelame & Swartz, 2019).

5.3.2 Storytelling

“Stories allow shifts across time and context, while facilitating contextualised, multi-layered understanding of personal identities, social relationships and cultural landscapes” (Murray et al, 2000, pp. 885)

“Telling stories, as an indigenous action, is about representing, understanding, and connecting” (Louie et al, 2017).

This section will explore the role of storytelling in research and why it is an important method to use in the present study. Storytelling is a tool for critical participatory praxis that offers those typically silenced an opportunity to share personal stories (Sonn, Stevens & Duncan, 2013, p.295), and is an important means of representing individual and shared perspectives (Smith, 2021, p. 145). Decolonising research represent a move away from the purely theoretical, being performative and embedded in activism (Sonn, et al, 2013, pp. 301), and incorporating other-than-Western forms of knowing that have diminished in favour of Western Knowledge systems (Sonn, et al, 2013, p. 301). Storytelling is a powerful approach that allows for deeper nuanced understandings of phenomena and disrupts the power relationships of traditional modes of knowledge production (Sonn, et al, 2013; Smith, 2012). Understanding people’s own perspective of their situation is important when researching a context that is outside of your own culture (Bozalek, 2011). Smith refers to the power of stories in the way that they can “contribute to a collective story in which every indigenous person has a place “(2021, p.145). Further, she highlights that stories bring tellers and listeners together through sharing cultural values and beliefs, and that they have the capacity to transform academic work by enabling diverse understandings, shifting power dynamics and connecting with cultures (Smith 2021, p. 145 – 146). Storytelling research frames knowledge as a process and aims to understand how people make sense of the world (Buckler, Chamberlain, Mkwanzani, Dean & Chigodora, 2021).

Despite the importance of storytelling in decolonising methodologies, it is important to note that stories are dependent on memory and personal interpretation, and by analysing them the researcher may misread or attach meaning that was not intended (Sonn, et al, 2013, p. 301). However, this is no different than the majority of qualitative methods, and whilst it is important to keep in mind, it does not minimise the importance of storytelling for this research. Furthermore, the digital stories are written and narrated by the storyteller alongside the storyteller's chosen images. Thus, allowing for tone of voice to be heard and the individual nature of the story to emerge, means storytelling is less likely to be misrepresented than some other research methodologies.

The decolonising methodology approach is not without its critics. Barnes (2018) argues that the banner of "decolonisation" is reductive, assimilating methodologies that are in fact nuanced (for example, African feminism differs from Western feminism). Furthermore, framing differing groups as "marginalised" is problematic in the way it implies simplistic homogeneity, when in reality different groups face complex and unique problems (Barnes, 2018). Further, Barnes contests the way that decolonising methodologies have been presented as "empowering" to marginalised groups and contributing to "social justice", arguing that this minimises the upstream causes of social injustices such as capitalism, patriarchy and structural inequalities (Barnes, 2018). He concludes that a lot of the decolonising methodology literature comes from the Global North, which again means that Western voices continue to speak for local peoples (Barnes, 2018). With this in mind, this research will include interviews to gain individual perspectives, it will create digital stories to further understand the context that students and communities face. I do not propose here to empower participants, but rather to better understand their perspective in the hope that this will enable an authentic contribution by these historically marginalised people to the wider debate about higher education, and that the outputs created with the participants can assist in their advocacy.

5.4 Research Agenda

The purpose of this research is to explore the experiences of, and aspirations of indigenous and historically marginalised communities towards, higher education in South Africa. All the student and community participants are from marginalised communities and working with

them is important in understanding the role education can play in creating a fairer society in South Africa. In this thesis, I recognise that to decolonise education the perspectives of historically marginalised groups need to be explored. With this in mind, I collaborate with students from historically marginalised communities that attend higher education in South Africa, and an indigenous Guriqua community, my aim being to further understand how historically marginalised and indigenous communities perceive their education.

5.4.1 Why the University of Western Cape and why The Guriqua?

In this section I will explain why the University of Western Cape (UWC) and the Guriqua community were chosen as case studies for my research. Higher education in South Africa has strong connections with social movements and more recently this has included a focus on decolonisation (Chiramba & Motala, 2023). Colonialism left a legacy of inequality which continues to manifest in the way resources, including knowledge, are accessed. As outlined in Chapter 3, an important aspect in decolonisation is engaging critically with the question of which knowledge is prioritised and how this is presented in higher education.

This thesis aims to examine the current perspectives, approaches and pedagogies related to the education of historically marginalised groups in South Africa. This is a complex topic, comprising many contradictions and differing views on what constitutes the most effective way of delivering. In Chapter 4, a review of the literature highlighted the complex role education can play in society, both in terms of its potential to exacerbate existing inequalities and discrimination, and to enable social change through empowerment, the development of critical skills and the increase of individual capabilities (Bush and Salterelli, 2000). With this in mind, it is important to draw attention to the lived experience of historically marginalised groups to further inform the current education debate in South Africa around higher education and its role in decolonisation.

I will explore how higher education is seen and experienced from the perspective of the students and staff at UWC, and what lessons can be learnt when considering how to transform education to better suit the needs of marginalised people. UWC was established in 1959 as a result of parliamentary legislation by the South African apartheid regime to segregate higher education institutions along racial lines. The University College of the

Western Cape (as it was then known) was classified as a 'Coloured' institution. Acts of 'rebellion' against the apartheid regime started as soon as the university became operational. In 1975, UWC's Rector spoke of reimagining the university as a place that was accessible to all those who wished to enrol, and as a result the transformation of UWC into the university of the working class began (Thomas, 2014). In the early 1980s, the Rector declared UWC 'the intellectual home of the democratic left', distinguishing it from other universities who were beneficiaries of the apartheid government (Africa is a Country, 2012). Today, the University of Western Cape (UWC) is a national university which aims to provide curricular and research programmes that are appropriate to its Southern African context, seeking racial and gender equality and to contribute towards helping the historically marginalised participate fully in the life of the nation (webportal@uwc.ac.za, n.d.). As it stands today, UWC is the home of more than 23,000 students who partake in both undergraduate and postgraduate studies across seven faculties, and it has amassed a reputation as the university of the 'democratic left' (Soudien, 2012). Despite being a historically disadvantaged institution, UWC is a high-ranking university in South Africa (placed between 5 and 7), with international recognition and partnerships. However, it is important to note that it has remained one of the most affordable universities in the country (Study abroad aide, 2020). Despite there no longer being an official racial segregation of higher education in South Africa, UWC has very few white students, and the majority of the student population come from historically marginalised communities. This, along with progressive political history, makes the university an interesting and relevant site to focus on for this research. Importantly, I have a working relationship with some academic staff and postgraduate students at UWC due to other project work. This has allowed me to gain the trust of the participants and meant that I have an understanding of the University and the context in which it operates. This was important in my ambition to set forth a collaborative tone with the research participants and make it clear that my intention is to learn from them.

As previously noted, the term indigenous in South Africa is a contested one. Different groups identify as indigenous, and they have different experiences of both society and education in South Africa. Settlers arrived in the country in waves and many of the peoples that inhabited South Africa prior to colonialism consider themselves as indigenous (Ross,

1999). For the purpose of this research, the African indigenous communities are the Khoes-San/Khoisan, who comprise the San and the Khoekhoe/Khoi-Khoi. South Africa's total population is around 50 million, of which approximately 1% is made up of these indigenous groups (IWGIA, 2023). As discussed in Chapter 2, Apartheid saw the categorisation of South African citizens into racially determined groups, and many indigenous people were categorised as 'Coloured'.

The Guriqua community is part of the Khoi-Khoi and are an indigenous subsistence farming and traditional fishing community belonging to the historical Guriqua tribe which claims San descent. Their way of life and identity is deeply connected to the biodiversity and wildlife located in the areas(s) of Lamberts Bay, Saldanha Bay, Citrusdal, Clanwilliam, Berg River, Swartland, Matzikama, Piketberg and Cederberg which make up the West Coast District Municipality Region (IWGIA, 2023). The Guriqua have suffered marginalisation through historical dispossession of their land and livestock (IWGIA, 2023).

When I originally decided to reframe my research (see section 5.5.1) to focus on South Africa I sought advice from Natural Justice in Cape Town. The department I work within, the Centre of Applied Human Rights (CAHR) at the University of York, has worked with Natural Justice on a number of occasions. Natural Justice is an organisation that seeks to protect the rights of indigenous communities. They work with numerous communities in South Africa and advocate for the recognition of indigenous peoples as holders of indigenous knowledge. As with UWC, the connections I had formed with Natural Justice prior to this research, enabled me to achieve an understanding of the needs of the Guriqua community. The Guriqua community themselves were keen to work on the project and were enthusiastic about creating the digital stories (see chapter 7) as a way to express their ideas and values. In line with a decolonising methodology, it is an important part of my research that both the process of creating the output and the output itself is of use to the community.

It is worth noting here that the development agenda is very top down when it comes to exploring which education is most appropriate for marginalised groups. In this research, I seek to answer the research questions through collaborating with marginalised communities

and prioritising their voice in their own development and aspirations. Despite the recognition for greater equality in education in South Africa, the knowledge and worldviews of indigenous peoples continue to play a marginal role in the education curriculum (Bredlid, 2003; Botha, 2010). The education reforms set out in Curriculum 2005 (C2005) attempted to address the social inequality sustained through past systems, but it was still based on Eurocentric models and neglects much of what is important in the traditional African values and learning of the country's black majority (Bredlid, 2003; Botha, 2010). This reality has informed much of my decision-making round framing this study, in an attempt to try and break down existing power dynamics.

There is much recognition and debate surrounding South Africa's initiatives to decolonise their education system; however, there has been little research undertaken on what this means for students from historically marginalised communities, and how it has impacted upon their sense of identity. Indeed, much of the relevant literature gives little consideration to the indigenous rural, and historically marginalised communities of the country.

5.5 Introduction to Data Collection

This section introduces the methods and approaches used in the data collection for my research, all of which are informed by a decolonising methodology. Starting with an explanation of how Covid 19 impacted my research plans. The section will then move to an introduction to collaborative research, a reasoning for using case studies and semi structured interviews in my research, finishing with an exploration of my interpretation of digital storytelling.

5.5.1 Covid19

The Covid19 pandemic had a huge impact on this research and required some creative solutions to enable the project to continue. It was originally designed to focus on the role of indigenous education in intercultural universities in Mexico, in particular the Intercultural University in Veracruz. As the pandemic worsened and the global restrictions were applied in March 2020, I was about to embark on my first field trip to Mexico to spend time at the Intercultural University in Veracruz. This relationship with staff and indigenous communities had taken months to establish due to an understandable reluctance to work with Western

researchers. Throughout the initial months of the pandemic, I kept in close contact with colleagues at the University, but it became clear that the community had been badly affected by the pandemic and it would not be possible or desirable any longer for someone outside of the community to be given access. This meant that in August 2020 I needed to reconsider the context for my research. After substantial discussions with my supervisor and Thesis Advisory Panel member, I shifted focus to South Africa. I had already established relationships here from a project I was working on with the Centre of Applied Human Rights at the University of York, including having recently visited Cape Town. Further, I have previously lived in South Africa for a year. This meant I had a good contextual understanding of the country.

My intention was to undertake two trips to South Africa to conduct the research, the first in January 2021 and a further visit in April/May in 2021. Unfortunately, as the pandemic worsened in South Africa, a wave of lockdowns prevented this. It became clear that I would need to conduct the research online rather than face to face, and it was important for me to think how to do this while remaining true to the underlying principles of my research: to ensure it is undertaken in as collaborative a way as possible, to maintain a focus on understanding the opportunities and challenges of decolonising education, to include marginalised knowledge, and to adopt a methodology that is as decolonised as possible. This was particularly important for me when considering the process of creating the digital stories with the Guriqua community.

In considering the work of Smith (2021) on decolonising, I collaborated with researchers from Natural Justice, who were themselves from indigenous communities and had long standing relationships with the Guriqua community. It became clear that it would be beneficial to train the researchers in how to run digital storytelling workshops. This was something that the researchers were very interested in doing as they recognised they would be developing a skill which they could use in working with indigenous communities to create meaningful outputs that would help the communities with their advocacy. To facilitate this, I repurposed the funds I had for fieldwork, a decision that also seemed in keeping with a decolonising methodology, in that the skills were being enhanced in-country to pursue an output that was valued by the community.

5.5.2 Collaborative research

This project took a collaborative research approach involving consideration of an in-depth case study. In collaborative research, the researcher is not ‘the agent of knowledge’ but aims to produce knowledge with, as well as about and for, social actors through co-production (Reason, 2001). This research recognises the importance of working alongside research participants and, where possible, to co-produce knowledge in a way that ensures the participant has agency through encouraging trust and transparency. Collaborative research describes the co-production of knowledge (Lieberman, 1986), whereby social actors are enlisted as co-producers of knowledge. Co-production can vary in extent across the different stages of a research project. In the case of this research, it has occurred in the formulation of the aims of the research, the data collection, the analysis of data and the communication of results.

Unlike non-collaborate qualitative research, where the participant remains ‘the researched’, collaborative research means that the lines between the researcher and the researched are more fluid (Phillips, Kristiansen, Vehvilainen & Gunnarsson, 2013). Approaches which promote the co-production of knowledge can address critiques of community-based research that does not meaningfully include communities in its design and understanding (Durose et al., 2011). Co-production aims to work with communities and allows communities greater control over the research undertaken, and provides them with an opportunity to learn from, and reflect upon, their experiences (Durose et al., 2011). Co-production can vary in extent and can occur across different stages of a research project. Although there has been a shift in qualitative research away from seeing respondents as purely passive, to one in which data is understood to be a product of active negotiation, collaborative research goes further into co-production.

Advocates for co-production argue that research is enhanced through the inclusion of “experiential expertise” (Durose et al., 2011), allowing perspectives that can be missed by external researchers (Fischer, 2004; Durose et al., 2011). This form of research is participatory in that it engages people in examining their knowledge and reflecting critically on how their knowledge shapes their identity and agency (Kemmis & Wilkinson, 2002). Co-production allows research to be better informed and enhances the effectiveness of the

work by taking more account of communities' preferences and needs, whilst enabling the communities themselves to contribute to their own outcomes (Ostrom, 1996; Durose et al., 2011).

However, co-production is not without its critics. Positivists argue that co-production in research means knowledge is biased and potentially lacking in objectivity (Durose et al., 2011). Other critics question if people can fully engage in analytical thinking on a topic based solely on experience (Durose et al., 2011; Richardson & Le Grand, 2002). Conversely, a normative perspective would argue that research should not reproduce unequal power relations (Durose et al., 2011; Orr & Bennett, 2009). Furthermore, Gaventa (2005) asserts that participation in knowledge creation is part of wider citizenship rights, including the right to social justice (Lister & Beresford, 2002; Durose et al., 2011). Freire (1970) argues for counter-hegemonic approaches to knowledge construction in oppressed communities to challenge the rhetoric of dominant groups (Freire, 1970). Finally, it is argued that the ethical and political legitimacy of decisions are undermined and weakened if the voice of the affected people is absent (Young, 1990; Durose et al., 2011). These are particularly important considerations in this study as indigenous people in South Africa have a long history of oppression due to colonialism and apartheid, and decisions regarding what education they should receive have historically been made by dominant groups.

For this thesis, collaborative research meant being open to the experiences of the participants, and co-producing knowledge through the creation of digital stories. My research methods were discussed and agreed upon with community stakeholders and staff and students at UWC.

5.5.3 Case studies

My research is centred on the case study of the University of Western Cape and the Guriqua community. The literature provides several definitions of what a case study is. For the purpose of this research, a case study is defined as an analysis of systems that are studied with a comprehensive view by one or several methods (Thomas, 2011; Gustafsson, 2017). Case study in educational research is a means to enhance one's understanding of contexts, communities, and individuals (Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier, 2013; Stenhouse, 1978; 1979).

They have been used widely since the 1970s, representing a shift away from the positivist research approaches which focused on measurement and statistical analysis (Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier, 2013; Thomas, 2011; Hyett, Kenny & Dickson-Swift, 2014; Gustafsson, 2017). Case studies were seen as a way to understand education communities, and they continue to play a prominent role in educational research (Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier, 2013; Stenhouse, 1978; 1979). As a method, they allow us to move away from a narrow “one-model-fits-all” view of education, to one that is understanding of a more complex view which can take account of context and the diversity of individuals located within the particular environments that are being researched (Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier, 2013). Although many researchers argue that a multiple case study approach maximises reliability (Vannoni, 2014; 2015; Baxter & Jack, 2008; Gustafsson, 2017), a single case study can allow for a more detailed account, leading to the construction of better theory, and it is particularly relevant in studying a single thing or a specific group (Siggelkov, 2007; Dyer & Wilkins, 1991; Yin 2003; Gustafsson, 2017). The case study approach also enables the researcher to identify what may have contributed to the success of an initiative; this then offers the potential for policy makers to incorporate findings into new policy or to modify existing policy (Mills, Durepos & Wiebe, 2010). Such an approach marries well with grounded theory frameworks described above (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), in that it allows the researcher to explore areas that may not have been identified in the original research question, and to interrogate different patterns as they emerge from the data (Mills, Durepos, & Wiebe, 2010).

The case study approach is particularly applicable for this research as it enables the researcher to capture and understand the multifaceted aspects of inclusive education. The power of case study research is that it can ask questions of “why” and “how” (Mills, Durepos & Wiebe, 2010). However, it is also important to note the challenges that can be inherent to using the case study approach. Perhaps the foremost issue is that it can be problematic to generalise from results that are often specific and contextual. Nonetheless, with careful analysis and supporting research, appropriate and conditional generalisation still may be appropriate (Mills, Durepos, & Wiebe, 2010). It is also worth noting that qualitative research is often about gaining an in depth understanding of a particular, rather than seeking generalisable findings. In relation to this research, therefore, a single case study will allow

for a deeper understanding of the context in Cape Town and offer an opportunity to explore in detail people's lived experiences (Gustafsson, 2012; Yin, 2003).

5.5.4 Interviews

My data collection includes semi-structured interviews with students at UWC, academic staff at UWC, and people working closely with indigenous communities. Interviews are an important tool to gain an insight into people's experiences and perceptions (Laws, Harper, Jones & Marcus, 2013). It is important to get individual responses as well as responses derived from observing groups because, from a constructivist viewpoint, individuals develop subject meaning from their experiences and people give different meaning to their events according to their own experiences. This was particularly important in this research as the student participants were all from historically marginalised communities, which are often not given the same kind of platform as more privileged communities. Semi-structured interviews are where the interviewer has prepared a list of topics to be explored and questions to be asked, but where the questions can elicit open responses that enable additional lines of conversation to be developed and emerge during the interview (Brown & Danaher, 2019). Furthermore, semi-structured interviews encourage the application of creativity and reflexivity in relation to the methodological and theoretical elements of research (Brown & Danaher, 2019). The person being interviewed has a fair degree of freedom in what they talk about, how much they say, and how they express it (Brown & Danaher, 2019). In this research, semi-structured interviewing is important in that it is consistent with participatory and emancipatory models (Brown & Danaher, 2019) and provides increased opportunity to generate rich data. The interviews proved a valuable means of gaining insight into participants' perception and values; they allowed a deeper understanding of the context of the participants, and they enabled the experience of each participant to be compared so that important themes emerged, as reflected in Chapters 6 and 7.

Semi-structured interviews allowed the space for the students, academic staff, and stakeholders to elaborate and share their experience without too much guidance from the researcher. Similarly, the guidance on what the Guriqua community might include in the stories was left purposefully fairly open. This was to allow the issues that mattered to the

participants to come through, this was both an important consideration when working with marginalised people, but also allowed me to consider aspects and themes that were not in my original research plan. Despite my data collection moving online, I was still able to build rapport with the participants through keeping them updated of my findings through emails and having regular correspondence with staff and students from UWC and Natural Justice.

5.5.5 Digital storytelling

Although semi-structured interviews allow an understanding of the participants' lived experience, they are still led somewhat by the researcher and can therefore create an unintended power dynamic. With this in mind, my research will also include the creation of digital stories. The use of digital storytelling is influenced by the Kaupapa Maori research approach. This approach challenges the dominance of a Western oriented discourse (Bishop, 1996). Kaupapa Maori research is oriented towards benefiting all the research participants and their collective agendas and dissolves power and control (Bishop, 1996). As well as being collective, the approach requires the researcher to critically reflect on their own participation in a research project and highlights that interviews are a method to construct joint narratives, which is in keeping with the decolonising methodology that is fundamental to my theoretical position. Digital storytelling enables a narrative inquiry – allowing the research participants to select, recollect and reflect on their stories within their own cultural context (Bishop, 1996).

Digital storytelling comes in a variety of forms, but for the purpose of this research, they are defined as a multimedia digital text that combines images and voice. They are created through computer video and editing software. I am using digital storytelling as a method to capture the stories and experiences of marginalised social groups. The objective is to create a highly personal narrative based on self-expression and the generation of rich narrative data (Kervin, McMahon, O'Shea & Harwood, 2014; Lambert, 2009). My hope was also to give a voice to marginalised people (Kervin et al., 2014; Spivak, 1988).

5.5.6 Grey Literature

Grey literature is a term that is used to describe a wide range of information that is produced outside of traditional publishing. A widely accepted definition for grey literature is:

“Information produced on all levels of government, academia, business and industry in electronic and print formats...” (Third International Conference on Grey Literature In 1997).

Grey literature encapsulates a diverse body of material that is in the public domain but is not subject to traditional academic peer-review processes (Creswel, 2009). In this thesis, ideas and concepts have been drawn on occasion from websites and news articles, primarily in chapter 2 when exploring the context around higher education in South Africa. A more rigorous analysis was made of the grey literature accessed through staff at UWC.

Specifically, I analysed documents relating to the mission, vision, and history of UWC, and the Principles and Guidelines for the Transformation and Renewal of the Curriculum at the University of Western Cape. This was a key source of information in understanding the intentions and values that UWC holds in regard to transforming and decolonising the curriculum.

5.6 Data Collection

This section will look more specifically at the data collection for this research. As mentioned in the previous section, semi structured interviews and digital stories were the primary methods used, with an analysis of the grey literature also informing my findings.

5.6.1 Research Ethics

The primary ethical consideration for this study was concerned with the experience and wellbeing of the participants. The research proposal underwent rigorous consideration through the Ethics Committee in the Department of Education at the University of York. This process considered any potential impact on the participants as well as ensuring my intentions were clearly understood by the participants. As such, all research participants were given a clear information sheet which outlined the purpose of the study, the expectation of participation and how the data would be collected and used. There was also clear guidance of how participation was completely voluntary and that participants were able to withdraw from the study if they wished. All research participants gave informed

consent prior to being interviewed or participating in the digital storytelling workshops. I have also taken care to adhere to the University of York's data security obligations for all research materials. When participants are cited, they are referenced by a code that makes it clear if they were a student, staff member or indigenous community member:

Student - code starts with ST; Academic staff - code starts with AC; Indigenous community member or stakeholder - code starts with IND.

I also drew from Smith's (1999) aforementioned work on decolonising methodologies and the work of Swartz, (2011) on an 'intentional ethic of reciprocation' to inform my internal ethical code. The main consideration, particularly when working with the Guriqua community, was to do no harm. I also aimed to create opportunities for 'giving back' to make the research process valuable for the Guriqua community.

5.6.2 Semi- structured interviews

As much of my research was conducted during the Covid19 pandemic (more on this in section 5.5.1), the semi-structured interviews were conducted online. 22 participants were interviewed between January 2021 - September 2021 These included students from UWC (12), academic staff from UWC (5) and people working closely with indigenous communities (5).

The interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim, each lasting between 45-70 minutes. The transcripts were then analysed to detect any emerging themes, which were then colour coded to facilitate the identification of themes across interviews. I then created a further layer of categories, which allowed me to interrogate the data in a more structured way. Once the themes were identified, I created a table to allow each extracted quote to be placed within a theme's column. This allowed me to assess which themes had the most mentions from each participant, which was an indicator of the significance of that theme. Once the data was organised, I considered the significance of each quote and how it spoke to the research questions. This grounded approach also allowed me to capture any themes that would not have been captured if I had created the themes solely from the research

questions rather than the data. All participants spoke English to a high level and were happy to participate in the interview in English.

The Covid restrictions had an adverse effect on the size of my interview sample, in that it was challenging to recruit participants online. The students from UWC were all postgraduate students and had all completed their undergraduate degrees at UWC, which meant they had studied at the university for 3-5 years and really understood the institution. They came from a mix of disciplines, but the majority (10) were from the social sciences and humanities, with just 2 studying the hard sciences. This was not intentional, but as the interviews and the recruitment was conducted online, I had to rely on the academic staff with whom I had an existing work relationship with to distribute the call for participants, and the responses largely came from students from the social sciences and humanities as this is where the academic staff that advertised the call were situated.

The 5 academic staff I interviewed were from different disciplines; however, they all had an interest in decolonising and transformation at UWC. This was purposeful as I wanted insight into the motivation, challenges and decisions around process and policy in regard to decolonising and the inclusion of diverse knowledge at UWC. Again, I believe it would have been easier to recruit more academic staff to participate if I had been physically on campus.

More positively, I believe that the fact the interviews were conducted online did enable me to interview people who were located some distance from Cape Town. This was the case for the interviews I conducted with the people working with indigenous communities. Three of these participants were members at Natural Justice, two participants had worked (separately) with indigenous communities in South Africa for 10-15 years. All these interviewees had a real understanding of the potential and reality of indigenous knowledge that I would not have been able to consider without their input.

5.6.3 Digital Stories

Having to conduct the data collection online led to a real opportunity to co-produce the digital stories, and to allow the researchers from Natural Justice to access training for a skill

they have used frequently since. Researchers who are from, and worked with indigenous communities, were trained by myself in digital storytelling online.

The researchers held digital storytelling workshops over three days with members from the Guriqua community, with whom they had established links. The workshops produced 10 digital stories that allowed members of the community to express how they relate to their culture, tradition, and knowledge in modern day South Africa. Each participant wrote a 250-word script accompanied by a storyboard describing where they would like chosen images or illustrations to fall within the story. The images, the scripts and the storyboards were then sent to myself so that I could edit them and create the finished stories. These were returned to the participants for checking. All participants gave their informed consent to participate in the research by way of consent forms that were fully explained to them. requesting that the stories can be used for this research, presented at conferences, and also used by Natural Justice in their advocacy. The community were very proud of their stories and were happy for them to create awareness of their culture and circumstance.

The digital stories produced were between 2 – 5 minutes long. The purpose of a digital story is to create a highly personal narrative based on self-expression. Digital stories give the participants the opportunity for their voices to be heard undisturbed by any researcher bias. This consideration was important for the research with the Guriqua community. As recognised above, the Guriqua community have suffered marginalisation through loss of land, livestock and a disregard to their culture and identity (Natural Justice, 2021). With this in mind, there was an added impetus to give the participants an opportunity to create their own story, uninterrupted in their words.

The training was undertaken across two days in the coastal area of Saldanha Bay, where the community is based. There were 12 participants, which resulted in 10 completed digital stories (2 participants abandoned the process due to other commitments). The participants were guided through the process by the researchers from Natural Justice. The workshop began with a story circle, where the participants were asked to bring an object that had meaning for them, and to tell the story of its meaning. This helps to relax the group and get into the storytelling process. The group were then shown some examples of digital stories

that they could reflect upon. The theme of the workshop was purposefully broad, so that the stories would be fitting for the research but could also be interrupted in unique ways by the storytellers. The groups then selected their images and were given time to work on their scripts. The following workshops started with a check-in on how the participants had found the process so far. There was then an opportunity for participants to storyboard their story so that the images they had chosen would be placed with the appropriate part of the script.

The participants were given the option of telling the story in any language. Eight participants chose to tell their stories in English and 2 in Afrikaans. The Afrikaans stories were then translated by Natural Justice staff. I was sent the images, storyboards, and scripts. I edited the stories and returned them to the storytellers for their edits and approval. The narrative of the digital stories was transcribed and coded using the same codes that were created through the analysis of the interviews. New themes and codes also emerged during the analysis stage. Some of the images chosen by the storytellers have been included in Chapter 7, and analysed and compared to the narrative to offer further insights into the storyteller's intentions.

The participants all came from the same geographical location, and all were part of the Guriqua community. The stories were therefore reflective of this particular community and not representative of the indigenous population of South Africa as a whole. However, based on my understanding of the literature, I believe that many of the themes that have emerged from the stories and the challenges the community face will be similar to those faced by many indigenous communities in South Africa and beyond. More particularly, the marginalisation that the community face is a universal concern for many indigenous communities (UNHCR, n.d). That being said, the limitations of having stories from just one community needs to be recognised. It is also important to note that I was unable to be physically present at the workshops due to the Covid19 pandemic, and although this led to what I believe was a further decolonising of this work, it still meant I was slightly detached from the process. I negated this as much as I could by implementing regular detailed updates with the researchers and undertaking a lengthy and meaningful debrief at the end of the workshops.

Digital storytelling enabled a deep understanding of the participants' experience and how these experiences relate to their aspirations. Although digital storytelling is recognised as a methodology that has the potential to flatten hierarchies of power and aligns with indigenous ontologies, it is important to note that there are justified concerns about the method. Despite digital storytelling being viewed as an 'appropriate' and 'traditional' approach for working with marginalised communities, arts-based approaches often derive from high-income countries given that learning about the arts is often a benefit only afforded by the privileged. This can further entrench the idea that the 'solutions' to challenges in education are only available in high-income countries (Quijano, 2007). When navigating the use of digital storytelling for this research it was important to consider that as the framing of the storytelling by a Western researcher can give the impression of valuing diverse ways of knowing but I could essentially be controlling what kinds of stories are used or deemed useful. I was mindful of Sally Falk Moore's work on 'inescapable epistemological paradox' when trying to mediate indigenous ways of knowing through non-indigenous means (1994). I was also very aware that the depictions of lives through storytelling can be tokenistic, romanticised, or reductive (or all three), and, as argued by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2021) and Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2014), the use of more 'authentic' and 'local' storytelling approaches carries risks of exploitation, co-optation, and appropriation (Chamberlain, Buckler & Mkwanzani, 2021). In an attempt to negate these concerns, I worked closely with the indigenous researchers at Natural Justice who ran the workshops, ensuring that they had the freedom to adapt the more Western training approach to one that they and the community were comfortable with. We also discussed keeping the theme of the stories purposefully vague to allow for the storytellers to have choice and freedom in the stories they told.

5.6.4 Analysis of the Grey literature

To analyse this documentation, I applied the same themes and codes to the content as I did the scripts from the digital stories and the transcripts from the interviews. This allowed me to secure a good indication of the intentions expressed by UWC as an institution, and how this compared to the views and experiences of UWC staff and students I interviewed. It is important to note that the sample size was fairly small, and that other staff and students

may have conflicting ideas. Despite this, however, all the staff interviewed had an interest and investment in the decolonisation process at UWC.

5.7 Introduction to Data Analysis

This section will introduce the methods used in the data analysis of my data. Throughout this chapter I refer to the importance of the voice of the participant being at the fore of my research. This consideration continues by adopting a grounded approach in my analysis of the data.

5.7.1 Grounded Theory

In accordance with the principle of 'bottom-up' data collection/creation (5.2), this research will similarly apply 'bottom-up' methods for data analysis by utilising Grounded Theory. Grounded theory is a methodology developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), allowing themes, theory, and ideas to emerge from the research data. It is important to note that, after its initial development, the theory diverged into different strands after Glaser and Strauss parted ways. In particular, Strauss and Corbin went on to develop their own version, based upon a realisation of the fluidity and complexity of the world, and that human action, interaction and emotional responses create conditions that impact, restrict, limit and contribute towards restructuring society (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p.7). Grounded theory recognises there is no one reality waiting to be discovered (Geertz, 1973), and therefore aligns with the epistemological beliefs I outlined in section 5.2, specifically, that each person experiences events differently and gives different meanings to events according to his or her own experiences, which are themselves based on a myriad of factors. However, Corbin recognises there is still a need for a disciplined body of knowledge and experience to act as a basis for future action. This knowledge may not mirror the world, but it may help to understand it (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 11). He further recognises that it would be unrealistic to expect one to be able to separate themselves, and the person they are, from the research they are conducting and the analysis they undertake, and therefore, it is important to self-reflect upon how one influences the research process (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). That said, Corbin and Strauss also argue that this does not negate the relevance of findings (Corbin and Strauss, 2008, pp. 12).

My research, however, eschews Strauss and Corbin's approach in favour of what is now referred to as the *Classical Grounded Theory (CGT)*. CGT allows the generation of categories systematically from the data, rather than the imposition of categories onto the data that are derived from preconceived ideas or understandings (Giske & Artinian, 2007). This is closely aligned with the principles of a constructivist and participatory worldview approach. The researcher comes to understandings through analysing the data, not through looking for a predefined hypothesis. In other words, the data itself should expose themes rather than themes themselves being pre-defined in order to analyse the data. CGT aligns with the principles of the collaborative approach I adopt. Through the co-production of knowledge, the voice of indigenous students will be instrumental in the development of conclusions, rather than subservient in testing the validity of pre-defined hypotheses. As a caveat to this, it is also important to note that although this grounded approach influenced much of the methodology and data analysis, the themes – although emergent – were influenced by my research questions and my epistemological standing. A disadvantage of applying a grounded approach is that the results may not be as generalisable beyond the context of the study. Furthermore, using a grounded approach may allow the themes to emerge from the data, however the analysis is still based on my subjective interpretation. Being aware of these potential challenges with applying grounded theory is important to consider how to best counter them. I acknowledge the unique context of this research; however, I argue that the findings do add to the literature on the decolonisation of higher education (see chapters 8 & 9). To avoid researcher bias as much as possible (although I do not contend this is ever completely possible) I have applied a theoretical framework based on a thorough consideration of relevant theory and literature.

5.8 Evaluations and Limitations

This research is conducted with the aim of exploring how historically marginalised people in South Africa perceive their education, and finding out what lessons can be learnt when considering the renewed focus on decolonising education in both the Global North and Global South. The research is undertaken through a collaborative research methodology, attempting, where possible, to de-restrict the voice of the participant in order to gain an unbiased view of the data. The study is very specific to the experience of students at the University of Western Cape and one group of participants from the Guriqua community. In

this chapter, I have highlighted my positionality and lived experience. This has not only impacted the choice of methodology and underpinning theories, but also the lens through which I interpret the data. I have sought to explain how my experience of growing up in a marginalised community has given me the awareness to choose an appropriate methodology and framework, which I then go onto to elaborate upon.

The limitations placed on this study through the global Covid19 pandemic impacted the recruitment of participants, particularly in regard to the interviews. However, the pre-established connections with staff and students at UWC allowed for some informed and enthusiastic participation which ensured the data I did collect was rich and meaningful. Furthermore, the restrictions on travelling led to the decision to train some of the research staff in digital storytelling. As previously mentioned, these researchers were from indigenous communities and had long standing relationships with the Guriqua community. When considering a decolonised methodology, this opportunity resulted in local researchers working with the communities, which in turn enabled the researchers to train in a methodology that enables the community to create outputs for advocacy. Natural Justice has held further workshops with communities since the workshop for this research.

The context in South Africa is unique in that it is a complex political environment where the historically marginalised actually form the majority in the country. With this in mind, the findings could be considered very context specific and limited in how they are transferable. However, it is hoped that this research will contribute to a growing body of research exploring the needs of indigenous and marginalised people and how they are being served by higher education. Furthermore, I propose that this work is an open critique, with the intention of provoking further discussion about the complexity and nuances of decolonising, including the importance of contextual consideration, and with listening to the voices of the marginalised.

Chapter 6: An evaluation of how indigenous students experience mainstream higher education in South Africa: A case study of the University of Western Cape (UWC).

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I consider two of my research questions: *how students from historically marginalised communities at the University of Western Cape (UWC) experience and understand their education, and is decolonising in this context possible?* Initially, this research focused on the role of indigenous knowledge in higher education. As previously discussed, (chapter 2), however, the term 'indigenous' in the context of South Africa is complex due to the way the country was populated by successive waves of settlers. Indeed, even the question of *who* is indigenous is contested. Consequently, and after engaging with the students and staff at UWC, I reframed my research questions, not least because, during my data collection, it became apparent that the term indigenous was not encapsulating the student body at UWC. What did become obvious during this phase of my research, is that it was their membership of historically marginalised communities that tied them together. In this chapter I will explore the data to further understand what makes these students marginalised, and the role education has in this.

Similarly, my fieldwork highlighted the diverse range of indigeneity in South Africa, with different peoples holding different cultural traditions and possessing different ways of knowing. It became evident that to speak of indigenous knowledge as one form of knowing is not possible. What emerged instead, however, was a common and unifying sense of African identity. The students referred to an 'African knowledge' as integral to their identity and culture. Given this, in this chapter I will frame African knowledge as encapsulating core aspects of indigenous knowledge. I consider how decolonisation is understood and contextualised at UWC and the complexities around decolonisation, and I place a particular emphasis on the role of diverse forms of knowledge in education in order to consider if

decolonisation is a way to break down the social inequalities that are felt by students at UWC.

To ascertain the capacity of decolonising at UWC, this chapter will examine the critical engagement of UWC students, that is, the space the students have to critically explore their own education and societal role. A clear tension emerged from the data between the neoliberal nature of education, that is the identification of education as a means by which an individual can enhance their socio-economic growth, and the desire of students to experience an education that is enlightening and reflects and strengthens their African identity.

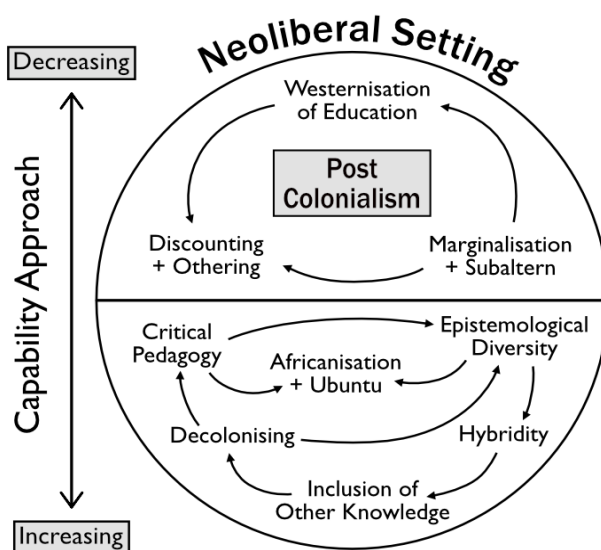


Figure 1: Theoretical Framework

To achieve this task, I use a grounded approach to analyse the grey literature concerning the values and transformation agenda at UWC, transcripts from my interviews with students who attended UWC and were all from historically marginalised communities, as well as my interviews with staff from UWC who all had an interest and were involved in the initiative to decolonise or transform education. The themes that emerged through the grounded analysis are used to structure this chapter, they are: **Complexity of Race and who is indigenous in South Africa** - which considers identity, culture and values and what constitutes indigenous knowledge in South Africa; **Inclusion in Higher Education** - this theme explores the barriers to access in higher education; **Society in the Classroom** - this

focuses on critical engagement and what is referred to as assessment backwash and the implications of this; **Decolonising higher education** - this theme engages in discussions regarding the nuances of decolonising and what this means in the context of South Africa; **Purpose of Higher Education - neoliberal tension** - this theme highlights the tension between education as a means of economic mobility and the drive to decolonise; finally, **Challenges to attending higher education for students from a marginalised community**. These themes are then interrogated further through the lens of my theoretical framework (*figure 1*) which was formed through the literature and theory that was reviewed and discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

The debate surrounding decolonisation includes the interrelations between knowledge, power, and identity. It further takes account of the global nature of higher education and the economic aspirations of those who engage in it. The findings explored in this chapter highlights the complexities around decolonising higher education in South Africa, including the tension regarding viewing education for economic gain and the drive to decolonise that is evident in much of the interview data. The social justice values of UWC are explored from both the staff and student perspectives. The analysis of the data also provoked ideas concerning the legitimacy of a hybrid education in South Africa.

The codes I have chosen for the participants relate to their positionality in this research:

AC = Academic staff member at UWC

ST = Student at UWC

IND = Person working closely with indigenous communities

DS = Digital storyteller from the Guriqua community.

6.2 Complexity of Race and who is indigenous in South Africa

As explored in Chapter 2, the issues of race and indigeneity in South Africa are complicated and contested. Through discussions in the interviews with the students and staff at UWC around race and indigeneity, the themes of **identity, culture, and values** and **what constitutes indigenous knowledge** in South Africa emerged. If the purpose of decolonising education is to encourage and enable an experience through which students can see and explore their identity, culture, and values, one first needs to address the issues of race,

societal divides, identity, and inclusion. The material and curriculum of a decolonised education should reflect different knowledge and not just that of a Western canon. As such, for a discussion around how higher education is experienced by students from a historically marginalised community, it is important to try and understand how the students and academics perceive their identity, values, and community.

6.2.1 Identity Culture and Values

Identity was a strong theme that was captured through my grounded analysis of the data, this related to identity and indigeneity, such as what it means to be indigenous and how different values and cultures are treated in South Africa. In chapter 2, the tensions around what it means to be indigenous in South Africa were discussed. Although the Khoi and the Sans are arguably the ‘first people’ of South Africa, it is also important to note that settlers arrived in the country in waves and many other communities in South Africa view themselves as indigenous. Furthermore, just the term ‘indigeneity’, and the rhetoric it inspires, can be problematic for some in South Africa.

In South Africa there is an issue with indigeneity, there are debates about who is indigenous, those debates for me are problematic. Firstly, they make use of the kind of rhetoric that colonial minds use, that there was a sub saharan migration of Ubuntu people of Western and Northern parts of Africa and they come into sub saharan Africa and they take over the land from Khoi people...you can literally see a path going up North moving, so for me it already says it is not necessarily a migration in a particular period, it was just people that were just prone to moving around. Another part of this is that I am considered part of the Bantu people, and in that categorisation my Khoi indigenous blood is negated completely and ignored. Are we going to understand indigeneity in this fixed way? (ST008).

This complexity around the meaning of ‘indigenous’ and who qualifies as indigenous was an ongoing theme in the interviews. Indigeneity in colonised countries is often equated with historic marginalisation. With this in mind, all the students and storytellers that participated in this research have suffered marginalisation due to their race, as many communities in South Africa have. Some participants said they felt that those who were inhabitants of South Africa pre-colonisation were indigenous. It is often said that Khoi and the Sans were the first inhabitants of South Africa; however, because these communities have often been given

negative and derogatory labels (see chapter 2), many South Africans from Khoi and San descent are reluctant to claim this identity, referring to themselves as Coloured instead. This further demonstrates the power and importance placed on race and identity in the country.

I am from a Khoi descent, and I think for years it has been something that has been made fun, it was a culture that was made fun of because of the language that they spoke, so a lot of people don't identify as Khoi. I have family members that refuse to call themselves Khoi. They say they are coloured. They do not identify with being the so-called first group that were in South Africa. Because there has always been this negative connotation. (AC003)

I have family members. Who refused to call themselves, Khoi 'cause they just they don't see it that way. They say no, I'm Coloured...people don't want to connect with this culture...And so we have a group of Khoi people who are trying to almost reinforce that culture back into society, have the language written in a dictionary 'cause it's not even published anyway. But we don't see, or we don't know of a lot of students who identify as Khoi. (AC005)

This reluctance to claim an identity is in line with the criticism of colonial assimilation by post-development and post-colonial theorists. They propose that colonialism and the consequential hierarchy of culture and knowledge has led to a rejection of identity, cultures, and traditions (Rahnema, 1997; Illich 1997, Esteva, 2008). Spivak's argument (discussed in chapter 3) is also relevant here, in that what is expressed in the quote above is a sense of 'othering' of the Khoi culture, and this 'othering' is achieved through the formation of the normative way of being (Spivak, 1988). Although this comes through clearly in the comments above, the discussion of the digital stories in chapter 7 demonstrates a desire to reclaim pre-colonial identities.

6.2.2 What constitutes indigenous knowledge in South Africa?

As part of the interviews with staff and students at UWC, it became clear that there was not a consensus on what constitutes indigenous knowledge. There was also no real expression from the interviewees that indigenous knowledge is or should be included as part of the decolonising process. With the contestation and uncertainty about who the indigenous group(s) in South Africa are, how then can indigenous knowledge be defined? As mentioned previously, in South Africa there are many different communities with different cultures and

practices that can identify as indigenous. In terms of decolonising education in South Africa, this adds an extra layer of complexity as there is not one defined indigenous group with its own cultural values and knowledge to be considered.

So, we were colonised quite early on. We then had apartheid system. So, there's still an argument that the Khoi, they are the regional people of South Africa and then you have people arguing that it's the Zulus that are the regional people from South Africa. So, I think, already narrowing it down to ask who is our indigenous group. That's already just making it difficult to decide what our indigenous knowledge systems are. (AC005)

Although there are some recognised explanations of indigenous knowledge, such as Warren and Rajasekaren's (1993) suggestion that it is an integrated system of information in the form of human knowledge, beliefs, and behaviours (see chapter 4), there is also a concern in the literature that aligns with the quote (AC005) above. Specifically, this concern focuses upon the need to avoid assuming indigenous knowledge corresponds to one type of knowledge, but rather that values, beliefs, and knowledge of indigenous communities are place specific and should not be generalised (Snively & Williams, 2008; Webb, 2013).

This complexity around defining and understanding indigeneity is apparent within the student body and staff at UWC. One way of perhaps ameliorating some of the complication is to consider what is the non-dominant knowledge that is being missed or not prioritised within the curriculum to further inform the decolonising process.

I think indigenous would be, in the context in which I teach, I think the non-dominant norms would be African...see you cannot say Khoisan as it doesn't exist as a group of students that we get. But we do have a Coloured community, who are also linked to Khoisan, but also to endangered slaves and also to Cape Malays and the Coloured community as a whole are a complex story, so the majority of our students are either Coloured, Xhosa or other African groups. We have very few English and very few Afrikaners. Many people who speak Afrikaans but very few White Afrikaners. (AC002)

This suggests that in order to consider transforming and decolonising the curriculum, there needs to be an agreement over the marginalised knowledge that is being invalidated by the

dominant Eurocentric education system. The suggestion is that the non-dominant norm is African, a unifying knowledge that could incorporate elements of the vast traditional knowledge systems that exist in South Africa. This points to an Africanisation of higher education, as explored in chapters 3 and 4.

A further anomaly in South Africa is that the marginalised groups, whose traditions, and cultures are considered the 'non-dominant norm' is in fact the majority in South Africa.

So now the indigenous group we are talking about are roughly I would say 85% of the population. That is the complex thing about South Africa, we are not talking about a small minority of indigenous, we are talking about the majority of the population. (AC002)

This further reinforces the idea that to make space for and include other ways of knowing in the curriculum is to look at the non-dominant forms of knowledge that exist among the historically marginalised groups. The education system at UWC, like much of South Africa and colonised countries, is based on a Eurocentric model. As outlined in chapter 3, this domination of Western education is problematic in that it can trivialise non-Western understanding and knowledge (Esteva, 2006; Prakash & Esteva, 2008). Therefore, rather than focusing on what is considered indigenous knowledge and how this is defined, decolonising higher education in South Africa should involve widening the focus to include more African knowledge (i.e. the non-dominant knowledge) in the curriculum.

What has emerged through the findings in this section is the importance of identity, how this identity is reflected within society and then the impact this has on education. The way that certain identities have been 'othered' in South Africa have further marginalised communities, and the value people place in their own heritage. Within education, what has emerged is a sense that the knowledge that is currently being prioritised is not reflecting the identities of the recipients of that education. The complexities around indigeneity make the identifying and therefore inclusion of indigenous knowledge problematic, however, what did emerge is perhaps a need for a more Africanised education. These are important findings for this research in understanding the importance of the identity and how this is

represented and interpreted for marginalised communities, as well as how students of marginalised communities envision this identity should be apparent in their education. The next section will focus on the cultural traditions of the historically marginalised students to further conceptualise what is African knowledge, what it means to marginalised communities, and its role in higher education and in particular UWC.

6.3 Inclusion in Higher Education

This section will directly address the research question of how students from historically marginalised communities experience higher education, whilst also adding to the assessment of whether decolonising is possible. This will be achieved through the case study of the University of the Western Cape (UWC), and the following themes that emerged through the data analysis: **Access to higher education for marginalised communities**, this includes physical access, access to resources, psychological access to aspects of education and barriers to access such as language and Covid; **The role of education in social justice** was an emergent theme that included the consideration of the African philosophy of Ubuntu. As discussed in chapter 3, UWC is a particularly significant site for this research both because it was at the forefront in the struggle against apartheid, and because it states its key concerns are to enable access, equity and quality in higher education through prioritising historically marginalised people (UWC, 2021). The university was historically classified as 'Coloured', and it still has a high population of Coloured and Black students. UWC brands itself today as a university of the Left, concerned with transformation and being an agent of change (UWC, 2021).

Inclusion is an important facet of decolonising given the focus of decolonising is to try and resolve inequalities perpetuated through colonialism, and to try and give access to power to those who have been excluded from positions of power and privilege in the past. Therefore, who is included in higher education (in terms of physical access, representation, language of instruction and agenda setting) is a key consideration of decolonisation.

6.3.1 Access to higher education for students from marginalised communities

Both interviewed staff and students spoke about the challenges of marginalised communities accessing and attending education. Through further analysis, using my theoretical framework (*figure 1* and outlined in chapter 3), in terms of the opportunities and obstacles affecting their capability development, it became clear that the limitations facing young people from marginalised backgrounds went beyond financial and the quality of education that is on offer (although this is undeniably a consideration which is reflected on in this section), but was also, what one participant named as ‘psychological accessibility’ (ST006). I discuss each of the following themes as they emerged from my data: economic access to higher education; retention and experience of students at UWC; safety, gender, and security; is higher education psychologically accessible to marginalised communities; language and the impact of covid19.

6.3.1.1 Economic Access to higher education

As in most countries, higher education in South Africa is viewed as being for the few rather than for the many. This can be seen in, for example, what are referred to as the ‘Ivy League’ universities: those which have high fees and whose student body is largely made up from the more, predominantly White, privileged groups in South African society. As mentioned previously, UWC has a student body largely made up of people from historically marginalised communities, and this is reflected in how students can access the academy.

The fee structures are not as rigid or as high as those of the University of Cape Town (UCT), Witwatersrand, and the University of Pretoria and Stellenbosch. This was a common reason that many students gave in their decision to attend UWC over other higher education institutions.

UWC has got something called minimal initial payment, this is something that the Ivy league universities such as UCT, Wits, University of Pretoria and Stellenbosch wouldn't have. UWC has grown and developed into that conversation. But I think the fee structure at UWC is completely different, in that first of all the fees are pretty low, and you can negotiate your way through the process. So, I chose it because of that (ST001).

This flexibility around fees is significant as it expands the ability to access higher education to more economically marginalised communities. This in itself can be seen as a shift in the power dynamic whereby higher education is for the privileged few, and therefore access to the knowledge and socio-economic gains from attending higher education is only available to people who already enjoy a level of privilege. By widening access, UWC is encouraging different voices and communities into the academy, which could be viewed as an aspect of decolonising.

6.3.1.2 Retention and experience of students at UWC

One of the contributing factors to the students of UWC being considered marginalised is their socio-economic status. This results in the student profile being very different from most other universities. Access to higher education and ongoing restrictions to study emerged from the data as a constant concern for the academics from UWC:

Just before lock down, and one of the activities was creating a student persona, to like just generalise what kind of student you have in your class and you are designing a course for that student, and on this picture that they were drawing and putting details I was like, oh you know our student is 25 year old, a first year student, she has 2 kids at home, and she is working part time, she can't always get to UWC, because she doesn't have taxi money, and fees are an issue. This was such a reality check. (AC001)

This is relevant because it demonstrates how the student demographic at UWC is taken into consideration beyond expanding access, indicating a tangible level of interest and investment in the lived experience of students. This is not in line with the neoliberal and human capitalist (HCT) approach to education that was highlighted in chapter 4. HCT places importance on education's potential to contribute to economic growth and is concerned with individuals' education adding to their capacity to accrue material advantage (Marginson, 2019). There is little space in this theoretical conception for concern of the individual's social background and possible barriers to higher education. HCT asserts that the focus of education policy should be on the areas that would give the best return for investment (Gillies, 2015), whereas the staff interviewed at UWC all express the importance of taking the profile of its students into account when considering policy and initiatives, not

only supporting their access, but also to retain the students once they have entered into the academy. An example of this is that inclusivity is placed at the forefront of the university's mission statement which formed part of my data analysis:

“The University is committed to equity, diversity, inclusivity and fairness, and seeks to nurture and build on our diverse cultural heritage. Accordingly, we commit to the creation of a welcoming, inclusive and diverse community, accentuated by a caring, productive and respectful culture. We shall continue to advance the imperatives of access and commit to creating an atmosphere of trust, tolerance of opinion as well as mutual support in a community characterised by a rich diversity of people and ideas. We remain committed to the protection of the rights and dignity of individuals and therefore shall not tolerate any forms of discrimination, including that based on race, sexual orientation, religion or xenophobia” (UWC, 2021)

This extract from the UWC's mission statement makes several references to the diversity of the students accessing the institution. There is also reference to protection against discrimination. This is the antithesis of the mission of colonial education, which was to assimilate and discourage the difference and identity of non-Western cultures (Escobar, 1997). “Tolerance of opinion” suggests that freedom of speech and critical engagement are encouraged at UWC, this is in line with the alternative, more decolonial, pedagogy that is outlined in chapter 3 as an education that has the potential to develop the skills for students to look at their reality through a more critical lens (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 2014).

The sentiment of inclusion was also expressed by a staff member who was interviewed.

*Last year UWC slogan was #leavenostudentbehind, or no students left behind, so staff were meant to sort of, in every way possible support and help students.
(AC001)*

As indicated above, this focus on inclusion and equity pushes back against the neoliberal education system that was alluded to in chapter 3, which promotes and relies on the economic elevation of the few at the expense of the many (Gandin, 2007). Within these policies that are considering the experience and diversity of the students attending UWC, there is a challenge to the construct of education that has been criticised for devaluing

cultures and further marginalising communities (Escobar, 1997; Santos, 2014). This is relevant for this study, as it is implying that UWC are recognising the challenges the students from marginalised backgrounds face and are fostering a decolonial framework in trying to overcome these. The diverse makeup of students at UWC and the extra pressures and consideration this imposes upon the institution can make transforming or decolonising the education seem like a low priority. However, as UWC states in its mission statement, “there is an importance that students can see their identity within higher education and that it is a relevant and useful education for them” (UWC, 2021). The implication here, therefore, is that the decolonisation of education has added significance precisely because of the university’s diverse student population.

However, when applying a postcolonial and critical pedagogy lens there are some notable issues with the mission statement. Although it makes mention of UWC having a “tolerance of opinion” and that it will “not tolerate any form of discrimination” it makes little mention on how these values or mission will be achieved, such as what actions will be taken. Considering the context of UWC and how much of the cohort of students have been marginalised in South Africa there is no real emphasis on empowerment and emancipation. Furthermore, the statement does not address the issue with the retention of students at UWC (see section 6.7, AC001), and that the issue of retaining students would suggest that their needs (albeit complex) are not being addressed by the institution.

6.3.1.3 Safety, gender, and security

A further consideration that emerges through evaluating access in, and experience of, higher education of the students is safety, this was a concern for all students interviewed, however women were seen as particularly vulnerable, with security on campus seen as lacking. Although socio-economic access at UWC is seen as more inclusive than is the case at other more “privileged” universities, many students expressed safety concerns relating to attending UWC. The university is based in Bellville, near Cape Town. This area has a high level of crime, in particular muggings, which can make travelling into campus for some students problematic. The transportation system in Cape Town is also not safe in all areas, especially where there are higher poverty rates. As UWC has a high percentage of students from marginalised communities this means that a lot of students, if travelling in, are coming

from less wealthy areas, and this makes public transport more of a risk and a barrier to students physically accessing campus.

Currently we don't have a very good transportation system...so students if they are in the marginalised communities. Uhm, they're either placed close to where, say, for example, the train station is in a very bad neighbourhood, and when I mean that the crime is quite high, so they're not able to travel on their own...our universities are placed in the bigger cities of South Africa and so the marginalised communities. Are more on the outskirts of these communities, so I don't think it's physically accessible now. (ST006)

However, residing on campus is not always considered to be a safe alternative. The interviews uncovered concerns about safety on campus, especially for female students.

We (female student and her friends) would panic, and we would insist on going in groups because coming back late at night, you just don't know what's going to happen on campus. Even though it's all situated on the campus, our residence was right at the back, so you had to take quite a walk from there and the library closed at 12:00 o'clock so it wasn't always safe. Uhm, well, there's a few incidents where we felt kinda harassed by men (ST004).

This concern was raised several times during the interviews with female students and is concerning in that South Africa has one of the highest gender-based violence rates in the world (Clifford, 2021). It is something that therefore needs to be taken into consideration when discussing decolonialism, after all, colonialism operates in a patriarchal context, in that it was itself a gendered process that encouraged violence, political exclusion and economic exploitation of women (Moane & Moane, 1999). With this in mind, when considering decolonising an institution, it is important to consider the gender dynamic within the institution and any dominance that exists.

UWC does consider the safety of its students and has security that patrol the campus. However, the students that were interviewed also had concerns about the security team and had heard troubling rumours about their behaviour. They were therefore often not reassured by their presence.

There were security patrols. We used to call them with a black ants, but there were rumours about them also not being as safe because they would. Some of them will also harass the students. (ST005).

Once more, this was a concern felt more from the female students. There was also a lack of confidence in the University's response to incidents of harassment on campus, with students reporting incidents that they believed had not been dealt with in a satisfactory way.

This is just yes. I, I, I can't give you actual facts, but to my knowledge they would be kept very hush hush. Especially like, I remember there was a story of a girl being assaulted in the bathroom and nobody heard about that. It was the SRC (Student Representative Council), see, that brought that to our attention. (ST007).

The sense of physical safety on campus is important to consider, as this could be a potential barrier for marginalised communities gaining access to higher education, and it could also affect their opinion of higher education. Furthermore, incidents and concerns about safety can impact a student's ability to achieve their potential in their academic studies, therefore restricting the actual capabilities of a student to achieve, as detailed through the lens of the capabilities approach (see chapter 3). Sen's (1993) theoretical framework is drawn from two core normative claims: that freedom to achieve well-being is of primary moral importance, and that freedom to achieve well-being must be understood in terms of people with capabilities (Sen, 1993). In relation to this research, the lack of safety for women on campus is restricting their well-being and therefore limiting their capabilities. Moreover, the fact that campus feels particularly unsafe for girls and women is an important insight given that decolonising is concerned with the breaking down of colonial power, knowledge and being, which includes undermining the patriarchal colonialist legacy (Macleod, Bhatia & Liu, 2020).

6.3.1.4 Is higher education psychologically accessible to marginalised communities? As previously mentioned, the majority of the students attending UWC are from marginalised communities, it became clear when analysing my data that this has implications in how they view and experience higher education. Many of the students are first generation and this

has obvious financial implications in that by studying, these students are potentially taking time away from earning money for the family. However, there are other less obvious implications as well.

You know there are very high levels of poverty, I would say most of our students are first generation students, there are no legacy of wealth there is no building on establish networks, norms and there is no parent or cousins or aunts that have attended, so non accessible psychologically in that way as well, there is a massive barrier to first generation students (AC002).

First generation students are often underprepared for higher education as they do not have a point of reference from which to frame expectations. If their parents did not have the opportunity to engage in higher education, they may have not had the same cultural capital growing up as other students attending higher education whose parents did go to university. All of this has an impact on how students experience higher education and, on their confidence, and sense of entitlement as they enter the academy (Gardner & Holley, 2011). These issues are relevant to this study as, when viewed through my previously outlined theoretical framework (chapter 3), a lack of knowledge of higher education can directly impact how a student experiences that education and may also affect their achievement level and their aspirations and capabilities on leaving university (Sen, 1980). Although a student from a marginalised background may gain access to higher education, they may not have the capacity, due to their lack of confidence and entitlement, to make proper use or meaning of their time at university (Walker, 2018). These barriers to the current education system can often leave students, as quoted above, as psychologically unable to access university.

Although UWC is very conscious of inclusion, it is based within (as has been discussed previously) a very complex society. One of the ways this presents is in the representation in student council and other groups and positions on campus.

They (student boards) are made-up of diverse groups of students... but it doesn't always represent the population of the student group. So you'll have one black student and a Coloured female on the student board, but there's no Coloured male And then we have a White male, but we don't have a White female. So, it doesn't necessarily represent every group and every gender in a

sense. So, a White female experience is completely different to a White male's experience in South Africa...And obviously it's a bit difficult in South Africa with 11 languages and million cultures and all of those things. It's a bit difficult to have everyone included (AC005).

This problem of representation is also echoed in South African society more widely.

Also, what we find is we don't have a lot of Coloured representation in our parliament. So, we find that without student councils we don't have a lot of students that yearn for those positions as it was not something they were taught to want to achieve. (AC003)

Again, this highlights the complexity of race and identity within South African society and the way it is mirrored to some extent in higher education. It also serves as an example of the link between education and society, and that a change in one can perhaps led to a change in the other. Research into higher education, particularly research that investigates how students from marginalised communities experience, and are represented in, this education, is therefore of fundamental importance. Furthermore, if students do not see themselves in positions of power, they may again feel an outsider within the academic community, which can affect their own perception of their lack of agency. Viewing this through the lens of my theoretical framework, a lack of agency and perceived path for advancement will affect how they can develop their capabilities and the potential they have to reach their goals (Robeyns, 2017).

6.3.1.5 Language

Whilst discussing inclusion in higher education with staff and students from UWC, the theme of language began to emerge. As recognised in chapter 2, South Africa has 11 official languages and many more unofficial languages. This means that the language of instruction is often not in students' first language and is especially the case for students from more rural backgrounds.

UWC is an English medium university, so we teach in English, we expect our students to perform in English, English is not the major first language, I think it is more Afrikaans, and other indigenous languages, so that is an issue. (AC001)

At our university the language of instruction is English. We try to go for the universal language. But in South Africa, where we have 11 official languages, we are aware of the fact that we can't cover all 11 languages. There's just, at least from the modules that I've been in contact with, there's been no attempt to ensure that we at least do within the common languages in the Western Cape, so say for example in EC Cosa, in Zulu or in Afrikaans. There's absolutely no attempt currently at our university. To try and translate those instructions. At least so students are receiving the assignment instructions, the examinations, all of that in English. (AC004).

It is often the case in South Africa that primary and secondary education is not provided in the students' first language, so in some ways the problem in higher education is not something new. However, we can see that the significance of the language of instruction moves beyond practical considerations into a political issue. As argued previously, the links between society and education in South Africa are very evident. The segregation of society during apartheid was mirrored in the higher education system and language used within apartheid to reinforce hierarchy and to further minorities communities. This in itself reinforces the importance of considering language when discussing transformation or decolonisation of higher education in South Africa.

A further layer of complication is that not all universities in South Africa teach in the same language.

Most children will be taught in either English or Afrikaans in high school with the vast majority in English, and a small minority in Afrikaans. The Western Cape, Afrikaans is one of the main languages so there are quite a lot of Afrikaans medium high schools, not just white Afrikaner's but coloured Afrikaans, because coloured Afrikaans is a race language for many Coloured. In which case there is a massive debate around languages, the University Stellenbosch tries to teach in Afrikaans in a first language ...University of the Free State does that to some extent, there are pockets where you can have instruction in your mother tongue, but they are very small and very limited and would say the vast majority of university students are being educated in English, and yet the majority of university students' first language is not English. (AC002)

This quote highlights the complexity of language in South Africa, and that for most students at UWC, they are not learning in their first language, and perhaps have not done so throughout their formal schooling. It also demonstrates how race and language are interlinked in South Africa, and how language is a political matter. Despite the fact that it is almost expected that higher education will be delivered in English or Afrikaans, it is still seen as problematic by some academic staff at UWC.

I do think language is a big issue and I think more could be done to think through how we can help students, particularly first years, how we can help them in their first language. I think being more aware of that and more sensitive to it...there has been no attempt to ensure we are at least doing it in the common languages in the Western Cape. So, for example in IsiXhosa, in Zulu, or in Afrikaans, there is currently absolutely no attempt in our university to try and translate those instructions at least. So, students are receiving their assignment instructions, their examinations, all of that in English (AC003).

This quote expresses an expectation that students will have the ability to fully understand the content of their education delivered in a language different to their mother tongue, and automatically disadvantages vast segments of the population. Furthermore, it could be interpreted as a downgrading of their first language, in that it is not recognised as an official language of education. This tension around language goes beyond access and hierarchy; it also relates to how knowledge is expressed and understood.

I know that there is an indigenous language programme in the linguistic department. That is problematic to some extent because it is based on autography, and that is the written language, and many linguists have shown that confining a language down to its written form removes certain elements of meaning to the language that is important to speakers of that language. (ST009)

Certain ideas, ways of being, knowing and thinking can be difficult to translate into a Western language when they originate and exist in a world with very different cultures and ideas (see chapter 4, section 4.5). A participant in a research project exploring how Western education altered their world view explained how “language was not a mere string of words, it had a suggestive power beyond the immediate and logical meaning”, going on to say

“then I went to a school, a colonial school, and this harmony was broken. The language of my education was no longer the language of my culture” (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999 p. xiii). This moves beyond the discussion of language as merely a means of instruction and a hurdle for people learning in an environment that is not in their first language. Language is part of identity and cultural understandings and ways of knowing that can be diminished through learning in a language from a different culture.

This study is a consideration of the educational experience of marginalised communities in South Africa, with this in mind, language, and its links to identity is important to highlight. Students can be marginalised further if the language of instruction differs from their mother tongue and language of their culture. Furthermore, it is important to consider which language is being prioritised in higher education and why. Not just the language of instruction but also the language of the academic text and materials that are being taught to the students, and what the cultural implications of this are. It is interesting to note that although the staff I interviewed at UWC were concerned about the language of instruction, it was barely mentioned by the students. This could suggest that it is just accepted that education is not delivered in their first language. The separation of the language of education and the language of communities has the potential to create a divide between those that are ‘educated’ and those who are not. This divide was apparent through aspects of the interviews with some students discussing how their values and aspirations were different from those in their communities since they have attended higher education (see section 7.2.5, ST004).

Having the majority of formal education in South Africa in with Afrikaners or English, is essentially legitimising the language of the colonisers and placing less importance on African languages. Through a postcolonial lens, this normalisation of the language of instruction as English of Afrikaners demonstrates a way in which the colonisers succeeded in discounting the culture of communities, with language being an intrinsic part of cultural identity (Rahnema, 1997). Furthermore, excluding language from education serves to further marginalise ethnic groups and identities (Rahnema, 1997), and creates an elitism around accessing certain forms of knowledge and creates a discourse that it is only for certain

members of society (Esteva, 2007). A recent study published in Quartz (Gordon & Harvey, 2019), found that the majority of the population (65%) in South Africa were in favour of being taught in English rather than their first language. The research found that the reasoning for this were the socio-economic advancements contributed to being educated in English. This again highlights the aforementioned tension between decolonising or Africanising education in South Africa and education being viewed as an opportunity for economic growth. Despite the reality, the researchers call for a post-colonial education policy to nurture multilingualism and promote all languages to combat the colonial rhetoric that African languages are inferior (Gordon & Harvey, 2019).

The next theme that emerged from the data collection was Covid19, and the particular impact the pandemic has had on this marginalised group of students in their education.

6.3.1.6 Covid19

The Covid19 pandemic affected students all around the world; however, the effect was the greatest on the most marginalised in society. This became clear throughout my fieldwork and through my grounded analysis of the data. At UWC, the impact of the virus was problematic in that many students did not have the relevant technology to access the classes online. Furthermore, many of the students had to return to their families, and connectivity in the rural areas where many lived was poor. Additionally, there was less support for people who contracted the virus in rural and poorer communities where the burden of care often fell onto family members.

I have a student who emailed me with certificates, medical certificates of his mother, his brother and his sister who both who all three tested positive for COVID and he didn't test positive at all, but he is responsible to care for them at home. So it's things like that. So in, in a, in a, more in. In a more uh, in a higher socioeconomic class, you might not find that because there will be someone caring for them, or they could be admitted into a care facility or those types of things. Now you have an 18 year old caring for his siblings and his mother at the same time, so it's all of those things that impact. The marginalised community or the student from a marginalised community? (AC005).

Inequality in the availability of electronic resources further exacerbated divisions in access to education. Already marginalised communities would potentially become even more disenfranchised, and their ability to engage fully with their education was weakened. In this instance, even attending a university that has a strong social justice ethos, meant that students from marginalised communities could still be disadvantaged. This is a reminder that the disadvantage students from marginalised communities face goes beyond physical access to the academy. Students from marginalised backgrounds are often disadvantaged in higher education due to lack of economic resources beyond their course fees.

This section has engaged with some of the complexities facing UWC when considering access and their mission to “leave no student behind” (UWC, 2021). I have highlighted how inequalities in society can be mirrored in inequalities in higher education, and each exacerbates and affects the other. The data also revealed restrictions beyond economic inequalities, in that communities that are marginalised often exist in cultures that are not compatible or recognised in the academy, which adds extra layers of complexity to the way higher education is experienced by these communities, this was reflected most in the idea that higher education can be ‘psychologically inaccessible’ to some. This fits within my theoretical framework as this psychological inaccessibility can be the result of the ‘othering’ (Spivak, 1988) of marginalised groups, that means that their ways of being are not accounted for or visible in the culture within higher education institutions. There are also links to the capability approach, in that there needs to be greater realisation that the barriers students face in higher education go beyond that of equal access to the academy, the barriers can be created through the aforementioned ‘othering’ that creates a belief in the student that they do not belong. The very real challenges facing historically marginalised communities accessing higher education are important to understand in also understanding the challenges that higher education faces in implementing inclusive agendas.

6.3.2 Social Justice and Education

Through the analysis of the interview data and the grey literature, the theme of social justice emerged, and more specifically the responsibility and potential of higher education to consider this. In conducting this research, I found that UWC has a long history of social justice and trying to widen participation in higher education. Through my analysis of the grey

literature, I found that in 2021, the university developed a Curriculum Transformation Framework, with the stated aim:

“to facilitate meaningful curriculum change within the discourse of decolonisation, concomitant with the role of the university as an egalitarian organisation” (UWC, 2021).

This extract reveals the intention of UWC to decolonise education, and how placing this in the same sentence as the goal of an ‘egalitarian’ organisation implies that decolonising is seen as an important factor in achieving a more equal and fairer education system. This commitment to fairness is expressed further in the quote below:

I think UWC has always been the front runner in social justice and ensuring that everyone has fair access to higher education. When my father was a student 20 years ago, he was fighting the same fight, to ensure these kids could access university and, in a language, they wanted to access it in UWC has always been a part of that fight. I am not saying it because I am part of the UWC community, but we have always been the front runners in ensuring that we meet up with the marginalised communities, that we have that partnership with them, and we always ensure that we work with them (AC003).

Here we see the importance of UWC’s historical relationship with social justice (explored more widely in chapter 2), demonstrating that the university naturally attracts a demographic of students from marginalised communities and has a long-standing history of interacting with these communities. This focus on inclusivity is a further step away from the traditional notion of higher education being associated with privilege. However, this quote also unearths that despite a drive for a change in language of instruction going back at least 20 years, this change still has not occurred. This demonstrates that although UWC is innovative in some ways, it is tied to conformity in others.

As mentioned, the policies at UWC do take into account that the students accessing the university are often from low socio-economic backgrounds. This is demonstrated, not just

with relation to the lower fees as discussed above, but also the availability of grants, such as a food grant, that students can access once they are attending.

We have the national student fund that helps students, and when I was going through my undergrad because I couldn't afford to do studies, I was on a food grant with many other students. (Referring to UWC). (ST003).

UWC also recognises that students from historically marginalised communities may not have received the same opportunities in their primary and secondary education as less marginalised students. As such, the university operates flexibly in how students can access the academy.

So, something UWC does is called recognition of prior learning, where I guess more senior students, so maybe like a mother or a father or an older student that has done work, but doesn't have any formal higher education, but they have worked and have other skills. UWC have recognised those as qualification, and then they can mainstream or slip into another degree programme. In that way I think they're acknowledging that education doesn't just exist in these four walls, or the white towers of academia. (AC001)

This again demonstrates a real commitment by UWC to not only enable access to the university, but also to recognise the importance of the diverse skills and knowledge students may bring with them, and which other universities may not consider. Again, we might see this as decolonial in that it is a way of dismantling the traditional power structures around not only access, but also what knowledge is perceived as valuable in the academy. Under the theme of Social Justice and Education the following sub theme emerged from the data analysis: **I am, because we are** - which emerged through the sense of belonging and is tied to the philosophy of Ubuntu. This is explored in the following section.

6.3.2.1 I am, because we are.

The importance of a sense of belonging for students attending UWC came through from the data collection. This sense of belonging emerged through recognition of the barriers that the students encountered in their educational journey, which emphasised the value of community within educational experiences. This is in line with the Afrocentric model of

inclusive education, Ubuntu (see chapter 3, section 3.4.1), which translates to ‘I am, because we are’. This need is partially realised by UWC, in that once students have been enrolled at UWC, there is subsequent consideration given to the fact that students may need extra support to help them achieve their full potential. Moreover, it is understood that students who attend UWC may have extra responsibilities that those attending more privileged universities are less likely to have.

UWC has one of the most forgiving courses and retakes of examinations curricula, so yeah, I mean, from what I have also been told, it also relates to UWCs history, UWC was basically created to train Coloured people as nurses, social workers, sort of second or third tier public service jobs. Only to specifically work within the Coloured communities. So historically it had been created to take in poor students and make middle class students... UWC is very forgiving in terms of how many times students can retake...during the #feesmustfall disruptions students got to retake an exam about 3 times. (ST002).

As stated above, the focus on who has access to the academy is important when considering decolonising education. Decolonising education is not just concerned with what knowledge is accessible, but also who can access that knowledge. As explored above, if this access is prohibited by socio-economic factors, or language of instruction or concerns for safety, it means that the education system is not inclusive. The focus on inclusion can be seen to both be an important aspect of decolonising, but also part of the neo-colonial project.

Specifically, the focus on inclusion can be seen to be an influence derived from resource-rich countries in the Global North and their education structures (Walton, 2018). Certainly, this can be seen in the quote by ST003 above when they discuss the option to retake exams, in that, the perceived flexibility of allowing students opportunities to retake exams, is still working within a framework set up by colonial pedagogies and assessment regimes.

However, it is important to acknowledge the response to this criticism of inclusive education, with scholars presenting an Afrocentric model of inclusive education that resonates with Ubuntu (as explored in chapter 3, section 3.4.1). As stated above, Ubuntu is an African philosophy of human kindness which captures “the substance of collective ethos” and advocates that each individual’s humanity is ideally expressed in relationships with others (Beets, 2012; Piper, 2016). The word Ubuntu is derived from a Nguni (isiZulu)

aphorism: Umuntu Ngumuntu Ngabantu, which can be translated as “a person is a person because of or through others” or “I am, because we are” (Moloketi, 2009, p.243; Tutu, 2004, p.25-26). In this form of inclusive education, the coloniality of power is said to be resisted (Walton, 2018) in that it focuses on a return to the core African values of community, which is “...we all belong, and a responsibility of every citizen is to ensure that mutual interdependence is respected as an ideal and a virtue.” (Phasha et al, 2017). For inclusive education to further the decolonial project it needs to aim at reducing exclusion through recognising structural disadvantage and injustice (Slee, 2011 cited in Walton, 2018). Inclusion can also be an important driver to advance social justice in seeking to make space for the voices of those who the system has dampened or silenced (Walton, 2018). This highlights the need for a process of decolonisation to recognise a plurality of worldviews (De Souda Santos, 2014; Walker, 2018) (in this case primarily Afrocentric views) to create an environment where much knowledges can co-exist, rather than the current discourse in much of higher education, that there is a universal truth and other epistemologies are primitive (Steinberg & Kincheloe, 2008.)

To further contribute to the decolonising agenda, it is important to consider the access students have to their education and if this is being restricted by financial concerns or concerns of safety. It is positive that UWC has inclusivity within its policies and mission statements, but when there are vast structural inequalities within the society that are marginalising communities, there needs to be meaningful initiatives that try to combat these inequalities.

6.4 Society in the classroom

In this section I reflect upon the theme of the **society in the classroom** in higher education in South Africa. This emerged through conversations with students and staff regarding the culture in the classroom and how the level of active involvement of students seemingly mirrors dynamics in South African society. This was also present in how **critical engagement** may be encouraged in the classroom, but that this engagement did not then translate into how students are assessed, creating an **assessment backwash**. Again, this could be seen to

mirror a society where certain conversations are encouraged, but the policy changes are not implemented to create sustainable change.

6.4.1 Critical engagement

A way in which society was mirrored in the classroom was through the ways in which critical engagement was present at UWC. The aforementioned racial divisions are historical but have left their mark on modern day South Africa. This is also seen in higher education and at UWC. Although UWC has been viewed as the “University of the left” and associated with transformative social movements, the racial divides and the cultural impact can still be observed in how the students interact in the classroom and beyond.

UWC is historically a coloured university...The coloured culture is one of being deferential, you don't use first names, you respect authority and don't speak out against it. So, our coloured students are not very vocal or speak ... it is a very repressed kind of culture that wasn't a fighting culture against oppression the way that African cultures were, because they weren't as marginalised. So, you have to understand the racial dynamics in South Africa, it is very much along a spectrum...so Coloured culture as a community sits in this strange place where they had a little bit, but not enough, and it creates a really repressive culture. So, the students that do speak out are actually the Black students, there is much more of a history of speaking truth to power, because when you are that marginalised and oppressed you can develop a resistance and speak up. (AC002)

As discussed, this quote speaks to how society and culture is reflected in higher education and shows that the ways in which people experience their place in their society can impact the way they experience and relate to their education. For decolonising to take place, it is argued that there needs to be space for critical engagement in education, that education should allow for empowerment, and that students should be enabled to reach what Freire terms a ‘critical consciousness’ which allows them , to engage in their society in a critical way (Freire, 1970, 1973, 1985).

For students studying at UWC, the level of critical engagement in class was not only dependent on race and culture, but also on what they were studying. Some students spoke about how critical engagement in class was not really encouraged and that more of a

'banking' system was used (Freire, 1970), in which knowledge was passed down from the lecturer to be accepted by the student.

no is my honest answer (students being free to give opinions in class), I think there is definitely a culture of people who struggle as a norm, I think we have a fairly traditional teaching system, high school system, where it is not the norm to be outspoken or critical or questioning, it is the norm to memorise, rote and repeat. (AC002)

This was not, however, the case for all the students. Some noted that the level of critical engagement was dependent on the lecturer and the content of the discussion. There was also recognition that some topics are particularly sensitive in South Africa, and it would be hard at times to express an opinion that may be perceived as controversial.

Yes and no (being free to express opinions), because some lecturers are willing to engage different opinions and different ideas, and some aren't, and you somehow learn to read the room as to the limits, because also it becomes very problematic when you have something unpopular to say and then you become branded as something else, instead of finding people who are willing to engage you on your point. It then becomes a thing of, you are attacking this particular situation, or you are just being angry and you are dismissed, they dismiss you and you become branded, so you learn to read the room, you learn to know which lecturers are willing to engage points of difference, in a very conducive way. I think that is a yes or no. (ST012)

The discipline the students were studying was mentioned as an important factor as to how much critically was encouraged.

Right now I am thinking of a particular moment in undergrad, when we had been given some readings and I had a comment in terms of its implications for indigenous people, and I remember the lecturer being so, like, enthusiastic about my interpretation, and this was a White man. I felt like, yeah there is room for me to express certain things. But maybe that is dependent on what lecturer you had. In terms of where I had positioned myself, I was in the humanities department, so I had sociology, and politics and all these kinds of progressive disciplines, so I think I was offered the opportunity to voice myself in a way that the environment allows it. (ST004)

When viewed through my theoretical framework, this quote is an example of the effect the space to be critical can have on a student and their sense of identity in their education. It also highlights the importance for students to be able to connect to the things that matter to them in their education, which speaks to the importance of education reflecting a person's identity and lived reality in order to be truly impactful (Illich, 1997, and the discussions in chapter 3). The importance the student places on the ability to voice their thoughts and divert from the rigidity of the curriculum is in keeping with the proposition of Illich (1997), that education is more impactful and meaningful when students are encouraged to learn in unstructured ways. This freedom for students to express different perspectives, knowledge and experiences is an integral part of a decolonised space, in that (as set out in my theoretical framework in chapter 3, section 3.6) it is allowing and recognising epistemological diversity (Walker, 2018). However, for this to be meaningful it needs to be a thread that runs through the education system, rather than being present in a particular circumstance. The following section will unpack the problematic nature of this freedom of expression being limited to the classroom.

6.4.2 Assessment backwash and meaningful change

This section highlights the frustration felt by many of the interviewed students at the lack of follow through of the criticality that was, as explored in the previous section, apparent in some of the teaching at UWC. The space that is given over to critical debate in class is not always encouraged in written work, nor recognised in the structures used to assess that work.

So yes, at UWC there is a space to do this critical work, but at the same time, in my discussion with international students, they found that UWCs marking and academic structure was basically very stifling it didn't have the sort of free association that was basically rewarded in the States, in terms of writing academic essays, where creativity was rewarded and marked. (ST011)

Where good practice in providing a critical space is not translated into the assessment model, the implication from a student perspective may be that creativity and criticality is not valued. This is referred to as 'assessment backwash' (Watkins, Dahlin & Ekholm, 2005), in that students will often take the cue on what and how to learn by what they perceive to be

the expectations of their assessment, rather than necessarily how they are taught. This asserts that however 'good' the teaching and the learning opportunities, if they do not align with the assessment, then they will not have an impact on student learning (Watkins et al., 2005). This demonstrates the importance of considering assessment design in the decolonisation process.

This consideration of the holistic education experience of students aligns with the global education policy that has led to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and has moved away from just focusing on access, to highlighting education quality (UNESCO, 2030, Unesco.org, 2017). I argue that quality education develops skills beyond those that are work specific, to include critical thinking, creativity, communication and conflict resolution. Furthermore, as discussed in chapter 3, if education is to represent the population and lessen social inequalities rather than reproduce them, education content and pedagogical methods need to be critical and empowering (King-Clanek, 2006). Freire (1985), argues that if students are given the tools to critically engage with situations of oppression they can reach a 'critical consciousness', which allows them to gain the clarity and confidence to contribute to the changes of their circumstances and provoke societal change (Freire, 1970). However, if, as in the case above, this critical engagement does not translate into the way in which students are assessed and given credit, it suggests there is a tokenistic aspect to this form of learning. This would suggest that to truly transform or decolonise education, the changes need to be systematic and meaningfully integrated into all aspects of students' educational experience.

Decolonisation has been a theme that is interwoven throughout this chapter; however, the following section will consider decolonisation in higher education through the case study of UWC more specifically.

6.5 Decolonising Higher Education

Although sections of the interviews were asking participants explicitly about decolonising, themes related to decolonising emerged throughout the conversations, which became apparent through my grounded analysis of the data. These themes are explored below and

include: **decolonising or transformation**, which highlights the nuances of the terminology; **the student voice**, which encapsulates discussion around the importance of the student voice in the classroom as well as the policy and planning of education; the **sweeping away of knowledge**, capturing the thoughts of students concerning the knowledge they are in receipt of; the section ends with a discussion of who controls the narrative and are the **custodians of the canon**.

6.5.1 Decolonising or transformation?

In the analysis of both the interview data and the grey literature it became apparent that the terms ‘decolonisation’ and ‘transformation’ are used interchangeably. For example, according to their ‘Principles and Guidelines for the Transformation and Renewal of the Curriculum at UWC’, the UWC transformation framework is part of a “commitment to curriculum change and [the] disruption of dominant cultural assumptions that privilege global North epistemologies”, and a key aim is to “facilitate meaningful curriculum change at UWC within the larger discourse of decolonisation”. This suggests that Transformation at UWC equates to an intention to decolonise. The term ‘transformation’ has been focused on reform, although this was criticised during the Fallist movement(s) (see chapter 2) as being focused on surface level change rather than meaningful shifts to disrupt the Eurocentric model (Nyamnjoh, 2017). Since the Fallist movement, there has been a shift towards the term ‘decolonisation’. With this in mind, it is interesting that UWC have chosen to maintain ‘transformation’ in the naming of their framework, despite the fact that the framework itself is heavily focused on decolonising (Nyamnjoh, 2022). This implies that there is still some preference or digestibility in the term ‘transformation’ rather than ‘decolonisation’. However, for the purpose of this research decolonisation will be the lens that I am using.

Decolonising education is a crucial consideration in the context of South Africa because education has been a key site of reproducing those dominant Western cultural ideas of knowing that have served to diminish or belittle the pan-Africanist vision (Tikly, 2019). My theoretical framework is informed by the work of Santos (2014) and Fanon, (1963) (see chapter 3, section 3.6), who in line with Tikly, argue the importance of giving credibility and value to non-Eurocentric experiences, highlighting the importance of allowing an opportunity for students to bring in their own narrative into education.

The following quote discusses the current groups in place at UWC that are concerned with transformation.

I mean we all have transformation committees, it is a word we use that is less threatening, transformation, so the document here says transformation and renewal of the curriculum. And decoloniality will certainly be embedded under that umbrella so, yes so decoloniality is not at the top it is transformation? ...We have a curriculum transformation framework, there is a section on decoloniality of power, knowledge and being, you know it is right there in the document, so these are definitely debates that we are having (AC001)

Here we see the nuance of the term 'transformation'. The aforementioned framework at UWC states that the concepts that form the framework are 'Decolonisation, decoloniality, transformation and Africanisation'; however, there is no clear definition of the differences between these terms in the framework.

It was also recognised that the energy and motivation around decolonising education was sometimes lacking due to other demands facing the academy.

What we find is that it (decolonising) is currently seen as an add on for a lot of lecturers, like it is just something else they need to add. We had to move online and tried to make virtual learning possible for communities that don't even have access to devices, and now there is another thing we want them to do. They feel like it is an add on and don't understand the importance of representation at least as something in higher education. I think once we get past that point, we will see a lot of buy in. I think it is just a barrier that has already been there (AC003)

We don't want to throw the baby out with the bathwater, but I just feel like, decolonisation is a very slow process, but we are also still emerging from the legacy of apartheid, so I think like there are so many problems sometimes that you have to prioritise, and what do you prioritise. (AC001)

These quotes highlight how the conflicting demands on the institution and the staff at UWC distract from the decolonial mission. This is particularly a problem for a historically disadvantaged institution that does not have the resources available to more advantaged

and privileged universities, yet arguably has a greater urgency to decolonise due to the nature of the student cohort and their lack of representation in the current higher education model.

The reluctance to decolonise education was also attributed to a fear that to move away from a Western education to one based more on African knowledge would lessen the efficacy of the education system and consequently have an economic impact.

For years we've been teaching students westernised medicine. Why all of a sudden must we have changed when we have very good doctors that came through the same system. So, and we have good physios who came after the same curriculum, so why must I change? (AC005)

This way of thinking is indicative of Esteva's ideas that global education trivialises non-Western understanding (Esteva, 2006). This is done through the discourse of education being a marketed tool that gives graduates social prestige and economic reward (Illich, 1997; Rahnema, 1997). The effect of this is two-fold, firstly, it creates higher education into a perceived marketable need (Illich, 1997; Rahnema, 1997), which then in turn diminishes the perceived importance of diverse ways of knowledge through a fear that they are not marketable or held to a standard imposed by colonialism (Esteva, 2006). The tension between what is the established and recognised way of knowing in formal education and non-Western knowledge, emerged repeatedly throughout my fieldwork. There was a real recognition of the importance of diverse knowledge, but this recognition often ran alongside a realisation that the path to socio-economic gain was through a formally recognised educational experience that resulted in a certificate which, in turn, would allow access to certain employment opportunities.

A further frustration for the staff at UWC with respect to the drive to decolonise was that there was sometimes pressure to transform without good reason.

Much of what we do...has always been decolonised... for lack of a better word, and I think that we use the word decolonisation to give a language to what we

do. And so when we say, you know, we need to decolonise our curriculum, we need to restructure, we need to transform for us, for me sometimes I think, but we've been doing this all the years. We take into account every student who comes from every walk of life at this institution, and we build it into our curriculum, we build it into the spaces we send our students into. And I mean, I work in Health Sciences, we have a community engagement platform. Our students go everywhere on the Cape Flats or in the Western Cape and even in other parts of the country. At the beginning I couldn't grasp what this decolonization was about, because we were actually doing it. (AC004)

It is worth noting here the difference between concepts of inclusivity, diversity, and inclusion in order to reflect on the initiatives currently happening at UWC. An inclusive curriculum has been defined as “...acknowledging the diversity within a learning environment. It would also include removing or at least minimising barriers that hinder learning and participation” (Morgan & Houghton, 2011). The examples of good practice identified in the quote above fit well under the inclusive definition. Arshad (2020) argues that decolonising education is a deepening of inclusive practices, which reinforces the importance of having inclusive practices in place. Once these practices have been instrumentalized, the institution can then move towards decolonising by “...involving a critical analysis of how colonial forms of knowledge, pedagogical strategies and research methodologies...have shaped what we know, what we recognise and how we reward such knowledge accordingly” (Arshad, 2020).

There was further recognition that, although the education at UWC is dominated by the Western canon, there are still ways that indigenous knowledge comes to the fore.

I think there is a big difference between indigenous knowledge and codified indigenous knowledge, written indigenous knowledge. I think a lot of the problem is that the indigenous knowledge is not written down, but, it does not mean it is not there...The knowledge that my students bring to class through generations of understanding is indigenous knowledge. I understand that as indigenous knowledge. But the textbooks we use to teach them are from dead White men, they are not indigenous knowledge, but it doesn't mean...that the reading we are given doesn't relate to the indigenous experiences of people.

An experience of a deliberative democratic practice is an experience of that, whether it was written down by a dead White man doesn't mean it has not been experienced in a different context. So it is a challenge, particularly for undergrad, that the most accessible writing, as in easy to process, thematically ordered, is in the textbooks and the common text that is written by dead White, or alive white men (AC002).

This extract highlights some of the complexities around the curriculum and some of the values that can be found in Western education. As with the previous quote, it also highlights the conflation of diversifying knowledge with the deeper concept of decolonising.

6.5.2 The student voice

Reference to the student voice is different to the aforementioned examples of students reactively opposing something (Quaglia & Corso, 2014), such as student protests explored in chapter 2, but rather students proactively participating in their learning (Quaglia & Corso, 2014). As explored above in section 6.4.1, this can only be a reality when the space is given in learning environments for students to speak their truth and interpretations whilst teachers or lecturers actively listen and incorporate this into the learning process (Quaglia & Corso, 2014). Through the grounded analysis of the interview data from the academic staff at UWC, the importance of the student voice emerged regarding the transformation of education at UWC. The literature explored in chapter 4 argues the importance of students actively shaping their education through having a genuine influence on educational research, policy, and reform (Cook-Sather, 2006). As well as encouraging student participation in planning, UWC is making attempts to decolonise the curriculum through the inclusion of diverse knowledge. When speaking with both staff and students at UWC it became clear that there are discussions and initiatives concerned with decolonisation that incorporate the students.

We try to include students in planning. So, when we plan modules, we include student body reps. So, for example the student leaders would be included in the planning in how the content is delivered and the assessment that comes with the content, but maybe not the content itself (AC003)

This initiative is in line with Freire's recommendations for education, in that it encourages conversations between students and teaching staff (see chapter 3), although, as students do

not get an input into the content, it does not go as far as providing an environment of co-learning (Freire, 1970). This demonstrates that UWC are open to elements of what would be considered decolonial practices, such as allowing space for student voices to be heard, which is particularly important when the student body is from a marginalised community.

I think there has been quite a strong attempt from UWC, in fact we have a workshop on Tuesday on how we can make sure we are incorporating indigenous knowledge systems and transform the curriculum (AC003).

Giroux (2006) argues that the inclusion of knowledge that represents students' heritage and identity is important. He proposes that knowledge taught should link to the experience students already have, that this is what makes education meaningful, and that by making education relevant, pedagogical practices have the potential to raise questions and expand the capacities of students to become critical and responsive social agents (Giroux, 2006). This again is an important aspect of opening up an education system and moving away from the more traditional Western models that have historically prioritised a Western experience. However, the importance of the student voice (as reflected above and discussed more widely in chapter 4) could arguably be tokenistic, in that the students get a rather superficial input, rather than a way to meaningfully contribute to the content or transformation of the education they receive. This is a particularly important finding for this research, as decolonisation is to disrupt the colonial power structures, however if the marginalised students do not have an authentic voice in the process can it still be considered to be decolonial?

6.5.3 The 'sweeping away' of knowledge.

Despite some academic staff at UWC highlighting the initiatives that contribute to decolonising education, the students that were interviewed wanted this to go further. This was particularly the case when considering the content of the curriculum.

South Africa has a very rich history but from primary to university, to some extent, mostly our knowledges are focused on Western knowledges, people view this this in a sense that, "oh we should be taught in indigenous languages" maybe this is not necessary, but teach us our history, teach us things about our people, because we can't say there was no life before colonisation, we also

cannot say there wasn't life of a different trajectory of lives being lived by those people during that time (ST001)

The syllabus was very Eurocentric, which is crazy, because even in an African context, right, you would think that you would be learning about just other things. So an example is when we were learning about history, about Kruger National Park, it's framed as this incredible park and then they mentioned that the person who was the first like warden...was nicknamed Skukuza. And then we just move on to the next thing. And I was like, wait a minute, because to me the words Skukuza...there's a similar word in Shona, which is like my own language...So when I looked up Skukuza, I saw that it means like sweeping away. It's because the guy came and kicked everyone out and cleared out the villages and communities that lived there and gated it. And that's why he was called Skukuza...it wasn't even really mentioned, it was just like. It's almost as if they weren't people there to begin with you know (ST005).

The students' experience of their education provides a very different narrative to that of the academics interviewed from UWC. This suggests the need for more dialogue between the staff and students to further understand the student needs and how they experience the content and delivery of the curriculum. In the context of this research, viewing this quote through the lens of my theoretical framework, it speaks to the heart of the reasons for decolonising, specifically how students benefit from having their history, culture and identity explored through their education (Wertsch, 2002). This quote also speaks to the need for contextual framing of the curriculum and aligned with Spivak's work (see chapter 3, section 3.3.1), the need for the decolonising process to include a critical look at how the content and certain narratives have been promoted and why (Spivak, 1988). As in many other contexts, the history of marginalised groups is being 'swept away' by a Western based curriculum, further marginalising and dismissing the students' identity and heritage. This process also resonates with the criticisms of the neoliberal and Human Capital Theorists approach to education, in that by solely focusing on employment and economic gain when considering academic content, the impact on culture and history are missed (Davis, 2003; Robeyns, 2006).

This finding of the ‘sweeping’ away of history and narratives reflects the importance and need of decolonising to ensure that histories are built on diverse narratives and do not simply reproduce the Eurocentric ideology. This section also aligned with the previous theme of the student voice, and the importance of allowing the students to inform the education they are engaged with to ensure it is appropriate for their culture, heritage and enhances, not deplete their capabilities. This section also highlights the need for opening space for critical reflection and dialogue (critical pedagogy), decolonisation is not simply increasing access for marginalised communities (although important), it is also about having a space in the classroom to genuinely learn together, a space that encourages curiosity and interrogation, such as criticality of where knowledge comes from and why. This not only expands both the students and teachers’ perspectives, but it also give student an agency over their learning. I contend, as my framework suggest, increases their capabilities through as Giroux, Freire and Illich argue (see chapter 3), recognising structural inequalities that surround them, students will increase their ‘critical consciousness’ and contribute to societal change (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 2014; Illich, 1997).

6.5.4 The custodians of the canon

This section emerged from the students’ reflections of the content of their curriculum and their recognition and observations that the Eurocentric education powerhouses still set the agenda for, and essentially are, ‘custodians of the canon’ (ST002).

In the interviews, some students expressed how they had intentionally tried to move away from the more accepted Western education content to explore their African heritage.

When you experience certain things, like you move towards African philosophy, which is basically considered like an indigenous knowledge system, and you are writing against the grain as it were. You hear things like, some ideas are more important than others. You hear those things like, anything that isn't scientifically related is not valid for knowledge production. You hear things like the university is in Africa, it is not of Africa, so in that there is a lot of epistemic denial going on about what people on the continent have introduced and

produced in the various ways into the sort of universe of knowledge that all of us are supposed to have equal access to (ST003).

This demonstrates the multiple effects of prioritising Western knowledge over African knowledges in the South African context. Not only does it mean that students cannot always see themselves in their education, but it also diminishes the efficacy of African scholarship and knowledge. Students at UWC acknowledged there were instances where African knowledge was incorporated into the curriculum, but there was also scepticism around the reality of decolonising given the source of the power for higher education agenda setting.

Yeah, change (referring to decolonising) is long overdue I would say, I honestly would say that, but also you have to look at who controls these institutions, we can say that universities are independent, but there is always money behind it, and people that put in the money, usually control the narrative, so yeah, we will see. (ST008)

There are basically people that are the custodians of the canon, people from Oxford or Cambridge for instance, whose opinion is highly respected in the academic world, and therefore when they have these passing opinions about things it matters. (ST002).

These reflections by students at UWC highlight how global higher education is influenced by the Western ‘power houses’ of higher education, and how this influence filters down onto other institutions. To be globally recognised, institutions must maintain or strive for a curriculum that adheres to these ‘custodians of the canon’, so that they are in a position to be able to provide students with a certificate that is transferable and internationally standardised, and which will then allow them to have access to certain opportunities. ST002 expressed how the ‘passing opinions’ of those with power translate into educational content to be followed by other ‘lesser’ institutions. A paradox of a kind is therefore created, in that in this research I have found that decolonising requires a very contextually informed process, but that to have currency and recognition, higher education institutions need to conform to a global setting that is still highly influenced by Western institutions. In other words, can higher education institutes decolonise while still remaining globally recognised?

The students also reflected that the inclusion of African knowledge was not always meaningful, and that Western thinking still dominates the education they experienced.

In terms of the curricula I experienced, it (the inclusion of African knowledge systems) was always an exceptional type of thing, like we are going to learn this main curriculum that is supposed to be the thing that is going to get you in the world, and you are going to learn and you are going to use. But, by the way, there are also African scholars that we should put in. So, you find there is one course that has links to African knowledge and African communities, or there is literally a semester or term when we are doing African philosophy. So then why aren't we then looking at the thing that you do regard as knowledge and hegemonic in the whole canon. (ST006)

This inclusion of African knowledge can be perceived as a step towards decolonising; however, when it is the exception then this kind of knowledge is still subservient and less important than the model of the Western curriculum. This was echoed by a former student at UCT that now works closely with indigenous communities in South Africa.

We've been through, as you know, Rhodes must fall at UCT. So, there's this big move to decolonise knowledge and there's been a lot of eruptions at the University of Cape Town. With a big emphasis to include African knowledge in the syllabus and I think that that's different to indigenous knowledge. I think because you get African ecosystems and there's a lot of case studies around that, but when it comes to like indigenous knowledge being included... I'm just trying to think back to my experience at university. I studied environmental science which was very much linking ecology and community, so community based natural resource management. And. I still think it's (indigenous knowledge and formal education) seen as separate. (IND003)

The implications of this are that African knowledge continues to be 'othered' in mainstream academia (Spivak, 1988) and considered to be in some ways naive and 'low down in the hierarchy' (Foucault, 1980, p.82). This section highlights the importance for decolonisation to be more than a tokenistic policy, but, as discussed in chapter 4, requires a meaningful inclusion of diverse knowledge and worldviews. I contend that epistemological diversity can allow for a meaningful hybridity and the inclusion of other ways of being, in this context that is a genuine Africanisation of knowledge. This is aligned with postcolonial thinkers such as Santos (2014), Santos argues the importance of bringing other knowledges into

conversation. To have a more Afrocentric knowledge system in South African universities would allow for a meaningful relationship between university and society (Walker, 2018). I argue that this would increase the capabilities of students through enabling them to make decisions based on what they value (Walker & Unterhalter, 2007), and allows the potential of students to materialise through the conscious expansion of choices, rather than the denial of agency (Andrew & Bawa, 2014). The following section addresses these ideas further through the student perspective.

6.5.5 Bringing together of Western and African

This section focuses further on bringing together of Western and African knowledge, which emerged from some students suggesting a critical dialogue between the two, conducted in a meaningful way.

Create a dialogue where you are not teaching students as one singular thing, which is Western but...let's put it in conversation with an indigenous knowledge practice or system. We can debate these things and see if they are merited or if there are links. As a tutor I had to constantly be confronted by students who are bringing text from the 1960s and 1950s and asking me if this is relevant and is it okay to cite an outdated source. I had to be yeah because it was prescribed. But why is it like this? Curiosity should be promoted more, and students should be taught to be critical in the first instance. (ST007)

This desire for a more varied and inclusion of African knowledge was shared by all the students that participated in this study. The above quote speaks of a meaningful hybridity, as discussed in the conclusion to the previous section, rather than a complete move away from Western knowledge. As well as calling for more epistemological openness (Santos, 2014), this quote is also concerned with the merits of a critical pedagogy, with the student arguing for the promotion of criticality and curiosity (ST007). Not only (as discussed above) is critical pedagogy a way to encourage societal engagement and change, it is also argued to be a way of breaking down barriers between staff and students and enable co-learning (Freire, 1970)

If you were in China, you would study Chinese philosophy, and then relate them to the major canon of Western philosophy in order to bring these different

philosophical ideas into conversation. But in our context, you only have one African philosophy course which is for one semester...It is basically something that you will do once or twice and then it will be on the periphery of the actual curriculum (ST009).

The concept of creating a hybrid education of sorts, is explored in chapter 4, and is seen to have value for students in that it enables them to be exposed to a narrative that runs counter to the dominant ideology and assimilation practices of mainstream Western education. Hybrid education offers the potential for students to resist colonising tendencies by developing politicised identities that are empowering both for themselves as individuals, and their communities (Pidgeon, 2008; Webb & Sepúlveda, 2020). In their work, Webb and Sepúlveda acknowledge that higher education in Chile focuses on human capital formation for a capitalist economy which may sit at odds with indigenous identity, but they discovered that students still found creative and agentic ways to establish meaningful connection with indigenous identities and political vindication (Webb & Sepúlveda, 2020).

However, there was also scepticism amongst some of my student interviewees around this idea of hybridity, particularly in relation to the ways in which space for African knowledge is given in mainstream education so as not to disrupt the Western canon.

It is specifically interesting in the South Africa context with Ubuntu, Ubuntu theory is everywhere, but the main reason why Ubuntu theory is espoused so often is because of its reconciliatory element. Had it not been a theory that espoused that kind of it is almost a stereotype of African reconciliation, and African humanity, accepting all of the hardship and still forgiving. I don't think it would have been accepted into the mainstream. (ST012)

This makes clear that decision-making with regard to what knowledge marginalised students are exposed to still rests in the hands of the privileged in power who set the education agenda. The above quote also speaks to tokenism and selectiveness in terms of what is 'palatable' to the western canon from African knowledge, and how it can potentially be co-opted to be able to say something is hybrid, when it is really only an add-on. Although the incorporation of any African knowledge appears to be a positive step towards a decolonised education, I align with postcolonialist thinkers such as Spivak and Fanon, in that if this is

done as a top-down initiative that does not have real substance, this is further marginalising knowledge as the discourse is still being set through a Western agenda. This mirrors the discussions in Chapter 3 about the development agenda, and Esteva's (2010) observations that if the power is still imbalanced any attempt to merge different ways of being is an attempt to make Western ideas plausible through adopting certain elements of other knowledges. What is clear from my data is that despite attempts to be more inclusive within the education system, in terms of access, viewed through the lens of postcolonial and post development theory, there is a long way to go in terms of genuinely finding ways to disrupt the Western canon sufficiently to make space for other knowledges to come into meaningful dialogue. Moreover, through a critical pedagogy lens, the unlearning and learning required, by both staff and students, to do this effectively, requires a commitment to opening spaces for critical reflection that can bring epistemological diversity into dialogue.

In this section I have brought to the fore a narrative from the student participants of a superficial inclusion of African knowledge that does not allow for any real disruption of the dominant Western discourse. Rather, it is perceived as something of a tick box exercise to appease calls for decolonisation. The findings have revealed a tension in the more meaningful engagement and Africanisation of the curriculum, in that universities in South Africa are part of a global higher education model that exists in an environment of league tables, where resources are allocated at least in part on the basis of performance against metrics that are constructed through a Western lens and judged by Western standards. Therefore, to be a viable, formal higher education systems are directed towards providing a certain expected, western-centric education. Although the call to decolonise institutions is gaining traction and global recognition, until this call is weighted more than the motivation to stay within the Western model, it will be hard to actualise in a meaningful way.

6.6 Purpose of higher education - the neoliberal and decolonising tension

The theme that re-emerges through this thesis is the tension between the neoliberal agenda and positioning of higher education, and the drive to decolonise higher education. This

tension came out through examining the context in chapter 2, in chapter 3 and the forming of the theoretical framework and the literature review in chapter 4. However, this tension was most prominent when examining my data through a grounded analysis. This tension came to the fore through students' desire for **education to 'open doors'** to greater socio-economic opportunities, whilst also advocating for a more meaningful exposure to a more contextual and Afrocentric education. There was an emergence in the data of a recognition of the benefits of a **globalised higher education**, however this is often perceived to be at odds with the desire of the students for a more **diverse curriculum**.

6.6.1 Education as the key to open doors

Despite the aforementioned desire from students for further decolonisation in their education, it is important to recognise the importance the students and their communities place on education being a vehicle for economic mobility.

It (education) is so important for me. I was raised to believe that it is the key to opening every single door that you want. I am actually one of the first people in my immediate family to pursue a master's degree. So, uhm, yeah, it's extremely important and I place a lot of value onto it (ST006).

...on my father's side, there was a demand for excellence. So, education at one point had always meant excellence and surpassing the norm and achieving above average, because if you didn't then that means you didn't stand to go anywhere with what you were doing...(ST011).

I would say, the shallowest one, it is a way out, a way out of poverty, but as I have grown older and got my degree and I have seen so many unemployed graduates, but it is a foot in the door, you can knock on the door, and some might answer, and some might not. But if you don't have education, it becomes very difficult for you to be in a position where doors might open for you. South Africa is one of the most unequal states in the world, and you need to fight and having formal education is a way of you making it out, or getting a better future, especially children who come from disadvantaged backgrounds and communities, it somehow becomes the only option in a way. (ST009).

According to Giroux (2014), the majority of education systems, including those in South Africa, function to prepare citizens for the neoliberal world by prioritising economic growth and employment. Students viewing education as a way out of poverty and the only option

for social mobility demonstrates that one of the primary functions of education is a means to achieve economic gain. Considering higher education, even at UWC, is not accessible to all, the implication is that it can further exacerbate inequalities (Unterhalter, 2019).

6.6.2 Globalisation versus contextual knowledge

Academic staff at UWC also recognised the tension between the drive to decolonise and the necessity to be competitive in the global education ranking systems that are based upon Western education standards.

I think institutional process and practice, you might speak about indigenous knowledge but then constantly you will get the news from the university, that oh we ranked in the top 200 universities according to this list. I am like well first of all who is ranking and what are they ranking us against, like what is the criteria, so you know we are all about yeah let's support indigenous knowledge but is that actually respect of their values or awarded on the global stage, all about being international and globalisation, so I think there are a lot of competing forces and competing interests. (AC001)

This quote really captures a tension that I identified through my research: that the importance of including diverse knowledge and of Africanising the curriculum was recognised, but that this rubbed up against the reality of the neoliberal demands facing the institution and the individual lives and needs of the students. It is also symptomatic of the earlier point, that the global nature of higher education and associated league tables create an expectation to reach a standard of 'excellence' that is dictated by a Western model of education.

Despite the driving force for many students to pursue higher education being economic, many students acknowledge how education has benefitted them in many other ways.

It has given me an outlet to conceptualise my thoughts and direct my energies to certain things...it has shaped emotional intelligence in a way, from the reading I have done. Being in South Africa it is so easy to be perceived as angry and reckless, but with education I have found necessary channels on

how to channel certain things and certain spaces and write what I think instead of me cursing at a lecturer, and saying accusatory things, it has shaped me in that sense, you can channel your thoughts in better ways and it impacts more people than just being angry all the time, and being frustrated and access proper channels.(ST001)

This demonstrates a real juxtaposition in receiving Western education, in that although this education is part of the structure of oppression, it has also helped the student find the language to express their frustrations in a more impactful way.

My goodness me, it has been the single most impactful thing that has happened in my life...when I came to UWC...I met a student movement that really cultivated me intellectually, and also, their engagements inside classrooms. Because I think the education at UWC is also quite interesting in that, there are certain lecturers that really have a commitment for allowing and encouraging you to think against the grain. And so those pockets of excellence, or what I call pockets of strength in relation to staying committed to the Working-Class foundations of the university. My experience at UWC has been the single most impactful thing in my whole entire life. (ST002)

It is worth noting that in the above quote from the interview with ST002, the student refers to the student movement as intellectually cultivating, rather than the content of the curriculum. This does suggest that UWC is an institution in which impactful informal spaces can grow.

A different student also recognised that education is significant both in enhancing their critical thinking, but also because it is viewed as the only way to access a different life:

So, there is a lot of pressure that education is vital and basically your only way out. And then I would say the more I get educated the more I realise how it's so vital beyond just getting a job, but in terms of how you think and exposing you to just so many different things. I see it is really important, not just getting out of poverty, but shaping who you are and your values and critical thinking and so forth. (ST012).

Here we have further demonstrated that, despite receiving an education that is not reflected in their culture and values, this Western education that is thought to have an assimilating function has also increased the capacity for students' critical thought. This also demonstrates that the economic/social mobility dimension that the students highlight, is not the only way they perceive higher education as providing for them, but that critical thinking is also key. However, this critical thinking has come through exposure to a Western education. This does not mean to say these same critical skills would not have been nurtured through a non-Western education, however it is interesting to consider that the critical lens in which many of the students refer, as in this thesis, are influenced by theorists accessed through the Western canon.

The students interviewed for this research were all concerned with the socio-economic gains attributed to attending higher education. Considering these students are from marginalised communities that have grown up in a higher unequal society, these concerns are valid. Similarly, the desire for a more Afro-centric content and a more decolonial approach to education expressed by the students is in keeping with many of the theories that have been influential in my theoretical framework and highlight the importance of education in meaningfully engaging with diverse knowledges that are relevant to a student's culture and traditions. I would argue that one need does not discount the other, but rather the mission to transform and decolonise higher education in South Africa needs to consider the positionality and reality of the students in receipt of that education.

The transformative nature of education will be explored further in the next section when considering the benefits and disadvantages students from historically marginalised communities face through attending higher education.

6.7 Challenges to attending higher education for students from a marginalised community

Despite the positive impact on economic and social mobility and the empowerment that students can feel by attending university identified in the previous section, there are some disadvantages for students from historically marginalised communities accessing higher education. The theme that emerged from the data was the challenges of expanding inclusion in an unequal society. This is explored below through discussions around how education can further expose marginalisation and the mirroring of society and education.

So, the disadvantages are basically what many of the student population and student body that comes to UWC all probably face. Which is financial exclusion, cultural exclusion, linguistic exclusion, those sorts of things. (ST011).

Attending higher education can further exacerbate feelings of marginalisation where a student is brought together with students from different socioeconomic backgrounds. This brings to mind the earlier discussion in this chapter around inclusion, and further demonstrates the tensions and complexities around expanding inclusion in education that is not mirrored in society. A further point related to inclusion in education in an unequal society is that the benefits of education are not always reflected in the experience of a student from a marginalised community. This is shown, by example, by the low rate of employment: a student may gain access to education but if there are no relevant employment opportunities after this could exacerbate economic inequalities further.

Not at all (same level of opportunity). I am not sure if you know, but South Africa has a really high unemployment rate, and it is even worse now amongst our graduates. I am sensitive to this because I struggled to find employment after completing my degree. And some of my counterparts that were in class with me from more privileged families, they could immediately just open a private practice in a nice building, and I had to get a master's to make sure I had a chance, so I needed to study further whereas they are thriving financially whereas I am struggling to make ends meet. The opportunities that come afterwards and the risks you can take are not the same. (AC003)

Analysing this quote through my theoretical lens and in particular the work of Sen (1992) and the capability approach, I argue that although the students from historically

marginalised communities are given more opportunities to access higher education through UWC, this does not mean they have the same opportunities of employment once they leave the institution. Indeed, what this highlights is the need to expand the opportunities available to marginalised communities beyond having access to higher education, and the importance of society supporting this.

A related problem is that often students from marginalised backgrounds have considerations and responsibilities beyond their education that they cannot afford to get outside help with. This could be caring for family members or needing to contribute financially to the family.

I think student retention is a problem, especially historically disadvantaged universities like UWC. So, if a student takes 5 or 6 years to complete their bachelor's degree when it should take 3, and they are accumulating debt and things like that, I don't know if at the end of the day they are going to be better off or worse for attending university. I don't know how useful education is in South Africa. (AC001)

The above quote ties into the previous section, in that there is a perception (based on an ingrained acceptance of Human capital theory) that in achieving a degree, there is then the potential to open doors and improve the capacity for earning. However, if this is not the case this could mean that the debt students incur isn't compensated for.

We are in what Santos calls a semi peripheral kind of country context, so we do have these kinds of infrastructure that represent high learning or high education of high civilisation, whatever you want to call it. But at the same time there are these contextual issues that have not been resolved. And they still remain unresolved, so they kind of coexist somehow side by side, and that is the kind of reality you experience. (ST008).

This returns to the question of how inclusive higher education can be if the society it is situated in is not inclusive. Viewing education through a Human Capitalist perspective, we might suggest that for many marginalised people in South Africa, education is not the best option financially, because the investment made by the individual into attending higher education is not returned through economic growth (Gillies, 2015). Despite the recognised

critiques of Human Capital Theory (see chapter 3), the interviews did demonstrate, however, that access to economic growth was a motivator in attending higher education. However, as the next quote signifies, socio-economic growth is not the only motivator in a more inclusive education.

*I don't only mean formal education I mean generally a culture of reading and knowing who you are, that is first point of education, as something that is special, not only to me, but to generally the South African psyche, given the fact that education was taken away, legally by apartheid and all of that, so it is something that appeals to me from the general in that sense, but also to the specific, I see no other way of getting South African society or even the world to be more equal, or less marginalised, the third world countries, the best way to be able to equalise the society is to educate as many people as possible.
(ST002)*

This section has further explored the complexities and challenges for marginalised communities accessing higher education. The potential of education to further exacerbate or expose inequalities and marginalisation has been reflected upon through an analysis of the data. The mirroring of society and education has once again been highlighted and the tensions this can create when trying to expand inclusion in education in an unequal society. These findings add to this research in that it reiterates the importance of contextual understanding when addressing decolonising and suggests a need for a consideration of the nuances of the needs and experiences of students and how these can inform a decolonising agenda.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter has explored and analysed the responses of interviews with UWC staff and students and has highlighted the complexities around decolonising higher education in South Africa. The tension between the neoliberal economic focus of education and the desire for the students to recognise more of their identity, culture and history in their education has emerged. Indigeneity is a contested and complex term in South Africa and the students interviewed had a range of ethnicities. However, they were all united in coming

from historically marginalised communities and many were the first members of their family to attend higher education. Chapter 4 spoke about what it is to decolonise and how these elements interplay with diverse ways of knowing such as indigenous knowledge that has often been disregarded in the colonial process. This lack of certainty as to what qualifies as indigenous in South Africa bleeds into what is considered indigenous knowledge.

Nevertheless, what did emerge through the interviews was a common desire for an Africanisation of their education system.

Attention was given to how the students experienced UWC, a so-called university of the Left. It was found that UWC had kept true to its social justice roots in many ways. This included a meaningful commitment to accessibility through implementing initiatives to help students to stay in education, and to enable the staff to have a genuine understanding of the hardships and barriers to learning the students may face. There was recognition of some efforts of critical engagement and some initiatives that were inclusive and recognised diversity. As explored in chapter 2, the level of critical pedagogy students engage with and the encouragement they receive to have these somewhat difficult conversations with both students and teachers is an opportunity to enable co-learning, and thereby give students the confidence to look at the daily reality and gain the confidence to try and change it (Freire, 1970). Despite this, the students often pointed to ways in which UWC could go further to Africanise the curriculum and which would allow real engagement and exposure to their history and ways of knowing.

The interviews further revealed that for the majority of the students, the main driver and motivation to attend higher education was for the socio and economic gains that are perceived as only accessible to them through education. This was where the tension occurring throughout my research re-emerged, that is, that there is a real desire for an education that is more relatable to African culture and heritage, yet there is also a real need that the education provided conforms to globally recognised conventions that give access to employment opportunities. The power associated with a transferable education is invariably Western-centric in nature. From this, I considered a form of hybrid education that would perhaps allow the students to have a more meaningful engagement with a more African inspired curriculum, yet still contain enough Western influence so that they would be able

to access the socio-economic gains that they sought. Through the grounded analysis of the data that has then informed this chapter, I would argue for the importance of the students having real agency to inform any agenda of transformation or decolonisation. The data analysis revealed many tensions and complexities facing students in South Africa from marginalised communities, therefore for education to serve these communities better, the change needs to be informed by the intended recipients of this education to ensure their needs, and how they interpret these needs, are being met.

Chapter 7: How do indigenous people in rural communities perceive their knowledge and its role in education?

7.1 Introduction

At the heart of this research is the experience of the participants, the majority of whom come from historically marginalised communities in South Africa. Some consider themselves to be indigenous, whereas others are more ambivalent about this term and prefer to be defined as coming from a historically marginalised community. As such, this chapter uses both terms depending upon the participant or community being referred to. This is indicative of the complexities surrounding the concept of indigeneity in South Africa (as explored more fully in chapter 2). As with the previous chapter, this chapter will be organised around the themes that were identified through my grounded analysis of the data. I then apply my theoretical framework (see *figure 1* below) to reflect and analyse extracts from the digital stories created by the Guriqua community, together with interviews conducted with staff and students attending UWC, and stakeholders working closely with indigenous communities in South Africa.

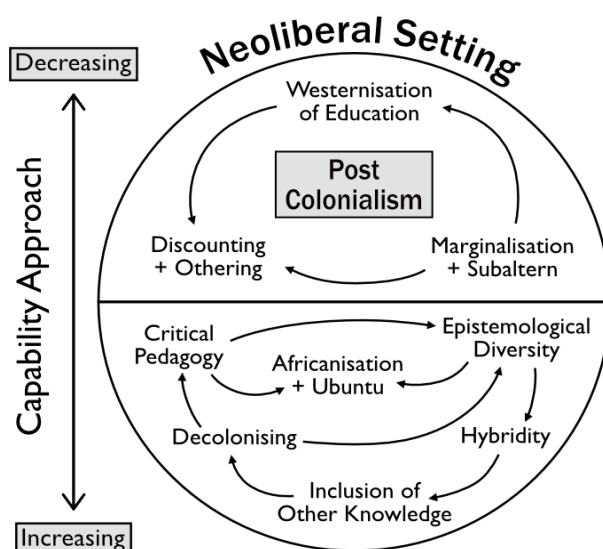


Figure 1 theoretical framework

The intention of this chapter is to answer the research question: ***How do historically marginalised communities perceive their knowledge?*** in the hope that this will contribute to a better understanding of how higher education in South Africa can be decolonised.

The themes that emerged through my grounded approach are: **'Duality of culture'** which is discussed and analysed through applying my theoretical framework, in particular ideas of hybridity presented in chapters 3 and 4; **'Disempowerment through exclusion'** emerged through stories from the indigenous communities expressing ways in which they have felt forced to adapt and abandon their ways of being; **'Lost knowledge and culture'** emerged, and ideas of hybridity are again applied to the data, along with postcolonial ideas of 'othering' and discounting, which allows a further understanding of ways in which decolonising education can respond to these experiences. The **'Whitewashing of histories'** emerged as a strong concern throughout the digital stories, with members of the Guriqua community going to great lengths to try and find links to their history and heritage that were forgotten and discounted in South African society. The theme **'Gender, tradition, and power - "I have a big conflict, in terms of dealing with my own tradition"'** emerged through the interviews with students at UWC that were caught in a tension between the traditional values and their more progressive views, in particular relating to gender. The chapter finishes by exploring the themes that emerged relating to how indigenous communities view their knowledge and experience the land. The two themes that emerged from the data were, **'Land as a living entity'** which highlights the non-Eurocentric way in which the Guriqua community relate to the land, and **'To keep their knowledge alive, they almost have to play the game and do things in a Western way'** this theme encapsulates the strategies and adaptations indigenous communities have made to sustain their ways of being. What also emerged from the data was how indigenous skills have benefited and educated Western people.

7.2 Contextualisation lived experience and marginalisation

This section will explore the themes that emerged from my grounded analysis concerned with the lived experiences of indigenous communities. This is an important consideration for

this research, as the role of higher education for marginalised communities in South Africa requires an understanding of how marginalisation is experienced. The themes that are examined in this section are **Duality of Culture, Disempowerment through exclusion, Lost knowledge and culture, White washing of history** and **Gender, tradition, and power.**

7.2.1 “Duality of Culture”

It is important to note that although this research includes participants from multiple communities within South Africa, indigenous or historically marginalised communities in the country do not form a homogenous group. They are communities that have different values, knowledge, and ways of being. A theme that emerged from the data was captured through the words of a participant, is that many participants expressed being “caught in two worlds” or existing in a “duality of culture” (ST004). When viewed through the lens of my theoretical framework this duality can be understood through the impacts of colonialism and postcolonial assertions of influence of this, but also relates to the ideas presented in chapters 3 and 4 on hybridity. One of the sentiments expressed by numerous participants, including many of the students at UWC, the members of Guriqua community and the people working closely with the indigenous communities, is a strong sense of family and community.

I'd say that it's basically the Ubuntu principle where you are your child, and I will look after your kid if you need me. Strong family values (ST006).

This sentiment refers to the philosophy of Ubuntu, Ubuntu is a sense of community, an African philosophy of human kindness that teaches each individual’s humanity is ideally expressed in relationship with others (Piper, 2015). Ubuntu is built upon the African tradition that a person is not just an individual, but a being who is inseparable from their community (Beets, 2011). This is an important concept in my research, in that the philosophy of Ubuntu conceptualises education as a self-critical model, the purpose of which is to explore ideas, discarding those that no longer serve the purpose of the community within which it operates (Piper, 2016). This suggests that the education a person receives should be relevant to how a person lives, which is in contrast to the current Western education system on offer in universities in South Africa.

A further commonality that emerged from my research data is an appreciation of Christian values and African traditions.

So, the values (of the community) are very Christian. Like very kind of fundamental Christian, but also very cultural. So, in terms of the really valued African cultures like traditions and so forth. And my background is very similar to a lot of people in South Africa, like I have a lot of friends who we bond over just the similarities of how our lives are so similar and we have grown up in the same household. It's so, it's really familiar (ST005).

Although South Africa is a secular state and not all the participants refer to religion, the theme of Christian values is present in many of the participants' upbringing. This is often coupled with strong 'African values', presented as values of family and community, a sense of hospitality and good relations with other members of the community, respect for elders of the family and authority figures in the community. However, there is evidence for division in some families on the value of African heritage and tradition, with some community members expressing admiration for modernity.

I think I have to start off by saying that I put myself aside in terms of how everyone else understands our heritage or our custom or our culture. I think I am a very Afrocentric person in comparison to them...quite often in my community, like the people around me just generally have the idea that modernity is what is prized, and traditional customs and norms are outdated, and you should toss them aside. But you do find people within my family that do embrace these things. But these tend to be people of a particular income group. For instance, on my mother's side people are poorer...they are more prone to say "I went to consult a traditional healer" my uncle is actually a traditional healer, he is on my mother's side. But on my dad's side it is more modern, and everyone is more into the "modern" way of living, as opposed to tradition and cultural customs and things like that. (ST010).

A common observation made by interviewees is that, even within a community not all ideas and experiences are homogeneous, and this extract illustrates that not everyone within more rural communities values their traditional ways of knowing. In fact some research participants prefer more modern or Western ways of living and view the traditional methods as outdated. In part, this view appears to derive from the rhetoric around Western culture being 'modern', whilst more

traditional ways of knowing being 'backward' or outdated (Escobar, 1997). Even the term 'traditional' could suggest values that are not relevant in the modern day. However, this could allude to a hybridity of culture, as explored in chapters 3 and 4, hybridity is referred to in two ways in this thesis. The first, is the more critical view of hybridity, that is it the tokenistic inclusion of alternatives in society or education (Kraidy, 2002). The second, is a more meaningful hybridity, that Bhabha (1994) argues demonstrates the resilience of the subaltern to create something new, moving beyond imperial contamination. The quote above suggests that the Afrocentric values the participant is referring to are often belittled by others in their community, suggesting that any hybridity that is present is justifying modernity rather than being meaningfully intercultural.

I think when it comes to the modern side, my dad and my dad's side of the family refuse to understand spirituality and things that I find are actually needed for the world, you need to be spiritual in order to be above a lot of the nonsense that is happening in our reality...I am not particularly the most religious person or the most culturally in tune person, but I know that there is a merit in divorcing yourself from modernity that people fail to understand. At the end of the day, we can clearly see that modernity should not be praised as much as it is. For me, taking a step back and revisiting culture, would actually allow people to re envision their reality and say okay. Certain customs for example, might actually work for a particular context, they may actually provide a remedy for certain issues that are present in modernity, so on that side I see that the ability to move away from modernity and think of the past, as opposed to be very very presentist and future orientated which most modern people think, and that is the idea of just being a capitalist for instance. (ST004)

Respect for, and interest in, the spirituality and traditions of their community emerged as a common theme amongst the majority of the students I interviewed. This occasionally (as above) stood in contrast to the views of some people of the older generation. It appears that the absence of local cultural traditions and values in the education system provided a spark for this interest, in some cases resulting in a deep fascination and respect for community culture and values amongst the students. Indeed, several expressed a dissatisfaction with the influence of neoliberalism on their educational experience, particularly in that it does not allow space for the exploration of culture in a meaningful way. Again, this speaks to a dissatisfaction from the participant at the level

of consideration and respect that their culture is receiving, emphasising the uneven influence and a perhaps, tokenistic hybridity of culture that is existing in South Africa.

The complexity of the culture, politics and history of South Africa was also evident when speaking about the values of historically marginalised communities.

My mum is the one who is the more traditional, but the funny thing with her is that the same time she is caught up in desperate housewife suburbia, so she still has this weird duality of cultural...like she wants to slaughter animals in the yard...but we are in the suburbs, she is caught in two world that doesn't really make sense. Even though she is a church going woman and goes to church and is very religious and is a leader in the church, but at the same time her beliefs their conflict with some of the cultural beliefs we have traditional, which is like a praising of ancestors, if you think of the bible, you are not supposed to idealise any other gods except the Lord Jesus Christ. So, she is in conflict all the time, I guess that is the neurosis that comes with being like an indigenous South African - if that is even a thing and being part of a modern world. (ST004).

The importance of understanding the values and experiences of marginalised communities was emphasised at the start of this chapter. However, the above quote illustrates complexity around how to define oneself when the values of the community are conflicted and competing ideologies coexist. This desire by some to inhabit a place that is framed by both their cultural values and a more Western influence, is a common thread throughout my research and may suggest that a more meaningful hybrid approach to decolonising education in South Africa is appropriate and realistic. This quote also highlights a very complex context, with an expression of 'layered' and 'intersecting' hybridity emerging from the data, and that in fact some of the participants in this research are in a sense hybrid, in that they are caught between tradition and modernity, Africa and the West and even a tribal version of Africa and Pan-Africanism. This hybridity is emphasised in the following quote from a student, demonstrating the difference in priority when thinking about how they understand their African identity.

Because on one side I am an African Tribalist, if that's what you want to call it. And then he [her partner] has a very Pan African understanding of Blackness - so when you merge the two, it comes in conflict because then it is like okay but there is this critique that I constantly have to give to him that no, no, no can we

be a bit locally centred because we need to understand the issues here first, can you understand the culture here first. Because that culture is not understood and it is under-written, (ST012).

Although complex, this hybridity of identity that was found in the above quotes, is not a new concept when considering the role of indigenous knowledge in education. As highlighted in chapter 4, Webb and Sepúlveda (2020) explore the role indigenous students play in renegotiating their participation in higher education, arguing that marginalised and hybrid identities can enable forms of resistance and the generation of counter-narratives to dominant ideologies and assimilating practices. They focus on the way ethnic minority youth re-signify curricular content and resist colonising tendencies by developing politicised identities that are empowering both for themselves as individuals, and their communities (Webb & Sepúlveda, 2020). This could suggest that rather than reversing the effects of colonialism, maybe a new way forward that encapsulates this hybrid identity is worth exploring.

7.2.2 Disempowerment through exclusion

This section explores what emerged from the data in relation to how the research participants and their communities have experienced marginalisation, and what societal, political, and structural factors have exacerbated this. To be marginalised is to be placed in a position of little or no importance, influence, or power. An understanding of the ways in which people and communities in South Africa are marginalised is important when considering the role education can play in exacerbating marginalisation, as well as the potential of education to confront and lessen the factors that contribute to marginalisation.

An important reality captured through the interviews is the many barriers facing historically marginalised communities trying to achieve and access opportunities in South African society.

Well, yes, (values carried from indigenous community) a really good work ethic that was always, you know, be a hard worker. Uh, another thing was that because you're black, you're gonna have to work like three times as hard and get half of the recognition, and so forth. And oh, my goodness, so, so that also is like a lot of pressure and it's frustrating, but it was so true. You know, it's just one of those things where you're like, I hope it's not like that, but then it does

end up being like that because you kind of expected it. It's less, less traumatic, but it's still really hard. (ST004).

Although having a good work ethic is perceived as a positive value of this participant's community, it also highlights frustrations with, and the resentments caused by, societal inequality. This experience is reflected in the work of Sen (1993) and Gandin (2006) on the capability approach and the subaltern. As examined in chapter 3, the term subaltern is used to describe those in society who are socially and politically subordinate to the hegemonic power, and in positions of disempowerment (Gramsci, 2006). The notion of disempowerment is a key theme in the research data and is significant given the potential for education to either exacerbate or alleviate societal inequalities (see here the discussion of Bush and Salterelli's (2000) two faces of education in chapter 4). To fully explore the content and potential of the education experienced by the student participants, first the barriers to societal inclusion and empowerment need to be understood. The capability approach is concerned with the opportunities and potential that people have to make choices; it is not just concerned with the resource a person has, but if the person has capacity to make use of that resource (Sen, 1993; Walker, 2018). The above quote by student ST004 indicates that they do not feel they have the same capabilities as the more privileged groups in their society.

Student ST005 had a similar experience to that expressed above. They spoke through their interview about how the exploration and understanding of nature in an academic setting was not seen as something for Black people, and that their relationship with nature was restricted to a non-academic understanding.

Yeah, so it's, it was this incredible environment and I really wanted to study nature, but it was never seen as an option when they were presented as an option. And so, I always kind of thought, well, this is not for me ... So, I actually gave up on it completely 'cause I didn't think it was something that I could do ... it is very limited. Particularly if you are black...something that I was told I couldn't be and ... I couldn't do that 'cause they're like basically, what I was told was nature is for White people. (ST005).

When viewed through the lens of my theoretical framework, this again aligns with the capabilities approach in that student ST005 felt that they “did not have the ability to reach valuable states of being” (Sen, 1993, p. 30). This demonstrates clearly that a very real barrier for this student is that in South Africa, race and prevailing structural inequalities dictate what is deemed appropriate for a person to access or aspire to, and that the perceived limitations in education are serving to lessen marginalised communities’ capabilities. The student went on to elaborate on their frustrations.

But you're living in this incredible environment, like a giant waterfall with beautiful nature all over, and knowing that, Uhm. Well, that's not for you. It was made easy to kind of internalise that because I didn't really see anyone who looked like me doing, you know, studying nature or whatever. And as far as I knew, the only thing that I could potentially be maybe, like a game Ranger. But my interest was more intellectual, it was out of curiosity...But again I was told no, that's not, that's not for us...It frustrated me because I did end up taking Biology and stuff later on for like A levels and I remember being told that. Uh, you can only be a teacher. (ST005)

For student ST005, this extract demonstrates that seeing people from their race and community in roles and positions they aspire to, is important in breaking through the narrative that certain opportunities are out of reach. This lack of inspiring role models compounds a sense that only certain routes are open to Black people in the education system in South Africa. It also suggests that not only is it important to see one's identity in the content of education, but to break through the structural inequalities more Black people need to be able to access roles they were previously excluded from. This implies that the critique levelled at attempts to increase access to education and employment by post development theorists, overlooks the possibility that this kind of activity may still be important when it is included in a more meaningful agenda to decolonise. That said, it is also important to note that an aspiration to increase access to roles that were previously seen as White in South Africa could still be seen as aligning to, and promoting, a value and status system focused upon Western-centric structures. Although the denial of these roles to certain groups in society is still not admissible, even if it is not aligned with their culture. This again, highlights a tension that has appeared throughout my field work, specifically that the Western dominance of education and society in South Africa, and the embedded presence of neoliberalism, conflicts with the decolonising agenda, whilst simultaneously framing and contributing to the aspirations of the individuals who live within it.

A further finding that emerged from the interviews is that the structural inequalities engulfing marginalised communities are forcing a shift away from community culture and ways of knowing.

What's important to emphasise is that they (the historically marginalised communities) are being overwhelmed by the social, economic, and political forces that are beyond their control. And unless they adapt to these forces, their knowledge will die out. There is no choice in that method. So, they have to adapt. (IND001)

This quote is part of a conversation around how some indigenous communities that are very embedded in traditional ways of being, are finding that they are unable to live well in a so-called modern world unless they engage with it to some extent. This demonstrates the lack of choice that then further marginalises communities that are existing in a society that is no longer valuing their skill set. It highlights how certain knowledge can be prioritised over other knowledges, diminishing their credibility and threatening their continued existence. This can result in communities coming to view their knowledge as 'lesser', or existing in a society that does not reflect their identity and culture. The importance of a community knowledge relates to the work of postcolonialism that forms part of my theoretical framing, for example, Fricker (2015) argues of the importance of being able to contribute to the 'pool of knowledge', and that the recognition of one's identity in knowledge is vital to ensure 'human flourishing' (Fricker, 2015). Preserving knowledge is important to ensure that the wisdom of a community is transmitted from one generation to the next, thereby allowing young people to actively participate in and develop their community (Nyerere, 1967). In the quote above, the member of the indigenous community feels that many of the younger generation within that particular community are reluctant to engage with their indigenous knowledge because it does not directly allow them to earn the money they want in order to be able to engage fully in society. This is concerning for the elders in the community who feel that their knowledge is important and relevant for the sustainability of the land which they inhabit. The quote also speaks of a community with no power, where economics and politics are beyond reach, putting members of that community into the position of the Subaltern (Gandin, 2006).

They said to me, they want me to only speak English because they need to learn English to get jobs. That's just of survival value to them. And so, since then I've only spoken English to them. Because that's what they need (IND004).

Here we see that not only are communities having to adapt their ways of living on the land, but they are also abandoning parts of their identity and heritage to ensure their economic survival. This implies they are existing within a society that is not inclusive to their culture and ways of being. Inclusivity is an aspiration of many education systems and is recognised as a global standard in SDG4. Through first examining the lack of inclusivity these communities are facing within their society, it is possible to reflect on the efficacy of the education they are receiving in trying to dismantle the barriers to inclusiveness.

7.2.3 Lost knowledge and culture

I will now move on to consider some of the exclusions that the marginalised communities in my research face due to reforms that have been overtly focused on reducing their rights. Rather than the barriers discussed above, these reforms are clearly targeted at taking power from communities. (I am not trying to say that the prejudice and discrimination evident in the earlier quotes do not represent a taking of power, rather that this was indirect, or covert). Through the analysis of the data, it became clear that the removal of land rights from rural communities has resulted in lost knowledge and culture. The storytellers referred to the removal of land rights to encompass the taking away of ownership of land, restricting of sacred and cultural activities on land and also preventing access to land that was of cultural significance.

They (the historically marginalised community) struggle to survive as hunter gatherers 'cause while that numbers have been decimated by veterinary fences and overhunting, and also by safari hunters and cattle encouragement and. There's a whole range of socio political and economic historical trends since the 1950s that have sort of excluded them from their land. They no longer have land rights itself, and so on (IND005).

The UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples states that “indigenous people have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for exercising their right to develop” (article 23). Education provides an opportunity to enhance rural and sustainable skills (Esteva,

2007). In Chapter 3 I highlighted that rural skills are vital for a sustainable community (Esteva, 2007; Nyerere, 1967). However, the Western education that the majority of students are exposed to in South Africa is concerned with the development of skills that are aligned to the demands of urban living. Education also provides a means to allow students to understand and engage more fully in their rights; it can allow critical engagement and it can encourage critical thinking citizens that are able to participate fully in political life (Nyerere, 1967). Both these benefits of education would be of value to communities who wish to engage more fully with the land, and also who need the resources to engage fully in political life to ensure their rights are adhered to. When viewed through my theoretical lens, it is clear that the form of hybridity experienced here is favouring the Western culture and values of education above the more rural skills that derive from African ways of knowing and contributing to a sustainable community.

The data analysis revealed restriction around movement through rural areas and land is a feature of the digital stories created by the Guriqua community.



Where we used fetched wood for the fireplace, we are not allowed to do that anymore, and our fireplaces in the fields became mere history spots, where we can only observe how we used to live (DS001).

Restricting these important practices, which are often not just examples of traditional activity but integral to a community's identity, is seen as having a very negative impact. As my framework contends, it marginalises a community's culture and identity through 'othering'. Fanon describes othering as an effect of colonialism and racism that has meant identities have been reduced to a

being-for-other (Fanon cited in Walker, 2018). We might infer from this that to decolonise higher education in South Africa, there needs to be a more meaningful reconceptualisation of what decolonising means beyond simply including more African knowledge in education. This reconceptualisation needs to consider the power surrounding access to the rights of the historically marginalised communities.

The digital story, DS001, did recognise that there have been some traditions restored to rural communities since the end of apartheid.

There's a certain time of the year where we go to the mountain for seven days, to practise our culture and traditions, which our parents were not allowed to do, because of the apartheid system, and the oppressing of our cultural practices. On the last day of our journey, we gather herbs and spices, which became part of our economic practices, by preparing and selling it. The preparation is done by our women and youth, which included the making of chains with beads (DS001.)

This quote demonstrates the complexity of the marginalisation and oppression felt by these communities in South Africa. It also alludes to some hope following the return of some rights since apartheid. However, the following extract from the same digital story is less optimistic.

The requirements for us to be recognized as a cultural community by government, is way out of our reach, as we are aware of the long term destruction of our cultures, and we were not allowed to practise for many hundreds of years, which this current government of South Africa are aware of, but fail to recognize...In our constitution, provision is made for the recognition and the development of our cultures, but now we are subjected to marginalisation of our cultures, just like in the apartheid, where we were not allowed to practise, and because of that, we are now struggling to raise awareness of our cultures (DS001).

The frustration expressed by the storyteller is echoed throughout my research findings, encapsulating a sense of futility and anger that marginalisation is still prevalent, despite a prevailing narrative that portrays a policy agenda in favour of marginalised communities, again pointing to the aforementioned tokenistic hybridity evident in South African society. These views are also expressed in the previous chapter (chapter 6) by students attending UWC. Again, there appears to be policies in place, but the lived experience of those marginalised communities is that they are not having sufficient impact. Clearly, for marginalised communities to move from the subaltern position, they need to feel they are listened to and that their culture is recognised, and their capabilities increased. This also, as above, recognises the historical layers of marginalisation that the communities have experienced from the imposed disconnect from their heritage, and it demonstrates the importance of heritage to the communities participating in this research.



However, when I asked the question (where are you from), few mentions were made of our indigenous heritage. People didn't want us to be called 'Huttentot', 'Boesman', 'Yam', 'Oorlams', 'Khoe Khoe'. Everyone preferred the term 'coloured', which was of course done by the Europeans. To call myself a term like that would not sit with my ideology. To call myself a 'coloured', I would be living a lie. (DS009)

This photo and attached quote capture the essence of this research participant's story, in particular the frustration felt by the European imposed changes to their culture that has impacted their identity and community. There is a real desire to reclaim their heritage in a very communal way. This suggests that for the Guriqua community to feel less marginalised there needs to be both a decolonising of, and recognition of the importance of, the language surrounding their

culture and heritage. The photo conveys a real impression of community and shared identity at the end of the digital story, leaving a sense of defiance in the face of colonial oppression.

The impact felt by the removal of land rights and forced migration is evident in more than one story.

The 1960s was a very difficult period for our fishing community as we were forced to leave our homes in Klippiesdorp. Our houses were then demolished. (DS005)

Some of the digital stories feature communities that have been disbanded. The postcolonial work on othering (Fanon, 2008; Spivak, 1988), that forms an important part of my theoretical framework, came through here from my grounded analysis. For example, the sense of marginalisation and othering that this disbandment caused has heightened feelings of frustration. One aspect of decolonising highlighted in Chapter 4.2.1 is the repatriation of indigenous land, with Tuck and Yang (2012) arguing that “decolonising is not a metaphor”, meaning that repatriation is a tangible indication of decolonisation, rather than it only being a reconceptualising of education. Universities can support decolonisation by elevating ways of living and knowing that have been marginalised by colonisation (Gebrial, 2018). Indeed, this is why the storytellers’ experiences of how forced migrations have disrupted community and knowledge production are important to this research.

The impact of marginalisation is further unveiled in an interview with a researcher working with a Khoi community on the border of South Africa.

So, their life is hard and I think they could change if their (indigenous community) knowledge was recognised, and if their cultural background was more respected. I think they would feel better about their lives, it's really tough out there, they're losing their knowledge. You know, they're a lot more sedentary, the Khoi's in particular were historically nomadic, now they live in settled communities, in villages, which is very different to how they used to live. So that is a factor and they've had to change their livelihood strategies. So instead of moving through the fields and hunting, hunting was denied, they

were stopped from hunting wild animals. There's been a lot of restrictions on what they were allowed to do in the park, and I think that they're really negative about that. (IND002)

This illustrates how the Khoi community has been systematically marginalised through land restriction and a suppression of traditional ways of living. It also shows how recognition of community knowledge and culture is not just important for sustaining ways of knowing and living, but also how it is also instrumental in embedding the respect for identity that can impact upon how a person experiences their society. When viewed through my theoretical framework (*figure 1*), the participation assertion that if their culture was respected the indigenous community would feel better about themselves, demonstrates the strength of the discounting and 'othering' (Fanon, 2008; Spivak, 1988), that is experienced when culture and ways of being are diminished and seen as unimportant to the wider society. This is a clear area that education could work towards creating meaningful hybridity and increasing capabilities, through the inclusion of diverse knowledge throughout the curriculum.

The next quote speaks to the importance of land that many of the indigenous participants alluded to, and how it is intrinsically linked to identity.

If we look at you know communities across South Africa that have been removed from where they're originally from so that's it's turning your identity from where you're from and if we speak about values of communities, it's always linked to land for me. And that, you know, that tearing almost from the land obviously also did something to identity. (IND003)

Identity can be framed and defined in different ways. In the context of this research, I am referring to social identities (which are based on the knowledge that one is a member of a group), one's feeling around group membership, and the knowledge of the group's status compared to other groups (Leary & Tangney, 2011). If a group has their rights restricted and culture dismissed their sense of belonging and identity will be negatively affected. When considering this through my theoretical framework, this restriction and dismissal can be seen to further reinforce oppression

(and limit capabilities) by being non-inclusive to marginalised subaltern groups and by undermining their culture and heritage (Asgharzadeh, 2008).

The following section will explore the importance of history and heritage to the marginalised community members that participated in this research. The impact of the 'whitewashing' of histories and prioritising of certain historical narratives is explored.

7.2.4 The 'Whitewashing' of histories

A powerful thread running through many of the digital stories is the sense of importance of community history among the storytellers. However, in many cases these histories had to be sought out and researched because they are not easily accessible to the communities. In this section I will show how some of the digital stories throw light on how the societal disregard of their histories has impacted upon the storytellers in my research.

Preservation of history is a key way by which identity is constructed, and contributes to how collective memory is formed and communities are shaped (Anderson, 1991). History is a way in which people create a narrative of self, other and the context in which they live (Paulson, 2015). If a history of a community is denied, neglected, or belittled as "backwards" or "traditional", the community can become "othered" and negative stereotyping can occur (Esteva, 2007). The emphasis that the storytellers placed on rediscovering and reconnecting to their cultural heritage led me, through the lens of my theoretical framework, to consider the importance of cultural identity, and what it means to live in a society that has Western identities enforced upon them through an education shaped by a Western history bias. Research in cultural psychology identifies a link between the history narrative people are exposed to and their identity formation in that history provides a framework for social and cultural concepts to develop (Wertsch, 2002). This not only reinforces how historical narratives can form an individual's identity (aligning to the work of Paulson referenced above), but it also implies that the historical narrative a person is exposed to through education will contribute to how they view community and culture (Carretero, 2011). Historical content and the value placed on one narrative over another, or the positive value placed on the predominant social group and the rejection of dismissal of other groups (Carretero, 2011), will not only exacerbate marginalisation but can also be the source of this marginalisation. This

aligned with the work of Spivak (which forms an important part of my theoretical framework), in that Spivak argues that the power relations generated from the dominant groups allow certain narratives to be turned into discourse and others to be rejected (Spivak, 1988). In this light, the following extracts from the digital stories help us understand the marginalisation of the Guriqua community in South Africa.

The image below is part of a story entitled “*A Bushman in modern day South Africa*” in which the teller explains how their community’s cultural practices and traditions have been restricted and forgotten, but also how there is a renewed interest in these cultural practices and a desire to rediscover their histories.



In that cave, you will find Bushman paintings/drawings, but it's overwritten with modern paint, and very little people are aware of it, or don't want to go there, out of fear for victimisation by the White settlers still settling there. (DS001).

Here we see that the paintings and drawings from the narrator’s heritage have been “overwritten with modern paint”. This speaks to how Colonialism and Apartheid served to shift the narrative to discredit indigenous and Afro-centric histories. Beyond the covering up of indigenous history, the image and accompanying quote are intimate at the restrictions individuals feel around visiting the site due to “fear of victimisation by the White settlers”. This is a stark reminder of how the legacies of colonisation shaped land ownership and access in South Africa, and how this discounted and marginalised some communities in South Africa, this also offers a clear

opportunity for universities to encourage projects and work with communities to restore and protect such paintings, and perhaps in the process, recognise the value of such artefacts. As previously mentioned, for this to be meaningful it would ideally be driven by community members.



As a kid, me and my friends could swim in the Jakkals River, we played in the fields, and we used to gather “Hotnots-kool” and wild figs. Today, we are not allowed to go into the fields, or to swim in the river, because the farmers built big dams inside the river, and the entrances into the field are fenced (DS001)

The image above highlights more of the restrictions that have been put in place over time, highlighting how land reform

and ownership has significantly changed the way the communities live (as discussed in Chapter 2). Such reforms contributed to the marginalisation of communities in a way that not only affected their ways of being, but also, as claimed in the work of Spivak, Fanon and Santos, served to “other” them and discredit them in society. It has been argued in this thesis that education has the capacity to exacerbate inequalities, or lessen them (Bush & Santerelli, 2000). However, there is also an argument that society and education are so linked that for sustainable change they need to evolve at similar rates, albeit through one influencing the other (Davies, 2005). This is an example of how a change in societal rights could help to lessen the marginalisation of communities, and this could be further supported by education on the cultural practices of these communities.

Through reading, listening, and deducing, I realised I was living a lie...the question most people in my community struggle to answer, and sometimes even leaves a bad taste in their mouth, is where do they come from? ...Whitewashing is prevalent in most 'Western societies', and whether I consider us to be part of a 'Western society', well that's still up for debate. However, it was clear, even my own history was whitewashed (DS009).



DS009 is focused on the effects of colonialism and apartheid on changing the culture, identity, and histories of indigenous communities. This part of the story is highlighting what the teller describes as the ‘whitewashing’ of indigenous communities’ histories. The narrator was very keen to understand their history and reconnect with the land that had been part of his community’s heritage (as seen in the photo above). Whitewashed history leaves out minority and marginalised communities or hides the truth to make historical situations more palatable. This omission of histories can be done to legitimise the way society is arranged, prioritising a group as their histories and issues being important whilst others are forgotten (Chigudu, 2020). Furthermore, as discussed when setting out my theoretical framing in chapter 2, the discounting of the culture of a community not only serves to ‘other;’ that community, but it also contributes to the perceived superiority of the group in power Spivak, 1988; Fanon, 2008). A way proposed in my framework to counter this would be to invite a more critical perspective on the history narrative that is privileged in education in South Africa.

However, when I asked the question (where are you from), few mentions were made of our indigenous heritage (DS009).

This is a quote from the same story and refers to the reluctance of some people in the community to recognise their indigenous heritage due to the fact their identity has been discredited and belittled throughout history. In essence, this aligns with the work of Fanon (2008) who argues that colonialism has had an othering effect on identities. It also speaks to the work of post-development theorists who argue that Western values being spread first through colonialism, and

then Western dominated development, has portrayed traditional and rural communities as 'inferior' (Escobar, 1997), 'underdeveloped' (Rahnema, 1970) and 'backwards' (Ziai, 2007).



Our first stop was the old Barracks, we call the Kasarm. She learned that her great-great grandmother lived there with all her 10 kids. Before "Ma Toll" lived there it was occupied by soldiers from 1899. It was called Soldate Pos but now it is mostly in ruins and occupied by vagrants. From there we walked down to Windhoek. (DS008)

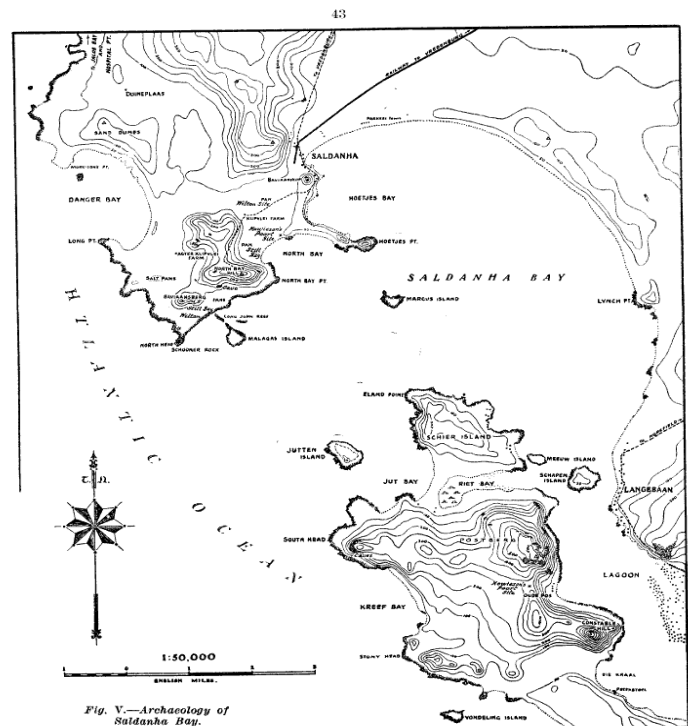
This photo and quote are from a digital story describing the narrator's day out with his niece as part of her school project. The trip inadvertently turned into a rediscovery of sites that were related to the narrator's family history. What drew all the photos together is that none of the sites that were visited are being respected. The barracks pictured above is occupied by vagrants, and the grave pictured below was in danger of being removed and replaced with a waterfront.



A windy area with mostly sink plate dwellings. Across the road from Windhoek lies the remains of "Ma Toll" in the Khoi San grave yard.. This area is under a lot of debate and is yet to be declared a heritage site...Developers wants to remove the graves and build a waterfront....sad...I know. My niece learned what Khoi Khoi was for her first time but rushed to get out. (DS008)

This image and corresponding quote are from the same story and reveal the juxtaposition between a community wanting to have their history recognised and archived, and developers wishing to turn the site into something new that is perhaps perceived as more appealing. This is highlighting again the imbalance of power between communities in South Africa, and the lack of agency of some communities. This demonstrates the importance of agency, choice, and access to a person's heritage. This story demonstrates how inaccessible the history of certain communities is in South Africa, and the only way to connect with this history is through visiting unmaintained sites in areas that do not feel safe. This is a further example of the discounting of culture and heritage that has occurred over many years in South Africa and continues to be the case in South African society today.

Saldanha Bay was 'discovered' by Bartholamew Dias in 1488, but my forefathers were already roaming these lands way before that. Who were my forefathers you ask? The indigenous peoples from the Saldanha Bay area. The hunter-gatherers known as 'San'. 'Khoisan' and later on called 'Bushmen' or 'Boesman'. (DS006)



Here we see a further example of the 'whitewashing' of history, with the 'discovery' of Saldanha Bay being attributed to a Portuguese explorer, rather than the indigenous people who were

already inhabiting the area. The same storyteller went on to narrate the importance of reconnecting with their heritage and indigenous roots.

I have only recently discovered that I was part of an indigenous San tribe called the Guriquas, and I have been doing research about them ever since. (DS006)



I saw the cave, and the most beautiful beach I have ever seen. I know that this is one of my ancestors' homes as the previous name of the area was called 'Guriquas point'. We found what we think is cave art...we left that cave with the widest dimes on our faces..there are 3 more caves, 3 more caves! I cannot wait to continue my journey, following the clues my ancestors left for me to discover. (DS006)

The two quotes and image above really express the excitement of the storyteller in discovering places that are connected with their heritage. They emphasise the previously recognised importance of the land to the Guriqua community. Indeed, this connection with ancestral land is a feature of many of the digital stories. The mission to reclaim cultural heritage emphasises the importance of cultural identity and demonstrates a felt need by the narrator to find and attach to an identity beyond the one they previously had access to. The importance of identity links to the theory explored in chapter 3 and emphasises the need for an education that works against the epistemic 'othering' that has occurred in South Africa (g-Masondo & Chimbunde, 2021), to ensure that communities accessing education feel represented and attached to the material they are presented with.

The urge to reconnect with heritage was also expressed by other narrators, and any historical centres that could facilitate and help in this was appreciated, as seen below.



I'm exploring different cultures and visiting different heritage sites. The indigenous San people used different methods and poison to hunt prey. This is the heritage site I recently visited. Named Ikwa Ttu where I've learned about the different San tribes and how they used to live. The entire lifestyle is so intriguing. Only men could hunt, women would stay in the huts, maintaining the fire men would make whilst waiting for them to return for the hunting. (DS003)

This extract further demonstrates that having histories recognised and accessible provides a means to learn about heritage, but also it validates communities and their ways of being. The quote below, however, provides an example of when this is not the case.

In my opinion the Hoedjieskop should have been called Klippiesdorp museum. Some people don't have a connection and respect towards the historical culture in the area. DS005

The Hoedjieskop Museum forms part of the Saldanha Cultural Village and focuses on life in Saldanha Bay in the Western Cape. The storyteller here is referring to the history of the Klippiesdorp community, who were a fishing community. Some of the community lost their lives at sea, and all were affected by forced removals. The narrator emphasises that the community that inhabited this area, from which they are a descendent, was not fully represented in the historical narrative of the area. Again, this is further emphasising the importance of representation of different historical narratives in both non-formal education (such as museums and archives) and formal education (such as schooling and universities).

This section has explored the stories of the Guriqua community, demonstrating the importance of representation in history, not only for purposes of education but also for recognition.

Furthermore, it is evident that, in line with the work of Carretero (2011) and others, dominating narratives of history have the capacity to form, disrupt and lessen cultural identities and social concepts.

7.2.5 Gender, tradition, and power - “I have a big conflict, in terms of dealing with my own tradition”.

This section will explore issues of intersectionality in indigenous and marginalised communities, with a particular focus on gender. There is a shared concern by some writers (see chapter 4) that a focus on the importance of indigenous knowledge can ignore other important discriminatory issues relating to, for example, age, experience, wealth, gender, and political power (Briggs, 2005; Ellen & Harris, 2000). Although I did not ask questions directly related to gender in my interviews, it was nevertheless a theme that emerged through my grounded analysis. Furthermore, what became apparent was a tension in the current hybridity of culture experienced by the participants of this research, with a more traditional view of gender being prevalent in many cultures, which did not match with the views of the students from UWC that I interviewed. During the interviews, many participants expressed their appreciation of their communities of origin, however, community ideas around women and girls were often challenged because they ran contrary to participants’ personal values. Several of the interviewees, for example, explicitly voiced a desire to move away from these traditions.

Despite the students I interviewed coming from different communities, they share the experience of growing up within environments characterised by very traditional views on gender, where the man is viewed as the provider and the woman has responsibility for taking care of the household and children.

The community itself is very rural...predominantly the man is the centre of it all, and shouldn't be questioned, girls are brought up to marry or raise children... Which are some of the values that you see everywhere in South Africa I think, it is not that uncommon. But now we have that education element (formal),

but still there is this expectation that as a girl child or female you need to perform certain duties because that's your place. (ST001)

Although the girls now have access to formal education, this extract shows there is still an expectation that they fulfil traditional female roles. Nonetheless, and regardless of the norms operating within their marginalised communities, the students I interviewed were very critical of these traditional attitudes.

These gender expectations extend beyond the role of women in the home into the way women are perceived and treated in respect to relationships.

I traditionally have to have a man pay a dowry. When I was growing up, I didn't really see it as anything problematic, and to a certain extent I don't, but there's an element where in the context of a lot of the things that are happening to women societally and socially. If you think of a dowry and the negotiation that takes place between men, in terms of your own worth, and how they want to value it. And the money goes from one man's family to another man. That process to me brought a lot of issues in our relationship, because it was already like this process where men are already beating up women, men are already cheating, why would I put myself in the position where I am going to allow men to dictate how a relationship is supposed to work, how much my worth is, when the same men are cheating on my mothers, on my aunts. The same men are beating my mothers and my aunts. That is where, in terms of going forward, I have a big conflict, in terms of dealing with my own tradition. (ST004)

This extract, relating to a discussion around expectations that the interviewee's family has in regard to their personal relationships, reveals issues of gender and power. The acknowledgement of the prevalence of gender-based violence within relationships in South Africa is a reminder of the threat that many women face, and how, when it occurs within a marginalised society, is in essence furthering the marginalisation of women. The extract also highlights how the interviewee's understanding of gender disparity is resulting in a real conflict in how they relate to their community traditions and brings to mind Briggs' (2005) arguments concerning the importance of recognising power imbalances in indigenous communities, especially with regard to gender, when they occur (see Chapter 3). Specifically, whilst recognising the potential of

indigenous knowledge to empower communities, we must also be aware of the danger of romanticising indigenous practices (Briggs 2005). Furthermore, this recognises the complexities around the concept of hybridity and the nuances and tensions in bringing different cultures together when values from these different cultures can clash. This is important for this study in that it exposes the particular considerations that hybridity necessitates.

It is important to note that although the man is viewed as generally having the responsibility of leading the family, particularly in more rural marginalised communities, there are nuanced positions on this.

I would say that traditionally it's meant to be kind of the man leading the house and stuff, but a lot of the women were the ones that ran things. I come from a long line of very strong independent women. But at the same time, they're still kind of culturally restricted and it's more like when husbands and so forth die then family tends to do well. 'cause all the women are running the show. Yeah, so it's very traditional, but at the same time I had very headstrong women (ST005).

For example, here we can see that ST005 understands the importance of women within the family and recognises the exposure they have had to strong women. In fact, many of the female students were explicitly aware of the strong female characters around them, not least because it was often these women who had often encouraged them into education, and even on occasion directly advised them to break free of the traditional gender roles. This serves as a reminder that an important aforementioned (section 3.5) aspect of decolonising is to consider not just the educational content, but also who is holding the power and status in a university, are there relatable people holding positions of power that the students can be encouraged by?

There were a lot of headstrong women who were like everyone is going to get educated. (ST005)

That said, and although as illustrated women and girls are sometimes encouraged into education, this is often only viewed as an option up to a certain age, after which more traditional responsibilities are expected to come to the fore.

Education is really important for everyone but when you get to a particular age, so let's say age 20 onwards, then the emphasis is more on getting married, starting your family and settling down and all that, you know, the very kind of traditional idea (ST003).

We can see, therefore, that education is seen as important for girls, but that the possible outcomes of education (such as employment, postgraduate study, or the exposure to ideas that creates a change in how a person lives), are not necessarily encouraged for women and girls.

For the student participants, however, education was very much portrayed as the only alternative to the more traditional role of the woman as established within their community.

My life would be weird if I wasn't in school, I would probably be pregnant, struggling, really struggling to understand my worth, especially as a woman. A lot of time as a woman in this particular context, if you are not educated you are going to be under the power of a man. For me I am a daughter, and my dad is the person who is bringing the most money, and he has a lot of power and knows it. If I didn't make it or do certain things, I know I would still have to look at my dad like he is God and needs to take care of me. But because I am educated, I can get jobs. I call shots like no one's business! (ST004)

For ST004 here, we see a real demonstration of the opportunities that education can offer in a neoliberal society. This is not to undermine the criticisms of neoliberalism that I have explored in this work, but it is a stark reminder of the complexity around this examination of the purpose of education. ST004's view here is a real-world example of how education has not only led them to develop a more critical lens with which to examine some traditional norms, such as gender roles, but it highlights the employment benefits that education can bring, and the consequential self-empowerment that can furnish members of marginalised groups with life choices they may not otherwise have had. This is a further recognition of the complexities of the aforementioned 'duality

of cultures', in that all though the neoliberal society is limiting and exacerbating marginalisation in certain areas, it is providing a means of freedom in others.

This quote from the same student provides insight into the life that is available to women in a similar position who are not formally educated.

If I look at all my cousins that are not educated, there are single mothers who are on child support, who are struggling to even have meals, to find them constantly getting into weird and unequal relationships with men because they know those men can get jobs they cannot get. They know the men can go out and get jobs in the industrial area. Women know that if they want to get anything or get anywhere, they need to have a husband, and they put themselves in dangerous situations just to get food on the table. (ST004).

The power imbalance facing women from marginalised communities, and their lack of agency in those communities, leads to further marginalisation and a loss of options. Again, this highlights the important role education can play in supporting the possibility of a life that is different from that outlined in this quote. We might conclude, therefore, that although education seems to be removing women and girls from their community to some extent, it is also giving them access to more choices and more agency in their lives.

This section acts as an important reminder to the nuance and complexity inherent within this research. Although there is a strong argument to think further and more deeply about the content of education, as well as how the capacity education must improve the position of marginalised communities can be developed, in this section of my thesis I have also demonstrated the ways in which formal education in South Africa already serves to give people, in particular women, life options. This section has also served as a reminder to be mindful of romanticising indigenous communities, and that the lived experiences of those in the communities are important to consider in how the practices and traditions are understood.

This chapter now moves on to explore the themes that emerged from the data regarding how indigenous communities view their knowledge and the importance of the land.

7.3 Indigenous communities' relationship to their knowledge and the land

This section explores the themes that emerged from my grounded analysis regarding how the indigenous communities and stakeholders experience their knowledge and their connection to the land. The two themes that emerged were **'Land as a living entity'** and **'to keep their knowledge alive, they almost have to play the game and do things in a Western way'**. Through the application of my theoretical framework, I found close links to the work of Santos and his explanation of the non-Eurocentric epistemologies and regard for nature. My analysis realised the tension of different cultural influences and expectations that also brought in discussions around hybridity and the nuances of this concept.

7.3.1 Land as a living entity

My grounded analysis of the digital stories and interviews with indigenous communities and stakeholders revealed a strong relationship between indigenous communities, their knowledge, and the land. To frame this discussion, it is important to recognise how indigenous philosophies and worldviews relate to the land. In Western education, land is mainly viewed through its physicality, what it offers and what is required to maintain that offering (Dei, Karanja & Erger, 2022). Land here has no real epistemological or pedagogical significance. However, in most indigenous worldviews land is considered a living entity, and this entity is at the heart of indigenous knowledge, cultures, and identities. The land is regarded as the source of life itself and holds all indigenous truths. It is a site of knowing and knowledge, generated from careful observation of the ecosystem, which is passed down through the generations (Dei, Karanja & Erger, 2022).



I am so grateful I get to experience the beauty of nature, and the one thing all have in common with nature is the diversity. There are so many species of plants and creatures so somehow, some way we are all connected. (DS003)

Through analysing the data from the interviews and digital stories, it became clear that the indigenous communities in South Africa have a strong connection with nature. The difference in how Western education perceives nature to indigenous communities that was introduced above, is also recognised in Chapter 4 (section 4.3) through the work of Santos (which forms part of my theoretical framework). Santos highlights that viewing nature as a resource for humans to exploit is a very Eurocentric concept, whereas other philosophies, such as Ubuntu, experience aspects nature as a living being which is not a resource and is not separate from human life, but rather humans are a part of nature and connected to all other human and non-human beings (Santos, 2014). The importance of this for my thesis is to both understand the marginalisation of these groups and also to try and further conceptualise what knowledge means to indigenous communities. This will then allow me to better consider if and how higher education in South Africa could include, or be shaped by, this knowledge.

I would say indigenous knowledge is deeply connected to their cultural roots and their understanding of the environment, how they think about the environment and how they use the environment. Their indigenous knowledge is how they perceive the world, it represents their cultural identity... Indigenous knowledge isn't really respected in the Western world...I think the way they live is extremely tough for them. They're exposed to climate change, changing rainfall experience to extreme fires. That's why they use fire to manage those. Those big fires that come out in the latest sort of are prominent in the late dry hot season in our Southern African system which is, you know, October to

December, if they don't use fire in the early season, they get hit with those hot fires which ruin their food resources (IND002)

This comment is made by someone working very closely with an indigenous Khoi community on the border of South Africa. The community lived in a bush area that has experienced a lot of fires. It has extensive knowledge of the fires and how to divert them or lessen their effect. The life of this community is evidently not easy, but the participant went on to express the importance of their knowledge in regard to controlling the bush fires, knowledge that is argued to be underutilised.

Yeah, their knowledge is critical...Basically, the indigenous communities have been marginalised, so their knowledge has never been recognized by the government and that has political history because the Khoisan were used as soldiers and trackers by the South Africans in the South African border war. So that particular group that was living in the park that I was working with were always oppressed, so they were oppressed culturally as well as by the government. Which resulted in their knowledge never being acknowledged. But they've been using fire for millennia, for thousands and thousands of years. (IND002)

The community IND002 is referring to have been using indigenous fire practices for millennia. They use fire to control the build-up of leaf litter and other fuel, and to maintain ecosystems and promote healthy growth, experience-based knowledge that is starting to be recognised as a way of managing bushfires in Australia (Fletcher, Romano, Connor, Mariani & Maezumi, 2021). Clearly, this not only demonstrates the relevance and importance of the land-based knowledge that indigenous communities hold, but it also highlights the barriers to accessing this knowledge that historical down gradation have erected. This example demonstrates how knowledge of the land can be instrumental in both the survival of indigenous communities, and the protection of the land which they inhabit. Rather than focusing the individual impact of the way in which indigenous knowledge has been diminished, this example highlights the impact on environmental sustainability and the missed opportunities of skills that the devaluing of indigenous knowledge has caused, which in turn recognises the importance of epistemological diversity (as highlighted in my theoretical framework in chapter 3).

In regard to this, however, my research data shows that the relationship between indigenous communities and the land is not simple or singular: the relationship is articulated in different ways. As highlighted in Chapter 5, storytelling is an important part of many indigenous traditions.

And also, storytelling. It was a big thing. That was a big thing. So, my great grandmother went all kinds of parables and all sorts. It's all nature based. (ST005).

This extract from an interview with a student recognises the significance of storytelling and how it has been used as a means to express connections with nature. When the Guriqua communities were invited to create their digital stories for this research, many of them included references to the land and to nature.



*From rocks and mountains to sea and sand.
Your pain might not be your fault, but your
healing is your own responsibility.
I'm Hendrina, I'm me, not a copy of norms and
traditions, but with pride I will stand for my
heritage. (DS007)*

*koue-bokkeveld where I grew up. Waking
up to the sound of the rooster, mom open
the windows of our room for the morning
air to wake us up. The smell of moerkoffie
and meliemeel pap. (DS007)*



The digital story that these images and quotes are from is a story that expresses the teller's experience of bi-polar disorder, and how reconnecting with nature is a helpful anchor in her journey of accepting and managing the condition. The images the teller chose for the digital story all feature elements of nature, and the story expressed a sense of familiarity with, and comfort from, nature. Her cultural heritage has strong links to the land, and nature is highlighted as important in giving the teller a sense of self. This is further demonstration of how a person's heritage can help them to feel less marginalised and part of something bigger.



The hill of klippiesdorp also served as home to a variety of indigenous plants such as the bree blaarsterretjie, slangbessie, bobbejaan kool, makronmakrank as well as the bosse turksvye (type of prickly pear). (DS005)

We also regularly played in the fields, where the boys catch mice and lizards while the girls would make veld food from the wildflowers and play with their dolls. We would forage and eat wild flora such as sour figs, wild berries, korente and uientjies. Such practices were proof that we are descendants of the Khoisan. We also picked flowers such as blue lilies, papierblomme and aronskelke. (DS005)

Here, we have extracts from a digital story that reflects upon food and practices that featured in the story teller's memories of childhood within their community. These practices are no longer accessible to the community due to land restrictions, a recurrent theme through many of the digital stories. Not only does this demonstrate how connected the Guriqua community are to the land, and also how contextual and localised many of their practices are, it emphasises the detrimental impact that policies relating to land usage can have. When viewing this story through the lens of my theoretical framework, and more specifically the work of Santos, the connection of

the land to the Guriqua community is expressed as more than that of what the land can provide. But rather, as Santos expressed, the non-Eurocentric view is that nature is a living being. This story also reiterates a finding from the literature explored in chapter 4, in that indigenous knowledge is not one knowledge, but rather it often refers to a place and is localised to a specific land and culture. This is an important consideration when understanding what it means to decolonise education for marginalised communities in South Africa.

just in terms of those values, you know it's very connected to the land and then South Africa obviously gives quite a unique. A unique perspective to that... everything goes back to land. If you look at the unique situation, they sit on land that's owned by the Moravian Church, But their ancestors lived on those lands for, you know, millions of years. But now they have to rent the land from the church...there's been a renewal of just looking back at what is our value, what is our culture, what is our heritage (IND001).

The above quote is taken from an interviewee who works closely with indigenous communities in South Africa. It emphasises the importance of land to the communities they work with, whilst highlighting the injustices that communities have faced in terms of the restrictions imposed upon their cultural land and land disposition. This problem communities face with regard to land rights in South Africa also constrains their capacity to live sustainably.

The reality is that there's very few communities that can still sustainably live traditionally due to not having enough land or having no land at all...they live quite connected to the land, but they're not allowed to hunt because it's a National Park..In some areas they can take off the natural resources but they need to be accompanied by the park officials. So, you know it's a difficult life to be able to sustain, they're actually quite poor (IND003).

As mentioned at the start of this section, there is a difference with how indigenous communities relate to the land, and how Western education and culture view the land. This not only echoes the aforementioned ideas presented by Santos (2014), but also further demonstrates the tensions in the coexisting cultures and cultural influences in South Africa.

This disjuncture is recognised in the interviews with students that have grown up in a more rural community but are now attending higher education at UWC in Cape Town.

You lose a sense of practicality at times (referring to the spiritual aspect of indigenous knowledge), and just a genuine understanding of how nature works. The mysticism of it all, it seen to kind of move away from natural laws. You take this as the first point of departure, instead of creating a balance, both sides don't know how to balance those two worlds and bring them together. (ST004)

The participant (ST004) is alluding to how they feel the two forms of knowledge they have experienced (Western and indigenous) are viewed as very remote from one another, when actually, in practice, they find value in both perspectives and suggest that there could be a space where both come together. This suggestion of a hybrid education is also made by other students who were interviewed. Students express a respect and desire for exposure to more diverse ways of knowing, but often want this knowledge to sit alongside the Western model of education they have become accustomed to. The concept of hybridity is explored in Chapter 3 and 4, in reference to the development agenda, and it is an approach that has been criticised for holding on to a colonial system. However, the students are speaking to the criticism explored in section 4.6, that indigenous and Western education do not need to exist as a dichotomy, but perhaps both complement each other and even evolve into a hybrid rather, as two distinct ways of being. This would require what has previously been coined a meaningful hybridity, which embraces genuine epistemological diversity, and is not a tokenistic response to the call to decolonise.

Despite the strong connection between indigenous communities and the land explored above, the analysis of the data revealed that the relationship between indigenous communities, land and knowledge is not straightforward. Student ST005, for example, expressed a perspective different from what had become my understanding of indigenous communities' relationship with nature.

I think because it's framed in a way that we need nature to survive and we need to learn to adapt and whatever that kind of thing to it, 'cause we rely on it. And then it's weird because it is seen as less valid than. Uhm, doing it for I guess interest's sake or just advancing science and so forth. So, like in my community if you are studying something in nature, it's like OK, why? How is this going to help me? How is this going to help the community? Can we eat it? (ST005).

The student reflects that in their rural community nature is so intrinsic to their survival, that to study or research nature away from the very localised context within which it is engaged with, is seen as almost a luxury and certainly not important. It's almost viewed as a waste of time. The implication is that to access a more in depth and wider study of nature, this student feels they have to go to a more formal Westernised higher education institution. Although this aligns with my understanding of indigenous knowledge in that it is very localised and contextual, that it is an important means of survival and reflects the need to live well with the land, the notion that a student would need to step away from their community to engage with or learn different aspects of nature, was not something I had previously considered. Again, this highlights the nuance and complexity involved with decolonising education. To summarise, the students that I interviewed were not calling for a complete removal of a European influenced curriculum, but rather they wanted a more meaningful inclusion of African knowledge.

7.3.2 'To keep their knowledge alive, they almost have to play the game and do things in a Western way'

While writing up my thesis, I have spent a lot of time researching indigenous knowledge; I have attempted to define indigenous knowledge, discussed the role it may play in higher education, recognised how it has been discounted through the globalisation of Western knowledge, and analysed the words of the staff and students at UWC in regard to what they consider indigenous knowledge to be. I want to end this chapter with the thoughts and perspectives of indigenous people and the stakeholders who have worked alongside indigenous communities for many years, to discuss, and analyse, and bring to the fore their thoughts on indigenous knowledge.

When asked how to define indigenous knowledge, IND001 described it as follows:

It's essentially knowledge that has been passed on from generation to generation, something that a group or community holds. And it's fluid, you know, it also obviously changes as time goes on and some of the knowledge is

sometimes shared between communities. It's a place and is connected to the land or, you know, plants, animals (IND001).

This definition aligns with the definitions highlighted in Chapter 4: indigenous knowledge is passed down through generations and it is localised with a very particular and meaningful relationship with the land. With this in mind, it is important to re-emphasise that indigenous knowledge is not homogenous, but rather each indigenous community often has its own culture and practices.

...every group will be unique, which I think that in a way creates a bit of complexity because every cultural group is unique and is circumstantial to what they've been exposed to. (IND002).

Despite these differences, the quote serves to accentuate a theme that has been very present in this section, and indeed is mentioned by several interviewees, and that is the fluidity of indigenous knowledge.

The next extract demonstrates this fluidity through explaining how an indigenous community used European items to make some of their traditional hunting tools more efficient.

So what happened when the first European farmers moved into the central Kalahari and started putting up fences was that the indigenous hunters discovered this is the ideal resource to make arrow points, so they would cut the fence. Of course, the farmer would then have to fix the fence. Then eventually the farmers, who could never catch them and never interacted with them, realised that they could just put a roll of wire on each fence post that the hunters could collect, which was adequate for the arrow points without cutting the fence. So that is an example of Indigenous communities adopting a European artefact. Because it's to their own advantage in terms of creating a better arrow point (IND002).

This story is not only interesting as an example of how indigenous ways of doing things are constantly evolving, but it also shows that communities can learn and adopt materials from European settlers to enhance their cultural practices where appropriate. In this, the next extract is a more recent example of Western technology being used to not only enhance the indigenous knowledge of tracking, but also to increase the possibility that this skill will be sustained within the community.

People initially were very critical of me trying to develop the cybertracker software for indigenous trackers to use in wildlife surveys, I had to explain to them that, for them using the Cybertracker software to use their indigenous tracking skills is to earn an income, and it is no different from adopting European fencing wire more than a 100 years ago to enhance the efficiency of the arrow points (IND002).

IND002 has been working with the same indigenous community for over 30 years. In this time, he developed the Cybertracker software to aid the tracking capabilities of the community. The main reasoning behind this was to give the community a way to earn a more substantial income from their tracking, that would in turn allow key skills to be kept within the community. The interviewee explained that prior to this the community was not generating the resources it needed to sustain their way of life. As such, younger members were losing interest in tracking because they wanted to generate more income. Since the community started to work with the new software, they have found numerous ways for their skill of tracking to become a viable means of sustaining the community.

As we speak now, we are setting up a tracking school. So, the concept we're trying to develop is a sort of a modern indigenous culture that combines the best of traditional indigenous culture with modern technology and knowledge. This allows the community to advance their own livelihoods, 'cause it's no longer practical for them to subsist as hunter gatherers, it's simply not possible. They've been squeezed into small parts of parcels of land. (IND002)

This extract emphasises that without adopting adaptations like the tracking school initiative, it's possible that the community may lose their way of being entirely. The school here is explained as a way of formalising the skillset many in the community already have, so that they can economise it. This is being achieved through contracts with environmental companies that are employing the skills of the community to conduct surveys.

Yeah, it's not really for their own benefit 'cause they know who the best trackers are. It's for people who come from outside, it also means that the really good trackers get the work and get the payment they want from it (IND002).

The community is also able to pass the skill on within the school. The shift, made possible through the Cyber Tracking software, has meant that many of the younger generation in the community now want to continue the tradition of tracking because it is viewed as a sustainable skill. This example of how indigenous communities adapt and evolve is important for my research as it demonstrates a way in which indigenous and Western knowledge can come together and create more sustainable opportunities for indigenous communities to sustain their knowledge. Furthermore, through the creation of ways to certificate the knowledge (something we have seen in chapter 4), the community is able to grow and elevate their knowledge, thereby enabling them to keep the knowledge vibrant within their community. The important element of this example for me, is that all of this was achieved through the elders in the community. It was not an idea imposed by an outsider, but it was an idea worked upon and built with the community, in collaboration with a stakeholder who had a long held meaningful relationship within the community. This is an example of how indigenous knowledge can be more formalised in a way that does not take away its meaning or context.

A further interesting aspect of this particular initiative is that it has already been used to educate Western people who have a genuine interest in tracking. This is an important element of the tracking programme, in that it is increasing the awareness of the importance of indigenous skills, and particularly how important they are to the environment and sustainability.

It's actually almost like sustaining this really important skill set as well as. Also educating. Educating more, you know, I guess more Western people on the importance of this as well, but then in such a way that it's really adding value to the community.

The education of Western people from an indigenous perspective is an example of how valuable indigenous knowledge can be. However, the realisation that this initiative was only possible through using Western methods of certification is also clear.

Using Western ways to help to sustain their knowledge is not ideal, in that to keep their knowledge alive, they almost have to play the game and do things in a Western way (IND002).

In some ways this highlights the tension that is raised throughout this work, that to elevate indigenous ways of knowing often requires Western buy-in, or otherwise for the knowledge to be adapted into a more Western model. As a point, this aligns with Briggs' concerns highlighted in Chapter 4, that any inclusion of indigenous knowledge into a Western consciousness is only done in a way that does not challenge the Western value system (Briggs, 2005).

However, the alternative, as expressed through the interviews, is a devaluing or a loss of indigenous worldviews. A fear of losing indigenous ways of being was captured by one participant.

There's always this fear of, you know, the elders that are passionate and the elders that you know want to keep it (knowledge) for the next generation. I think of the San communities in the Kalahari. I think there's about two original speakers of the language left. The language has been recorded by UCT, but it's not the same, you know, as someone actually speaking it. So, it's about, you know, how do you transfer it to the next generation but not, you know, but in a realistic way (IND004).

This extract brings to mind the work of Mello, de Sousa and Palomino (2018) explored in Chapter 4, in that indigenous knowledge needs to be lived in daily practice, and not just

exist through textbooks or in a classroom. So, how can indigenous knowledge be made sustainable in a primarily Western context that often undervalues it?

Indigenous people are considered primitive, I don't know if that's the right word, but how they're viewed by people that are from the government, that's hard and I think it's just, you know, they don't have money, the people in government are driving cars and living different lifestyles so you've got the shift from Indigenous people living in the Bush and then you've got people that are now earning salaries and working in government and living in the city and they have a very different view of those communities and their knowledge...and I think the problem in high education is that there's no respect for cultural identity and just because it's not put into a textbook or hasn't been Westernised, it doesn't mean that it's not valuable. There's a whole wealth of information not being utilised (IND003).

This final extract demonstrates the frustration around the devaluing of indigenous knowledge and the consequences of this. The difference in culture and lifestyle of much of the population of South Africa compared to the communities living more rural indigenous existences is stark. It also highlights the dependence that some indigenous communities have on the more resourced Western way of being, in that they require Western recognition of their knowledge for it to be valued and recognised, therefore, to be seen as useful and given resources. Yet, for indigenous knowledge to be recognised it invariably needs to adapt to a more digestible format for Western understanding, which often requires indigenous ways of being to adapt closer to a Western way of being. This is mirrored in the earlier debates in this thesis around the inclusion of diverse knowledge into higher education, and for this to be a reality the diverse ways of knowledge are often first adapted into a more Western format. Although this section highlighted a way in which a certain fluidity between indigenous and Western worldviews allowed for an aspect of indigenous knowledge to survive, this worked because the indigenous people retained control of their wisdom and knowledge and how it was represented (Morgan, 2003). This is often lost in the adaptive way indigenous knowledge is brought into higher education. Morgan (2003) argues that this adaptation is a practice of appropriation, and that to genuinely meet the needs of indigenous peoples a philosophical transformation that will allow a culturally sensitive and flexible structure to occur (Morgan, 2003, p. 47).

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to analyse the findings from interviews, digital stories, and the grey literature to answer the research question: *How do historically marginalised communities perceive their knowledge?* It has then aimed to further establish whether decolonising higher education is possible in South Africa. The importance of education to reflect the way a person lives has been highlighted. The participants in my research reflected upon this issue and expressed a desire for more African traditions and values to be present in their education. A tension in communities between the value of tradition and a drive towards 'modernity' is discussed, and it is found that the students often feel more mindful of their heritage and traditional ways of being than their elder family members. A re-emerging theme in this chapter is the discounting of indigenous or traditional knowledge, on the basis that it is considered outdated and lesser than the more normalised Western ways of knowing. There is a sense of disempowerment from the participants throughout this chapter, for example in the way that the students speak of having to work twice as hard as their White counterparts to have the same opportunities, in the way that the Guriqua community express disempowerment at accessing important cultural sites, and in the way the stakeholders reflect upon disempowerment through the loss of value placed on indigenous worldviews. There is a tension between the indigenous communities wanting to connect, maintain and value their knowledge, traditions and culture, and the influence of Western mainstream higher education and society, of which they are a part, restricting their capacity to do this. This was reflected in the students' frustration at their education, the Guriqua communities' lack of access to their heritage and cultural sites, and the indigenous community's inability to generate sustainable living conditions from their indigenous knowledge. In turn, this leads to a complex and multifaceted answer to the research question of *How do marginalised communities perceive their knowledge?* I found that the students perceive their knowledge as a mix between the Western influenced curriculum that they have been exposed to, and a more African knowledge that is a reflection of their community. The Guriqua community express a strong desire to reconnect with their cultural practices and heritage, and the ways of being that have been marginalised and restricted through apartheid and beyond. The stakeholders speak of indigenous communities that are connected to their knowledge, but fear that it is no longer viewed as relevant and is therefore less attractive to younger generations who do not see how they can generate income from it. A

possible way forward is provided by communities that have taken on Western technology to certify and legitimise their knowledge to a Western audience, thereby making their knowledge sustainable and more attractive to younger generations. The cost to these adaptations is that their ways of being become, to an extent, 'Westernised'. I have discussed and reflected in this chapter on the lived experiences of marginalised communities through the perception of students from those communities, as well as through the Guriqua community and stakeholders who have close connections with Indigenous communities. The tensions and debates that have arisen suggest that indigenous and African knowledge can be and is relevant in modern day South Africa, although to be recognised as such it needs to adapt to a more Western framework.

Chapter 8: Discussion chapter - Is decolonising possible in higher education in South Africa?

At the heart of this research project are the participants. My intention has been to learn from these participants to explore and answer the issues stemming from the following overarching research question: *What are the perspectives on knowledge and higher education within marginalised communities in South Africa?* together with the subsidiary questions:

What are the perspectives of marginalised students in higher education?

How do indigenous communities and stakeholders perceive their indigenous knowledge?

From these initial questions emerged an additional, underpinning line of enquiry: *To what extent is decolonising higher education in South Africa possible?*

As the research evolved, so did some of the ideas, concepts, and definitions. As highlighted in several sections in this thesis, the term indigenous is a complex one in South Africa. It became apparent that some of the participants identified as indigenous and regarded this as an important part of their identity, others affiliated less with this term. With this in mind, and after consideration of my findings, it was clear that although the indigenous identity was important to the participants from the Guriqua community, a more applicable way to refer to the student participants of my research is that they are from historically marginalised communities. Similarly, the term of indigenous knowledge was important to some of the stakeholders and storytellers from the Guriqua community, but when speaking with students and staff at UWC, the term Afro-centric knowledge was more aligned to their perception and conceptualisation. Given this, the terminology employed in this research is dependent on the context to which it is referring. The difference of use is therefore intentional in an attempt to capture meaning accurately.

Whilst learning from the participants, the framing of the problem ‘is decolonising possible?’, started to feed back into consideration of the impact of the marginalisation of communities in South Africa. I identified evidence across my research findings that both historical marginalisation and ongoing marginalisation was present. In my attempts to understand the marginalisation of the communities that participated in my study, the importance of contextual understanding became clear. More specifically, the more I was confronted with the complexities of South African higher education and society, the more I realised the need to situate my exploration of decolonising within the environment to which the decolonising agenda was intended to have impact. Decolonising is a concept that has gained international recognition, with universities in the UK, South Africa, Latin America and beyond, identifying decolonisation as a priority in their strategies, mission statements and policies. In his 2010 paper, Crossly argues that “context matters”; he was not speaking of decolonising, but was highlighting the danger of policy transfer without due consideration of the unique contexts different higher education institutions are situated within. This is not to say, of course, that decolonising is not an important and worthy aspiration for many institutions. What I am arguing is that it is not a one-fits-all concept and requires contextual consideration both in regard to its content (what it *means*) and implementation. In South Africa, the call to decolonise came from the activism of students. To fully understand what decolonising means in the country (and indeed the particular part of the country my research focuses upon), I realised I first need to understand what the students who are the intended recipients of the decolonising agenda need and want from their higher education experience. In other words, those experiencing ‘decolonising’ need to have agency in what decolonising means; it cannot be unilaterally imposed as a top-down initiative. As acknowledged in this thesis, to decolonise is to make space for diverse knowledges, to understand what that means in the South African context where indigeneity is complex, and for this to be successful requires contextual understanding. In this we can see that indigenous knowledge is localised, it is of a place, and to maintain meaning it cannot be uncritically divorced from that place.

In this research I have adopted a theoretical framework influenced by elements of postcolonialism, meaningful hybridity, critical pedagogy, and the capabilities approach, Postcolonialism calls for a reconceptualization of colonialism and European centering to

recognise the colonial encounter and its continuing impact as a violent event. A postcolonial framework seeks to address the effects of power associated with race, culture, class, gender, and the ongoing struggles of indigenous peoples, and brings focus to the complexities of identity formation emerging from colonial dominance (Crossley and Tikly, 2004). These are all themes and points for consideration that emerged from my data analysis. However, what postcolonial theory does not account for is the tension that I uncovered between the desire by students from marginalised communities to have indigenous knowledge recognised in the curriculum, whilst simultaneously realising the value they gain from engaging with a Westernised education system. Likewise, it does not account for a similar tension amongst indigenous communities between wanting to ensure that their traditions and ways of living are remembered and preserved, whilst adopting western-derived technologies to enable that preservation to happen. In this, I found that the capabilities approach provides an effective lens through which to examine the impact that the inequalities of the higher education system in South Africa have had. The capabilities approach allows an understanding of the realities of the education model within which the marginalised communities of South Africa exist, this approach highlights the importance of agency and power, and argues that for opportunities to be created there needs to be a move beyond increased access.

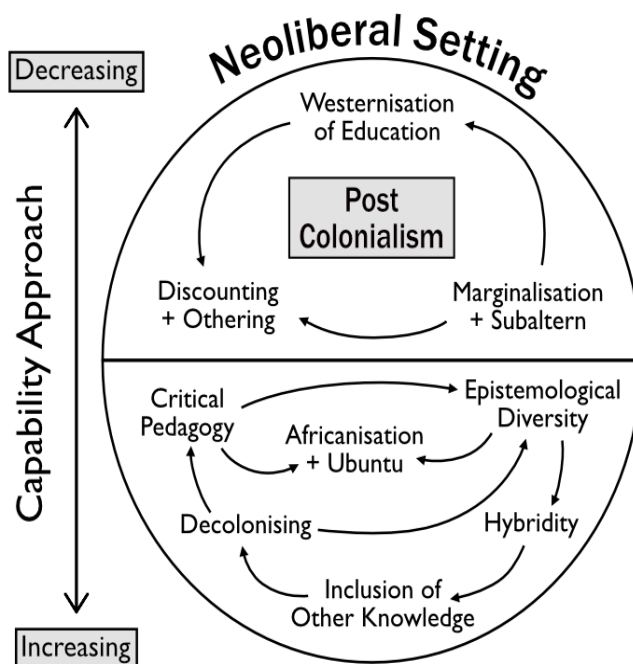


Figure 1 Theoretical Framework

From the foundation outlined above, I will proceed in this chapter to draw the threads of my research together to argue that decolonisation within the context of higher education in South Africa can only be successful when the needs of the marginalised communities drive and inform the agenda. I have previously explained that historically marginalised communities in the country do not comprise a single homogenous group but include a multitude of different peoples with different cultural practices, histories and identities (see Chapter 2). What does unify them, however, is that they have all experienced marginalisation over a prolonged period of time, and perhaps most starkly since the introduction of Apartheid in 1948 when the National Party formalised through legal means the segregation of the population along racial lines (Gordon 2021), and in so doing embedded pre-existing inequalities into the fabric of society.

To make this case, I will explain how the marginalisation of communities has affected those communities' ideas regarding the purpose of education, and this will involve defining the ways in which communities have become marginalised. In particular, I will explore how identity-defining historical narratives have been hidden and the impact that this process has had on marginalised communities. I will also elaborate upon the relationship between marginalised communities (in this thesis the Guriqua community), the land and nature, and the impact that discriminatory land reform has had on cultural identity. From here I will draw links to how the marginalisation of knowledge impacts upon perceptions of higher education, and further how higher education in turn impacts upon the identities of those from marginalised communities participating in that education. I will show that the interplay between knowledge, the conceptions of decolonisation and the purpose of higher education is complex in the eyes of these students, who both recognise the absence of their historical heritage in their educational experiences, but who simultaneously perceive an economic benefit from engaging in an education underpinned by a neoliberal, Western-centric philosophy. Finally, I will bring these strands of insight together to argue that for South Africa (and I would suggest more broadly), any attempt to decolonise within higher education must be contextual. Specifically in terms of this research, I will propose that South African universities seeking to decolonise must work in collaboration with the marginalised

communities for whom they are hoping to have a positive impact upon. I will demonstrate this through applying the typology of decolonisation for higher education that I introduced in chapter 4, section 4.7.

8.1 How has marginalisation of communities in South Africa affected the realities and ideas around the purpose of education?

8.1.1 Historically marginalised are still marginalised

A significant theme to emerge out of my interviews and through the digital stories was the deep sense of 'othering' felt by marginalised communities, as well as a perceived loss of agency. Indeed, 'othering' in its many forms is a root-cause of marginalisation and has a long history in South Africa. My research has shown that this historical othering maintains a strong presence in modern day South Africa. It can be seen in the limited opportunities available to the marginalised students attending UWC, including constraints on the formal education they receive (such as being able to attend certain higher education institutions, if not all higher education institutions, due to a lack of funds) and the restricted employment options that are open to them post-graduation. It can be seen also in the Guriqua community, evident in the limitations placed on them in exercising their cultural traditions and accessing their ancestral land (See chapters 6 and 7). In my analysis of the digital stories, I identified a recurring theme of displaced culture and identity that the storytellers were trying to recapture. Apartheid legalised the displacement of many Black people, moving Black communities to townships and restricting their ability to own their own properties (Ross, 1999; Gorgon, 2021). Despite this displacement being historical, there remained a very present sense of loss in the digital stories, which was attributed by the narrators to an inability to access the sacred land of their ancestors and the cultural practices that were oppressed during apartheid. I found this sense of loss particularly prevalent in digital story DS001, in which the storyteller relayed how they were no longer able to access the ancient caves within which their ancestors had produced wall drawings. The storyteller's frustration that this space of ancestral cultural practice was denied to them was palpable. Similarly, digital story DS009 spoke of a plan, expected to go ahead without consultation with the affected community, to remove a gravesite to make space for a

commercial venture. Both these examples highlight how the dismissal and disregard for sites of cultural importance to the Guriqua community.

The issues of othering and marginalisation fit well within a postcolonial analytical framework in that the experiences the storytellers describe still bear the hallmarks of the colonial encounter (Crossley and Tikly, 2004); in other words, they serve to marginalise the community through a systemic discounting of their identity and ways of being. Drawing on the work of Fanon on the 'othering effect' (2008), we see here that the denial of access to significant sacred lands and traditional cultural practices associated with those lands, reduces the community to an 'other' (Fanon, 2008). Similarly, we can see that the discourses discounting the cultural practices of the Guriqua community during apartheid have exacerbated societal power imbalances (Spivak, 1998), emphasising an 'othering' and marginalisation that continues to this day. I would further suggest that the 'othering' of the Guriqua community as evidenced in this study represents a removal of voice, and therefore agency, for the Guriqua community.

It is clear that any attempt to devise and implement a decolonising agenda within higher education must be cognisant of the presence of 'othering' if it is to have a sustained, beneficial impact upon the student's attending university and society more generally. This certainly includes understanding *why* othering has occurred, but also the means by which othering has been perpetrated.

I would suggest this reinforces my argument for the importance of contextual understanding, but beyond this I argue that the only way to counter this 'othering' is to gain that contextual understanding through listening to the voices of those who have been marginalised and attempting to understand their lived reality. Andrew and Bawa (2014), posit that the potential of people will only materialise through the expansion of choices, rather than the denial of agency. Although the above examples are not drawn from an education setting, throughout this work I have demonstrated the links, mirroring and effects higher education and society have on each other. Therefore, I argue that when considering the decolonisation of higher education, a contextual understanding of how communities are

marginalised in wider society is vital, because marginalisation in society cannot but impact upon, replicate or exacerbate what happens in higher education.

8.1.2 The denial of African histories

The 'whitewashing' and Westernising of histories in South Africa has featured significantly in both the digital stories produced by the Guriqua community and the interviews I conducted with the students and staff attending UWC (albeit expressed in different ways). In the former, narrators expressed a clear need and desire to reconnect with their hidden heritage, exemplified by how some embarked-on pilgrimages to important indigenous sites (DS009; DS001), in the anger at the discrediting and 'whitewashing' of the use of language (DS009), and in the lack of respect shown to meaningful historical monuments and places (DS008). I found an interesting contrast in how the staff and students viewed elements of the education available at UWC, with the majority of staff confident that UWC meaningfully includes African history, whereas many students expressed frustration at the Eurocentric history they received. A significant proportion of the students at UWC expressed frustration at the lack of African history and worldviews in the curriculum. One (ST005) was confused why history about the villages and communities displaced from Kruger National Park was overlooked in favour of more Eurocentric versions of history. Another student (ST005) expressed dismay that the current national curriculum, from primary through to higher education, made no mention of South African history prior to colonialism. Aside from these examples of the neglect of historical narratives, I also identified an historic discrediting of certain communities in South Africa. For instance, one staff member from UWC commented on the ways that the media trivialises the Khoisan culture through derogatory language and comedy sketches of their traditions (AC003). This social belittling has meant that many South Africans from Khoisan descent choose to refer to themselves using the apartheid language of Coloured, rather than through their membership of the Khoisan community.

Chigudu (2020) argues that when history is 'whitewashed' it omits minority and marginalised communities or hides the truth to make historical situations more palatable to certain elements of society. The 'white washing' of history I draw attention to in my analysis has deepened the marginalisation of the Guriqua community, while the invisibility of

indigenous history in the curriculum at UWC implies that it is not important, and thereby serves to discount the legitimacy of the heritage of students who come from marginalised communities (and indeed arguably will also discount it in the eyes of those students who are not from marginalised communities as well). The trivialising Khoisan culture speaks directly to the work of Paulson (2015), who argues that to deny a community's history is a marginalising act, as it belittles and can 'other' groups within society and encourage negative stereotyping (Paulson, 2015). Evidently, these are all further examples of othering (Fanon, 2008), and indicative of the effects of colonialism in discounting certain groups (as argued, for example, by Said (1978) in respect to 'Orientalism'. The argument here is that Eurocentric universalism, as evoked by colonialism, both assumes and purposefully extends the belief that European and Western ideas and beliefs are superior, and all others are then inferior, to the extent that oppressed peoples would sometimes view themselves as lesser in comparison to the Western norm (Shyama & Varma, 2018). This is evident in my findings with some of the students' identifying times that they did not perceive certain opportunities as 'for them' (ST003, ST006, ST008).

Through 'whitewashing' or the Westernising of history, I have shown how society and education in South Africa can be seen to be complicit in creating a discourse that discounts the histories of marginalised communities or, in certain cases, erase these histories in favour of a more palatable narrative (to parts of South African society). The denial and discounting of the Khoisan identity by many in South Africa is a case in point, as it demonstrates the power of othering on identity and how this directly impacts upon the way a person views their place in the world. The damaging effects of denying histories is a reminder that, despite the complexities and challenges I have identified, there is a need to decolonise higher education in South Africa, not only to lessen the marginalisation of communities but to allow education to empower rather than disempower those communities. Finding a disconnect between the experience of staff and students at UWC in how they perceive the curriculum re-emphasises my contention that it is the voice of the marginalised communities that are the intended recipients of the education that needs to be loudest in formulating a decolonising agenda. Through my work with the staff at UWC, it is clear that they have a genuine desire to give the students a relevant and valuable education, but without consulting with the students themselves, my findings suggest that it is problematic

to know what a valuable education is. Again, here, we can see the close interplay between education and broader society in that the endeavours of the indigenous communities to reconnect with their history and heritage is symptomatic of a dissatisfaction with the history that has been presented to them, both through education and society. I would therefore argue that the strong connection the Guriqua community has with their heritage and history emphasise the need to prioritise the rebalancing of the history narrative in South Africa, as such I argue that this should be at the top of the decolonising agenda.

Using the work of theorists such as Fanon, Said and Spivak to reflect upon the lived realities of the participants who have contributed to my research, provides impetus to the idea that education plays an important role in restoring and recognising otherwise the hidden or neglected histories of marginalised groups. I believe that higher education has a unique and privileged position in society, in that it can function with greater freedom than civil society organisations and can provide 'safe spaces' for marginalised identities and experiences (Gready & Jackson, 2023). Universities can add legitimacy, status, and can provide access to knowledge and resources relating to issues that would otherwise not be possible (Gready & Jackson, 2023). Higher education, therefore, often has a unique platform and the potential to raise awareness of social issues, and to give them exposure in a meaningful way. Furthermore, and given the purpose of this research is to consider the role that higher education in South Africa has in attending to marginalised communities, I would suggest that there is something of a moral imperative for universities to leverage their privilege to do this by actively recognising and exploring previously marginalised histories and bringing them into consciousness. This could be done through curriculum, research projects or supporting local projects to archive communities' histories.

8.1.3 The land and nature

My analysis emphasises the importance of the land and of nature, primarily to the Guriqua community and the indigenous stakeholders, but also a proportion of the students at UWC. It also showed that, despite the fundamental role that land plays in indigenous community identity, this significance is not reflected in the formal education that students from

marginalised communities (and indeed students more generally) receive, at least in any meaningful way. The lived connection with the land emerges particularly strongly in the digital stories that members of the Guriqua community created. Sadness and anger at not being able to access culturally significant land taken from the Guriqua through historic land reforms (DS005) was very evident. Many of the digital stories featured in my analysis (chapter 7) are nostalgic about how this land was used in Guriqua traditions and cultural practices (DS001) before being disallowed (and as a result abandoned) during apartheid. The stories also reflect a real desire to reconnect with the ancestral landscape. In my interviews with two stakeholders, the intimate and integral relationship between the Guriqua community and knowledge of the land and of nature was reinforced. The first interviewee talked about the undervalued skills that the indigenous community has in relation to fire management, and how the historical downgrading of this knowledge has been not only harmful to the community itself but has also robbed broader society of important insights into how to control wildfires. This devaluing of knowledge chimes with the work of Santos (2014) who argues that the prioritisation of Western ways of knowing ignores the vibrant, non-formal education that exists in 'under-developed' countries. From a more optimistic viewpoint, the second interviewee described how indigenous knowledge of tracking was not being recognised as important and was in danger of being lost in the community. However, the tracking knowledge was then combined with a cyber tracking system to such positive effect that the indigenous community's skills in this activity have been certified, and as a result commissioned by environment agencies, allowing the knowledge to be maintained within the community. Viewed through a postcolonial lens, this could be interpreted as an example of the impact of colonial thinking on diverse ways of knowing. However, an alternative view might be to consider the argument of Andrews & Bawa (2014), in which the potential of people and the means to increase capabilities is through the expansion of choices, rather than the denial of agency. What is important about this example is that the indigenous people retained control of their wisdom and knowledge and how it was represented (Morgan, 2003). I argue that this is paramount in any initiative that incorporates indigenous knowledge.

An interview I conducted with a student (ST005) found that their interest in nature was discouraged during their education, they wished to study biology, and was told that a

scientific consideration of nature was for White people, and that as a Black person they could indulge in nature as a Game Ranger rather than as a biologist, this message was reinforced by not seeing anyone of their race in biology. Clearly, this student's potential (or as Sen (1992) would phrase it, *capability*), was curtailed as a result of this instruction.

I have explored the importance of the land and nature to the participants of my research and how this is not given priority in formal education. I would argue that this demonstrates how higher education in South Africa is not reflecting the lived experience of the marginalised or indigenous communities of the country, and this failure has contributed to the discounting and devaluing of diverse forms of knowledge.

Throughout this thesis I have reflected upon the complexities of including indigenous knowledge into mainstream higher education, including how previous attempts have been heralded as tokenistic (see Chapter 4). Furthermore, it is inappropriate to consider indigenous knowledge as homogeneous; it is situated and fluid. Nonetheless, I do suggest that the value of indigenous knowledge can be recognised through a more contextual understanding of how indigenous communities value that knowledge. The example of the tracker community demonstrates that Western skills and indigenous knowledge can co-exist and create new ways of being that help to ensure the sustainability of indigenous knowledge. However, for this to be in keeping with a decolonising agenda, any initiative needs to be driven by the indigenous community and not imposed on them. I would suggest that this example demonstrates that the skills of the indigenous communities in South Africa can be elevated away from formal education structures, allowing them to remain situated but with increased legitimacy.

8.1.4 The role of indigenous knowledge in higher education

I have considered the marginalisation of knowledge at various points in this chapter, through analysing the digital stories created by the Guriqua community and the data from my interviews with the students at UWC and in consideration of the situatedness of indigenous knowledge. However, my analysis of the interviews I undertook with students at UWC suggest that they did not equate decolonising with the inclusion of indigenous

knowledge. The majority of the students instead argued for a more meaningful inclusion of *African* knowledge in their higher education curricula. For the purpose of this research African knowledge or African studies refers to research and knowledge that addresses problems relevant to and posed by Africans. In real terms this would mean that a whole range of disciplines would adopt an African perspective from which to study, such as: African history; African sociology and African politics (Hountondji, 2009). That is not to say that they discounted the knowledge located within their communities - many reflected on these traditional practices with some nostalgia and respect, but they did not seek to link these practices with their higher education experience.

All the students I interviewed were very aware of their exposure to the Western canon and they applied a critical lens in terms of their engagement with it. Critique of the Westernisation of the educational system has highlighted the North to South transfer of knowledge (Briggs & Sharp, 2004; Escobar, 1995), which arguably has led to the disregard and diminishment of indigenous and more traditional forms of knowing (as discussed in chapter 4). Spivak (1988) argues that power relations in society allow certain narratives to be turned into discourses, and other narratives to be rejected. She proposes that those without power, the subaltern, are unable to generate discourse and therefore unable to speak (Spivak, 1988). This suggests that the students' reflections on how to decolonise or Africanise the curriculum may be the result of a long held, neoliberal-orientated discourse produced by a narrative that has been created and upheld by those in power.

This is an interesting finding, in that to many of the students, *Africanisation* of the curriculum does not necessarily mean the inclusion of what they regard as indigenous practices. Instead, what they express a preference for is a critical awareness of how Eurocentric the education they received is, including, for example, a more comprehensive and meaningful inclusion of African history and perceptions. The lack of demand to include indigenous knowledge in mainstream higher education could possibly be explained by the aforementioned colonial disregard for indigenous knowledge and the sustained narrative of the Euro-centric ways of knowing having more legitimacy globally. It could also be the previously highlighted lack of clarity regarding indigeneity in South Africa, which makes indigenous knowledge hard to conceptualise.

In addition, the student view of decolonisation has relevance to wider debates around decolonisation and calls to decolonise. I would argue that an important purpose of decolonising is to give marginalised people a more meaningful and relevant education. What it means to decolonise, therefore, must be dependent on the needs and views of the intended recipient of the decolonised education. Reflecting further on Spivak's (1988) arguments that the content and structure of education is affected by the narrative and discourse of colonialism, I argue that if the views of the marginalised are not considered, they are marginalised further. Moreover, if the views of the students I interviewed are disregarded or discounted as the result of a colonial discourse that has been imposed on them, this in itself would be restricting the subaltern in creating their own discourse.

The marginalisation of communities in South Africa has demonstrably impacted upon how the purpose of education is perceived, on what the reality of a higher education means. I have found that the historic and ongoing marginalisation of the values and knowledge of the indigenous communities with which I engaged has led to a perception that formal education does not acknowledge or relate to certain forms of indigenous knowledge. This is not to say that there is a lack of awareness or criticism of the imposition and prioritisation of a Eurocentric education, but the drive to change this education (at least from the perspective of UWC students) is not built upon the idea of indigenous ways of knowing that embody the land and nature. Rather, calls to transform or decolonise focus upon the Africanisation of areas of the curriculum. For the purpose of this thesis, Africanisation is defined as a counter-hegemonic discourse that emerges from a desire for an autonomous African identity and for critical African scholarship which will serve to create an education that is relevant (Brizuela-Garcia, 2006; Nyamnjoh, 2022). Where there was a consideration of ways to elevate the value of indigenous knowledge, these were focused on initiatives to highlight the usefulness and relevance of indigenous knowledge but outside of the higher education context. The one exception to this was the consideration of history, where higher education was thought to have a role in disseminating understanding about marginalised communities through curriculum content and teaching, research and community projects.

8.2 Has education further marginalised communities in South Africa?

As discussed above, the students who were interviewed were very aware of the privilege and priority given to Western-centric over Afro-centric content in the curriculum. However, despite the desire for a meaningful engagement with an Afro-centric canon, the students also recognised that they had enjoyed some parts of their Westernised education, and indeed they respected the knowledge and understanding that they had gained. In addition, the students wanted the globally recognised qualification that their higher education studies eventuated in, both as formal acknowledgement of their achievements, but also because of the economic opportunities it opened up in terms of employment options. It is important to note, as discussed in chapter 2, during apartheid there were education policies that did provide an African knowledge of sorts exclusively for Black students, as a segregating policy. Although this knowledge during apartheid was portrayed as inferior to the Western knowledge, which is certainly not the intention here, this furthers the case for a plurality of knowledge to be available to all. In light of these findings, a key question to consider is whether, in the context of a society framed by neoliberal thinking, is there a third space in which the students can benefit from a Westernised education, whilst being provided with a genuinely African-orientated learning experience?

8.2.1 The role of the economy in education

A clear finding of my research is that students in higher education are motivated by the economic benefits they perceive their studies will give them. Each student I interviewed referred to this economic gain and the prospect for social mobility, but they also identified the opportunity to move away from their rural community as an outcome of their education.

I agree with postcolonial arguments that see Western neoliberalism replicated in the education structures, pedagogies and curricula of non-Western countries, and I also agree that these further exacerbate inequalities, impacting negatively on the levels of social inclusion (Gandin 2007; Khoo & Walsh, 2016). Like Giroux (2014), I believe that neoliberal education is used to disseminate the rhetoric of neoliberalism, serving to normalise its values and in so doing encouraging individuality whilst increasing the gap between the rich and the poor. This, in turn, will often foster a pedagogy that promotes self-interest. Formal

education, in this context, propagates the knowledge and the skills that reproduce social divisions of labour and legitimises capitalism (Gandin 2007; Giroux 2006; Giroux 2014). We might also note Gandin's warning (2007) that schools cause the proliferation of types of hegemonic relation in society that oppress the marginalised (2007).

Nonetheless, the economic role of education cannot be completely overlooked or disregarded. As stated in Chapter 3, education can be a means to assist a person to find employment, making them less vulnerable in the labour market, which in turn can elevate a person's standard of living and protect them and their family from poverty (Robeyns, 2006). The students in this research, in the way they perceive economic advancement as a key purpose of higher education, align with the concept of Human Capital Theory (HCT), which characterises education as an investment that results in returns in the form of employment and economic growth for both the individual and society (Gillies, 2015; Marginson, 2017).

These observations need to be considered in understanding the role of decolonisation in higher education. That said, through the course of my research, I have found that due to the marginalisation they have suffered, my student participants do not feel that their education provides them with the same opportunities enjoyed by students who come from more privileged backgrounds. With one student expressing that they "*had to work twice as hard (as their White counterparts), to get to the same place*" (ST009). Though HCT is therefore a useful evaluative lens to an extent, the fact it places an inability to achieve economic growth to the shortcomings of the individual rather than overarching social inequalities (Gillies, 2015), highlights its shortcomings in the South African context. Furthermore, the high rates of unemployment in South Africa (only 30% of graduates find employment) calls into question the whole premise that the assumed link between higher education and economic gain. When I brought this reality up with the students and staff at UWC, they were unsurprised, but stated that having a degree still allows for more opportunities than not having a degree, and higher education was still considered the best option for creating what was considered a better life.

Considering the negative associations of neoliberalism highlighted through my theoretical framework, it is important to reflect on the reasons why the students may want to leave

their more traditional communities in favour of attending university. It could be argued that the dominant discourse of the importance of socio-economic gain has been so prevalent, along with the aforementioned marginalisation of their community, that success and progress is equated with moving away from a rural community to a more neoliberal existence. However, the students that I interviewed are all critical thinkers and very capable of reflecting upon their thoughts and beliefs, and of questioning their education system. Therefore, it does not seem reasonable to disregard their motivations as being uncritically conditioned by the neoliberal agenda. Rather, I suggest that their thinking is grounded in realism. In this light, the students are given agency. They are demonstrating an awareness of their marginalisation, they are actively critical of the neoliberal society and education system that they are part of, but they are also aware that, despite the unguaranteed economic gains, it is through a higher education that they will be given the chance of changing their circumstances.

We can also see that economic gain was not the students' only motivation for attending higher education. The majority interviewed also stressed the importance of reaching a certified level of achievement that is globally recognised (perhaps constructed upon an outcomes-based model of education). Postcolonial thinking would categorise such certification as part of a Western education model that detracts from critical learning (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 2014). However, again, the students I interviewed are critical, conscious, and capable of questioning situations of oppression. Indeed, they possess the kinds of skill which Freire (1970), argues become numbed when a person is exposed to a banking education based on a passive transmission of knowledge. I would therefore again suggest that, in light of these arguments, if a decolonisation agenda is to be effective for marginalised communities, it needs to be grounded in the context and needs of members of those communities, something I will seek to elaborate upon in the next section.

8.3 What are the ideas around decolonising education in South Africa?

My intention here is to expand upon some of the ideas raised in the previous section by placing more direct focus on what my research reveals about the concept of the decolonising of higher education in South Africa. This includes an acknowledgment of the

historic oppression and marginalisation of communities in the country and the ways that a decolonising agenda may respond to the legacy of this.

8.3.1 Why is decolonising education important in South Africa?

Decolonisation is a familiar term in higher education in South Africa; however, through this research I have found that among both the staff and students interviewed, there is not a unified conception of what it means. Rather, there are layers of nuance which reflect the realities of seeking to decolonise in the context of a neoliberal society. These realities include the restriction of resources available to higher education institutions, (in this case UWC), which means that decolonisation is not always prioritised.

The drive to decolonise education in South Africa was given impetus in 2015 as a result of the 'Rhodes Must Fall' movement at the University of Cape Town (UCT). Although this movement originated around the removal of a statue, it widened to encapsulate a broader call for the decolonisation of the University (Nyamnjoh, 2022). The movement was a powerful show of resistance to the colonial influence on education and one that resonated through the South African higher education sector (Jansen, 2019). The relatively recent end of apartheid - which evidently left behind a colonial-orientated view of higher education - has provided added momentum to the decolonising call, with a particular focus at addressing the continued marginalisation of communities that the post-apartheid environment has failed to address (Nyamnjoh, 2022).

Bhambra, Gebrial and Nişancioğlu (2018), discuss the term 'decolonising' as having two key meanings. First, it is a way of observing the world that situates colonialism as a shaping force, a shaping force which, through empire and racism, changed values and norms on a global scale. Second, decolonising allows space and consideration for other forms of knowing and values that are distinct from the Eurocentric domination of ways of being. Decolonising education, therefore, is important because it has the potential to expose the power relations at play in the production and dissemination of knowledge (Begum and Saini, 2018, p. 198). This is of particular significance for marginalised or oppressed communities, who are more likely to feel protected if their worldviews are reflected in the values and

knowledge provided by universities (Gready & Jackson, 2023). In this, decolonisation is recognised as a force to give space to those who have been historically marginalised to communicate from their own frame of reference (Le Grange, 2018). Decolonisation is a means to create opportunity, resources and dialogue that are accessible to all cultures and knowledge systems, providing curricula that individuals can identify with, and which (re)consider how knowledge is created and frames the world (Charles, 2019; Kgari-Masondo & Chimbunde, 2021).

In Chapter 4, I discussed the responsibility of the Western university in regard to decolonising, drawing from the work of Bhabra et al., and recognising that it is through the Western university that colonial power was and is produced, naturalised and disseminated (Bhabra, Gebrial and Nişancioğlu, 2018). Furthermore, decolonising education challenges the existing, dominant political discourses that view education as solely a vehicle for economic growth. In Chapter 3, the potential for economic growth to have an adverse effect in exacerbating poverty and inequality, and limiting opportunities of a just society (Tikly, 2021) was raised. In the case of South Africa, this is of particular relevance as the country still has high levels of crime, poverty and widespread inequality. A recent report by Aljazeera named South Africa as the most unequal country in the world, with 10 percent of the population owning more than 80% of the wealth (Aljazeera, 10 March, 2022). Tikly (2021) argues that to achieve sustainable development, dominant ideas need to be engaged in critical conversation with non-Western perspectives. In Chapter 3, I drew from De Sousa Santos' (2017) idea of 'epistemicide', which in the case of South Africa, can be seen in the way that indigenous knowledge systems, along with language and cultures, have been systematically marginalised (Tikly, 2021).

The findings from my research align well with those of Santos and Tikly in recognising the 'epistemicide' that has occurred in South Africa, marginalising the indigenous communities' knowledge, language and culture. Despite acknowledging the opportunities of the economic growth that higher education can allow, I align with the argument above, that education can offer marginalised communities benefits beyond economic gain (Tikly, 2021).

My research has highlighted the realities, complexities, and nuances to be considered in seeking to decolonise generally, and at UWC specifically. This contextual understanding of the role of education in the marginalisation of communities in South Africa, along with the dependencies of the Western education model that have built over time, suggest that there is a case for an approach to decolonisation that does not replace one thing with another, but rather adopts creative strategies for bringing both things into the same space.

8.3.2 Decolonising education in a neoliberal society

I have talked about a tension between the reality of a neoliberal purpose to education, and the desire for education to aspire to be more than a vehicle for economic growth.

Throughout this thesis, I have recognised that education in South Africa has served to exacerbate the inequalities derived from the country's colonial history, and exacerbated by apartheid. Many of the staff interviewed expressed a genuine drive to move towards a more equitable education system by enhancing the curriculum to include more diverse forms of knowing (AC001; AC003; AC004). However, staff also admitted that this openness to reform is often superseded by what are perceived to be, more pressing demands, including for example, ensuring students have access to all the resources they need to participate in their education.

Further tensions are apparent in the digital stories created by the Guriqua community and the interviews with stakeholders. I have highlighted how the Guriqua wish to reconnect with their culture and heritage, and the anger they feel at the way colonialism and apartheid has 'whitewashed' their history (DS009). And yet they are undeniably part of a Westernised society. For the stakeholders, there is recognition that indigenous knowledge is undervalued and that this has marginalised and disadvantaged the communities further. This is evident in the struggle some indigenous communities face to access the full benefits from society (IND002), and in how indigenous knowledge and cultural practices are being diminished (IND001). However, the stakeholders express that the knowledge of the communities they work with is very contextual and of a place, and to then dilute this to situate it in a more formal education setting feels tokenistic (IND002; IND003).

The tensions recognised in this section highlight the complexity and nuances around the decolonising debate in South Africa. As stated above, the drive to decolonise in South Africa was initiated by students in the 2015 protests, demonstrating their desire for change. However, the students I interviewed are not calling for a complete transformation of their curriculum and Western structuring of education. The students articulate a frustration at the Eurocentric curriculum, and all stated a preference for a more Afrocentric model. But they want the benefits of receiving a globally recognised qualification that allows access to opportunities in terms of employment, living conditions and greater access to society. I argue that a decolonisation of education needs to be driven by the recipients of that education. This suggests decolonisation in South Africa would be centred around a meaningful hybridity of a Western and African canon.

The significance of the aforementioned tensions and contradictions is that they further demonstrate the complexities facing the call to decolonise higher education in South Africa. The necessity for change is expressed through the realisation that the current Western education model is marginalising communities. This brings me to consider if and how decolonising education can respond to the tensions highlighted in this section. The capabilities approach highlights the importance of people to have the opportunities and potential to make choices (Sen, 1993). My analysis of the data exposes a disempowerment experienced by many of the participants in my research. I argue that decolonisation needs to be contextual to be effective, in the case of South Africa, there is a need to transform higher education to allow access to marginalised communities, but also expand their capabilities.

8.3.3 Inclusion of Afro-centric knowledge or an Africanisation of higher education?

The need to decolonise is clearly recognised by both the staff and students at UWC, but it is the nature (and perhaps the depth) of the transformation that might be seen to be contested. Many of the staff believe that the curriculum is already inclusive of African knowledge and point to some ways in which community knowledge is being included

(AC001). However, to some of the students an Afro-centric orientation was invisible, and certainly not sufficiently present to disrupt the prominence of the Western canon (ST002).

It is pertinent here to be reminded that the history of Africanisation in South Africa is complex. For example, during apartheid the concept of an African education was used to justify a policy of segregation in education, whereby the justification of cultural defence was used to delineate what 'races' could attend which universities (Muller, 1963; Nyamnjoh, 2022). As examined in chapter 2, during apartheid the policy was established that 'Bantu' education was to enable the Black man 'to serve his own community' with 'no place for him in the European community...' (Behr, 1995, p.36). The reasoning for this was that a Western knowledge was not part of the Bantu community life and was of no relevance. This demonstrates that decolonising is not merely a set of actions, and that the motivation to decolonise must be to include rather than exclude. With this in mind it is important to recognise the potential of a purely Afro-centric education can serve to marginalise a community when they are living in a society that also has Western influence, in that it can restrict communities from certain aspects of society and deny them more global opportunities that a Western education can offer.

In the post-apartheid context, it is important to note that Africanisation has developed within the discourse of transformation. As discussed in chapter 2, transformation is the term used to describe the project of identifying and redressing unjust legacies of apartheid, and by its nature often has decolonising policies, and with that Africanisation (Nyamnjoh, 2022). Nyamnjoh (2022), argues that Africanisation requires more than providing an equity of access to Black South Africans, but rather reconstituting the space that they have access to. This more systematic decolonising is debated more fully in chapter 2, recognising the contested nature of decolonising education in South Africa, with different voices calling for different levels of decolonisation (Fataar, 2018; Fomunyan, 2017).

The difference of perception between the staff and students regarding the current level of inclusion of African knowledge at UWC contributes to my earlier argument that the marginalised communities need to be driving the agenda for educational change. As Freire

(1970) and Giroux (2014) contest, if marginalised people do not have an input into their own education, the community will not be empowered to challenge their social inequality.

Highlighting the complex history of education segregation in South Africa further emphasises the complexities facing higher education in the mission to transform education. I argue for the need to provide access to a higher education in South Africa that does not restrict students from accessing different forms of knowledge but has a mission to widen the access to diverse forms of knowing for all students. This calls for a concerted effort to recognise the value of Afrocentric knowledge in the academy and make it available to all students, including White students, without restricting access to the Western canon. The nuances and complexities surrounding decolonising higher education in South Africa, inspired me to consider if decolonising higher education in South Africa is possible?

8.4 Is decolonising higher education possible in South Africa? A typology of decolonising in South Africa

It's clear from all elements of my research (the digital stories and interviews) that coloniality is embedded in South Africa's cultural and social systems. This is demonstrated through the whitewashing of Guriqua history, and the restrictions placed on their access to land, as well as the lack of 'presence' of indigenous culture in higher education curricula.

Colonialism created a governing ideology for the modern world system that appears universal and inevitable (Quijano, 2007). In order to understand whether it is possible to implement in a meaningful way a decolonisation agenda in South Africa requires us to understand the ongoing impact of colonialism in the country.

Throughout this work I have recognised different definitions of decolonising; however, as outlined in both the introduction and Chapter 3, for the purpose of this research decolonising is defined as contesting the hegemony, legacy and limitations of Eurocentric epistemologies and the Northern control of knowledge production, whilst interrogating whose interests are met by the prioritised knowledge and its practices (Mignolo & Escobar, 2010; Hayes, Lockett & Missiaszek. 2021). I have come to understand that to decolonise

means different things to different theorists, educationalists, and stakeholders. Whilst I see value in the range of views and expectations of decolonising, for the context of this thesis, I think the idea of negative and positive programmes of decolonising offered by Mitova (2020) are useful. Mitova defines the 'negative epistemic programme' as one that eliminates all Western influence of knowledge supplies and production in non-Western countries, whereas the positive programme is to proactively utilise marginalised epistemic resources to allow for and encourage the advancement of knowledge in various fields (Mitova, 2020, p193).

Through my understanding of the experience of the marginalised communities at the centre of this research, I would advocate for the so-called positive programme of decolonisation (Mitova, 2020). This would allow the meaningful inclusion of African thought and diverse ways of knowing into higher education curricula, which would then encourage further research into these disciplines (Mitova, 2020). In turn, this would then allow incorporation of both Western and more localised knowledge that over time would, elevate the value placed on Afro-centric education, whilst not restricting access to, what is currently a globally recognised higher education that offers the socio-economic gains which the students value. On a practical level, Professor Leon Tikly (2021), argues that to decolonise education involves the following dimensions: decolonising the curriculum and research; democratising education through challenging institutional racism; increasing access for historically marginalised communities; diversifying Faculty, engaging students' choices, and breaking down barriers between universities and the communities (Wilkinson & Zou'bi, 2021).

My research supports this conceptualisation of decolonising as it recognises the importance of the relationship between communities and universities. I would argue that any decolonising agenda needs to be formed in relationship with the people it is intended to benefit. This reflection does not take away from the criticisms of neoliberal agendas and neoliberal education, nor does it shy away from the criticism of the damage the imposing of a Western education has caused to diverse and indigenous ways of knowing in South Africa. Here, it is also pertinent to recognise the voices of the Guriqua community in expressing the loss of identity, history, culture, and rights that has been caused by an oppressive Western minority.

Inspired by writers such as Illich and Freire, I find that education can be more than a means of economic development and inclusion. Education can be a means to transform structural conditions that perpetuate inequalities, and through an alternative pedagogy to that of the mainstream, education can serve to empower and liberate subaltern populations (Esteva, 2007; Freire, 1970; Illich, 1971; Sandoval, 2017).

These findings regarding decolonising are now explored in the **typology of decolonising**, which draws from the ideas explored in 3.5 and 4.2 and was introduced in Section 4.7. This section will now apply this typology to the findings of my data analysis to evaluate this typology as a concept to perhaps use in future research.

1) Decolonisation as representation

This first facet of decolonising considers the demographic of both staff and students accessing higher education in South Africa. As we learnt in chapters 2 and 6, UWC is traditionally a university of the left, and was at the forefront in the struggle against apartheid. UWC states its key mission is to enable access, equity, and quality in higher education through prioritising historically marginalised people (UWC, 2021). The university was historically classified as 'Coloured', and it still has a high population of Coloured and Black students. This means that the majority of students accessing UWC are from historically marginalised communities.

However, this does not mean that UWC does not have issues with representation, it emerged from an interview with an academic staff member (AC005) that the student council was not representative of the student population at UWC. This was felt to be important, in that the experience of education and university life is very different depending on ethnicity and gender in South Africa. With this in mind, to provide an education that is relevant for the diverse student group, these needs should be represented in groups that have access to change and power, so that there is a full understanding of the requirements of these students.

A further recognised importance placed on representation is that if students do not see themselves in positions of power, they may again feel an outsider within the academic community, which can affect their own perception of their lack of agency (Robeyns, 2017). This sentiment was echoed in the interview with ST005, analysed in section 7.2.2, in which the participant relayed how they did not think that the academic study of biology was for them as they could only see White people accessing this vocation.

Despite the need for more representation on the Student Council, the staff at UWC are very diverse, with many originating from marginalised communities. This is important in that, not only do they fulfil the need for students to see themselves in positions of power but means that staff have a genuine understanding of the challenges marginalised students in South Africa face.

2) Decolonisation as content/pedagogy

This requirement is concerned with the role of decolonisation as allowing space and consideration for other forms of knowing distinct from the Eurocentric ways of being (Bhambra, Gebrial & Nişancioğlu, 2018). This was a big concern for the students interviewed for this research. All the students that were interviewed expressed that they want to have access to more diverse knowledge through their education at UWC. This was often in the form of a more Afrocentric curriculum. However, interestingly, this need was not always recognised by the staff, in that the staff often expressed that due to UWC's social justice values the university was decolonial by design. There was reflection by some of the staff interviewed that there was not much inclusion of more 'traditional indigenous knowledge' but that there were some modules that were Afrocentric. Whereas the students felt that the modules that were more Afrocentric were tokenistic and that there needs to be a more meaningful engagement with Afrocentric knowledge. This asserts that this requirement of decolonising that was formed through my interpretation of the literature, was also felt to be important by the students at UWC. As I contend that it is the intended recipients of the education that need to drive the decolonising agenda, this would suggest that the diversity of knowledge is an important facet of decolonising.

A further area of concern to some of the participants of this research was that the language of instruction at UWC is often not the students first language. This was seen as problematic for both staff and students that were interviewed, with suggestions that they could try and provide more materials and teaching at least in languages from the Western Cape (AC001; AC004). This reinforces that language of instruction is seen as an important factor for marginalised students attending higher education, and therefore, I argue should be a consideration in the decolonising agenda. A further consideration that emerged from the data analysis in regards to language, is that certain ideas and ways of knowing or thinking can be difficult to translate into Western languages. This is an important consideration when trying to incorporate diverse ways of knowing into a Western language education system.

3) Decolonisation as recognition

This requirement considers the importance of the emblems and glorification of historical figures within a university, and the meaning-making behind these. This is particularly prevalent for South Africa, which witnessed the infamous #Rhodesmustfall and #Feesmustfall movement in 2015. As discussed in section 2.4.3, this was a student movement ignited by the calls to remove a statue of Cecil Rhodes, which moved into a broader movement to decolonise universities. A statue is often seen as a glorification of a person and their achievements. For these to be present in universities suggests that the values of the university may be in line with those of the individual represented through statues or named buildings. Although these protests were not started at UWC, the student movement did lead to an extended shutdown of UWC in 2015 and again in 2016. The spread of these student movements not only demonstrated the importance of the values a university outwardly portrays through the architecture and statues, they also demonstrate the strength of the student concerns regarding the education they receive and their desire for a more decolonial offering. This highlights the importance for a university invested in decolonising to consider whom they are glorifying through statues and architecture and possible changes they can make.

4) Decolonisation as hybridity/third space

My grounded analysis of the data discovered a tension between the desire for a more contextual, Afrocentric education and appreciation and understanding of localised knowledges and epistemological worldview, which was at odds with the expressed need of the students for the recognition and economic gains of a more Western, globalised neoliberal education offering. This led to a consideration of a more hybrid education or a third space, that would perhaps allow the best of both worlds. After analysing the data through my theoretical lens set out in chapter 3, and the literature explored in chapter 4, it became apparent that for a hybrid education to be effective in South African higher education, it needs to be, what I have referred to as a 'meaningful hybridity'. That is, a hybridity that is driven by the marginalised students and that has a balanced epistemological diversity which allows for a meaningful inclusion of other ways of being, that is not tokenistic, and where Western education is not prioritised above, or viewed as the more legitimate knowledge. A way forward to achieve this is critical pedagogy. It emerged from the data that many of the students would like to feel more encouraged to engage more critically in the classroom (ST012). To encourage a more critical pedagogy develops critical thinkers that have the confidence to question their reality and drive societal change (Freire, 1970) and allows for epistemological diversity (Walker, 2018).

Whereas the majority of the staff interviewed, felt that critical engagement was encouraged and happening (AC001; AC004). This disconnect demonstrates the necessity for student voices in the decolonial process and a university wide encouragement of critical pedagogy. This need also emerged through my grounded analysis of the interviews of indigenous stakeholders, who related the impact the marginalisation of indigenous knowledge has had on communities (for example, IND002, section 7.2.3). When viewed through my theoretical framework (*figure 1*), the participant's assertion that if their culture was respected, the indigenous community would feel better about themselves, demonstrates the strength of the discounting and 'othering' (Fanon & Spivak), that is experienced when culture and ways of being are diminished and seen as unimportant to the wider society. This is a clear area

that education could work towards creating meaningful hybridity and increasing capabilities, through the inclusion of diverse knowledge throughout the curriculum.

5) Decolonisation as power/resistance

This requirement is to address the deeper and more systemic colonial power structures inform and influence the higher education system in many contexts. The goal here is to *overturn* the system, which would imply contesting the hegemony, legacy, and limitations of Eurocentric epistemologies (Mignolo & Escobar, 2010). This would include the breaking down of barriers between staff and students, the university and communities and society. A way forward to achieve this, is argued to be critical pedagogy. It emerged from the data that many of the students would like to feel more encouraged to engage more critically in the classroom. Whereas, the majority of the staff interviewed, felt that critical engagement was encouraged and happening. This disconnect demonstrates the necessity for student voices in the decolonial process and a university wide encouragement of critical pedagogy.

A further important aspect of decolonising in relation to power, is the power surrounding rights of communities and the power given to certain ways of being, that is denied to other ways of being. This notion of power emerged through my grounded analysis of the digital stories in chapter 7, many of the stories alluded to the teller's lost power through the removal and denial of rights. This loss of power was also expressed through the discounting and restrictions around their cultural practices. Although this is not directly linked to education, when viewed through the lens of my theoretical framework, there are links between enabling critical thought to the society a student is in and how this can then encourage students to address their rights within that society. The language of education can also allow students to express themselves in a way that is harder to dismiss. The ability to find the language to express their frustrations in a more impactful way, was highlighted by two of the students I interviewed (ST001; ST002 section 6.6.1) as a positive to the higher education at UWC.

The importance of language in the decolonising process is highlighted above in requirement 2, however, language is also linked with power. As discussed, the language of instruction in education gives power to the culture the language is associated with. Beyond this, identities and culture can also be discounted through attaching derogatory language to aspects of marginalised cultures and communities. The impact of this came through in many of the digital stories, an example is story DS009 (section 7.2.3) in which the teller expresses their discomfort as being labelled 'coloured'.

The grounded analysis of my data does align and give substance to the suggested typology of decolonisation. I would argue that the requirements set out above, when singular initiatives, are what I have argued in this thesis as 'transformation' rather than decolonising (see section 6.5.1). However, when these initiatives are adopted together, they then allow this final requirement (Decolonisation as power/resistance) to be initiated. For decolonisation as power and resistance to happen, I believe there needs to be some level of transformation to occur, and then this facet allows for a meaningful and sustained decolonisation. I argue that the typology of decolonising needs to combine a bottom-up approach that would place marginalised people at the centre of the decolonising process through exploring what decolonising means to them and how they perceive their education. This includes what content these communities would value and how they identify the purpose of education.

To conclude this chapter, in consideration of the students in attending higher education at UWC, along with an understanding of the current context in South Africa, I suggest a more inclusive concept of decolonisation could be considered. As Walker (2018) argues, to decolonise knowledge is not actually about de-Westernising education, but rather it is about, knowledge-making to include North, South, East and West, both indigenous ways of knowing and Western knowledge; it is to create a space that recognises epistemological diversity and is inclusive with a meaningful relationship between university and society (Walker, 2018). The intention of this research, therefore, is to reflect upon the current needs of the historically marginalised communities that participated in this research, and to

consider the realities of present-day South Africa to consider how higher education may offer an opportunity to serve the marginalised communities of the country in a meaningful way - in a way that allows marginalised communities greater representation and potency in their educational experience.

In this chapter, I have sought to bring the conceptual considerations of my research together and explore my key findings, including how they align to the theoretical framework of post colonialism and the capabilities approach. I have also discussed the implications of my findings and how they contribute to the wider debates in this field. In the following chapter, I will explore the contribution of my work in greater detail, which will help inform a framework arguing for the importance of contextual consideration in decolonising higher education.

9. Conclusion

9.1 Project Summary

The call to decolonise higher education in South Africa has grown louder in the wake of the Fallist movement of 2015 and 2016. As a consequence of the movement, South African universities are shifting the language they use, moving away from agendas focusing on 'transformation', towards focusing on 'decolonisation'. Many academics in South Africa are now engaged in the decolonising process, involving initiatives to rethink curriculum and pedagogy.

During this research I was particularly interested in the role of indigenous knowledge in the decolonising process. I am aware that indigenous knowledge is of a place, localised and contextual; however, decolonising education is a process that aims to make space for the meaningful inclusion of indigenous knowledge. Given the structures, regulations, and frameworks around higher education, it is evident that to incorporate indigenous knowledge, the knowledge would need to be adapted to suit a certain rigidity of format. These risks limiting the authenticity of the indigenous knowledge and has the potential to dilute and devalue that knowledge. Yet, if indigenous knowledge is not included in the decolonisation process, is a decolonising process truly decolonising?

I have considered how the students from marginalised communities view higher education. Higher education has the capacity to empower or disempower, strengthen, or devalue identities, elevate, or undermine knowledge. The interviewed students are very aware of the privilege and priority given to western-centric over Afro-centric content in the curriculum. However, they also wanted the globally recognised qualification that their higher education studies eventuated in, both as a formal acknowledgement of their achievements, but also because of the economic opportunities it opened in terms of employment options. Noting these tensions, this study argues for considerations of how decolonisation is framed.

I addressed these tensions by looking at cases of indigenous knowledge being incorporated into higher education and debates related to decolonisation. I considered the realities facing the South African higher education system, and I analysed the lived experience of an indigenous community through the lens of the capabilities approach and postcolonialism. Put simply, I sought to investigate whether decolonisation can adapt to ensure it serves the needs expressed by the marginalised communities that it is intended to impact upon.

9.2 Findings, contributions, and significance

9.2.1 What are the perspectives of marginalised students in higher education in South Africa?

All the students and staff from UWC interviewed expressed a genuine enthusiasm for education. The staff showed a meaningful engagement with the students, and all were interested in how to enhance the student experience through reflecting on the curriculum content, thinking of innovative ways to teach, and taking part in initiatives to transform the curriculum. There was an awareness of the challenging circumstances that the students at UWC are facing, and at times some of the staff reflected on elements that UWC could do better in helping the students with challenges, such as economic responsibilities to their families, receiving substandard primary and secondary education, and issues relating to safety in areas of travel around the campus. As mentioned in chapter 2, UWC is known as the University of the Left, and has a history of participating in social movements (especially during apartheid). This expectation of the institution is a double-edged sword. For example, given the history of progressive thinking, and due to experience of operating through a social justice framework, it might be assumed the university has more freedom to transform and decolonise than it actually does. UWC is arguably less pressured than some Universities that are more globally renowned, such as the UCT, as they are not attracting the same demographic who expect the university to remain high on the global league tables. However, the majority of students that attend UWC are from marginalised backgrounds, and their socio-economic concerns have very real consequences. They are, in many ways, much more dependent on their university experience resulting in good employment opportunities.

When asked what they thought about education, the majority of students reflected very positively on the skills they had developed. Students referred to a critical awareness that had been refined through their higher education experience. One student mentioned that higher education had allowed them to develop the language to express their arguments in a more nuanced way. Students also reflected on how experiencing higher education and mixing with other students has made them think differently about elements of their culture. A particular reflection was recognition of the way in which women are treated in some communities. All the students were aware of this to some extent, and all students were critical of how women can be treated as lesser than men in many communities in South Africa.

Despite the positive elements of attending UWC, all the interviewed students also wanted an Africanisation of their higher education experience. Africanisation is defined as a counter-hegemonic discourse that emerges from a desire for an autonomous African identity, and for critical African scholarship which will serve to create an education that is relevant (Brizuela-Garcia, 2006; Nyamnjoh, 2022). The students expressed feelings of frustration and criticised the extent to which their curriculum was Eurocentric. I found a tension between the staff and students around this issue, in that the staff had the perception that the initiatives implemented to include more African knowledge in the curriculum were a positive move that amounted to a decolonisation. The students on the other hand felt any inclusion of African thought into the curriculum was largely tokenistic rather than meaningful and impactful. This highlights the importance of student engagement in any transformative or decolonising initiative. The disconnect between the narrative of the staff and students reveal that, even if staff have the intention to deliver a decolonising initiative, if this is not felt by the recipient it loses meaning. The students experienced the inclusion of African knowledge to be superficial. For many students, their exposure to any Africanisation in the curriculum at UWC was dependent on the course of study they were undertaking. This would suggest the need for a more bottom-up approach, with meaningful consultation and engagement with the students who will be experiencing the 'decolonised' curriculum.

An important aspect of a decolonised education is the creation of space in which students can engage critically with their education and be free to question the structures they are living and learning within (Freire, 1985; Giroux, 2014). There were mixed reports of the amount of freedom of expression and critical space that the students at UWC experienced. Some students stated that, due to the highly politicised context of South Africa, it did not always feel safe to express certain opinions. Some students felt more encouraged by their lecturers to express themselves, others felt that they were not encouraged to speak of things beyond what the curriculum presented. There was a notable difference in experience of students from the humanities subjects, who did feel that criticality was encouraged, whereas students I interviewed in the hard sciences felt that the teaching was structured in a way that did not offer much space for critical engagement. An important finding was that even when students felt they were encouraged to be critical and exploratory in the classroom, this did not filter through to the assessment, and as a result this decoloniality of critical space did not feel as authentic.

Although critical space and a more Afrocentric education were important to all the students who participated in this study, this did not mean they did not also recognise the value of some elements of the Eurocentric neoliberal education model that they were being taught under. In particular, they clearly saw advantage in the socio-economic gains that are attributed to higher education, and the globally recognised certification of their level of educational attainment. Although this perception may well be the consequence of the colonial-imposed, neoliberal Western society that the students find themselves living within, it is nonetheless of unavoidable importance. There are theorists who argue that when education does not provide enough space or encourage critical thinking, students are less likely to have the skills and confidence to challenge the inequalities they face (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 2014). Similarly, the influence of the neoliberal agenda can be Western-orientated discourse that prioritises an education in service to the economy, that may not promote students as free thinkers (Gandin, 2007). Both these schools of thought could account for the students valuing certain elements of the Eurocentric model of education. However, the students I engaged with were all highly critical thinkers who were very aware of the influences of their education, and they had engaged in many schools of thought. As such, I argue that to presume that they are only valuing aspects of their education because they

essentially know no better, is itself a colonial mindset that belittles the experience of those being educated.

Further, and despite recognising the positive elements of their education, the majority of students made mention of their marginalisation and how this affected their educational experience. There was an understanding of the level of work and output they needed to commit to, just to have a chance of an opportunity that is more accessible to students from more privileged backgrounds. I relate this to the capabilities approach. The students recognised that just because they have access to higher education, does not mean they have the same opportunities as students from more privileged backgrounds in terms of choice of university, or employment after university. They realised they have different levels of confidence and entitlement and were less prepared for higher education than other students because of their primary and secondary education experiences. Furthermore, the UWC staff highlighted that many of the students had financial responsibilities to their families and communities that would not be the same for students from more privileged backgrounds. This not only demonstrates the aforementioned critical awareness of the students to their circumstances, but it also reveals the importance of prioritising change in context where vast inequalities exist, which restrict a person's opportunities and choices in relation to their education.

9.2.2 How do indigenous people perceive their knowledge?

I have outlined in this study the importance that is placed on the inclusion of other knowledges in the decolonising agenda, in particular indigenous knowledges. I have identified concerns and issues in including knowledge that is very embedded in nature into a formal education setting, and how this might mean the indigenous knowledge is diluted or unreasonably adapted to fit into a Western model of curriculum. The question of who does the knowledge belong to and is it appropriate or ethical to 'take' and include it in a higher education setting has also been raised. In order to understand these tensions and concerns, I wanted to learn more about how indigenous communities view and understand their knowledge. Albeit with the limited contact I had with indigenous communities, I identified a tension between their desire to have their knowledge better understood and valued, and

the strong, sacred connection between knowledge and nature, and between knowledge and place. There was clear frustration from all the Guriqua community and stakeholders who were interviewed concerning the devaluing of, and restrictions placed on, their knowledge and cultural practice as a result of colonialism and apartheid. This has been a huge contributor to the marginalisation of many communities in South Africa, and was most keenly felt in the constraints placed on their access to sacred land and through the 'whitewashing' of the communities' histories.

The case of the indigenous trackers highlighted in Chapter 7 is of particular relevance in responding to this tension. The tracker community has an established, long-standing relationship with an academic who has worked closely with the community for many years. The academic developed cyber tracking software that has allowed the community to certify its knowledge and make a more sustainable living from their indigenous skill. This is a demonstration of an indigenous community adopting an element of Western technology and culture to keep their knowledge alive, and to share its value more widely. This was not done within a formal higher education setting, and the knowledge has very much remained localised to the tracking community, but it has been disseminated and used to educate more Western students in this specific skill set. Rather than indigenous knowledge being extracted from the community to be included in higher education, it has remained in the community and is used to educate Western students. The important message in this example is that the initiative, although supported by a Western academic, was driven by the community itself.

9.2.3 Is decolonising higher education in South Africa possible?

To answer the question: *Is decolonising higher education in South Africa possible?* depends on the willingness of the people who can implement change. It is contingent upon an agreement of what decolonising actually means in practice, and that this has to be contextual to be realistic and also impactful. In a complex context such as South Africa, which has universities that differ considerably in culture and the demographic of students, what decolonising means may differ across institutions. My key finding, and subsequent argument, is that for a decolonising agenda to be authentic and effective, the marginalised

students it is intended to serve must have a leading role in its formulation. In other words, they should be engaged as partners, and curricula should be co-created. Any formulation should include a consideration of the societal factors that have been responsible for the marginalisation of the communities and individuals, a reflection on how education in the first instance stops being part of the problem (which requires recognition of how it has contributed to the problem), and in the second instance how it becomes a positive force for reducing the inequalities.

A further important note to make is that decolonising does not have to be adversarial, it does not have to be founded on binaries of 'Africa knowledge vs Western knowledge', and indigenous knowledge vs science' (Jansen, 2109; Mbembe, 2019). Rather, decolonising could be an opportunity to enter a third space, a way of combining the two to form an education that incorporates the meaningful influence of different knowledges that best suit the students who will be in receipt of that education.

9.3 Limitations of this study

This study has various limitations that it is important to acknowledge. First, it is very specific to the experience of students at the University of Western Cape and one group of participants from the Guriqua community. My choice of case studies was due to the particular history of UWC and the ongoing relationships I have with academic staff and some postgraduate students at the university. Similarly, my relationship with Natural Justice allowed me to gain an understanding of the context of the Guriqua community, which was important to me. However, this limits the transferable nature of some of the findings, especially considering that in South Africa higher education institutions are very varied in culture and demographic, and the indigenous communities of the country are not one homogenous group with the same values and culture. Despite this limitation, I believe that my findings, including the framework for decolonising I outline in the following section, provide a structure for consideration in other contexts.

As previously mentioned, I am from a very working-class background in the UK, and my own experience of higher education is very much being an 'outsider'. Growing up in a

marginalised community has not only impacted the choice of methodology and underpinning theories I have used, but also the lens through which I interpret the data.

The impact of the global Covid19 pandemic affected my data collection, particularly in regard to the recruitment of participants for interviews, needing to conduct interviews online and mean I was unable to do in situ observations. The inability to physically be in South Africa at the time of the data collection also limited my perspective to the people I interviewed, rather than gaining a more varied perspective from experiencing campus and teaching myself, which would have been my intention during the intended lengthy field visit.

However, the pre-established connections with staff and students at UWC allowed for some informed and enthusiastic participation which ensured the data I did collect was rich and meaningful. Furthermore, the restrictions on travelling led to the decision to train some of the research staff in digital storytelling. As previously mentioned, these researchers were from indigenous communities and had long standing relationships with the Guriqua community. When considering a decolonised methodology, this opportunity resulted in local researchers working with the communities, which in turn enabled the researchers to train in a methodology that enables the community to create outputs for advocacy. Natural Justice has held further workshops with communities since the workshop for this research.

9.4 Framework for decolonising

Being aware of my positionality and working in a postcolonial setting, I have consciously not included a 'recommendations' setting in this thesis, with the hope of avoiding the danger of being didactic and patronising. Instead, I have created a short list of considerations when thinking about setting forth a decolonising agenda. This is not specific to South Africa but is drawn out of the findings that I consider to be transferable. All the considerations in the framework relate to the importance for any decolonisation initiative to be grounded in the context of the marginalised communities it is intended to serve.

Clear understanding of the impact education has on marginalised community.

This study found that the marginalised communities within South Africa, as elsewhere, had been impacted negatively by the prevailing education system in a myriad of ways. An understanding of how the education system has, and continues to, impact on marginalised communities is vital when deciding the potential of education to benefit the communities going forward. This understanding needs to be underpinned by a broader conception of the societal marginalisation that the community has suffered.

An understanding of indigenous communities

The inclusion of any form of indigenous knowledge into the curriculum should be planned in full collaboration with the community and holders of the knowledge in question. This knowledge is very particular and often considered sacred to the indigenous communities and needs to be respected as such.

Consideration of the needs of students

The difference in the perception of the Africanisation of education at UWC between the staff and the students, raises the importance of including the student voice in the decolonising agenda. A further factor for consideration is the nuanced and complex needs the students have in terms of their education. It cannot be assumed that those with the power to decolonise fully understand these needs, nor that those for whom decolonisation is being implemented do not recognise (and wish to maintain) value in the prevailing education system.

Out of my findings emerged two potential areas that I believe provide transferable opportunities for universities in productively contributing to the decolonising agenda:

The inclusion of diverse histories

An important finding in this study was the impact on communities when their history was dismissed, devalued, or forgotten. Higher education institutions have real potential to

provide a space for diverse histories. This can be achieved through the curriculum, or through, research, public talks or through links with local communities. Such mechanisms to raise the profile of issues links to the next area of opportunity.

The potential of the university beyond the curricula

Through my thesis I have alluded to the privileged position and status that universities often hold within a society, in that they can function with greater freedom than civil society organisations and can provide 'safe spaces' for marginalised identities and experiences (Gready & Jackson, 2023). This opens opportunities for decolonising initiatives beyond the curriculum. For example, this might include, as above, using more innovative ways to raise awareness of social justice issues. A further consideration is how universities have the potential to connect with diverse knowledge beyond the curriculum, by supporting initiatives that are led by communities in their communities. This support could include resources, helping to create awareness or some kind of knowledge exchange. Once more, however, the guiding principle underpinning such initiatives needs to be that they are driven and owned by the communities themselves.

In this chapter I have argued that decolonisation needs to be contextual and nuanced, in the case of South Africa this requires a consideration of the tension between the potential of higher education to contribute to an individual's socio-economic growth, and to contribute to a person's critical consciousness. I have highlighted the complexity in incorporating indigenous knowledge into higher education and argue that this needs to be achieved with and by indigenous communities. I argue for a decolonisation that encourages a meaningful hybridity and makes space for a plurality of knowledge. The importance of a critical pedagogy is prioritised to aid epistemological diversity and societal change through encouraging critical consciousness.

Throughout this thesis I have grappled with my positionality and identity. I may consider myself marginalised in a UK context as a person from a working-class background, however, in a South African context, my Whiteness gives me a certain uncomfortable privilege. I have tried to counter this through a decolonised methodology and a transparency of both my positionality and the way I have worked with the participants of this study. Although Covid limited parts of this study, it also

led me to what I believe is a more decolonised way of working with indigenous groups. Working with local researchers and redistributing my fieldwork funds to enable the digital storytelling workshop enabled the indigenous community to work with people they had an established relationship with that understood their culture and values. To ensure the stories I produced were still connected with the storyteller has been challenging but achieved through an ongoing communication of how these stories have been treated and used. I believe that these considerations contribute to the debate of conducting research outside of your context.

The development of an appropriate theoretical framework for this research was important, the framework that emerged is nuanced. And I argue, appropriate to use when considering the decolonisation of higher education in a postcolonial context that exists in a neoliberal society. The typology of decolonising emerged from my understanding of decolonisation from review of the literature and my growing understanding of a very complex space and what decolonisation meant within this space. I hope both the theoretical framework and the typology of decolonisation add to the growing literature concerning decolonising education in complex postcolonial settings.

Finally, this research brings together the experiences and stories of academics, students, stakeholders, and indigenous community members to consider the effectiveness of higher education of marginalised peoples. This bringing together different perspectives contributes to the decolonisation debate through placing the recipients and owners of the marginalised knowledge at the heart of the research.

References

- Ackah, W. (2021). From ethnic minorities to Black majorities: the challenges and dilemmas of attempting to decolonize the British higher education system. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 96(2), 192-205.
- Acosta, A. (2016). Rethinking the world from the perspective of Buen Vivir. *Degrowth*: 30/08/2016. https://www.degrowth.info/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/DIM_Buen-Vivir.pdf
- Acosta, A. (2017). 2 Buen Vivir. *The Good Life Beyond Growth: New Perspectives*.
- Adhikari, M. (2010). *The anatomy of a South African genocide: The extermination of the Cape San peoples*. Juta and Company Ltd.
- Adonis, D., & Couch, J. (2017). 'The trails to get there': Experiences of attaining higher education for Igorot Indigenous Peoples in the Philippines. *Australian Journal of Adult Learning*, 57(2), 197-216.
- Ahmad, A. (1995). The politics of literary postcoloniality. *Race & Class*, 36(3), 1-20.
- Ahmed, A. K. (2017). #RhodesMustFall: Decolonization, praxis and disruption. *Journal of Comparative & International Higher Education*, 9(Fall), 8-13.
- Aikenhead, G. S. (1996). Science education: *Border crossing into the subculture of science*.
- Ake, C. (1979): *Social science as imperialism: the theory of political development*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.
- Akomolafe, B., & Jain, M. (2016). Practitioner perspective: This revolution will not be schooled—How we are collectively improvising a 'new story' about learning. *Education, learning and the transformation of development*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Alcantara, A., Llomovatte, S., Romão, J. E., & Armando Alcántara, S. R. (2013). Resisting neoliberal common sense in higher education: experiences from Latin America. *International Studies In Sociology Of Education*, 23(2), 127-151. doi:10.1080/09620214.2013.790661
- Al Jazeera (2022). *South Africa most unequal country in the world: Report*. [online] www.aljazeera.com. Available at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/3/10/south-africa-most-unequal-country-in-the-world-report>.
- Anderson, B. (1991). Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism (London, 1983). *Anderson revised Imagined Communities in*.

- Anderson, J.A., & Baym, G. (2004). Philosophies and philosophic issues in communication, 19952004. *Journal of Communication*, 54, 589615.
- Andrews, N., & Bawa, S. (2014). A post-development hoax?(Re)-examining the past, present and future of development studies. *Third World Quarterly*, 35(6), 922-938.
- ANUIES. (2018). *Visión y acción 2030. Propuesta de la ANUIES para renovar la educación superior en México*. México: ANUIES.
- Appadurai, A. (2000). Grassroots globalisation and the research imagination. *Public culture*, 12(1), 1-19.
- Appadurai, A. (2006). The right to research. *Globalisation, societies and education*, 4(2), 167-177.
- Arab, S. (2018). Book review—Arturo Escobar. Encountering development: the making and unmaking of the third world, Princeton University Press, 1995. *Review of Applied Socio-Economic Research*, 15(1), 64-66.
- Arruda, M. A. D. N. (1997). Metr pole e cultura: o novo modernismo paulista em meados do s culo. *Tempo social*, 9, 39-52.
- Arshad, R. (2020). Lessons learnt about ‘race’ in Scotland. *Taking Stock*, 8.
- Asgharzadeh, A. (2008). The return of the subaltern: International education and politics of voice. *Journal of studies in International Education*, 12(4), 334-363.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. (Eds.). (2006). *The post-colonial studies reader*. Taylor & Francis.
- Badat, S. (2016). Deciphering the meanings, and explaining the South African higher education student protests of 2015–16. *Pax Academica*, 1(1), 71-106.
- Baines, G. (1998). The rainbow nation? Identity and nation building in post-apartheid South Africa. *Mots pluriels*, 7(1998), 1-10.
- Bainton, D., & Crossley, M. (2010.) Lessons from Comparative and International Education. in Elliott, G., Fourali, C., & Issler, S. (eds.) *Education and Social Change*. London and New York: Continuum. pp. 15-26
- Baker, A (2016, June). This Photo Galvanized the World Against Apartheid. Here’s the story Behind it. *Time Magazine*.
- Banks, J. A. (2013). The nature of multicultural education. *Multicultural education: Issues and perspectives*, 3-24.

- Barnes, B. R. (2018). Decolonising research methodologies: Opportunity and caution. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 48(3), 379-387.
- Barnhardt, R., & Kawagley, A. O. (2008). Indigenous knowledge systems and education. *Teachers College Record*, 110(13), 223-241.
- Bartmes, N., & Shukla, S. (2020). Re-envisioning land-based pedagogies as a transformative third space: perspectives from university academics, students, and Indigenous knowledge holders from Manitoba, Canada. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education*, 14(3), 146-161.
- Battiste, M. (2013b). *Decolonizing education: Nourishing the learning spirit*. Saskatoon, SK: Purich Publishing.
- Bawa, A. C. (2019). South Africa's Higher Education System in Crisis... in a State in Crisis. *Social Research: An International Quarterly*, 86(1), 253-277.
- Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers. *The Qualitative Report*, 13(4), 544-556.
- Beall, M. L. (2004). YOUTH FIGHT FOR CHANGE: THE UPRISING IN SOWETO. In *NAAAAS Conference Proceedings* (p. 799). National Association of African American Studies.
- Beckford, C. L. and Barker, D. 2007. The role and value of local knowledge in Jamaican agriculture: Adaptation and change in small-scale farming. *The Geographical Journal*, 173(2): 118–128.
- Beckford, C. L., Jacobs, C., Williams, N., & Nahdee, R. (2010). Aboriginal environmental wisdom, stewardship, and sustainability: lessons from the Walpole Island First Nations, Ontario, Canada. *The journal of environmental education*, 41(4), 239-248.
- Beelmann, A. (2006). *Review of Systematic reviews in the social sciences. A practical guide* (Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 244). Hogrefe & Huber Publishers.
- Beets, P. A. (2012). Strengthening morality and ethics in educational assessment through ubuntu in South Africa. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 44(sup2), 68-83.
- Begum, N., & Saini, R. (2019). Decolonising the curriculum. *Political Studies Review*, 17(2), 196-201. BhambraNyamnjoh
- Behr, M. (1995). *The Smell of Apples*. New York: Picador
- Belluigi, D. Z., & Thondhlana, G. (2019). 'Why mouth all the pieties?' Black and women academics' revelations about discourses of 'transformation' at an historically white South African university. *Higher Education*, 78(6), 947-963.
- Berkes, F. (2017). *Sacred ecology*. Routledge.

- Bernasconi, A. (2008). Is There a Latin American Model of the University?. *Comparative Education Review*, 52(1), 27-52
- Bernstein, B. (1971). On the classification and framing of educational knowledge. In M. F. D. Young (Ed.) *Knowledge and control*. London: Collier-Macmillan.
- Berry, C., & Taylor, J. (2014). Internationalisation in Higher Education in Latin America: Policies and Practice in Colombia and Mexico. *Higher Education: The International Journal Of Higher Education And Educational Planning*, 67(5), 585-601.
- Betts, R.F., (2000), 'Methods and institutions of European domination', in A.A. Boahen (ed.), General history of Africa, vol. 8: *Africa under Colonial Domination 1880– 1935*, reprint, pp. 312–331, UNESCO Publishing, Paris.
- Bhabha, H.K. (1994). *The Location of Culture*. London, Routledge
- Bhambra, G. K., Gebrial, D., & Nişancioğlu, K. (2018). *Decolonising the university*. Pluto Press.
- Black, C. (2010). *Schooling the World*.
- Bhambra, G. K., Nişancioğlu, K., & Gebrial, D. (2020). Decolonising the university in 2020. *Identities*, 27(4), 509-516.
- Bishop, R. (1996). Addressing issues of self-determination and legitimation in kura kaupapa Māori research. In B. Webber (Ed.), *He paepae korero: Research perspectives in Māori education* (pp. 143–160). Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Bishop, R. (2003). Changing power relations in education: Kaupapa Māori messages for "mainstream" education in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Comparative Education*, 39(2), pp. 221-238
- Black, C. (Ed.). (2010). *Schooling the world: The white man's last burden*. Lost people films.
- Blunt A (2005). Colonialism/postcolonialism. In D Atkinson, P Jackson, D Sibley & N Washbourne (eds). *Cultural geography: A critical dictionary of key concepts*. London, England: I.B. Tauris
- Bocking, P. (2015). Why do governments adopt neoliberal education policies? Critical theory on policy movement in the context of contemporary reform in Mexico. *Alternate Routes: A Journal of Critical Social Research*, 26.
- Borkman, T. (1976). Experiential knowledge: A new concept for the analysis of self-help groups. *Social service review*, 50(3), 445-456.
- Botha, L. R. (2010). Indigenous knowledge as culturally-centred education in South Africa. *Africa Education Review*, 7(1), 34-50.

Bourn D (2008) Development education: towards a re-conceptualisation. *International Journal of Development Education and Global Learning* Vol. 1No.1, : 5–22. Bourn D and Issler S (2010) Transformative learning for a global

Bozalek, V. (2011). Acknowledging privilege through encounters with difference: Participatory Learning and Action techniques for decolonising methodologies in Southern contexts. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 14(6), 469-484.

Bozalek, V., & Boughey, C. (2012). (Mis) framing higher education in South Africa. *Social Policy & Administration*, 46(6), 688-703.

Breidlid, A. (2003). Ideology, cultural values and education: The case of Curriculum 2005. *Perspectives in education*, 21(2), 83-102.

Briggs, J. (2005). The use of indigenous knowledge in development: problems and challenges. *Progress in development studies*, 5(2), 99-114.

Briggs, J., Badri, M., & Mekki, A. M. (1999). Indigenous knowledges and vegetation use among bedouin in the Eastern Desert of Egypt. *Applied Geography*, 19(2), 87-103.

Briggs, J., & Sharp, J. (2004). Indigenous knowledges and development: a postcolonial caution. *Third world quarterly*, 25(4), 661-676.

Brighouse, H., & Swift, A. (2003). Defending liberalism in education theory. *Journal of Education Policy*, 18(4), 355-373.

Brissett, N., & Mitter, R. (2017). For function or transformation? A critical discourse analysis of education under the Sustainable Development Goals. *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies (JCEPS)*, 15(1).

Brizuela-Garcia, E. (2006). The history of Africanization and the Africanization of history. *History in Africa*, 33, 85-100.

Broadfoot, P. (2000). Interviewing in a Cross-Cultural Context: Some Issues for Comparative Research. in Burgess, R. G. & Pole, C. J. (eds.) *Cross-Cultural Case Study*. Series in Qualitative Methodology Vol. 6. London and Amsterdam: JAI. pp. 53-65

Brown, E. J. (2018). Transformative Learning for Social Change in Non-formal Development Education: Practitioner perspectives on the relationship between individual actions and collective action. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*. 13(1) 1-17 DOI: 10.1177/1746197917723629

Brown, E. J. (2018). Practitioner perspectives on learning for social change through non-formal global citizenship education. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 13(1), 81-97.

Brown, E.(2018): Understanding and Engaging with Development through International Volunteering. *Journal of International Development* V.30, no. 1 pp.102-117.

Brown, A., & Danaher, P. A. (2019). CHE principles: Facilitating authentic and dialogical semi-structured interviews in educational research. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, 42(1), 76-90.

Brown, E. and McCowan, T., (2018). Buen vivir: reimagining education and shifting paradigms. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 48(2), pp.317-323.

Buckler, A., Chamberlain, L., Mkwanzani, F., Dean, C., & Chigodora, O. (2022). Out-of-school girls' lives in Zimbabwe: what can we learn from a storytelling research approach. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 52(2), 195-215.

Bunting, I., 2004, 'The higher education landscape under apartheid', in N. Cloete, P. Maassen, R. Fehnel, T. Moja, H. Perold. & T. Gibbon (eds.), *Transformation in higher education: Global pressures and local realities in South Africa*, pp. 35–52, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht.

Bush, K. and Saltarelli, D. (2000) The two faces of education in ethnic conflict: Towards a peacebuilding education for children, Florence: *UNICEF Innocent Research Centre*.
<http://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/insight4.pdf>

Cajete, G. (1999). Reclaiming biophilia: Lessons from Indigenous peoples. In G. A. Smith & D. R. Williams (Eds.), *Ecological education in action: On weaving education, culture, and the environment* (pp. 189–206). Albany, NY: SUNY Press

Calitz, T. M. (2018). *Enhancing the freedom to flourish in higher education: Participation, equality and capabilities*. Routledge.

Carolin, A. (2018). The Uncertain Future of the South African University. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 44(5), 951-963.

Carretero, M. (2011). *Constructing patriotism: Teaching history and memories in global worlds*. IAP.

Centre for Reviews and Dissemination (2009). *Systematic reviews crd's guidance for undertaking reviews in healthcare*. York: Centre for Reviews and Dissemination, University of York.

Chamberlain, L., Buckler, A., & Mkwanzani, F. (2021). Building a case for inclusive ways of knowing through a case study of a cross-cultural research project of out-of-school girls' aspirations in Zimbabwe: Practitioners' perspectives'. *Thinking critically and ethically about research for education: Engaging with voice and empowerment in international contexts*.

Champagne, D. (2015). Indigenous higher education. In J. W. Jacob, S. Y. Cheng, & M. Porter (Eds.), *Indigenous education: Language culture and identity* (pp. 99–108). New York: Springer.

- Chanaiwa, D., 2000, 'African initiatives and resistance in Southern Africa', in A.A. Boahen (ed.), *General History of Africa*, vol. 8: *Africa under Colonial Domination 1880–1935*, reprint, pp. 194–220, UNESCO Publishing, Paris.
- Charles, E. (2019). Decolonizing the curriculum. *Insights*, 32(1), 24.
- Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing grounded theory*. Sage.
- Chidester, D. (2008). Unity in diversity: Religion education and public pedagogy in South Africa. *Numen*, 55(2-3), 272-299.
- Chigudu, S. (2020). Rhodes Must Fall in Oxford: a critical testimony. *Critical African Studies*, 12(3), 302-312.
- Chikane, R. (2018). *Breaking a rainbow, building a nation: The politics behind# MustFall movements*. Picador Africa.
- Chiramba, O., & Motala, S. (2023). Towards transforming teaching and learning in higher education: interrogating poverty through a decolonial perspective. *Curriculum Perspectives*, 1-11.
- Chisholm, L. (2012). Apartheid education legacies and new directions in post-apartheid South Africa. *Apartheid Education Legacies and New Directions in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, 81-103.
- Clifford, C. (2021) 'SPOTCHECK: JHB'S MAYOR SHARES DEBUNKED AND FLAWED SA RAPE STATISTICS', *Eye Witness News Online*. Retrieved from: <https://ewn.co.za/2021/04/22/spotcheck-jhb-s-mayor-shares-debunked-and-flawed-sa-rape-statistics>
- Collins. (1809) 'Report on the Bosjesmen', produced for the governor of the Cape in 1809 and published by Moodie in *The record*, Part V: p. 35. - cited in Penn, N. (2013). The British and the 'Bushmen': the massacre of the Cape San, 1795 to 1828. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 15(2), 183-200.
- Collins, H.M. and Evans, R.J. (2002) "The Third Wave of Science Studies: Studies of Expertise and Experience" *Social Studies of Science* 32 (2), 235-96
- Connell, R. (2014). Using southern theory: Decolonizing social thought in theory, research and application. *Planning Theory*, 13(2), 210-223.
- Constantino, R. & Constantino, L.R. (1999) *The Philippines: The continuing past*, Quezon City: *The Foundation for Nationalist Studies*.
- Cook-Sather, A. (2006). Sound, presence, and power: "Student voice" in educational research and reform. *Curriculum inquiry*, 36(4), 359-390.

- Cooper, F., & Packard, R. M. (Eds.). (1997). *International development and the social sciences: Essays on the history and politics of knowledge*. Univ of California Press.
- Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research (3rd ed.): Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (pp. 1-18).
- Cortes, L. M. (2009). The Discourse of Interculturality and Its Transnational Migration: Towards a Comparative Analysis of Its Appropriation by Academic and Political Actors in the State of Veracruz. *Intercultural Education, 20*(1), 27-37.
- Cortez Ochoa, A. A., Tikly, L., Hutchinson, Y., Paulson, J. & Sriprakash, A. (2021). Synthesis Report on the Decolonising Education for Sustainable Futures (UNESCO Chair seminar series). Bristol Conversations in Education & UNESCO Chair Seminar Series. University of Bristol, UK.
- Cortina, R. (2014). *The Education of Indigenous Citizens in Latin America*. Multilingual Matters.
- Creswell, R. (1998). Knowledge is the most effective way out of the poverty trap. *The Star*, October 6, 8.
- Creswell, J.W. (2009). *Research Design*. London: Sage.
- Cross, M., & Atinde, V. (2015). The pedagogy of the marginalised: Understanding how historically disadvantaged students negotiate their epistemic access in a diverse university environment. *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies, 37*(4), 308-325.
- Crossley, M. (2010). Context matters in educational research and international development: Learning from the small states experience. *Prospects, 40*, 421-429.
- Crossley, M. & Tikly, L. (2004). Postcolonial perspectives and comparative and international research in education: a critical introduction. *Comparative Education, 40*(2), 147-156
- Cunningham, C., & Stanley, F. (2003). Indigenous by definition, experience, or world view. *BMJ, 327*(7412), 403-404.
- Cunsolo Willox, A., Harper, S.L., Edge, V.L., 'My Word': Storytelling and Digital Media Lab and Rigolet Inuit Community Government, (2013). Storytelling in a digital age: digital storytelling as an emerging narrative method for preserving and promoting indigenous oral wisdom. *Qualitative Research, 13*(2), pp.127-147.
- Dacog, M. (2003). Remembering my roots, interrogating the present, envisioning my future. *Educational Insights, 8*(2).
- Daniel, A. (2021). Rhodes Must Fall: Different layers of intersectionality in students' protests in South Africa. *Interfaces, 13*(1), 12-37.

- Dasgupta, S. (2020). "The Fight for India's Democracy, from the University to the Streets." *The Wire*. <https://thewire.in/politics/india-democracy-protests-university>
- Davenport, M. G. (2007). Between Tradition and Tourism: Educational Strategies of a Zapotec Artisan. *International Journal Of Education & The Arts*, 8(11), 1-21.
- Davies, J. (1996). The state and the South African university system under apartheid. *Comparative Education*, 32(3), 319-332.
- Davies, L. (2005). Evaluating the link between conflict and education. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, 2(2), 42-58.
- Davis, J. (2003) *The Theory of the Individual in Economics*. London: Routledge .
- De Beer, J, & Whitlock, E. (2009). *Indigenous Knowledge in The Life Sciences Classroom: Put on Your De Bono Hats! The American Biology Teacher*, 71(4), 209–216.
- Dei, G.J.S., Karanja, W., Erger, G. (2022). Land as Indigenous Epistemology. In: Elders' Cultural Knowledges and the Question of Black/ African Indigeneity in Education. *Critical Studies of Education*, vol 16. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-84201-7_5
- Delgado, M. L. (2016). Favouring New Indigenous Leadership: Indigenous Students Attending Higher Education in Mexico. *Educational Research And Reviews*, 11(22), 2088-2095.
- Department of Education, 53; Department of Higher Education and Training, "The 2015 Durban Statement on Transformation in Higher Education," Pretoria: *Department of Higher Education and Training*, October 17, 2015, accessed June 25, 2016, <http://www.gov.za/speeches/2015-durban-statement-transformationhigher-education-17-oct-2015-0000>.
- Derry, S. J. (1999) 'A Fish called peer learning: Searching for common themes', in O'Donnell, A. M., and King, A. (Eds.) *Cognitive perspectives on peer learning*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, pp 197- 211.
- Desai, A., & Desāi, A. (2002). *We are the poors: Community struggles in post-apartheid South Africa*. NYU Press.
- De Sousa Santos, B. (2012). Public sphere and epistemologies of the South. *Africa Development*, 37(1), 43-67.
- De Sousa Santos, B. (2014). Más allá del pensamiento abismal: de las líneas globales a una ecología de saberes. *Epistemologías del sur (perspectivas)*, 21-66.
- Despaigne, C. (2013). Indigenous education in Mexico: Indigenous students' voices. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education*, 7(2), 114-129.

- Despaigne, C. (2018). Lengua, poder e identidad en el aprendizaje del inglés. *Revista nustrAmérica*, 6(11), 149-169.
- De Vries, P. 2007: Don't compromise your desire for development! A Lacanian/Deluezeian Rethinking of the Anti-politics Machine. *Third World Quarterly* 28(1), 25–43.
- Dewey, J. (1944). The democratic faith and education. *The Antioch Review*, 4(2), 274-283.
- Dictionary, O. E. (2022). Oxford English dictionary. *Simpson, Ja & Weiner, Esc*, 3.
- Didou-Aupetit, S. (2014). Researchers and decision-makers in higher education in Mexico: underpinnings and agendas. *Studies In Higher Education*, 39(8), 1511-1521. doi:10.1080/03075079.2014.949536
- Diegues, C. A. (1996). As populações humanas em áreas naturais protegidas da Mata Atlântica.
- Dirlik, A. (1994). The postcolonial aura: Third World criticism in the age of global capitalism. *Critical inquiry*, 20(2), 328-356.
- Dixon, J., Durrheim, K., Thomae, M., Tredoux, C., Kerr, P., & Quayle, M. (2015). Divide and rule, unite and resist: Contact, collective action and policy attitudes among historically disadvantaged groups. *Journal of Social Issues*, 71(3), 576-596.
- Dlamini, R. (2016). The global ranking tournament: A dialectic analysis of higher education in South Africa. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 30(2), 53-72.
- Dodds, F., Donoghue, A. D., & Roesch, J. L. (2016). *Negotiating the sustainable development goals: a transformational agenda for an insecure world*. Taylor & Francis.
- Dore, R. (1976). *The diploma disease: Education, qualification and development*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Dreze, J., & Sen, A. (2002). *India: Development and participation*. Oxford University Press, USA.
- Duncan, N., & Sharp, J. P. (1993). Confronting representation (s). *Environment and planning D: Society and Space*, 11(4), 473-486.
- Durose, C., Beebeejaun, Y., Rees, J., Richardson, J., & Richardson, L. (2011). Towards co-production in research with communities. *AHRC Connected Communities Programme Scoping Studies*.
- Dyer Jr, W. G., & Wilkins, A. L. (1991). Better stories, not better constructs, to generate better theory: A rejoinder to Eisenhardt. *Academy of management review*, 16(3), 613-619.

ElKhayat, R. S. (2018). The Capabilities Approach: "A Future Alternative to Neoliberal Higher Education in the MENA Region". *International Journal of Higher Education*, 7(3), 36-44.

Ellen, R. and Harris, H. (2000). Introduction. In Ellen, R., Parkes, P. and Bicker, A., editors, *Indigenous environmental knowledge and its transformations*. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1-33.

Ernest, P. (1999). Social constructivism as a philosophy of mathematics: Radical constructivism rehabilitated. A 'historical paper' available at [www. people. ex. ac. uk/PErnest](http://www.people.ex.ac.uk/PErnest).

Escobar, A. (1995). *Encountering development: The making and unmaking of the Third World* (Vol. 1). Princeton University Press.

Escobar, A. (1997). Anthropology and development. *International Social Science Journal*, 49(154), 497-515.

Escobar, A. (2010). Latin America at a crossroads: Alternative modernizations, post-liberalism, or post-development?. *Cultural studies*, 24(1), 1-65.

Escobar, A. (2011). *Encountering development: The making and unmaking of the Third World* (Vol. 1). Princeton University Press.

Escobar, A. (2015). Degrowth, postdevelopment, and transitions: a preliminary conversation. *Sustainability Science*, 10(3), pp.451-462.

Esteban-Guitart, M., Borke, J., & Monreal-Bosch, P. (2015). Ecocultural effects on self-concept. A study with young indigenous people from different socio demographic contexts. *International Journal Of Psychology*, 50(4), 319-324. doi:10.1002/ijop.12109

Esteban-Guitart, M., Perera, S., Monreal-Bosch, P., & Bastiani, J. (2018). Identity and sociocultural change: Comparing young indigenous people in Chiapas who have different socio demographic trajectories. *International Journal Of Psychology*, 53(4), 295-303. doi:10.1002/ijop.12381

Esteva, G., (2006), December. Los ámbitos sociales y la democracia radical. In *Trabajo presentado en Conferencia Internacional sobre Ciudadanía y Comunes*. Ciudad de México (pp. 7-9).

Esteva, G. (2007, November). Reclaiming our freedom to learn, *Yes Magazine*.

Esteva, G. (2010). What is Development? In Oxford Research Encyclopaedia of International Studies.

Esteva, G., & Escobar, A. (2017). Post-Development@ 25: on 'being stuck' and moving forward, sideways, backward, and otherwise. *Third World Quarterly*, 38(12), 2559-2572.

- Eyzaguirre, P. B. 2001: Global recognition of indigenous knowledge: is this the latest phase of 'globalisation'? *Indigenous Knowledge and Development Monitor* 9-9
- Fanon, F. (1963). *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grover, 2004), 62.
- Fanon, F. (1967). Black skin, white masks. In *Social Theory Re-Wired* (pp. 394-401). Routledge.
- Fanon, F. (2002). *Les Damnés de la terre* (1961). Paris: *La Découverte*, 85-100.
- Fataar, A. (2018). Placing students at the centre of the decolonizing education imperative: Engaging the (mis) recognition struggles of students at the postapartheid university. *Educational Studies*, 54(6), 595-608.
- Ferguson, J., (1990). *The anti-politics machine: 'development', depoliticization and bureaucratic power in Lesotho*. CUP Archive.
- Ferguson, R. F. (2003). Teachers' perceptions and expectations and the Black-White test score gap. *Urban education*, 38(4), 460-507.
- Ferraro, A., (2016). Evaluation of a temporary, immersive learning community based on worldschooling. *Journal of Unschooling and Alternative Learning*, 10(20).
- Finger, M. & Asún, J. M. (2001). *Adult education at the crossroads. Learning our way out*. London: Zed Books.
- Fioreze, C., & McCowan, T. (2018). Community universities in the South of Brazil: prospects and challenges of a model of non-state public higher education. *Comparative Education*, 1-20.
- Fischer, F. (2000) *Citizens, Experts, and the Environment: The Politics of Local Knowledge* Duke University
- Fischer, G. (2004, July). Social creativity: turning barriers into opportunities for collaborative design. In *Proceedings of the eighth conference on Participatory design: Artful integration: interweaving media, materials and practices-Volume 1* (pp. 152-161).
- Fletcher, M. S., Romano, A., Connor, S., Mariani, M., & Maezumi, S. Y. (2021). Catastrophic bushfires, indigenous fire knowledge and reframing science in Southeast Australia. *Fire*, 4(3), 61.
- Flores-Crespo, P., & Pedro, F. (2007). Ethnicity, identity and educational achievement in Mexico. *International Journal Of Educational Development*, 27(3), 331-339
- Flores, R. P., Monroy, G. V., & Fabela, A. M. R. (2015). Compensatory Policies Attending Equality and Inequality in Mexico Educational Practice among Vulnerable Groups in Higher Education. *Journal of Education and Learning*, 4(4), 53.

- Fomunyam, K. G. (2017). Decolonising the future in the untransformed present in South African higher education.
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Language, counter-memory, practice: Selected essays and interviews*. Cornell University Press.
- Francis, D., & Webster, E. (2019). Poverty and inequality in South Africa: Critical reflections. *Development Southern Africa*, 36(6), 788-802.
- Franco, C. P., & McCowan, T. (2020). Rewiring higher education for the Sustainable Development Goals: the case of the Intercultural University of Veracruz, Mexico. *Higher Education*, 1-20.
- Fraser-Moleketi, G. (2009). Towards a common understanding of corruption in Africa. *Public Policy and Administration*, 24(3), 331-338.
- Freire, P. (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* London, Continuum
- Freire, P. (1984). Education, liberation and the church. *Religious Education*, 79(4), 524-545.
- Freire, P. (1985). Reading the world and reading the word: An interview with Paulo Freire. *Language arts*, 62(1), 15-21.
- Freire, P. (2020). Pedagogy of the oppressed. In *Toward a Sociology of Education* (pp. 374-386). Routledge.
- Freund, B., & Padayachee, V. (1998). Post-apartheid South Africa: the key patterns emerge. *Economic and Political weekly*, 1173-1180.
- Fricker, M. (2015). Epistemic contribution as a central human capability. *The equal society*, 73-90.
- Gabriel, A. G., De Vera, M., & B. Antonio, M. A. (2020). Roles of indigenous women in forest conservation: A comparative analysis of two indigenous communities in the Philippines. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 6(1), 1720564.
- Gadicke, J. (2005). Integrating aboriginal knowledge into the elementary science curriculum. *Unpublished Master of Education Project*, University of Victoria, Victoria, British Columbia, Canada.
- Gandin, L. A. (2006). Creating real alternatives to neo-liberal policies in education: The citizen school project. In M. W. Apple and K. Buras (Eds.), *The subaltern speaks: Curriculum, power, and educational struggles*, (pp. 217–42). New York: Routledge.
- Gandin, L.A., 2007. The construction of the citizen school project as an alternative to neoliberal educational policies. *Policy Futures in Education*, 5(2), pp.179-193.

- Gardner, S. K., & Holley, K. A. (2011). "Those invisible barriers are real": The progression of first-generation students through doctoral education. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 44(1), 77-92.
- Gardner, K., & Lewis, D. (2015). *Anthropology and development: challenges for the twenty-first century*. Pluto Press.
- Gaudelli, W. (2020). The trouble of Western education. *Journal for Research and Debate*, 3(7), 8-11.
- Gaventa, J. (2005) *Claiming Citizenship: Rights, Participation and Accountability* London, Zed Books
- Gebrial, D. (2018). Rhodes Must Fall: Oxford and movements for change. *Decolonising the university*, 20.
- Gee J.P. (2000) Teenagers in New Times: A new literacy studies perspective, *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 43(5), pp. 412–420.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures* (Vol. 5043). Basic books.
- George, J. M. (1999). Indigenous knowledge as a component of the school curriculum. *What is indigenous knowledge*, 79-94.
- Gibbon, T. & Kabaki, J., 2004, 'Staff', in N. Cloete, P. Maassen, R. Fehnel, T. Moja, H. Perold. & T. Gibbon (eds.), *Transformation in higher education: Global pressures and local realities in South Africa*, pp. 123–152, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht.
- Giliomee, H. (1996). *Being Afrikaans in the new (multilingual) South Africa*.
- Giliomee, H. B., & Mbenga, B. (2007). *New History of South Africa*. Tafelberg.
- Gillies, D. (2015). Human capital theory in education. In *Encyclopedia of educational philosophy and theory*. Springer Science Business Media.
- Giroux, H. A. (2005). The terror of neoliberalism: Rethinking the significance of cultural politics. *College Literature*, 1-19.
- Giroux, H.A., (2006). *The Giroux reader* (C. Robbins, Ed.). *Boulder: Paradigm*.
- Giroux, H.A., (2014). *Neoliberalism's war on higher education*. Haymarket Books.
- Giroux, H. A. (2014). *The violence of organized forgetting: Thinking beyond America's disimagination machine*. City Lights Publishers.
- Giroux, H. A., & Robbins, C. G. (2015). *Giroux reader*. Routledge.

- Giske, T., & Artinian, B. (2007). A personal experience of working with classical grounded theory: From beginner to experienced grounded theorist. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 6(4), 67-80.
- Glaser, B. and Strauss, A. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: strategies for qualitative research*. London: Aldine Transaction.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (2017). *Discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Routledge.
- Gómez Navarro, D. (2013). La construcción del habitus y ethos profesional de las/los estudiantes y egresados de la Universidad Veracruzana Intercultural (UVI), sede Selvas. In Jiménez Naranjo, Y.; Alatorre Frenk, G. (coord.). *Construyendo Interculturalidad En Veracruz: Miradas, Experiencias y Retos*. Xalapa: Universidad Veracruzana. 105–124.
- Gómez-Zaldívar, M. (2014). Has the national agreement for the modernization of basic education contributed to improving levels of basic education and reducing disparities between the states? *Latin American Journal of Economics*, 51(1), 85-107.
- Gonzalez Apodaca, E. (2009). The Ethnic and the Intercultural in Conceptual and Pedagogical Discourses within Higher Education in Oaxaca, Mexico. *Intercultural Education*, 20(1), 19-25.
- Gordon, R. J. (2021). *South Africa's Dreams: Ethnologists and Apartheid in Namibia*. Berghahn Books.
- Gordon, D. Frank , Vigne , Randolph , Thompson , Leonard Monteath , Cobbing , Julian R.D. , Nel , Andries , Mabin , Alan S. , Lowe , Christopher C. , Bundy , Colin J. and Hall , Martin (2021, August 22). South Africa. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/place/South-Africa>
- Gordon, S., & Harvey, J. (2019). South Africans prefer their children to be taught in English. *Quartz Africa*.
- Gough, D., & Thomas, J. (2016). Systematic reviews of research in education: aims, myths and multiple methods. *Review of Education*, 4(1), 84-102.. Systematic reviews of research in education: aims, myths and multiple methods. *Review of Education*, 4(1), 84-102.
- Govender, L., & Naidoo, D. (2023). Decolonial insights for transforming the higher education curriculum in South Africa. *Curriculum Perspectives*, 1-13.
- Gramsci, A. (2006). History of the subaltern classes;(ii) The concept of “ideology”;(iii) Cultural themes: Ideological material. *Media and cultural studies: Keywords*, 13-17.
- Gready, P. & Jackson, E. (2023) *Universities as Sites of Activism and Protection*. Human Rights Defender Hub Working Paper Series 14. York: Centre for Applied Human Rights, University of York. Available at:hrdhub.org/working-papers

- Gredler, M. E. (1997). *Learning and instruction: Theory into practice* (3rd ed). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Greene, M. (1973). *Teacher as stranger: Educational philosophy for the modern age*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Greenfield, P. M., Maynard, A. E., & Martí, F. A. (2009). Implications of commerce and urbanization for the learning environments of everyday life: A Zinacantec Maya family across time and space. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 40(6), 935-952.
- Gregorutti, G., Espinoza, O., González, L. E., & Loyola, J. (2016). What if Privatising Higher Education Becomes an Issue? The Case of Chile and Mexico. *Compare: A Journal Of Comparative And International Education*, 46(1), 136-158.
- Grosfoguel R. (2007). The epistemic decolonial turn: Beyond political-economy paradigms. *Cultural Studies*, 21(2-3):211–223.
- Gudynas, E. and Acosta, A., (2011). La renovación de la crítica al desarrollo y el buen vivir como alternativa. *Utopía y praxis latinoamericana*, 16(53).
- Gustafsson, J. (2017). Single case studies vs. multiple case studies: A comparative study.
- GWALA, M. (1998). Selected Studies of Mafika Gwala. *Postcolonial African Writers: A Bio-bibliographical Critical Sourcebook*, 205.
- Gwatirera, C. (2018). Access to Higher Education in South Africa. In *Access to Success and Social Mobility through Higher Education: A Curate's Egg?* (pp. 35-49). Emerald Publishing Limited.
- Haaland, H., & Regalsky, P. (2016). Ethno-development, education and development in Raqaypampa, Bolivia. In *Education, Learning and the Transformation of Development*(pp. 89-104). Routledge.
- Habib, A. (2016). Goals and means: reimagining the South African university and critically analysing the struggle for its realisation. *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*, 90(1), 111-132.
- Hamilton, L., & Corbett-Whittier, C. (2012). *Using case study in education research*. Sage.
- Hart, G. P. (2002). *Disabling globalization: Places of power in post-apartheid South Africa* (Vol. 10). Univ of California Press.
- Hart, G. (2006). Denaturalizing dispossession: Critical ethnography in the age of resurgent imperialism. *Antipode*, 38(5), 977-1004.
- Harrison, N. (2017). Putting oneself in the shoes of another: Issues of empathy and intercultural understanding in the Australian geography curriculum. *International Research in Geographical and Environmental Education*, 26(4), 269-280.
- Harvey, D. (2007). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press, USA.

Hatcher, A., Bartlett, C., Marshall, A., & Marshall, M. (2009). Two-eyed seeing in the classroom environment: Concepts, approaches, and challenges. *Canadian Journal of Science, Mathematics and Technology Education*, 9(3), 141–153

Hayes, A., Lockett, K., & Misiaszek, G. (2021). Possibilities and complexities of decolonising higher education: critical perspectives on praxis. *Teaching in Higher Education*, 26(7-8), 887-901.

Heleta, S. (2016). Decolonisation of higher education: Dismantling epistemic violence and Eurocentrism in South Africa. *Transformation in Higher Education*, 1(1), 1-8.

Heleta, S. (2018). Decolonizing knowledge in South Africa: Dismantling the 'pedagogy of big lies'. *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, 40(2).

Heron, J. (1996). *Co-operative inquiry: Research into the human condition*. Sage.

Hiddleston, J. (2014). *Understanding postcolonialism*. Routledge.

Higgs P (2012). African philosophy and the decolonisation of education in Africa: Some critical reflections. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 44(s2):37–55.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-5812.2011.00794.x>

Higgs, P., Higgs, L. G., & Venter, E. (2003). Indigenous African knowledge systems and innovation in higher education in South Africa: Perspectives on higher education. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 17(2), 40-45.

hooks, B. (1990). Postmodern blackness. *Postmodern Culture*, 1(1).

hooks, B. (2014). *Yearning: Race, gender, and cultural politics*.

Hoppers, C. A. O. (2001). Indigenous knowledge systems and academic institutions in South Africa. *Perspectives in education*, 19(1), 73-86.

Horsthemke, K. (2005). Redress and reconciliation in South African education: the case for a rights-based approach. *Journal of education*, 37(1), 169-188.

Horton, M., & Freire, P. (1990). *We make the road by walking: Conversations on education and social change*. Temple University Press.

Hountondji, P. J. (2002). *The Struggle for Meaning: reflections on philosophy, culture, and democracy in Africa* (Vol. 78). Ohio University Press.

Howard, R., (2009). Education reform, indigenous politics, and decolonisation in the Bolivia of Evo Morales. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 29(6), pp.583-593.

Hudis, P. (2012). *Marx's Concept of the Alternative to Capitalism* (Vol. 36). Brill.

Huisman, J., Norgård, J.D., Rasmussen, J. & Stensaker, B. (2002). "Alternative" universities revisited: A study of the distinctiveness of universities established in the spirit of 1968. *Tertiary Education and Management*, 8(4), 315-332.

Hyett, N., Kenny, A., & Dickson-Swift, V. (2014). Methodology or method? A critical review of qualitative case study reports. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-being*, 9, 23606.

Illich, I. (1971). *Deschooling society*. New York: Harper & Row.

Illich, I. (1997). Development as planned poverty. *The post-development reader*, 94-102.

Indigenous Peoples at the United Nations | United Nations For Indigenous Peoples. (n.d.). <https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/about-us.html>

Indigenous Peoples. (n.d.). World Bank. <https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/indigenouspeoples>

INEE. Instituto Nacional para la Evaluación de la Educación. (2019). *Panorama Educativo de México 2018. Indicadores del Sistema Educativo Nacional. Educación básica y media superior*. Ciudad de México: INEE.

International Monetary Fund (IMF), 2020, South Africa, <https://www.imf.org/en/Countries/ZAF>

International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs C. IWGIA (2023), *The Indigenous World, Editorial*, [https://www.iwgia.org/en/indigenous-world-editorial/5140-iw-2023-editorial.html?filter_tag\[0\]=37&filter_tag\[1\]=92](https://www.iwgia.org/en/indigenous-world-editorial/5140-iw-2023-editorial.html?filter_tag[0]=37&filter_tag[1]=92)

Iseke, J. (2013). Indigenous storytelling as research. *International Review of Qualitative Research*, 6(4), 559-577.

Jain, M., & Akomolafe, B. (2016). Practitioner perspective: this revolution will not be schooled. *Education, Learning and the Transformation of Development*.

Jakimow, T. (2008). Answering the critics: the potential and limitations of the knowledge agenda as a practical response to post-development critiques. *Progress in Development Studies*, 8(4), 311-323.

Jansen, J. (Ed.). (2019). *Decolonisation in universities: The politics of knowledge*. Wits University Press.

Jarvis, P. (2002). Globalisation, Citizenship and the Education of Adults in Contemporary European Society. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*. 32(1), 5-19.

Jung, C. (2008). The moral force of indigenous politics: Critical liberalism and the Zapatistas.

- Kapoor, I. (2002). The devil's in the theory: a critical assessment of Robert Chambers' work on participatory development. *Third world quarterly*, 23(1), 101-117.
- Karver, T. S., Sorhaindo, A., Wilson, K. S., & Contreras, X. (2016). Exploring intergenerational changes in perceptions of gender roles and sexuality among indigenous women in Oaxaca. *Culture, health & sexuality*, 18(8), 845-859.
- Kaya, H. O., & Seleti, Y. N. (2013). African indigenous knowledge systems and relevance of higher education in South Africa. *International Education Journal: Comparative Perspectives*, 12(1).
- Keane, M., Khupe, C., & Seehawer, M. (2017). Decolonising methodology: Who benefits from indigenous knowledge research?. *Educational Research for social change*, 6(1), 12-24.
- Keaton, S. A., & Bodie, G. D. (2011). Explaining social constructivism. *Communication Teacher*, 25(4), 192-196.
- Keet, A. (2014). Spectacle and spectators: higher education and the 'disappearance' of democracy: Part 1: exploration of the critical relationship between higher education and the development of democracy in South Africa. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 28(3), 849-865.
- Keikelame, M. J., & Swartz, L. (2019). Decolonising research methodologies: lessons from a qualitative research project, cape town, South Africa. *Global health action*, 12(1), 1561175.
- Kelley, R.D.G., (2000), 'A poetics of anticolonialism', in A. Césaire (ed.), *Discourse on colonialism*, pp. 7–28, Monthly Review Press, New York.
- Kemmis, S., & Wilkinson, M. (2002). Participatory action research and the study of practice. In *Action research in practice* (pp. 47-62). Routledge.
- Kerr, C. (2001). *The uses of the university* (Vol. 29). Harvard University Press.
- Kervin, L., McMahon, S., O'Shea, S. E., & Harwood, V. (2014). Digital storytelling: Capturing the stories of mentors in Australian Indigenous Mentoring Experience.
- Kessi, S., & Cornell, J. (2015). Coming to UCT: Black students, transformation and discourses of race. *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa*, 3(2), 1-16.
- Kgari-Masondo, M. C., & Chimbunde, P. (2021). Progress of an African student during Covid-19 and beyond in higher education: Re-colonisation of decolonisation?. *Perspectives in Education*, 39(1), 323-339.
- Khoo, S.M. and Walsh, A., (2016). Regenerating education from below-endogenous tertiary education in alternative development niches. *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review*, (22).

- Kidd, R., Colletta, N., German Foundation for International Development, B. G., & International Council for Adult Education, T. (1980). *Tradition for Development: Indigenous Structures and Folk Media in Non-Formal Education*. Report and Papers from the International Seminar on The Use of Indigenous Social Structures and Traditional Media in Non-Formal Education and Development (Berlin, West Germany. November 5-12, 1980).
- Kim, B. (2001). Social constructivism. *Emerging perspectives on learning, teaching, and technology*, 1(1), 16.
- Kim, U., Yang, G., & Hwang, K. K. (Eds.). (2006). *Indigenous and cultural psychology: Understanding people in context*. New York: Springer.
- Kincheloe, J. L., & Steinberg, S. R. (2008). Indigenous knowledges in education: Complexities, dangers, and profound benefits. *Handbook of critical and indigenous methodologies*, 135-156.
- King-Calnek, J. (2006). *Education for citizenship: Interethnic pedagogy and formal education at Escola Criativa Olodum*. *Urban Review*, 38(2), 145–64.
- King, K. McGrath, S. (2002). The Globalisation of Development Knowledge and Comparative Education. *Compare: A Journal of International and Comparative Education*. 32(3), 281-284.
- Kirkness, V., & Barnhardt, R. (1991). First nations and higher education: The four r's- respect, relevance, reciprocity, responsibility. *Journal of American Indian Education*, 30(3), 9–16.
- Kizel, A., (2016). Pedagogy out of fear of philosophy as a way of pathologizing children. *Journal of Unschooling and Alternative Learning*, 10(20), pp.28-47.
- Kraidy, M. M. (2002). Hybridity in cultural globalisation. *Communication theory*, 12(3), 316-339.
- Kruss, G. (1988). *People's Education. An Examination of the Concept. People's Education Research Project: No. 1*. Centre for Adult and Continuing Education, University of the Western Cape, Private Bag X17, Bellville 7535, South Africa.
- Kubota, R. (2004). "Critical multiculturalism and second language education". In *Critical pedagogies and language learning*, Edited by: Norton, B. and Toohey, K. 30–52. Cambridge, , England: Cambridge University Press.
- Kubow, P. K. & Fossum, P. R. (2007). *Comparative Education: Exploring issues in international contexts*, Second Edition. Ohio: Pearson Merrill Prentice Hall.
- Kuokkanen, R. (2007). *Reshaping the university: Responsibility, Indigenous epistemes, and the logic of the gift*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Kwoba, B., Chantiluke, R., & Nkopo, A. (Eds.). (2018). *Rhodes must fall: The struggle to decolonise the racist heart of empire*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Jacob, W. J., Cheng, S. Y., & Porter, M. K. (2015). Indigenous Education. *Language, Culture and Identity*.

Jansen, J.D. (2017) *As by Fire: The End of the South African University*. Tafelberg.

La Belle, T and Verhine, R. (1975) Nonformal Education and Occupational Stratification: Implications for Latin America. *Harvard Educational Review*: July 1975, 45(2), pp.160-190.

Lambert, J. (2009). *Where it all started: The center for digital storytelling in California*. Na.

Laws, S., Harper, C., Jones, N., & Marcus, R. (2013). *Research for development: A practical guide*. Sage.

Lazar, D. (1996). Competing economic ideologies in South Africa's economic debate. *British Journal of Sociology*, 599-626.

Leary, M. R., & Tangney, J. P. (Eds.). (2011). *Handbook of self and identity*. Guilford Press.

Lefa, B. J. (2015). Faculty of education and social sciences Cape Peninsula University of Technology Mowbray Campus South Africa 27 February 2015.

Le Grange, L. (2018). Decolonising, Africanising, indigenising, and internationalising curriculum studies: Opportunities to (re) imagine the field. *Journal of Education (University of KwaZulu-Natal)*, (74), 4-18.

Lehman, D. (1997). Review of A. Escobar's 'Encountering development: The making and unmaking of the Third World. *Journal of Development Studies*, 33(4), 568-578.

Lieberman, A. (1986). Collaborative research: Working with, not working on. *Educational leadership*, 43(5), 28-32.

Lister, R. and Beresford, P. (with Green, D. and Woodard, K.) (2000) „Where are “the poor” in the future of poverty research?“ in J. Bradshaw and R. Sainsbury (eds) *Researching Poverty* Aldershot, Ashgate

Loomba, A. (1998). *Situating colonial and postcolonial studies* (p. 1100). na.

Lopez Barcenas. (2008), *Indigenous movements in the Americas*, Cetri, 21 avril 2008. Accessed on 2nd August 2018. <https://www.cetri.be/Indigenous-Movements-in-the?lang=fr>

Lopes Cardozo, M.T. (2012). Transforming pre-service teacher education in Bolivia: from indigenous denial to decolonisation? *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 42(5), pp.751-772.

Lotz-Sisitka, H., & Lupele, J. (2017). ESD, learning and quality education in Africa: Learning today for tomorrow. *Schooling for sustainable development in Africa*, 3-24.

- Ludden, D. (Ed.). (2002). *Reading subaltern studies: Critical history, contested meaning and the globalization of South Asia*. Anthem Press
- Lustig, N., Lopez-Calva, L. F., & Ortiz-Juarez, E. (2012). *Declining inequality in Latin America in the 2000s: the cases of Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico*. The World Bank.
- Macedo, D. (1993). Literacy for stupidification: The pedagogy of big lies. *Harvard educational review*, 63(2), 183-207.
- Macfarlane, B. (2011). The morphing of academic practice: Unbundling and the rise of the para-academic. *Higher Education Quarterly*, 65(1), 59–73.
- Mac Ginty, R. (2008). Indigenous peace-making versus the liberal peace. *Cooperation and conflict*, 43(2), 139-163.
- Mac Ginty, R., & Richmond, O. (2016). The fallacy of constructing hybrid political orders: a reappraisal of the hybrid turn in peacebuilding. *International Peacekeeping*, 23(2), 219-239.
- Macleod, C. I., Bhatia, S., & Liu, W. (2020). Feminisms and decolonising psychology: Possibilities and challenges. *Feminism & Psychology*, 30(3), 287-305.
- Maddox, G. H., Giblin, J. L., & Kimambo, I. N. (Eds.). (1996). *Custodians of the Land: Ecology and Culture in the History of Tanzania*. Ohio University Press.
- Magaziner, J. and Monroy, C. (2018). *Education in Mexico - WENR*. [online] WENR. Available at: <https://wenr.wes.org/2016/08/education-in-mexico> [Accessed 1 Sep. 2018].
- Malabela, M. (2017). We are not violent but just demanding free decolonized education: University of the Witwatersrand. *Hashtag-Analysis of the# FeesMustFall Movement at South African Universities*, 132-148.
- Maldonado-Torres N (2007). On the coloniality of being. *Cultural Studies*, 21(2-3):240–270.
- Maldonado-Torres, N. (2016). Outline of ten theses on coloniality and decoloniality. Frantz Fanon Foundation.
- Mamdani, M. (1996). Indirect rule, civil society, and ethnicity: The African dilemma. *Social Justice*, 23(1/2 (63-64), 145-150.
- Mampane, R. M., Omidire, M. F., & Aluko, F. R. (2018). Decolonising higher education in Africa: Arriving at a glocal solution. *South African Journal of Education*, 38(4).
- Manago, A. M. (2012). The New Emerging Adult in Chiapas, Mexico: Perceptions of Traditional Values and Value Change among First-Generation Maya University Students. *Journal Of Adolescent Research*, 27(6), 663-713.

- Mandel, U., Lopez-Amaro, G., & Teamey, K. (2022). Aliança de Ecoversidades: uma experiência de cinco anos em aprendizagem cosmopolítica. *Educação & Realidade*, 46, e118644.
- Marginson, S. (2017). Brexit: Challenges for universities in hard times. *International Higher Education*, (88), 8-10.
- Marker, M., 2019. Indigenous knowledges, universities, and alluvial zones of paradigm change. *Discourse: Studies in the cultural politics of education*, 40(4): 500-513.
- Marx, K. (1972). *The marx-engels reader* (Vol. 4). New York: Norton.
- Mateos Cortés, L. S., & Dietz, G. (2017). Local Resignifications of Transnational Discourses in Intercultural Higher Education: The Case of the "Universidad Veracruzana Intercultural" in Mexico. *Arts And Humanities In Higher Education: An International Journal Of Theory, Research And Practice*, 16(1), 28-50.
- Matthews, S. (2020). Colonised minds? Post-development theory and the desirability of development in Africa. In *The Development Dictionary@ 25* (pp. 104-117). Routledge.
- May, S. ed. (1999). *Indigenous community-based education*(Vol. 11, No. 3). Multilingual Matters.
- May, S. and Aikman, S. (2003). Indigenous education: addressing current issues and developments. *Comparative Education*, 39 (2), pp. 139-145.
- Mbembe, J,A. (2016). Decolonizing the university: New directions. *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education*, 15(1), 29-45.
- Mbembe, A. (2019). *Sair da grande noite: ensaio sobre a África descolonizada*. Editora Vozes.
- McCowan, T. (2016a). Forging Radical Alternatives in Higher Education: The Case of Brazil. *Other Education*, 5(2), pp.196-220.
- McCowan, T. (2016b) Universities and the post-2015 development agenda: An analytical framework. *Higher Education*, 72(4), 505-525.
- McGrath, S. A. (1996). *Learning to Work?: changing discourses on education and training in South Africa, 1976-96* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Edinburgh).
- McGrath, S. A. (Ed.). (2004). *Shifting understandings of skills in South Africa: overcoming the historical imprint of a low regime*. HSRC Press.
- McGrath, S. (2012). Vocational Education and Training for Development: A policy in need of a theory. *International Journal of Educational Development*. 32, 623-631.
- McGrath, A. (2019, January 7). Schooling the World: Should we be exporting “Western Education”? Educate. <https://educate-ngo.com/2019/01/07/schooling-the-world-should-we-be-exporting-western-education/>

McIntock, A. (1992). The Angel of Progress: The Pitfalls of the Term "PostColonialism. *Social Text*, Spring 1992: 1–15

McMahon, M. (1997, December). Social Constructivism and the World Wide Web - A Paradigm for Learning. Paper presented at the ASCILITE conference. Perth, Australia.

McNeely, J.A. (1999). IUCN and Indigenous people: how to promote sustainable development. In D.M. Warren, L.J. Slikkerveer & D. Brokensha (eds). *The cultural dimension of development: Indigenous knowledge systems*. London: SRP, Exeter.

Mello, R. R., de Sousa, M. M., & Palomino, T. J. (2018). Indigenous School Education in Brazil. *New York: Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Education*. doi:10.1093/acrefore/9780190264093.013.244

Mendoza-Mori, A. (2017). Quechua language programs in the United States: Cultural hubs for Indigenous cultures. *Chiricù Journal: Latina/o Literature, Art, and Culture*, 1(2), 43-55.

Metcalf, S. (2017). Neoliberalism: the idea that swallowed the world. *The Guardian*,. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2017/aug/18/neoliberalism-the-idea-that-changed-the-world> [19 June 2018].

Meyer, A., (2012), 'Suid-Afrika se oerverlede', in F. Pretorius F (ed.), *Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika: van voortye tot vandag*, pp. 17-36, Tafelberg, Cape Town.

Mignolo, W. D., & Escobar, A. (Eds.). (2013). *Globalization and the decolonial option*. Routledge.

Mills, A. J., Durepos, G., & Wiebe, E. (2010). *Encyclopedia of case study research* (Vols. 1-0). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc. doi: 10.4135/9781412957397

Mitova, V. (2020). Decolonising knowledge here and now. *Philosophical Papers*, 49(2), 191-212.

Mkhize, N., & Ndimande-Hlongwa, N. (2014). African languages, indigenous knowledge systems (IKS), and the transformation of the humanities and social sciences in higher education. *Alternation*, 21(2), 10-37.

Moane, G., & Moane, G. (1999). Hierarchical systems: Patriarchy and colonialism. *Gender and colonialism: A psychological analysis of oppression and liberation*, 24-54.

Moleketi, G.F. (2009). Towards a common understanding of corruption in Africa. *South Africa. Public Policy and Administration*, 24(3):331-338.

Moore, S. F. (1994). *Anthropology and Africa: changing perspectives on a changing scene*. University of Virginia Press.

Morgan, D. L. (2003). Appropriation, appreciation, accommodation: Indigenous wisdoms and knowledges in higher education. *International review of education*, 49, 35-49.

Morgan, H., and A. Houghton. (2011). *Inclusive Curriculum Design in Higher Education: Considerations for Effective Practice Across and Within Subject Areas*. New York: The Higher Education Academy.

Mountain, A. (2003). *The first people of the Cape: A look at their history and the impact of colonialism on the Cape's indigenous people*. New Africa Books.

Mudimbe, V. Y. (1985). African gnosis: philosophy and the order of knowledge. *African Studies Review*, 28(2-3), 149-233.

Muller, H. (1963) 'Separate Development in South Africa', *African Affairs*, 62(246), pp. 53–65

Mulenga, D. C. (2001). Mwalimu Julius Nyerere: A critical review of his contributions to adult education and postcolonialism. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 20(6), 446-470.

Murove, M.F., (2004). An African commitment to ecological conservation: The Shona concepts of Ukama and Ubuntu. *Mankind Quarterly*, 45(2), p.195.

Murove, M. F. (2012). Ubuntu. *Diogenes*, 59(3-4), 36-47.

Murray, B. K. (1997). *Wits, the "open" Years: A History of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1939-1959*. Witwatersrand University Press Publications.

Nakata, M., Nakata, V., Keech, S. and Bolt, R., (2012). Decolonial goals and pedagogies for Indigenous studies. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1(1).

Natural Justice. (2021, August 26). *Affirming and Securing Rights to Lands, Resources and Knowledge · Natural Justice*. <https://naturaljustice.org/programme/affirming-and-securing-rights-to-lands-resources-and-knowledge/>

Ndlovu, S. M. (2006). The soweto uprising. *The road to democracy in South Africa*, 2, 1970-1980.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2015). Decoloniality as the future of Africa. *History Compass*, 13(10), 485-496.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2018). *Epistemic freedom in Africa: Deprovincialization and decolonization*. Routledge.

Neeganagwedgin, E. (2020). Indigenous systems of knowledge and transformative learning practices: Turning the gaze upside down. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education*, 14(1), 1-13.

Nel, A. , Bundy, . Colin J. , Thompson, . Leonard Monteath , Gordon, . David Frank , Hall, . Martin , Cobbing, . Julian R.D. , Mabin, . Alan S. , Vigne, . Randolph and Lowe, . Christopher

C. (2021, August 29). *South Africa*. *Encyclopedia Britannica*.
<https://www.britannica.com/place/South-Africa>

Nichol, R. (2011). *Growing up indigenous: developing effective pedagogy for education and development*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Norberg-Hodge, H. (2000). *Ancient futures: learning from Ladakh*. Random House.

North, S. (2017). *Contested pasts, forgotten voices: remembering and representing slavery in South Africa* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Hull).

Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2016). *#RhodesMustFall: Nibbling at resilient colonialism in South Africa*. Langaa RPCIG.

Nyamnjoh, A. N. (2022). *Decolonisation, Africanisation, and Epistemic Citizenship in post-Rhodes Must Fall South African Universities* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge).

Nyerere, J.K., (1967). *Education for Self Reliance, Freedom and Socialism*.

Ogude, J (2018). *Ubuntu and personhood*. Trenton: Africa World Press.

Ohliger, J., McCarthy, C., Syracuse Univ., N. E., & Syracuse Univ., N. E. (1971). *Lifelong Learning or Lifelong Schooling? A Tentative View of the Ideas of Ivan Illich with a Quotational Bibliography*.

Olatunji, S. A. (2010). Thematic changes in postcolonial African literature: From colonialism to neocolonialism. *Sino–Us English Teaching*, 7(10), 125-134.

Oliver, E., & Oliver, W. H. (2017). The colonisation of South Africa: A unique case. *HTS: Theological Studies*, 73(3), 1-8.

Orr, K.M. and Bennett, M. (2009) „Reflexivity in the co-production of academicpractitioner research“ *Qualitative Research in Organisations and Management* 4, 85-102

Ostrom, E. (1996) „Crossing the Great Divide: Co-production, Synergy and Development“ *World Development* 24(6), 1073–88

Otunnu, O., (2015). Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere's philosophy, contribution, and legacies. *African Identities*, 13(1), pp.18-33.

Oyarzún, J. D. D., Perales Franco, C., & McCowan, T. (2017). Indigenous higher education in Mexico and Brazil: Between redistribution and recognition. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 47(6), 852-871.

Paulson, J. (2015). 'Whether and how?' History education about recent and ongoing conflict: A review of research. *Journal on Education in Emergencies*, 1(1), 115-141.

Pelzer, A. N. (1966). Die ingebruikstelling van papiergeld in die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek. *Historia*, 11(1), 4-17.

Penn, N. (2013). The British and the 'Bushman': the massacre of the Cape San, 1795 to 1828. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 15(2), 183-200.

Petrus, T. (2019). Education versus indoctrination: Contextualising the crisis in higher education in South Africa. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 33(3), 81-97.

Petticrew, M. & Roberts, H. (2006). *Systematic Reviews in Social Sciences: A practical guide*. Blackwell Publishing.

Pfeifer, K. (1996). Modernization and indigenous knowledge: ideas for development or strategies of imperialism? *Peace & Change*, 21(1), 41-67.

Phasha, N., Mahlo, D., & Dei, G. J. S. (Eds.). (2017). *Inclusive education in African contexts: A critical reader*. Springer.

Pherali, T. (2016) Education: Cultural reproduction, revolution and peacebuilding in conflict-affected societies, In O. P. Richmond, S. Pogodda and J. Ramovic, *Dimensions of Peace: Disciplinary and Regional Approaches*, pp.193-205, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Philip, J. (1828). *Researches in South Africa: Illustrating the Civil, Moral, and Religious Condition of the Native Tribes: Including Journals of the Author's Travels in the Interior, Together with Detailed Accounts of the Progress of the Christian Missions, Exhibiting the Influence of Christianity in Promoting Civilization*. J. Duncan.

Phillips, L., Kristiansen, M., Vehviläinen, M., & Gunnarsson, E. (2013). Tackling the tensions of dialogue and participation: Reflexive strategies for collaborative research. In *Knowledge and Power in Collaborative Research* (pp. 1-18). Routledge.

Phillips, D. & Schweisfurth, M. (2007). *Comparative and International Education: An introduction to theory, method and practice*. London and New York: Continuum.

Phillips, H. (2000). Review Article What did your University do during Apartheid? *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 26(1), 173-177.

Pidgeon, M. (2008). Pushing against the margins: Indigenous theorizing of "success" and retention in higher education. *Journal of College Student Retention: Research, Theory & Practice*, 10(3), 339-360.

Pillay, S. R. (2016). Silence is violence:(Critical) psychology in an era of Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall.

Piper, B. (2016). International education is a broken field: Can ubuntu education bring solutions? *International review of Education*, 62, 101-111.

Ponce, D. E. (1980) 'The Filipinos' in J. F. McDermott, (ed.) *Peoples and cultures of Hawaii: A psychocultural profile*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Postma, M., & Postma, D. (2011). Who is laughing last in the South African classroom? A critical reflection on language in education. *Southern African linguistics and applied language studies*, 29(1), 43-54.

Postman, N., (2011). *The end of education: Redefining the value of school*. Vintage.

Prakash, G. (1994). Subaltern studies as postcolonial criticism. *The American historical review*, 99(5), 1475-1490.

Prakash, M. S., & Esteva, G. (1998). *Escaping Education: Living as Learning within Grassroots Cultures. Counterpoints: Studies in the Postmodern Theory of Education, Vol. 36*.

Prakash, M. S. & Esteva, G. (2008). *Escaping education: Living as learning in grassroots cultures* (2nd ed). New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Pratt, Y. P., Louie, D. W., Hanson, A. J., & Ottmann, J. (2018). Indigenous education and decolonization. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Education*.

Preece, J. (2008). A Social Justice Approach to Education for Active Citizenship. in Peters, M., Britton, A., & Blee, H, (eds.) *Global Citizenship Education: Philosophy, Theory and Pedagogy*, Rotterdam and Taipei: Sense Publishers. pp. 381-393.

Quaglia, R. J., & Corso, M. J. (2014). *Student voice: The instrument of change*. Corwin Press.

Quijano, A. (2000). The coloniality of power and social classification. *Journal of World Systems*, 6(2), 342-386.

Quijano, A. (2007). Coloniality and modernity/rationality. *Cultural studies*, 21(2-3), 168-178.

Raco, M. (2005). Sustainable Development, Rolled-out Neoliberalism and Sustainable Communities. *Antipode*, 37(2), 324-347.

Rahnema, M. (1997). Towards post-development: searching for signposts, a new language and new paradigms. *The post-development reader*, 377-403.

Reason, P. (1998). Toward a participatory worldview. *Resurgence*, 168, 42-44.

Reason, P. (2001). 14 Learning and Change through Action Research. *Creative management*, 182.

Reeler, S. K. (2015). Steps towards decolonial higher education in South Africa? Researching epistemic disobedience in the postcolonial humanities. *COrossDESRIA, Dakar*, 8-12.

Reimer, F. (1971). *School is dead*. Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Retnowati, A., Anantasari, E., Marfai, M. A., & Dittmann, A. (2014). Environmental ethics in local knowledge responding to climate change: An understanding of seasonal traditional

calendar PranotoMongso and its phenology in Karst area of Gunungkidul, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. *Procedia Environmental Sciences*, 20, 785–794.

Revilla, L. (1996) 'Filipino Americans: issues for identity in Hawaii' in J. Okamura and R. N. Labrador (eds.) Pagdiriwang 1996: *Legacy and vision of Hawaii's Filipino Americans*, Honolulu: Student Equity, Excellence & Diversity and Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 27-30

Ricard, R. (1974). *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain, 1523-1572*. Univ of California Press.

Richardson, L. and Le Grand, J. (2002) „Outsider and insider expertise: the response of residents of deprived neighbourhoods to an academic definition of social exclusion“ *Social policy and Administration* 36(5), 496-515

Rizvi, F., Lingard, B., & Lavia, J. (2006). Postcolonialism and education: Negotiating a contested terrain. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, 14(3), 249-262.

Rizvi, F., & Lingard, B. (2009). *Globalising education policy*. Routledge.

Robeyns, I. (2006). The capability approach in practice. *Journal of political philosophy*, 14(3), 351-376.

Robeyns, I. (2017). *Wellbeing, freedom and social justice: The capability approach re-examined* (p. 266). Open Book Publishers.

Rogers, A., & Horrocks, N. (2010). *Teaching Adults*. Fourth Edition. Berkshire: Open University Press.

Roig, S., & Crowther, J. (2016). Can dreams come true?: Exploring transformative education and development through the experiences of La Verneda-Sant Martí, Catalunya, Spain. In *Education, Learning and the Transformation of Development* (pp. 77-92). Routledge.

Ross, R. (1999). *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750–1870: a tragedy of manners* (Vol. 98). Cambridge University Press.

Roy, S. (2016). A critique on current paradigms of economic 'growth' and 'development' in the context of environment and sustainability issues. *Consilience*, (16), 74-90.

Royal, T. A. C. (2003). The woven universe: selected writings of Rev. Māori Marsden. *Educating Māori*, 187.

Royal, T. A. C. (2012). Politics and knowledge: Kaupapa Maori and matauranga Maori. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 47(2), 30-37.

Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism: Western concepts of the Orient*. New York: Pantheon.

Santos, B. D. S. (2014). *Epistemologies of the South: Justice against epistemicide*. Routledge.

- Sandoval Rivera, J. C. A., & Mendoza-Zuany, R. G. (2017). Intercultural educational alternatives based on sustainability from Mexico: beyond school and cultural belonging. *Intercultural Education*, 28(4), 373-389.
- Sandoval-Rivera, J. C. A. (2020). Environmental education and indigenous knowledge: Towards the connection of local wisdom with international agendas in the framework of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education*, 14(1), 14-24.
- Santos, B. S. (Ed). (2008). *Another knowledge is possible: Beyond northern epistemologies*. London: Verso.
- Sarangapani, P. M. (2003). Indigenising curriculum: Questions posed by Baiga vidya. *Comparative Education*, 39(2), 199-209.
- Saul, J. & S. Gelb (1986), *The Crisis in South Africa*, revised edition, New York: Monthly Review Press
- Saxton, J. (2000). Investment in education: Private and public returns. Joint Economic Committee, 923-939.
- Schmelkes, S., & Sylvia, S. (2009). Intercultural universities in Mexico: progress and difficulties. *Intercultural Education*, 20(1), 5-17.
- Secorun, L. (2018). South Africa's First Nations Have Been Forgotten. *Foreign Policy*.
- Sekyi-Otu, A. (1996). *Fanon's dialectic of experience*. Harvard University Press.
- Semali, L. M., & Kincheloe, J. L. (2002). *What is indigenous knowledge? Voices from the academy*. Routledge.
- Sen, A. (1980). Equality of what? *Paper Presented In The Tanner Lecture on Human Values*, Stanford University.
- Sen, A. (1993). Capability and well-being⁷³. *The quality of life*, 30, 270-293.
- Sen, A. (1996). Our culture, their culture. *The New Republic*, April 1, USA.
- Sen, A. (1999). Reason Before Identity. *The Roman Lecture for 1998*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Sen, A. (2000). Culture and Development, In: *Paper Presented In the World Bank Meeting*, December 13, Tokyo, Japan.
- Sen, A. (2005). What is it like to be a human being? Speech Delivered in the Third Forum on *Human Development, Cultural Identity, Democracy and Global Equity*. Paris, 17 2005.

- Sen, A. (2008). The idea of justice. *Journal of human development*, 9(3), 331-342.
- Sen, A. (2014). Development as freedom (1999). *The globalization and development reader: Perspectives on development and global change*, 525.
- Senekal, Q., & Lenz, R. (2020). Decolonising the South African Higher Education curriculum: An investigation into the challenges. *International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanity Studies*, 12(1), 146-160.
- Shah, R (2016) 'Learning, labour and leisure.', in Education, learning and the transformation of development. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, pp. 36-49.
- Shariffuddin, S. A., Razali, J. R., & Ghani, M. A. (2017). A review on higher education institutions transformation in selected regions. In *Proceedings of International Conference on Humanities, Language, Culture & Business, Penang* (Vol. 2, pp. 75-84).
- Shear, M. (1996). *Wits: A university in the apartheid era*. Witwatersrand University Press Publications.
- Shenker, S. D. (2012). Towards a World in which Many Worlds Fit? Zapatista Autonomous Education as an Alternative Means of Development. *International Journal Of Educational Development*, 32(3), 432-443.
- Shepherd, A. V. (2015). Government versus Teachers: The Challenges of Educational Progress in Oaxaca, Mexico. *Current Issues In Comparative Education*, 17(1), 27-35.
- Shizha, E. (2014). The indigenous knowledge systems and the curriculum. In *African indigenous knowledge and the disciplines* (pp. 113-129). Brill.
- Shiva, V. (2010). Resources in W. Sachs. *The Development Dictionary. A Guide to Knowledge as Power*.
- Shor, I., 2012. *Empowering education: Critical teaching for social change*. University of Chicago Press.
- Shyama, E., Varma, R. (2018). Fanonism, Orientalism and Othering with Reference to *The Mimic Men*. In *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 23 (9), 48-53.
- Siggelkow, N. (2007). Persuasion with case studies. *The Academy of Management Journal*, 50(1), 20-24.
- Sillitoe, P. (2013). *A place against time: land and environment in the Papua New Guinea highlands*. Routledge.
- Simpson, L.R., (2004). Anticolonial strategies for the recovery and maintenance of Indigenous knowledge. *The American Indian Quarterly*, 28(3), pp.373-384.
- Sivaramakrishnan, K. and Agarwal, A. (2003). *Regional modernities in stories and practices of development*. In Sivaramakrishnan, K. and Agarwal, A., editors, *Regional modernities: the*

cultural politics of development in India, Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, and New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1—62.

Skinner, A., Smith, M.B., Brown, E. and Troll, T. eds., 2016. *Education, learning and the transformation of development*. Routledge.

Slee, R. (2011). *The irregular school*. London, UK: Routledge.

Smith, A. (2002). Power and hierarchy of knowledge. *Geoforum*, 40(1), 230-248.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. Dunedin:University of Otago Press.

Smith, L. T. (2021). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Smith, P. (2002, September, 12-14). Systematic reviews in Educationr. In *Education Line*. Paper presented at British Educational Research Association Annual Conference: University of Exeter, England.

Snively, G. & Williams, L. (2008). “Coming to know”: Weaving Aboriginal and Western science knowledge, language, and literacy into the science classroom. *L1—Educational Studies in Language & Literature*, 8(1), 109–133.

Socioeconomic and Caste Census (SECC). (2015). *The Ministry of Rural Development Government of India*.

Sommer M (2011). Colonies – colonisation - colonialism: A typological reappraisal. *Ancient West & East*, 10:183–193. <https://doi.org/10.2413/AWE.10.0.2141818>

Sonn, C. C., Stevens, G., & Duncan, N. (2013). Decolonisation, critical methodologies and why stories matter. In *Race, memory and the apartheid archive: Towards a transformative psychosocial praxis* (pp. 295-314). London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Soudien, C. (2012). *Becoming UWC: Reflections, pathways and unmaking apartheid’s legacy*.

South Africa. Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions. (2008). *Report of the ministerial committee on transformation and social cohesion and the elimination of discrimination in public higher education institutions*.

Spivak, C.G. (1988). Can the subaltern speak?. *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, 271-313.

Spring, J. (2000). *The universal right to education: Justification, definition, and guidelines*. Routledge.

Statista, (2023). *Statista South Africa*. <https://www.statista.com/markets/422/topic/1034/south-africa/>

- Stavenhagen, R. (2015). Indigenous Peoples' Rights to Education. *European Journal Of Education, 50*(3), 254-257. doi:10.1111/ejed.12136
- Stenhouse, L. (1978). Case study and case records: towards a contemporary history of education. *British Educational Research Journal, 4*(2), 21-39.
- Stenhouse, L. (1979). Case study in comparative education: Particularity and generalisation. *Comparative Education, 15*(1), 5-10.
- Stein S & Andreotti V (2017). Decolonization and higher education. In M Peters (ed). *Encyclopedia of educational philosophy and theory*. Singapore: Springer.
- Sterrett, S. (2015). Interprofessional learning as a third space: Rethinking health profession students' development and identity through the concepts of Homi Bhabha. *Humanities, 4*, 653–660.
- Stoll, A., & Cultural Survival, C. M. (1998). Reclaiming Native Education: Activism, Teaching and Leadership. *Cultural Survival Quarterly, 22*(1).
- Storey, A. (2000). Post-development theory: romanticism and pontius pilate politics . *Development 43*(4), 40–46 .
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. M. (1997). *Grounded theory in practice*. Sage.
- Subotzky, G. (1999). Beyond the entrepreneurial university: The potential role of South Africa's historically disadvantaged institutions in reconstruction and development. *International review of education, 45*, 507-527.
- Swaraj University., (2010). Accessed 05 January 2018, <http://www.swarajuniversity.org>
- Swartz, S. (2011). 'Going deep'and 'giving back': strategies for exceeding ethical expectations when researching amongst vulnerable youth. *Qualitative Research, 11*(1), 47-68.
- Swartz, B. C., Gachago, D., & Belford, C. (2018). To care or not to care—reflections on the ethics of blended learning in times of disruption. *South African Journal of Higher Education, 32*(6), 49-64.
- Sylvain, R. (2011). At the intersections: San women and the rights of indigenous peoples in Africa. *The International Journal of Human Rights, 15*(1), 89-110.
- Tatto, M. T., Schmelkes, S., Guevara, M. R., & Tapia, M. (2006). Implementing Reform amidst Resistance: The Regulation of Teacher Education and Work in Mexico. *International Journal Of Educational Research, 45*(4), 267-278.
- Tavares, M. & Romão, T. (2015). Emerging counter hegemonic models in higher education: The Federal University of Southern Bahia (UF SB) and its contribution to a renewed

geopolitics of knowledge (interview with Naomar de Almeida Filho). *Encounters in Theory and History of Education*, 16, 101-110.

Teamey, K. & Mandel, U. (2014). *Challenging the modern university, perspectives and practices from indigenous communities, social and ecological movements*. Paper presented at the Forum on Higher Education and International Development, London, 24 October, 2014.

Terrazas-Marín, R. A. (2018). Developing Non-Formal Education Competences as a Complement of Formal Education for STEM Lecturers. *Journal Of Education For Teaching: International Research And Pedagogy*, 44(1), 118-123.

The Bastion Staff, (2017, September). The Africanization of Education: South Africa's Attempt to Turn Colonial Tables. The Bastion

The World Bank (2020). *The World Bank in South Africa*, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/southafrica>

Thobejane, T. D. (2013). History of apartheid education and the problems of reconstruction in South Africa. *Sociology Study*, 3(1), 1-12.

Thomas, C. (2000). *Global governance, development and human security: the challenge of poverty and inequality*. Pluto.

Thomas, C. (2014). Finding voice, vocabulary and community. The UWC Student Movement 1972-1976. *Journal for Contemporary History*, 39(1), 19-37.

Thomas, G. (2011). A typology for the case study in social science following a review of definition, discourse, and structure. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 17(6), 511-521.

Tikly, L. (1999). Postcolonialism and comparative education. *International review of education*, 45, 603-621.

Tikly, L. (2019). *Education for sustainable development in the postcolonial world: Towards a transformative agenda for Africa*. Routledge.

Tikly, L. (2021). Racial Formation and Education in England: A critical analysis of the Sewell report.

Tomlinson, B. (2016). The importance of materials development for language learning. In *Issues in materials development* (pp. 1-9). Brill.

Triyanto, & Handayani, R. A. D. (2020). Prospect of integrating indigenous knowledge in the teacher learning community. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education*, 14(3), 133-145.

Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2021). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Tabula Rasa*, (38), 61-111.

Tutu, Desmond, (1999). *No Future Without Forgiveness*. London: Rider.

Tutu, D. (2004). Dark days: episcopal ministry in times of repression, 1976-1996. *Journal of theology for Southern Africa*, (118), 27.

Underhill, H. (2016). LEarning in thE praxis of diaspora poLitics. *Education, Learning and the Transformation of Development*, 158.

UNESCO (2015). SDG4-Education 2030, Incheon Declaration (ID) and Framework for Action

UNESCO, W., (2017). *World Heritage and Indigenous Peoples*. Whc.

UNHCR - The UN Refugee Agency. (n.d.). *Minorities and indigenous peoples | UNHCR*.

UNHCR. <https://www.unhcr.org/minorities-and-indigenous-peoples#:~:text=Minorities%20and%20indigenous%20peoples%20are,obstacles%20to%20manifesting%20their%20identity>.

United Nations General Assembly. (2007) *A world fit for children.*, Geneva: United Nations. UN/A/RES/S-27/2.

UNITED NATIONS. (2015). *The Millennium Development Goals Report, 2015 Time for Global Action: For people and planet*.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2012). Independent Evaluation Office, *Independent Country Programme Evaluation*.

<http://web.undp.org/evaluation/evaluations/assessment-of-development-results.shtml>

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2016). *Human Development Report 2016-Human Development for Everyone*. <http://hdr.undp.org/en/2016-report/download>

United Nations - Indigenous People (2014). Department of Economic and Social Affairs, accessed on 6th March

2019, <https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/about-us.html>.

United Nations - Indigenous People (2022) Department of Economic and Social Affairs, accessed on 6th March

2019, <https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/about-us.html>.

Universidad de la Tierra. (2012). *University of the Earth*, Accessed on 6th January 2018.

<http://unitierraoax.org/>

University of Life. (1999). *University of Life: A centre for sustainable living, long life & experientia learning*, <http://syamantak.cfsites.org/>

Unterhalter, E. (2019). The many meanings of quality education: Politics of targets and indicators in SDG 4. *Global Policy*, 10, 39-51.

- Unterhalter, E., & McCowan, T. (2015). Conclusion: An Interview with Anita Rampal. *Education and international development: An introduction*, 295.
- Van Zyl Slabbert, F. (1989). The shift to the one-nation State ideology in South Africa. *Vierteljahres-Berichte: Probleme der internationalen Zusammenarbeit*, (118), 361-367.
- Vannoni, M. (2014). What are case studies good for? Nesting comparative case study research into the lakatosian research program. *CrossCultural Research*, 49(4), 331-357.
- Villalba, U., (2013). Buen Vivir vs Development: a paradigm shift in the Andes?. *Third World Quarterly*, 34(8), pp.1427-1442.
- Visser, J., (2000). *Swaraj University: Reflections on an experience*.
- Von Borstel, F. (1994). Lessons from the Past. *Education With Production*, 10(2), 47-72.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1987). *The collected works of LS Vygotsky: Problems of the theory and history of psychology* (Vol. 3). Springer Science & Business Media.
- Wa Thiong'o, N. (1986). The Writer in a neocolonial state. *The Black Scholar*, 17(4), 2-10.
- Walker, M. (2018). Dimensions of higher education and the public good in South Africa. *Higher Education*, 76, 555-569.
- Walker, M., & Unterhalter, E. (2007). The capability approach: Its potential for work in education. *Amartya Sen's capability approach and social justice in education*, 1-18.
- Walter, D. (2002). Colonial and post-colonial discourses in Social Sciences: a acultural critique of colonialism. *Latin American Research Review*, 28 (3), 120-134.
- Walton, E. (2018). Decolonising (through) inclusive education? *Educational research for social change*, 7(SPE), 31-45.
- Walsh, C., & Mignolo, W. (2018). On decoloniality. *DW Mignolo, & EC Walsh, On Decoloniality Concepts, Analysis, Praxis*, 304.
- Warren, D. M., & Rajasekaran, B. (1993). Putting local knowledge to good use. *International Agricultural Development*, 13(4), 8-10.
- Watkins, D., Dahlin, B., & Ekholm, M. (2005). Awareness of the backwash effect of assessment: A phenomenographic study of the views of Hong Kong and Swedish lecturers. *Instructional Science*, 33, 283-309.
- Webb, P. (2013). Xhosa indigenous knowledge: Stakeholder awareness, value, and choice. *International Journal of Science and Mathematics Education*, 11(1), 89-110.
- Webb, A., & Sepúlveda, D. (2020). Re-signifying and negotiating indigenous identity in university spaces: A qualitative study from Chile. *Studies in Higher Education*, 45(2), 286-298.

Webb, S., Holford, J., Hodge, S., Milana, M., & Waller, R. (2017). Lifelong learning for quality education: exploring the neglected aspect of sustainable development goal 4. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 36(5), 509-511.

Webportal@uwc.ac.za. (n.d.). *UWC Mission Statement*. UWC.
<https://www.uwc.ac.za/about/mission-vision-and-history/mission>

Weinstein, J. (2013). Formal Education. In *Adam Smith's Pluralism: Rationality, Education, and the Moral Sentiments* (pp. 185-218). New Haven; London: Yyimillsale University Press. Retrieved from <http://www.istor.org.libproxy.york.ac.uk/stable/j.ctt5vm72p.14>

Wertsch, J. V. (2002). *Voices of collective remembering*. Cambridge University Press.

Whiteford, G., Hunter, J., Jamie, J., Pitson, R., Breckenridge, D., Elders, Y., ... & Jamie, I. (2017). The river of learning: Building relationships in a university, school and community indigenous widening participation collaboration. *Higher Education Research & Development*, 36(7), 1490-1502.

Wilkinson, R., & Zou'bi, S. (2021, Jun 23). *Decolonising the Curriculum Interview Series – Leon Tikly podcast and transcript*. <https://bilt.online/decolonising-the-curriculum-interview-series-leon-tikly-podcast-and-transcript/>

Wingfield B (2017). What “decolonised education” should and shouldn’t mean. *The Conversation*, 14 February.

Wilson, S. (2020). *Research is a ceremony: Indigenous research methods*. Fernwood publishing.

World Bank. (2011). *India's Adivasis : India, Country Brief No 4: Indigenous Peoples*. World Bank. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTINDPEOPLE/Resources/407801-1271860301656/India_brief_clean_0110.pdf

World Bank. (2005). *Mexico - Income Generation and Social Protection for the Poor : Volume 4. A Study of Rural Poverty in Mexico*. Washington, DC. World Bank. <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/8286> License: CC BY 3.0 IGO.

World Bank. (2016). *The World Bank: IBRD-IDA: Data. World Bank national accounts data*.

World Bank.(2022). <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD>

World Health Organization, (2005). *The World Health Report 2005: Make every mother and child count*. World Health Organization.

World Bank, & Independent Evaluation Group. (2023). *Evaluation Insight Note: Implementation Lessons from World Bank Operations in Supporting Indigenous Peoples*.

Yin, R. K. (1994; 2003; 2009). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Young, I. (1990). *Justice and the Politics of Difference* Princeton, Princeton University Press

Young, R. J. (2001). Sartre: The 'African Philosopher.'. *Sartre JP Colonialism and neo-colonialism* Routledge, Paris, 1-18.

Young, R. (2003). *Postcolonialism: a very short introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Zavala, M. (2013). What do we mean by decolonizing research strategies? Lessons from decolonizing, Indigenous research projects in New Zealand and Latin America.

Zembylas, M. (2018). Decolonial possibilities in South African higher education: Reconfiguring humanising pedagogies as/with decolonising pedagogies. *South African Journal of Education*, 38(4), 1-11.

Ziai, A. (2007). *Exploring post-development: Theory and practice, problems and perspectives*. Routledge.