
**Centre for African Studies**

*Decolonising and Africanising the Further Education And Training (FET)*

*History Curriculum in South Africa (Grades 10-12): integration of heritage sites and institutions of memory in the Western and Eastern Cape*

**A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of MPhil in Heritage and Public Culture**

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**2024**

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ABSTRACT

The politics of heritage have progressively played a critical role in South African socio-political life since 1994. As an example, heritage institutions have played a major role in re-centring histories that were pushed to the periphery within the decolonisation discourse in post-Apartheid South Africa. Heritage has therefore also been seriously considered in the decolonisation of education in South Africa, especially in teaching History as a subject. This thesis critically analyses the integration of heritage sites and institutions of memory into the FET (grades 10-12) history curriculum, and how this integrated process of knowledge production could contribute towards building an Africa-centric curriculum. It argues that by centring African heritage sites and institutions of memory in knowledge production and education, the FET history curriculum can be radically decolonised and shifted towards indigenous knowledge prioritization. The thesis explores two aspects in this argument: (1) How could we integrate heritage sites and institutions of memory into the FET history curriculum and (2) how could we teach topics that are covered in the curriculum by using African-informed foundations of research and knowledge production. The thesis argues that these two processes are inter-dependent and intersectional in nature.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Having to undertake postgraduate studies during a pandemic has been one of the most challenging things that I have done in my life, and it could not have been done without the assistance of the people who are directly and indirectly involved in the completion of the thesis. As a first-generation graduate from the township of Khayelitsha in Cape Town, merely reaching Masters' degree level at the University of Cape Town is an achievement on its own. I could not have been where I am today without the support and encouragement of my neighbourhood where the demise of young people, like myself, has become something of an everyday norm. For this reason, I will forever be grateful to my supportive community as well as the supportive individuals I have encountered who have constantly encouraged me to continue on this academic journey and to try to contribute to African scholarship as a young intellectual and activist. My gratitude also goes to the entire staff at the Centre for African Studies for their patience, guidance and moulding me to be where I am today. A special thanks also to the Pan African Students Movement of Azania for being a spiritual and political home in the ivory towers. A special thanks to the Ruth Sacks Bursary and the UK Alumni Bursary Scheme for the financial support that was given to me that has assisted me in the completion of this project. Last but not least, I also thank my research supervisor.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

| | |
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| ANC | African National Congress |
| CAPS | Curriculum Assessment and Policy Statement |
| DAC | Department of Arts and Culture |
| DACST | Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology |
| DBE | Department of Basic Education |
| DEIC | Dutch East India Company |
| EFF | Economic Freedom Fighters |
| EPPA | Ex-Political Prisoners Association |
| FET | Further Education and Training |
| GET | General Education and Training |
| GHA | General History of Africa |

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|---|---|
| MTT | Ministerial Task Team |
| RIM | Robben Island Museum |
| #RMF | Hashtag Rhodes Must Fall |
| RNCS | Revised National Curriculum Statement |
| SADET | South African Democracy Education Trust |
| SAHP | South African History Project |
| TRC | Truth and Reconciliation Commission |
| UCT | University of Cape Town |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation |
| UWC | University of the Western Cape |

## Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into 5 chapters with the research questions providing guidance on the flow of the chapters.

Chapter 1 will cover the introduction and background of the study.

Chapter 2 will review the literature that currently exists that is relevant to the study.

Chapter 3 will cover the theoretical framework that informs the research and methodology.

Chapter 4 will cover the research findings and discussion.

Chapter 5 will be the concluding chapter.

# CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

Quite recently, the Department of Basic Education (DBE) announced that there will be big changes in the history curriculum that is expected to be taught in South African high schools (Govender, 2021)[i]. These changes are a direct result of the History Ministerial Task Team report[ii] that was published in 2018 which recommended that history be a compulsory subject provided that there is radical reform and decolonisation of the curriculum. The history curriculum in post-Apartheid South Africa has been identified as one of the areas that need radical reform since the dawn of the new democratic dispensation (Weldon, 2010: 89). Due to the history of colonialism and Apartheid in the country, which resulted in the regulation and subsequent legislation of what should be taught in schools and to whom, the Apartheid curriculum was biased, racist, sexist and littered with state ideology that perpetuated the violent oppression of Black people in the country (Christie and Collins, 1982). This issue has therefore been an ongoing debate in the country with students, academics and policy makers alike contributing to the debate on how to go about reforming the curriculum in South Africa.

## 1.2 HISTORY EDUCATION DEBATES AND DISCOURSE IN SOUTH AFRICA: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

The curriculum that would be developed as a result of the process of decolonising and Africanising the curriculum would obviously have to be implemented by the teachers who are the ones who are doing the groundwork in the classroom. It therefore makes sense that the training of those teachers should also be critically investigated if the decolonial project is to be implemented effectively. Using the history of education module that constitutes part of the Bachelor of Education program and some postgraduate qualifications that are offered in several South African universities that have not been named in the study, Chisholm, Friedman and Sindoh (2018:76) argue that the continued coloniality of university teacher training curricula continues to be a significant question in the debate around the 'entanglement of the processes of knowledge production with

colonialism'. This was one of the key questions and debates that the student movement was preoccupied with, looking at how the education system had been co-opted to advance the colonial project on the continent and how that legacy continues to be perpetuated by institutions of higher learning even in the current dispensation. It is therefore the duty of the curriculum decision makers, as far as teacher training is concerned, to correct this injustice. Heleta (2016:2), commenting on the practice of epistemic violence and Eurocentrism in South Africa, argues that universities in the country have done very little to reverse the role that was played by colonisation and Apartheid in the education system since 1994 and as such there has been minimal change that has taken place in terms of the curriculum that is taught and the general configuration of higher education as a whole. There has been a general reluctance to open up to different traditions and bodies of knowledge which could bring about new exploratory ways of knowledge-making. Musitha and Mafukatha (2018: 4) opine that for the curriculum to have any form of liberatory outlook, it must first and foremost rid itself of the colonial and Apartheid remnants that are still embedded within it. It is a historical fact that the inequality that exists today was a direct result of colonial conquest, and that education was also not excluded from being affected by those processes; the South African government of 1994 inherited a system that was severely unequal in its entirety.

The need to address this inequality in all spheres of life was the major pressing issue that the country had to deal with. Kallaway (1995:12) highlights a variety of issues that needed attention in the teaching of history in a democratic South Africa. He argues that the teaching of history in post-Apartheid South Africa should be approached in a way that does not completely ignore what has happened in the past in the country but rather take it as an opportunity to use history as a way of building towards a new nation. He further raises some serious questions on the approach that should be taken in curriculum reform especially around issues of post-Apartheid citizenship building and the curriculum and the historiography that will be tapped into in the construction of this 'new nation' and how it will tackle issues of inclusivity. History should be used as a form of building the critical thinking skills of the school learners so that they may be able to make sense of the world that they live in and how it has been shaped by the past of the country (Kallaway, 1995:15)

In addition, Christie (1985) raises some important issues around the right to learn and the struggle of Black people for a quality education that is devoid of bias and distortions in South Africa. The author argues that education should be looked at as forming part of the broader society and how it is understood and therefore this means that issues of social justice and the acknowledgment should

be deeply embedded within the curriculum. Questions that are raised by Christie (1985) are around the roles of schools in society and how education could be used to effect change in society. These are some of the questions that were at the core of a book by the author titled *The Right to Learn*: *The struggle for education in South Africa*. History Education then would serve as the platform that could potentially carry that change if it is approached correctly. Kallaway (2002) also captures the struggle for education in South Africa by zooming in on the condition of the education system under the Apartheid regime but also looking at the struggle 'to open the doors of learning and culture' (as promised in the Freedom Charter of 1955[iii]). Those who were aspiring to open those doors of learning at the time under colonialism and Apartheid, had experienced the type of curriculum that was being taught in the schools as nothing, but a fabrication of the system based on the racist 'separate development' ideology and the exclusion of the history, heritage and cultural life of the indigenous people in the education system. Chisholm (2003: 83), as a historian, education scholar and as someone who subsequently led and was therefore deeply involved in the process of post-Apartheid curriculum reform in South Africa, notes that the Apartheid curriculum was racist and sexist and suggested that those fundamental elements had to be dealt with as a priority if the curriculum was to be reformed effectively.

## 1.3. Post-Apartheid Curriculum Review Processes

Chisholm was appointed by the former Minister of Education (the late Kader Asmal[iv]) as the Chair of the committee to review Curriculum 2005 and hence headed the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) revision and creation process. In an effort to change the exclusionary practices that were prevalent under the Apartheid system as the country transitioned to a democratic society, the education system itself had to be radically reformed through a pedagogy of new identity formation and nation building. In this regard, Masila (2007) argues that education is always an actor in identity formation and that those who formulate and legislate policies always have particular goals in mind that they want to achieve through education - and by extension - the contents of the curriculum that is taught. He further asserts that history has shown that education is always an act to achieve certain political goals and is never neutral as can be observed by the use of education as a tool to divide society under the Apartheid regime. It then became imperative that there is a radical shift not only in the content of the curriculum but on the pedagogy itself and

the shift to the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) became a progressive step towards a pedagogy that embraces critical consciousness in the transformation of the country and the promotion of the democratic values that are enshrined in the Constitution adopted in 1996. Christie (2008) also makes a similar analysis that there had to be a radical change in South African schools, so that schooling and social change could be more aligned and work towards the same goal in democratic South Africa. The racist, sexist and discriminatory elements in the curriculum had to be eradicated as aligned to the 'New South Africa' - which was dubbed as 'the rainbow nation' - working towards reconciliation. South Africa could not afford to move forward with the Apartheid curriculum if it were to succeed in its reconciliation efforts. Baines (1998: 2-3) explains 'the rainbow nation' as an attempt at nation building which is based on reconciliation but has often come under heavy criticism because of its erasure of history in the way that it has been conceptualised. The rainbow nation project has often been criticised for downplaying the importance of historical events or the histories of people on whose lives those events had a huge impact, which continues even in democratic South Africa. This ongoing legacy is as a result of the structural impact that those histories had on society. The 'rainbow nation' concept originated from the late Archbishop Desmond Tutu through his work at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1995-2003)[v], and the new concept was carried forward as the core of 'nation building' in South Africa. Tutu's main aim was to reconcile a country that was deeply fractured by colonialism and subsequently by the Apartheid regime that terrorised the majority in the country. Scheidegger (2011) states that the main purpose of the commission was to reconcile a country that was deeply divided and drive it through a process where South Africans could live in harmony with mutual respect for everyone in the country. As part of that effort at reconciliation then, History as a school subject was identified as one that had to be seriously reconfigured as it was embedded with racist ideologies of the past regimes that could not be accepted in the current dispensation.

## 1.4. The South African History Project (SAHP): first post-Apartheid national Africanisation and decolonisation attempt in history education

One of the curricula review national programmes established under the Education Minister, the late Kader Asmal, as part of a Values in Education-drive[vi] curriculum review process, was the establishment of the South African History Project (SAHP)[vii] which existed from 2001-2004, as an initiative to bring history researchers and scholars together to 'review, revise and rewrite history textbooks.[viii]

Its main objective was to enhance and promote the quality of teaching and learning of History in higher education institutions and high schools while also reigniting the interest of young people in History as a subject and academic discipline. The project was a direct outcome of the first Ministerial *History and Archaeology Panel* (2000) which was chaired by Professor Njabulo Ndebele as Vice Chancellor of the University of Cape Town as part of the bigger 'Values, Education and Democracy' (2000) working group,. The published report pointed out that the teaching of history remains an integral part to the promotion of human values in post- Apartheid South Africa. It sees history as one the memory systems that shaped our values and morals because it studies, records and diffuses the achievements and failures of humanity over millennia (*History and Archaeology Panel Report*, 2000: 13). The establishment of the South African History Project was a direct result of this report that was presented to Minister Kader Asmal during his tenure as Education Minister.

Tabata (2015:18) - who was a staff member appointed to oversee Oral History and community engagement across the provinces for the SAHP - asserts that the Apartheid South African history curriculum was never inclusive as it was abused by the colonisers and architects of the Apartheid regime, who used it to overstate their achievements and disenfranchise the Black majority. Tabata, as an African oral historian from the Eastern Cape, had the responsibility within the SAHP as an educational specialist to set up Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) history education structures in all provinces in the country in collaboration with community oral history networks and heritage institutions. The SAHP had the responsibility to bring about transformation of the history education curriculum from Apartheid to post-Apartheid, with IKS as one of its foundational programmes for implementation in schools. One example is the work of oral historian Dr Nomathamsanqa Tisani who served on the SAHP Ministerial Committee (2001-2004) and who previously worked closely with historians in the Eastern Cape, and the late Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko. Despite her standing in African oral historiography, she remained a marginalised African female scholar, after obtaining her doctoral degree at the historically white Rhodes University. Decades after her marginalization, and on her retirement, Tisani contributed the powerful opening chapter in *Whose History Counts* (2028), titled 'Of definitions and naming: "I am the earth itself. God made me a chief on the very first day of creation". [ix]

Zambian historian Yonah Seleti chaired the SAHP Ministerial Committee, and after playing the role of the FET History Curriculum Chair, went on to become a lead figure in setting up Indigenous Knowledge Systems structures within the Department of Science and Technology (DACST) for South Africa. He was also the editor (with June Bam[x] as director of the SAHP, and commissioning and copy editor) of the *Africa since 1990* (New Africa Books, 2004) edition which supplemented the UNESCO *General History of Africa (GHA)* volumes[xi]. The SAHP Task Team also included Khayelitsha History Teachers' Network members Lindiwe Nonji and Thabo Bashu – both who were high school practising teachers and activists. The work of the SAHP Task Team paved the way for the later Ministerial Task Team (MTT) set up in 2018 by Angie Motshekga[xii], to build on the earlier work of the SAHP. The MTT had the task of evaluating the feasibility of History as a subject being made compulsory in the FET phase in South Africa, and to strengthen African History.

The SAHP made great strides in the promotion of African history between 2000 and 2004. Amongst its achievements, was the organisation of a national conference (with history teachers, publishers, and historians) in Cape Town[xiii] which resulted in the publication of important books and documents that would enhance the teaching of history in the country (Tabata, 2015:20). The materials produced by the South African History Project made it easier for educators across the country to deliver the content from a much more inclusive and critical pedagogy, and with supportive practical guidance for use in the classroom. These SAHP publications include Jeppie, S., 2004. *Toward new histories for South Africa: on the place of the past in our present*. Juta Gariep; Bill Nasson (editor), 2004. *Turning Points in History* series, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation and STE Publishers; Seleti, Y., 2004. *Africa since 1990* (Vol. 9). New Africa Books; and Bam, J. and Dyer, C. 2004. *Educator's guide to the UNESCO General History volumes for the FET phase*, New Africa Books; Michael Morris, *Every Step of the Way: The journey to Freedom in South Africa*, HSRC Press, 2004. The *Turning Points in History* series went on to win the UNESCO Peace Education Prize for South Africa in 2008.[xiv]

*Africa since 1990* (Vol. 9) and the *Educator's guide to the UNESCO General History volumes for the FET phase* served to support the SAHP's project to reprint the original eight UNESCO volumes of the *General History of Africa* (*GHA*), for distribution in schools in 2004. The educator's guide included a thread on women's history in Africa[xv] throughout, which was absent from the UNESCO volumes.

It is also particularly important to note that during this period when the original volumes were written by the historians in the 1960s, African states were increasingly gaining their political independence from the colonisers and trying to imagine how they would rebuild their countries going forward. UNESCO embarked on the *General History of Africa* project in 1964 as a way of mitigating the way that African history had been written and told and, in most cases, the oral tradition was entirely excluded in Western scholarship. The objectives of the UNESCO *GHA* were therefore (amongst others) to: one, reclaim African histories by telling them through the lens of African scholars themselves to ensure these histories are devoid of the racial prejudices which ensued from colonisation and the slave trade; and two, tell a history that will reflect the African perspective and not only be captured from the perspective of the colonisers (Ki-Zerbo, 1981: 3). All of this was needed at the time the volumes were produced. Just seven years prior to the start of the *GHA* project, Ghana had become the first country in Sub-Saharan Africa to gain its independence in 1957. These volumes then became significant because they would be part of the broader decolonial project that the continent was embarking on as they captured (amongst others) its ancient and precolonial histories and how they were distorted by the colonial powers during the colonial era.

However, many of the scholars who were specialists on African History at the time were not of African descent. Therefore, the objective of the project and its subsequent implementation were not aligned in the sense that the vision of capturing African history in its authentic essence would not be possible because of the western influence in the research methodologies due to their training and positionalities. Barbosa (2018: 402) argues that the *UNESCO General History of Africa* (*GHA*) project was a necessity because of a variety of factors that could be important to the recording of African history and how it would be further transmitted going into the future. First and foremost, there was a general fear that important sources of African history - both in oral and written form - would be lost because of the changes mostly that were happening on the continent. It is not a secret that historically there have been many historical sources that have been removed from the continent and that are scattered all over the world and therefore the process of the colonisers handing over political power had the potential to further exacerbate that problem. Barbosa (2018: 404) further presents the critique that even though the UNESCO *GHA* project was articulated as one that presented the views and opinions of African intellectuals about their own history, the problematic thing was that these intellectuals were ‘majority in the directive of the councils and the work counted on the participation of three hundred and fifty non-African

specialists'. Most of the work that they had been drawing from had been presented by scholars who were non-African who were considered to be experts on African history and also the methodologies that were used were not fundamentally different from the western conventions. Though the aim of the project was to critically analyse the History of Africa from 'within' because of the way that it was distorted and faked as argued by Ki-Zerbo (1979: 8),' it did not escape the European influence. However, there were meaningful strides that were taken by the UNESCO *GHA* to rewrite the history of the continent. Vansina (1993: 347), Belgian oral historian and anthropologist who was an active member of the committee since 1971, up until the bureau that would deliberate on the volumes was established in 1980, argues that perhaps one of the more progressive things about the formulation and the writing process of the volumes is that local knowledge was always taken into consideration and the intellectuals who were involved in this process tried their best to consult widely about the issues that were highly contested. UNESCO organised multiple symposia that would attempt to iron out the contradictions and debate those things that were points of contestation. That process not only involved the people who were part of the scientific committee, but also local universities and colleges were consulted. There was an assessment of local knowledge that was done while there was also media publicity about the importance of the project and its role in advancing historical consciousness in terms of the independence movement in Africa. Oral history and tradition then became an integral part of the process because the scholars recognised its importance in African society and how it has been preserved for centuries. Vansina (1993: 347) argues that the intellectuals who were involved in this process were never confined to the ivory towers of the academy but were rather people who were actively involved and campaigning for the teaching of an undistorted African history both at universities and at basic education level. One very important critique that could be waged against the project is the dominance of men in the personnel that made up the project and as such this had direct implications for the exclusion of African feminist interpretations of the continent's history; the result is therefore a significantly deficient history – albeit its noble intentions. Because the historiography of women on the continent was glaringly absent from the volumes, in 2009 UNESCO announced that the history of women and youth would be included in the next phase of the *GHA* in a collaboration with the African Union Commission[xvi]. The focus on the pedagogical use of the volumes was announced by UNESCO in 2010. [xvii]

Ogot[xviii] (1999), president of the UNESCO *GHA* International Scientific Committee, who was responsible for the supervision of the writing and publishing of these history volumes, asserts that

the project was one that was radically ambitious in its conceptualisation. He states further that there was a lot of work that went into the project with the preparation of the work going back as far as 1965 even though the project itself was launched in 1971. In addition, Ogot (1981:74) notes that the volumes seek to "present the history of Africa, long obscured by Eurocentric preconceptions, methods and referents". This can be understood as the desired decolonial and Africa-centric imperative of the volumes, notwithstanding their shortcomings at the time. Ogot further argues that the volumes acted as a way of correcting two problematic tendencies that were already widespread in the academy concerning African history. The one was what they call 'the balkanization of Africa' which means that Africa was divided for political ideological terms and when people spoke of Africa in the Academy, they were referring to sub-Saharan Africa and thereby separating North Africa from the rest of the continent. Secondly, the volumes removed the intellectual dependency that was prevalent in the debates about the continent because a significant number of African scholars were involved in the project, thereby eliminating the monopoly that the Africanists of the west were so comfortably accustomed to. Barbosa (2018) contends that since the volumes were published then (referring here to the time of African independence movements), it became very difficult and inexcusable to work with African history without taking into serious account what African intellectuals think about it and how they articulate it. From my own perspective, the project presented a chance for the elimination of what Mafeje (2000) terms, as cited in Adesina (2008: 138), 'epistemological alterity' (i.e. the way that the continent has been gazed upon externally and written about from this 'outside' vantage point in colonial scholarship). From a critical decolonial perspective, one could further argue that the critique of 'epistemology of alterity' could also be applied to those African intellectuals who were part of the project because the reality is that most of them were trained using Western methodologies and applying them uncritically in the interpretation of local African content. The content simply changed but the knowledge production process remained colonised. Colonial research methodologies were dominant at that time in the 1960s and 1970s, and therefore African content was embedded through an orientalist ('othering') methodology. These African intellectuals could not easily escape those methodologies – even though volume 1 covers *Methodology and African Prehistory*[xix]. These historians were evidently trained in the colonial disciplines that they were so familiar with and uncritically transferred them to the way that they study and analyse African history. On the bright side, the project presented an important new opportunity for those who were interested to work with African content in history to be able to do so because the material would for the first time be available - in a comprehensive format - in one place. The volumes (now digitised by UNESCO

and easily accessible) cover a wide range of topics that are very important in capturing the history of the continent and ensuring that certain key distortions of the past are refuted. The volumes are separated into eight volumes each with themes that range from African 'prehistory' (admittedly, a contested western term) and ancient civilisations which show evidence that the continent had developed advanced technologies that they affirm in their post-colonial economic advancements. It is well documented how the Africans of the Gold Coast region (which is now Ghana) had managed to mine and refine their gold for trade and to manufacture significant pieces of jewellery.[xx]

In addition to ancient histories of the content, the *GHA* volumes cover the history of the continent from the seventh to the nineteenth century, and also colonialism and imperialism. The latter content is presented from the perspective of how it awakened and intensified the anti-colonial consciousness amongst Africans. In recognition of the methodological flaws, limitations and deficiencies in the historical content and scope of the UNESCO *GHA*, the South African History Project (SAHP) reprinted the volumes as a comprehensive source on African history for educational purposes. This project was embarked on despite the widely recognised limitations of the volumes in their original form; the rationale being that the material could be made available as primary sources for critical pedagogical engagement with post-colonial attempts in African Historiography. The volumes could also provide an opportunity for further development within a post-Apartheid South African scholarship context to contribute towards a radical change in the way that Africa's history is learnt and taught. The further intention of the SAHP was to supplement the volumes with a teachers' guide for the FET phase, to be used by teachers in the schools and to be distributed to libraries across the country as an educational resource also for students, parents and communities alike. This teachers' guide would also address the gap in lack of heritage of the people on the continent in the original volumes, except for a few mentions of discourse around culture and identity. These aspects are notably covered in the SAHP Educators' Guide in its section called 'Theme 2' on 'Africa's rich heritage' in gold and astronomy (see Bam and Dyer, 2004:113 - 169).

The reprinted UNESCO *GHA* volumes, supplemented by the SAHP FET Teachers' Guide, was markedly the first introduction of African History learning materials by government in schools in the history of education in South Africa (as in a comprehensive history written for the continent). The SAHP also held local and national conferences and provincial teacher training workshops in all provinces of the country so that there could be some kind of unity in the implementation of what the SAHP intended to achieve in terms of its new learning materials provided. The provincial

teacher training workshops, attended by hundreds of teachers in the provinces, were held in partnership with museums and localised IKS community structures, and focused on integrating local heritage sites and oral histories and traditions in the FET history classroom.

However, for unknown and unfortunate reasons (from anecdotal evidence reported at subsequent school history and various academic conferences) the various SAHP book publications (listed above)[xxi] and the reprinted UNESCO *GHA* volumes never made it to the township and rural schools that they were intended for. This was a provincial responsibility that was not carried out in all provinces, which means that all that work invested by the historians and archaeologists could not be included in the way that the teachers were approaching the teaching of African History in schools.

## The #Rhodes Must Fall Movement (2015): No African History in the FET Phase?

The critical discourse around what decolonisation and Africanisation would actually entail in practice in education, was catalysed particularly with the Rhodes Must Fall (#RMF) movement which erupted in universities around the country in early 2015, a little over a decade after the closure of the SAHP in national education in 2004.

The Rhodes Must Fall (#RMF) students movement started at the University of Cape Town (UCT)[xxii] on the 9th of March 2015 when one of the students in the Humanities Faculty at the University, Chumani Maxwele, flung human faeces at the statue of Cecil John Rhodes. Rhodes is a known leading imperialist, symbolic of the colonial regimes that terrorised and looted the continent. Maxwele's actions were not only a symbol of the rejection of colonial symbols but also directed at the institutions that continue to embrace those colonial symbols in their entirety through epistemological oppression and social exclusion that continue to take place in higher education institutions all around the world but especially on the continent of Africa. The students saw the action of Maxwele as very significant since the institution at which this action was initiated and took place is regarded as the bastion of colonial education in Africa though considered by the western world as the epitome of excellence on the continent.

While the movement has mostly been categorised in the media and by some scholars as a 'violent', 'unruly' protest movement that sought to radicalise the students in the country, this is not a true reflection of what it truly embodied. As an activist in this student movement on UCT campus, myself, I can with much confidence assert that there was a lot of learning and unlearning that was taking place within the spaces that the movement occupied. Most of that learning was collective which was often characterised by students themselves hosting progressive seminars on decoloniality and its relation to 'Africanisation'. We also explored possibilities of how the students themselves could positively contribute to the discourse. As students involved in political organisations and reading groups with organic intellectuals off-campus and within our township communities, we were keen to make intergenerational links within political thought and philosophies, because we understood that the decolonisation discourse was not something that is new. There were generations before that had made similar arguments and calls in South Africa and, on the continent, but under very different historical conditions prior to the theoretical 'end' of Apartheid in 1994. The conversations that were taking place within the student protest spaces were not only limited to colonial symbols on the campus, and not only limited to the curriculum and how it is taught within the university. These conversations were also extended to the lived experiences of the students themselves in relation to the white colonial elitist campus and how these privileged spaces alienated poor African students who lived an African reality at home and in the remote townships. How could they exist with these daily economic struggles, contradictions and tensions within an alienating university space? This spoke directly to the institutionalisation of oppressive practices which the students found were very prevalent on the UCT campus. Nyamnjoh (2017: 261), in discussing the phenomenology of Rhodes Must Fall and student alienation, finds that part of the reason that most students took part in the movement is that they felt alienated by the institutional culture that existed within the campus. The fact that a symbol such as the Rhodes statue could be placed at the centre of the campus in a position that is arrogantly overlooking the city, and many people would be comfortable with that, spoke directly to the ways in which behaviours and certain cultures have been institutionalised and thus some people are alienated through those institutionalised cultures.

What is certain is that the RMF# brought about a historical watershed moment in education across the education sectors in South Africa (school, college, university) – its impact in questioning ongoing coloniality in an African reality reverberated across the fabric of South African society. Critical questions on the ongoing coloniality of education in the post-Apartheid era were now

uncompromisingly being asked with renewed rigour, inspired also by the lack of economic equality, increasing youth unemployment and ongoing relentless Apartheid poverty in the townships. These factors fuelled renewed energy in the university curriculum reform debate sparked by the student movement in 2015, but this has largely been limited (as a debate) to higher education institutions in South Africa, and even globally. At present, though the RMF# directly impacted discourse on the lack of Africanised and decolonial curriculum content in higher education, very minimal discussion has occurred on this aspect within Basic Education especially the last years of high school, i.e. the FET phase[xxiii].

The RMF# focus on the decolonisation of education, especially in institutions of higher learning, was understandable because the movement was made up of people who were already studying subjects like History within these institutions and therefore were speaking directly from their own experiences. Questions of decolonising the curriculum, dismantling institutional racism and doing away with white privilege in the higher education sector were questions that mainly took centre stage. There were, of course, many debates and scholars had different perspectives in terms of what a 'decolonised' education would look like. Notable perspectives came from Black scholars in decolonial education in South Africa, outside of the student movement in analysing the RMF# discourse. For instance, Fataar (2018) points out that students were mobilising for a change in the curricular and knowledge production processes in South African universities which they argued were Eurocentric, sexist, racist and thus kept the institution untransformed and still rooted in the colonial ways of being. And so, questions of what this 'decolonisation' would then look like obviously came up and there were many debates around, for example, how we would decolonise (also) the Natural Sciences that have proven to have been 'effective' education for a long time even though they are colonial products. Le Grange (2021) argues that the sort of decolonisation that was envisioned by the students is when the colonised people would invoke their own histories and indigenous knowledge systems that shape their worldview so that they can be able to theorise alternative possibilities that could result in a different curriculum. This sentiment expressed by Le Grange resonates deeply.

While I was working on an Honours degree project in African Studies, I surprisingly first came to know about the SAHP's reprint of the UNESCO *GHA* volumes intended for schools. This was shocking as I never encountered them at any schools in Khayelitsha during the time I was in high school (2004-2008), yet they were printed by the SAHP for distribution in 2004 to all schools and libraries in the country. They were also not made visible for students at the UCT African Studies

Library and Collections, though they were held there since 2004. I became curious, and then embarked on a research project and held interviews with high school learners in Khayelitsha who confirmed that they also never heard about these books and had never seen them. This was despite the Khayelitsha History Teachers' Network's groundwork in the schools with the SAHP between 2000 and 2004. The history educators in the township schools, where the research was conducted, confirmed the same. I have also not come across any of the SAHP publications and the UNESCO *GHA* volumes at the local library in our township, though they seemed to have made their way to elitist model C schools in the Western Cape province. Similarly, the RMF# activists who had attended township schools also indicated that they had never come across any of these publications and volumes during their high school days even though they were studying History as a subject and these were printed for distribution to all high schools more than a decade before. This then can only mean that these volumes never reached all their intended destinations across the country, and their absence in township schools contributed to the anger the students felt about the predominance of 'Rhodes' and Eurocentric histories. Due to this lack of government service in delivering crucial African History to schools in post-1994 South Africa, the demand for African History in schools in South Africa was therefore a core part of the RMF# campaigns in 2015 and came therefore as no surprise. It is a known and disturbing fact in South Africa that non-delivery of textbooks to their intended recipients is not something that is new to the country. A case in point is the huge scandal in the province of Limpopo in 2012 where new textbooks were dumped and did not reach the schools, they were intended for[xxiv].

## 1.6. THE IMPORTANCE OF BOTH CONTENT AND PEDAGOGY

One of the issues of the pedagogical changes that have taken place around curriculum reform, according to Bertram (2020), is that the pedagogical approach has changed over time as the curriculum has been continuously reformed. It was an important intervention to acknowledge that it is not only the content that needs to be changed but also how it is delivered and how it will be engaged with in the classroom. The methodology that is adopted in the classroom is a very important factor in how the knowledge is taught and understood so that the objectives of the curriculum are not lost in translation. Unfortunately, the SAHP's *Educator's Guide to the UNESCO General History of Africa for the FET Curriculum* (2004), though a first of its kind, and which included sections on African heritage, also never made it to South Africa's schools and were

therefore never used. This teaching method guide for African History could have been a critical pedagogical intervention in delivering the African content in the volumes as the issue of curriculum reform does not only rest on content but also requires new pedagogical approaches. UNESCO has only recently (as announced in 2023) embarked on producing similar educational guides for the *GHA* volumes.[xxv]

## 1.7. The challenge of addressing a wounded past in South Africa: SADET and the SAHP

For South Africans, it is more than just integrating African history. In the process of pedagogical transformation along with new content, we need to remain sensitive to unfinished and painful issues of a wounded past for the majority of South Africans. In this regard, scholars like sociologist Bernard Magubane (2007) reminded us that even as we celebrate the "New South Africa" and all the praise that it has received, we must at all times not forget the wounds and deep scars that have been left in the bodies and the hearts of the victims of the past regimes. Therefore, any history of South Africa that is to be taken seriously must consider this painful past. This means that it must not be indifferent to this woundedness in its quest for western-informed 'objectivity'- especially in the process of curriculum construction; the injustices of the past warrant to be taken seriously at all times, as in any society.

In an attempt to address this wounded past in South Africa from a liberation struggle perspective, the South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) was established in 2000 by then President Thabo Mbeki (1999- 2008). Tasked with recording the history of the experiences of people who were involved in the struggle against Apartheid, SADET also recruited African oral historian Professor Sifiso Ndlovu (who was also a member of the SAHP Ministerial Task Team under Minister Kader Asmal until 2004, and also served on the subsequent MTT under Minister Angie Motshekga until 2024). Professor Magubane was appointed as project leader. Ndlovu has evidently played a major role in the history rewriting processes for the country, and for the new curriculum over a period of two decades. As CEO of SADET, Ndlovu would also add significant value and lived experience narratives (as part of the Soweto 1976 generation) to the history discourse and subsequent history education transformation around that discourse in South Africa[xxvi].

## 1.8. WHOSE HISTORY? WHOSE HERITAGE?

Questions around whose history (Bam, Ntsebeza, Zinn 2018) and whose heritage to take into account that have been marginalised in the past should be an important part of the discussion around history curriculum construction in the present dispensation. If we are taking seriously the diversity of the country in trying to build an inclusive nation then should we not consider the role that heritage sites, museums and monuments and other institutions of memory can play in the construction of an honest curriculum that is derived from an African-centred historiography? The work of the SAHP in trying to integrate heritage sites, monuments and museums has laid the important groundwork for what can be achieved in terms of a new curriculum. The SAHP tried to address this through national workshops held in the Northern Cape, Free State and KwaZulu-Natal involving all 9 provinces in 2003. These workshops attended by teachers, community oral historians, heritage professionals, teacher trainers, academics and government officials, led to the establishment of local government and community IKS and oral history structures in each province. The focus of the workshops was the integration of heritage sites and strategies to achieve these. After the abrupt closure of the SAHP by the government in 2004, following Asmal's sudden departure as a cabinet minister, this important work was unfortunately not sustained into the present. The *History and Archaeology Progress Report* (2002:4) recommends that educating educators on oral history methodologies can significantly improve ties with the heritage sector and also improve the quality of the content that is taught in the curriculum.

However, the issue of heritage integration is not simplistic; it is necessarily contentious. Hence, the construction of heritage in South Africa needs to be thoroughly interrogated as argued by Rassool (2015) in asserting that there was a lack of problematization in the adoption of colonial racial categories in post-Apartheid South Africa. As such, Rassool goes on to argue that the identity politics that have manifested in the politics of heritage have been motivated as a basis for using these very problematic Apartheid demographic categories. Reid (2019), for instance, argues about 'remembering and forgetting' as deeply vested within the realm of national political projects that strategically mobilise social memory.

## 1.9. CONCLUSION

The discourse round History as a subject in the country somewhat got rejuvenated through the efforts of the students' protests that started in the country under the banner of #RMF. The colonial and Apartheid history of South Africa and the continent as a whole was subsequently put under the public microscope especially when it comes to issues of the education system. The education policies and curricula in the country became a focal point for the debates because, as argued by the students of the movement and many scholars alike, the education system needed to be decolonised and be rid of the Western influences that have dominated its Constitution in the past. Prioritisation of African knowledges in the curricular at all levels was something that was identified as needing urgent attention and as such the heritage of the people of the continent needed to be taken into serious consideration. This is so because knowledge in the country is not only embedded in written sources but also in the oral histories of the people and how they continue to since ancient times practise their culture and heritage in the current dispensation. How could that knowledge then be used as part of formal history education so that is not lost? It is of course no easy task to tackle head on due a wounded past (such as erasure of indigenous knowledge under the repressive Apartheid regime) that still holds some painful memories for the majority of the population in the country. Such woundedness needs to be acknowledged and approached with the utmost care, and with an appropriate pedagogy and curriculum content crucial to the decolonisation and Africanisation of knowledge in the country. Though the groundwork has been laid twenty years ago, through initiatives like the SAHP as discussed, there is still a lot of work that needs to be done in the country's history curriculum development process as part of the long-term social justice project that the country has been trying to embark on for the last 30 years since 1994.

# CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

## 2.1 THE CONSTRUCTION OF HERITAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE CONTINENT

The history of South Africa as a country that has been ravaged by colonisation and Apartheid over centuries and decades means that there continues to be a lot of work that has to be done in reconfiguring the social relations in the country. One strategy that is advocated by the post-Apartheid state is the reconfiguration of heritage and its historical meaning in order to support the narrative of reconciliation in its adoption of an inclusive ideology that recognises and celebrates that diversity of the country. It is of course worth noting that the history of the country cannot be analysed outside of the broader history of colonisation in the whole of the African continent. Decolonisation on the continent therefore means undoing the composite parts of colonisation, in which the centring of 'African heritage' is being employed as a way of remembering the past since ancient times before colonialism. It means also acknowledging the significance of historical memory and indigenous knowledge of African people. This implies deploying an epistemological way (through education and institutions and symbols of memory) to push back against the erasure of a people's history, culture and sense of belonging to the land. The latter was at the core of the colonial project.

Peterson, Gavua and Rassool (2015) in their seminal work on *The Politics of Heritage in Africa* capture some of the important factors that have contributed to the construction of heritage in African countries. This, as they argue in general, took place especially with regards to creating a country's identity through mobilising the masses to reclaim their heritage and reclaim an autonomous national identity. The building of a national identity has been one that has been used mostly by the post-colonial African leaders that have called for the reclamation of Africa which is reminiscent of calls that were made by African leaders and revolutionaries such as Amilcar Cabral in calling for a return 'to the source'. Cabral was an agronomist, theoretician and national leader of the African Party for Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) and what he was calling for was the preservation of the cultural values of the people who have been highly repressed through colonial domination and who have been sidelined to the periphery of society because people were forced to assimilate to the colonial way of being or to the western ways of experiencing and viewing the world. By returning 'to the source' then we can be able to retrieve our

identity as Africans and furthermore embrace the heritage that is embedded within that particular identity (Cabral, 1974: 17).

## 2.2 The African National Congress (ANC) government's construction of an 'African' Heritage in post-Apartheid South Africa

While Cabral's campaign centred 'the source' of African culture in the decolonisation movement in Africa, South Africa's reconciliation and rainbow nation agenda under the post-Apartheid ANC regime, took a different form. In line with its Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) Constitutional process, created through the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act of 1995, its approach was based on implementing restorative justice through a process of inclusion of all South Africans in their diversity (white and black; perpetrators and victims) as 'belonging'. This Act, authorised by former president Nelson Mandela (1994-1999), was promulgated through the negotiated settlement with the former Apartheid regime to ensure peace and economic negotiations after a protracted struggle against colonialism, followed by Apartheid. The TRC was chaired by religious leader Archbishop Desmond Tutu who (as previously mentioned) also coined the new nation-building concept of South Africa as a 'rainbow nation', united in its diversity in heritage and culture.

Thabo Mbeki succeeded Nelson Mandela as deputy president in 1999 and attempted to foreground a new African consciousness and inclusive sense of belonging for all South Africans. Mbeki promoted the ideal of an 'African Renaissance' through the iconic 'I am an African' speech with the adoption of South Africa's new Constitution in 1996. This speech sparked many debates around being an 'African' and how South Africans, in their diverse Apartheid-imposed identities, could define themselves as anew 'Africans'. Mokhoathi (2022: 93) argues that this iconic speech came along with a lot of debate in terms of what constitutes an 'African' and also on issues around culture, identity and history. In terms of the rewriting of history for South Africa, Mbeki established the SADET project (mentioned earlier) which worked in partnership with Kader Asmal's SAHP and the Department of Arts and Culture's (DAC's) various key national foundational heritage projects such as Freedom Park which was led by renowned African poet Mongane Serote[xxvii]. Mbeki notably expanded economic, political and cultural ties on the continent through the African Union.

As a former political exile, Mbeki worked closely with then Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo to consolidate a 'Pan African' agenda for the ANC. Mbeki's African Renaissance' was radically different to the nationalist political ideals of the African National Congress; it was his strategy to try to move South Africa as part of the continent forward. The negotiated settlement of 1994 meant that South Africa still carried most of the colonial and Apartheid institutions at an economic, social and political level into the 'post-colonial' phase. The ANC therefore continued to govern over these inherited neo-liberal and capitalist systems that continued to perpetuate the suffering of the majority in the country. Mbeki's 'African Renaissance' was premised on a country and continent that would be economically and politically independent, free of debt; as a way of uniting the continent through facing its colonial past and embracing its unified identity.

Some of the countries on the continent have marketed their violent pasts to attract international audiences through consolidating and promoting their tourist industries for this purpose. In South Africa, this has taken the form of the Robben Island and Apartheid Museums (as examples) that are mainly focusing on the political history of the country and by highlighting some of the atrocities that happened in the country in the periods of colonisation and subsequent Apartheid. However, as noted by Rassool (2015:3), there have been many controversies in the narratives that have emerged in the reconstitution of heritage and history in Africa – often favouring the interests of prevailing political regimes and their various agendas.

The process of heritage reconstitution in the context of South Africa had to be accompanied by the process of policy formulation and legislation that would ensure that heritage institutions are reconfigured to promote the values of diversity that exist in the country and also to centre the history and heritage of the groups that were marginalised under colonisation and Apartheid. Corsane (2004) argues that policy formulation and legislation have been central in the way that heritage has taken shape in South Africa and how it has been used in an effort to strengthen some of the aspects that were a problem in the Apartheid era. One example would be the declaration of the 24th of September as national Heritage Day in the country which means that everyone celebrates their 'cultural difference in unity' (as reflected in the Coat of Arms – 'unity in diversity') and recognizes each other instead of the segregation that happened in the colonial and Apartheid past. Corsane (2004), quoting Nelson Mandela, brings our attention to the fact that museums and monuments played a big role in highlighting the political ideals of the past regimes in terms of celebrating events through these monuments, statues and other institutions of heritage. These colonial and Apartheid institutions and symbols of memory were exclusionary and in line with the

political ideology of exclusion that was at the core of these oppressive and exploitative regimes. These memory and heritage institutions were used as a way of glorifying white colonial history and distorted the history of the majority of South Africans. The democratic dispensation of 1994 therefore presented an opportunity for the government to restructure these institutions so that they are inclusive and are delinked from the racist colonial ideals that they represented. This would be done through policies and legislation that would ensure that their racist colonial ideals are completely removed from the fibre of these heritage institutions within a new democratic post-Apartheid South Africa.

In the context of South Africa, the transformation process of the heritage sector has mostly been driven by the state with initiatives like the creation of a Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST) immediately after the elections in 1994. Under the new ministry there was an extensive review of the policies that govern museums, heritage bodies and archives and consultations began to take place as part of the process of shaping new policies under the Arts and Culture Task Group (Corsane, 2004). As with most contested spaces, the process of heritage transformation or decolonisation has not been one that has been smooth in nature as the use of heritage can be both political and be linked to certain ideological inclinations that are used to achieve political goals. Corsane (2004) further argues that the intellectual framework of working with heritage resources still needs to be developed even further and practical methodologies that can be easily implemented should also be looked at in an integrated approach. The use of the heritage resources that are available in the heritage institutions could be deployed and used to enhance the curriculum so that it is more grounded in its context and the institutions need to move beyond the silos of their institutional walls and Eurocentric Western approaches to the way that they interact with society.

## 2.3. The RMF# movement (2015): a critical questioning of 'African' heritage and memory in post-Apartheid South Africa's education landscape

The RMF# was extremely critical of the political, economic, educational and cultural compromises of the negotiated settlement of 1994, and stated this from the outset – symbolically performed when Maxwele flung poo at the Rhodes statue on UCT upper campus in March 2015. It is on the basis of a critical understanding of ongoing oppression and exploitation of Black South Africans, that the RMF# has vehemently rejected the continuing existence of the statues and monuments in

the post-Apartheid landscape that are symbolically celebrating the devastating legacies of colonisation and Apartheid in the country and the continent as a whole. One of the pillars of the Rhodes Must Fall Movement was therefore the eradication of symbols that are representative of colonisation and Black exploitation in all of their forms. The call for the removal of the Cecil John Rhodes statue at UCT was one of those efforts to bring to attention the continuing celebration of a history that was based on the gross exploitation and violent persecution and displacement of Black people.

Another issue that was very highly contested was the artwork that was found in mainly the residences and buildings all over the university campuses which were depicting people who were very much influential in the oppression of Black people in the country. These pieces were proudly paraded in spaces that were occupied by Black students and they had to face on a daily basis these depictions of racist, colonial imperialists who were the cause of the suffering of their forefathers and foremothers. For those who were politically conscious and aware of the colonial history of the country, it became a very unbearable space to occupy because you are consistently reminded by these representations and how they affect you as a person seems to be of less importance than preserving the 'culture' of the university as institution. Furlong (2016), in an article for *GroundUp*, writes about the response to these offensive cultural symbols, when the students at the University of Cape Town (UCT) collected and burnt paintings that were at Fuller and Smuts residences which are located on the main upper campus. Though the burning of the artwork was indiscriminate (including also the works of black artist Keresemose Baholo), colonial heritage symbols were the source of student rage.

## 2.4. Higher Education and Museums as Sites of Colonial Memory and Heritage in South Africa

During colonial rule and Apartheid, most of the white universities in South Africa (like UCT, Stellenbosch and Wits) were used as sites for practising racist pseudoscience like eugenics. This tradition somehow persisted in another guise when, for example, in 2017, through an audit of the Human Skeletal Collection of UCT, it was found that the institution had 11 skeletons of indigenous people that were unethically obtained in the 1920s and that 9 of those had come from the town of Sutherland in the Northern Cape. [xxviii]This is but a glimpse of what was going on in the country and how these institutions (along with museums) were complicit in the colonial project. The University

of Stellenbosch also has a large collection named the Kirsten Skeletal Collection which is curated by the Anatomy and Histology Division at the Faculty of Medicine and Health Sciences (Alblas, Greyling and Geldenhuys, 2017: 1). The contestation is not on the existence of such collections but rather on the unethical means by which these human remains were acquired, and the racist purposes they were used for in research. While it is acknowledged that people are free to donate bodies for medical research, it is however not made clear as to how these human remains came to be part of these universities' research collections. It is a well-known fact that Stellenbosch was created through the forced removal of indigenous people, enslavement and migrant labour which followed. As an agricultural town, Stellenbosch has historically been the centre of enslavement during particularly the 1600s and 1700s of land dispossession and migrant labour exploitation in the country. This means that the Black people within those areas would be a combination of the indigenous people who settled there since precolonial times, the enslaved and migrants who were working on the farms and there is a possibility that some of their human remains may have ended up in questionable circumstances as part of the university's 'collections'. These higher education institutions were using human remains that were acquired in the most violent ways as highlighted by Kasibe (2020), in discussing also the role of institutions like the Iziko Museums[xxix]. Iziko, meaning 'hearth' in isiXhosa, is one of the major national post-Apartheid heritage institutions in South Africa. In critically engaging the discourse, Iziko has since declared that they had sealed off access to any collections that had been linked to human remains that were acquired in the unjust wars of colonial conquest. In a report on the human remains and repatriation workshop, which was convened at Iziko Museums in Cape Town on the 13-14th of February 2017, the issue of Human Remains Management and Repatriation was discussed. Cole, C.C., Omar, R., Silvester, J., Mosothwane, M.N. and Black, W., (2019) note that museums which as institutions were established during colonial times had to undergo a radical transformation and had to be more inclusive in its approach and, more importantly, distance themselves (as part of the decolonisation process) from practices that strip away the dignity of African people like having unethically acquired collections. Such remains are usually collected with ritual burial objects (sacred cultural heritage) dug up from graves.

## 2.5. History Education, heritage, school curriculum and nation building

The school curriculum in general needs to be understood within the context of the above discussion on the ongoing legacies of colonialism and Apartheid. The curriculum does not exist separate from what happens in higher education and in institutions of memory, though the impact of transformation on these sites (such as through RMF#) may not always be direct or immediate. This is particularly the case with history education.

South Africa as a democratic country is still very young in comparison to other countries on the rest of the continent and therefore is still negotiating the socio-political dynamics that come with building a post-colonial development state. The long shadow of Apartheid has meant that there has to be a different strategy that is adopted by the state so that there could be a way that history as a subject is restructured and repositioned so that it serves a different purpose from the one that it played in the Apartheid era. Sieborger (2012) points out that history was used very much as a way of suppression and marginalisation in the education system in the Apartheid era. The history that was taught was curated so that it fits and supports the ideas of white supremacy that were at the core of colonisation and Apartheid, meaning that any history that was concerned with Black people was excluded or severely distorted to serve the political means of the Apartheid government. The legacy of Apartheid continues to have a huge impact on the way that heritage is approached from all angles and the education sector is no different. There continues to be a dichotomy that is seldom spoken of between the colonial Apartheid legacy and the attempt to decolonise heritage through projects that focus more on the heritage and history of the indigenous people in the country (Marschall, 2019). The author further opines that there is no dispute; that there has been a lot of energy and money that has been invested by the state to radically reform the heritage landscape in South Africa through new commemorative heritage institutions, events and public participation in the process of policy and legislation development. National heritage flagship projects like Freedom Park are an example of the state trying to recognise the diversity and centralise African indigenous heritage in the public history discourse as an antithesis to the prevailing colonial history and heritage that had prevailed in the past.

Sieborger (2012), in a chapter on 'Public history and the school curriculum in South Africa', brings to our attention a very important point on how heritage has been used in the history curriculum through case studies. The Voortrekker Monument (erected as a symbol of celebrating the Great Trek of the Afrikaner during Apartheid) has over time been deeply entrenched into the Afrikaner identity. The racial tensions that have arisen in the country in recent years would suggest that there are people who still subscribe to the notions of white supremacy and Afrikaner nationalism that are embodied in the symbolism of this major Afrikaner Nationalist monument. On the other hand, is Robben Island Museum (RIM) which commemorates the struggle against Apartheid. These are respective examples of the Apartheid-era use of heritage in Apartheid-era schooling and the latter as an example of the use of a heritage site in the democratic dispensation. Rassool (2000) argues that there has been a shift in the responsibility of the ideological work of forming a national identity from the schools to the heritage institutions and other mediums of public culture. This means that in the context of the current dispensation, the responsibility of maintaining the image of the 'rainbow nation' is deployed to the many heritage institutions to celebrate the diversity of the country and acknowledge that an inclusive approach is the best way to build citizenship in the country. The place and role of the past is continuously being redefined through heritage and education policy. This means that it would be beneficial for the state to consider seriously the role of the heritage institutions in the curriculum and not only as a way of building progressive citizenship but as a way of repositioning indigenous knowledge and history by tapping into the knowledge that has been put on the periphery of public discourse.

Furthermore, history as a school subject has been used in the past to solidify certain ideological positions by those who are in power, and South Africa is no different in this regard. The Apartheid era was mostly characterised by the dominance of the Afrikaner nationalist 'boere' identity which was given legitimacy through monuments such as the Voortrekker Monument and these ideals were entrenched in the curriculum so that they become part of the thinking of those who were absorbing that history that was based on that heritage. Sieborger (2012) explains that the Voortrekker Monument was erected in 1949 (shortly after the founding of the Apartheid regime in 1948) as a way of celebrating and commemorating the 'Great Trek' of the Afrikaners (direct descendants of Dutch speaking settlers since the mid-1600s at the Cape, most of whom were farmers). The 'Afrikaners' migrated from the Cape Colony in 1836 as a resistance movement for political, economic and cultural independence from British rule and its abolition of slavery at the Cape. The trekkers moved with their wagons and guns into the interior, along with enslaved

indigenous people from the Cape who provided them with essential labour and knowledge of the unknown landscape. As they crossed over the Cape colony's frontier, they invaded and settled in the interior by waging wars of land dispossession against the long-established African kingdoms. They declared ownership of much of the interior through establishing independent 'Trekker Republics' (Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal). As Afrikaner nationalism developed from within these new-found white republics, they later called themselves 'voortrekkers', meaning 'pathfinders'. The Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria (Transvaal) became therefore a heritage site depicting these trekkers as the 'heroes' who fought and won the battle against British rule, and to commemorate the war waged with the indigenous people of 'Natal' on the banks of the Ncome River in December 1838. They termed this war in Afrikaans as 'Die Slag van Bloedrivier' ('The Battle of Blood River') – which was commemorated annually on 16 December and observed as a national public holiday called 'The Day of the Vow' during Apartheid. Today, this war is still observed as part of South Africa's 'inclusive' national heritage, as 'Reconciliation Day'. After the end of Apartheid, this river has been renamed its indigenous name, the Ncome River in what is today the province of KwaZulu-Natal. Heritage symbols, such as the Voortrekker Monument, accordingly played an important role in legitimising the myth behind the Afrikaner nationalist identity and served to give some sort of a narrative to rally behind and put Afrikaner white supremacy at the top of the societal food chain in the Apartheid hierarchy. The day of the celebration of the 'Great Trek' marked as the 16th of December, according to Sieborger (2012), was motivated by religious and political overtones. The significance of the Trek had been accorded much of the space in the Afrikaner Nationalist Apartheid history curriculum and textbooks imposed on black South Africans as a way of inculcating white supremacy propaganda and values into the minds of the youth. Sieborger argues further that it was also a history that the white teachers, who were teaching it, were most familiar and comfortable with. It was always expectedly present in the way that they taught history. The Trek, as a result, became the single historical narrative that not only legitimated the colonial brutality of the Apartheid state but also celebrated the Afrikaner so-called victory over the British and the superiority of white people over Blacks. It not only highlighted a significant Afrikaner Nationalist historical event, but it was intentionally repeated gradually as learners progressed academically through the successive history school syllabi over the years. In this way, it was intended that the underlying ideological connotations that are embedded within the Afrikaner Nationalist curriculum would always be fresh in the minds of those who were learning the content; even as they exited the schooling system. Hence, they would always embody the white supremacy values that they were being taught through the trek history and its monuments (Sieborger, 2012).

While the trek was the dominant theme in the history curriculum of the Apartheid era, it has proven to be a cultural conundrum in the current democratic dispensation according to Grundlingh (2001). This is so, it is argued, because it has served over the past years as the pillar and the dominant feature of Afrikaner political power and served as the main symbol of that power not only because of its geographical location which is in the capital city of the country (Pretoria, now renamed the indigenous 'Tshwane'), but for the way that it has portrayed history with regards to the images that are contained within the monument. Sites associated with the Great Trek have been vehemently rejected by the freedom and decolonial movements that are calling for the removal of colonial symbols because of their legacy of celebrating colonial domination, economic exploitation and land dispossession of Black people. While it is important to recognise that in an effort to build a democratic nation that places the importance of social cohesion as its core, South Africa has made great strides to be inclusive and give equal importance to the history of all the people who live in it. It must also be acknowledged that the oppressive and exploitative legacy of the Apartheid systems still exists and still influences and impacts on many spheres of the social life in the country. The spatial segregation that had been one of the structural pillars of the Apartheid system continues to exist today and as a result there are still many disparities and inequalities that exist in the country. One such example that could be taken to illustrate this is the fact that the provinces in the country are still predominantly separated along racial or ethnic lines. For example, most of the Black Xhosa population would today still be mostly concentrated in the Eastern Cape while the majority of the Afrikaner community would be congested in a former Trekker republic province such as the Orange Free State, now simply named 'Free State'[xxx] to reflect freedom from the past, as the colour orange is associated with Dutch colonial rule and the former Boer republics. Orange is also one of the colours of the offensive Apartheid flag. Despite these transformations since 1994, there are still some white communities that relate to and believe in what the monument stands for even though they are living in this democratic country. An example is the white supremacist community who established the whites-only 'Orania' through the new Constitution's allowance for 'self-determination'. Located along the Orange River (originally 'Gariep River' in Khoekhoegowab, and now reclaimed as such) in the Northern Cape, it celebrates the Trek, the old Afrikaner republics and Afrikaner Calvinist culture. 'The Day of the Vow' is of its most important commemoration days and no 'new South Africa' heritage days are acknowledged in Orania.

Where do we place such resilient offensive colonial monuments, such as the still-celebrated Voortrekker Monument, in the moral fibre of a democratic country given that what they stand for

is in direct opposition to the political ideals of our current post-Apartheid state? And how do we negotiate the inclusion or approach to such monuments in the FET history curriculum of the country in a manner that will create a balance between teaching an honest critical history and excluding the ethnonationalist 'heritage' of a white supremacist minority of the South African population? Furthermore, it is also worth noting that even though the public schooling system has been streamlined and gets its mandate from the Department of Basic Education of South Africa, there are still two strands of schools within the education system. These are one, the private schools that exist within the country that are not necessarily regulated by the government in terms of what they include in their curriculum and two, there are the state schools that are regulated in terms of curriculum compliance. Of the private schools include traditionally Afrikaner schools that are even religiously inclined to Calvinism which could lean towards the ideological values that are the foundation of sites like the Voortrekker Monument. And even within the public school system there still exist those types of schools that would typically be dominated by a certain 'race' or ethnicity which is mostly a consequence of where they are located, which is something that could be traced back to the enforced racialized spatial segregation that happened under the Apartheid system.

The public significance of the Voortrekker Monument under the democratic government has declined and it has been completely removed from the history curriculum in the current dispensation. It has served as a great example of how those that hold power can use the curriculum towards achieving their own political ends, while also driving a certain narrative in a community to mobilise them towards believing certain ideas about themselves and those that they exist in proximity with. The inclusion and exclusion of certain heritage sites that would expose some of the history that would not be desirable to those that hold political power is something that had been used effectively by colonialists and architects of Apartheid alike. The boom of the heritage tourism sector in South Africa, especially with tourists from overseas being drawn to the rainbow nation narrative that has been dominant in portraying South Africa to the rest of the world, means that the Voortrekker Monument itself has been used outside of the realm of the education sector. In recent times, it has also been put to some balancing perspective with the building of Freedom Park directly adjacent to it and opposite the old Apartheid gallows where many Black freedom fighters (including teenagers) were executed. This symbolic and strategic spatial placing of Freedom Park celebrates anti-colonial struggle heroes and serves as a reminder that the misrepresentation of public history and heritage of the Black majority is still something that needs to be seriously looked at in South Africa - if it is to undertake serious decolonization of the school history curriculum.

There have been many scholars that have analysed the post-Apartheid curriculum review and construction process in South Africa, and they have provided different but meaningful insights in terms of how the process has unfolded, where it may have been better and how it could still be improved. Fataar (2006: 19-20) argued that given the nature of the political transition in the country and the interaction between the nation building project and education policy, the government had very limited options in terms of moving towards a more radical approach towards education reform and conceptualisation of educational reconstruction. This has compromised, one could argue, the attainment of economic equality as there is a struggle to do away with colonial and Apartheid legacies. Chisholm (2003) observes that even before going into the curriculum of specific subjects there were already 'politics' around the curriculum review process and that there were multiple stakeholders who were all trying to shape the way that the curriculum would be formed. Another important link that Chisholm (2003) puts to the fore is the relationship between the curriculum process and the ideology of the post-Apartheid ruling party in the form of the African National Congress.

The politics around representation and who is included show the complexities of a country in transition as South Africa was in 1994, and is still, to a significant degree, in that difficult and challenging transition process. Tibbitts and Weldon (2017) argue that since South Africa is a fairly new republic there are many ways in which it could go about pursuing its goals of social cohesion and that education, especially history education, could provide a good platform to achieve those particular goals and facilitate the transition process. History teaching, according to Tibbitts and Weldon (2017), becomes very relevant in the transitional period because it has the potential to facilitate truth telling and the preservation of memory in an honest manner. The creation of a common national identity then becomes key in the process of moving on especially when the memory of the country is a traumatic one which requires that all memories be acknowledged in a way that is completely devoid of denialism. Weldon (2009) also asserts that when history education becomes the focal point of building that national identity, issues tend to be very complex and filled with emotion because collective memory is usually a highly contested space in which there are competing attempts to shape and reshape versions of the nation's past to suit respective political views of the future. The argument then follows that curriculum policy then becomes the official arena where these struggles unfold and as such curriculum choices simultaneously become political choices. Whilst this point is valid, I would argue, that emotions regarding historical construction by an oppressed majority for a better future, do matter as they represent long- suppressed narratives

and voices on the experiences and lived realities of a crime against humanity – as in the case of reckoning with the validity of the emotional archives of the survivors of the Nazi Holocaust in Europe, Apartheid, and as with any genocide.

Kallaway (1995) further raises important points around the objectives of history education and the curriculum and how these objectives relate to the nation building project. As history of education scholar, he argues that a curriculum should allow learners to be able to decode the ideological groundings of such a curriculum and make it easy for learners to understand that the curriculum is open to different interpretations. Learners and teachers alike should understand that the curriculum is not 'definitive knowledge', it is something that is partial, sometimes problematic and at the same time ideological. Kallaway (1995) further opined that the curriculum is not neutral, it is a contextual and historical settlement politically and economically. It is a document or policy that embodies the social relationships of its historical context. This view that is expressed by Kallaway (1995) can still be observed to this day in the curriculum as there is content that is significantly contested because of its major political implications.

The analysis that is provided by Kallaway (1995) pushes us to think of the curriculum not as something that should be taken at face value but should be investigated with scholarly rigour. One such author that provides an alternative to analysing policy documents like the history curriculum is Parkes (2007) who offers the view that the new curriculum should be read as 'a postcolonial text'. By adopting this strategy of viewing the curriculum then we can locate it within the correct context. The same view can be adopted when looking at the South African curriculum because Apartheid was in itself a form of colonisation because of its characteristics of the domination of white supremacy over the Black majority in all spheres of life. Parkes (2007) further argues then that what has remained uncontested in the struggle for the decolonisation of the curriculum have been the representation practises of history itself. This means that the representation practices of history are still deeply grounded in the Eurocentric canon and therefore this can only mean that the content which is in the curriculum will be understood from this vantage point. This is problematic because the present and the future are shaped by how the past is portrayed. The failure to incorporate the multiple (and indeed, what I would call 'integrated' histories) of the nation into the curriculum might prove to be something that will be a catalyst towards more conflict. Parkes (2007: 390) goes on to argue that if the curriculum continues to neglect the various histories of the nation in its policy documents, problems will continue to arise because the politics of representation are not something that we can just neglect. At the same time, the policy document must move beyond the interjection

strategy which simply requires the insertion of rival narratives into the curriculum without providing proper context of these narratives and how they could have been marginalised in the past. The issue of integration across different 'ethnicities' as colonial constructs in historiographies is therefore of crucial importance. If the nation is to move towards a much more progressive curriculum, then the pedagogy of history education should in its approach take seriously the problem of historical representation and the incorporation of diverse historiography is a step closer towards that pedagogy. Parkes (2007: 394-395) goes on to warn about the hijacking of history into partisan politics which means that history will be distorted because the narrative that will be dominant will be the one that will be aligned to the ideological aspirations of the ruling party. One example in the South African context that can be used to illustrate the author's argument is the way that the history of Robben Island is represented in contemporary South Africa through the 'Mandela Gateway' as dominant narrative which places at the centre the first president of democratic South Africa and a stalwart of the ruling African National Congress. For example, the bulk of the historical narrative around Robben Island as a prison for political activists and an important site in the struggle for liberation in the country has been centred around this narrative to the exclusion of many others who have significantly contributed to that struggle. Parkes then argues that if we read the curriculum as a postcolonial text through interpolation, the possibilities of a critical history pedagogy can be opened, and this would allow for the necessary critical engagement with the re-inscription of the dominant rhetoric around historical events. The curriculum must therefore be read as a document that is produced within a particular context for a specific purpose so that it can be engaged at that level in terms of what it is supposed to achieve and how.

The history curriculum can hence be viewed as the medium through which an individual sees and interprets the world in relation to the self. Having a curriculum that draws from western sources that the learners (who live in everyday African realities) have to absorb, and which they cannot relate to, might prove to be a stumbling block in their learning because that history is located outside of their relation points. The call for the decolonisation of the curriculum that has been anchored by the current generation of students and learners alike, driven by the Rhodes Must Fall movement, articulates these difficulties, contradictions and tensions in dealing with a curriculum that is far removed from the everyday social issues of the lived reality of the majority of students, teachers, schools, and communities in South Africa.

As indicated earlier, despite the efforts of the SAHP (2001-2004) in its various attempts and national programme interventions to Africanise and decolonise history education two decades ago,

little seems to have changed. Vargas (2017:117), in a study on decolonisation and knowledge production, observes that one of the biggest challenges that still faces the African academy is the decolonisation of the curriculum, teaching strategies and also the textbook. Vargas makes the point that the democratisation of knowledge production in the African context would require the adoption of epistemologies that will suit the post-colonial realities that it faces. Notwithstanding important progress with school curriculum transformation (for example, new relevant content and more progressive pedagogies), the higher education system in South Africa today still resembles in many ways the colonial-European system (especially at historically white institutions as attested by the RMF# as recently as 2015) and is far removed from the cultural capital of the majority of students and learners alike. Heleta (2016: 1) argues that "since the end of the oppressive and racist Apartheid system in 1994, epistemologies and knowledge systems at most South African universities have not considerably changed; they remain rooted in colonial, Apartheid and Western worldviews and epistemological traditions". As such it perpetuates identity problems and emotional distress (hence my earlier point on the relevance of emotions, and by implication justifiable rage) which lead to educational difficulties – at higher education, college and school levels. The nature of the colonial education system is very alienating to the majority of learners and teachers alike due to their cultural background and this phenomenon becomes amplified when they get to institutions of higher learning. Though local histories are included in the FET history curriculum, the explicit engagement of African heritage roots are for the most part omitted from the curriculum both formally and informally, and that is why it is important that the process of decolonisation should begin by exploring indigenous knowledges in the formal education system by integrating these local knowledges and connect them to the regional, continental and international knowledge networks. The integration of local indigenous knowledge through the integration of heritage sites, monuments and various institutions of memory would be a step in the right direction in bridging the inequalities in knowledge production. CAPS (2011:17) mentions that the content that is to be taught at grade 10 between terms 2 and 3 must include the Ndwandwe Kingdom and how it was subsequently followed by the rise of the Zulu kingdom as a powerful force that would expand rapidly especially under the leadership of Shaka Zulu. There is however a negligence of a very important event that was a direct result of the breaking of Ndwandwe and the rise of the Zulu kingdom, the battle of Isandlwana, as argued by Ntuli (2019:47). This is considered by black historians as one of the most critical moments in the history of South Africa as it highlights a key moment in the liberatory history of the country against colonial expansion. The battle was won by the indigenous Zulu soldiers who defeated the British colonial military in what marked a historical

moment because it sent a message that the British were not just going to expand without facing resilience. As such there is a memorial that is dedicated to the battle, which is located in present day KwaZulu-Natal, but this has been unfortunately overlooked in the curriculum document in the articulation of the Ndwandwe Kingdom and the Zulu Kingdom that followed after (see CAPS, 2011: 16)

In addition, indigenous knowledge is a key part of exploring subjectivity, identity and nationhood. Moyo and Modiba (2013) explore these issues around the politics of representation in the high school history curriculum in Zimbabwe. The authors make the observation that the content that is selected in the context of Zimbabwe is skewed towards the reinforcement of a selective narrative that is aligned with the narrative that is advocated for by the government. The nation state is in itself a very contested space in terms of the dominant narrative that is linked to the history and heritage of that particular country. As such the national history curriculum is also a very contested space because the different people in the country are all advocating for inclusion in the curriculum. As in the case of South Africa, the curriculum in Zimbabwe is under the control of the state through the department of education. Moyo and Modiba (2013) observe that the state-controlled history curriculum can be used as a deliberate tool in the process of state building and the dissolution of previous identities while attempting to reconfigure new identities that are aligned with the objectives and aspirations of the nation building project. Zimbabwe has, in its curriculum development approach, deployed history education as a means of facilitating the social reproduction process of national identities through aligning individual narratives and images with 'nationhood'.

## 2.6. HERITAGE RECONSTRUCTION, NATIONHOOD AND THE CURRICULUM

The concept of nationhood goes hand in hand with the reconstruction of that particular nation so as to not only move it away from its violent past but to also put at the centre of the discourse the knowledge that has been marginalised through epistemic violence and ideological advancement of certain ideas. One scholar that makes a significant contribution in the discussion around the reconstruction of a country through heritage is historian Ciraj Rassool (2000) who makes the observation that what is apparent is that there are certain chief modes of reading South Africa as a nation, and its history, that have been dominant in the discourse. The romanticised idea of the 'rainbow nation' and its multiculturalism has been the way that the nation has been dominantly

discussed in literature and the global media alike. However, these forms of reading of 'the nation' have not gone uncontested and as such the politics of representation are still very much alive in the discourse and the debates that are happening in the country. Rassool (2000) further discourses that even though these ways of reading the country are still prevalent, the cultural politics that play out in sectors like tourism and projects like community museums push beyond the boundaries of these narratives and in both the urban and rural landscape. All spheres of heritage production in South Africa are therefore entangled in complexity, controversy and contestations. One important aspect to consider is how these discursive forms of reading the nation are used by South Africans to shape their own identities within the nation in relation to its past. Rassool continues that the ideological work that is being presently done in forming the national identity which contributes to the task of creating good citizens is in some way being shifted from schools to heritage institutions and public culture as a whole. In addition, it is also not surprising that these contestations are now unfolding in the public sphere through public culture and heritage because the linear relationship of flow of information from the education system to the community through textbooks and other sources no longer exists (Rassool, 2000). This means that communities are claiming their own heritage and telling their own histories through the heritage projects that they are engaging in, which means that they are an integral part of the knowledge production process and that the heritage knowledge that they produce is (in all likelihood) still not utilised in the education system.

In addition, history as a subject in the education system was perceived to be on the decline and becoming irrelevant according to some social commentators. Rassool, citing Caruthers, explains that in some way the rise of heritage came to the rescue of history (as a discipline in higher education) because obviously if people were rejecting history, they would of course embrace heritage which it can be argued is also history that has been repackaged to suit the post-Apartheid dispensation. This point is illustrated by the fact that heritage in post-Apartheid South Africa has been on the rise both as a form of boosting cultural tourism and also with the exploration of the many new heritage sites that were identified post 1994. This new development towards 'heritage' has also been supported by institutions of higher learning (such as the historically black UWC) offering formal qualification in heritage and public culture. Combined with the 24th of September being declared as Heritage Day in post-Apartheid South Africa, it became apparent that 'heritage' would be the ideal platform to keep the nation interested in the past. Rassool (2000:3) also raises an important question in the sense that South Africa "is a diverse nation and there are as many heritages as there are as many identities and publics", and thus the question of inclusion and

exclusion comes up and history is confronted with this fact and must therefore find a way to cope with it. While this is an interesting question it would be difficult to address it in this thesis which is confined to the question of how heritage can be integrated into the existing FET curriculum content.

Another important aspect that is worth mentioning is that the heritage projects that the communities engaged in are mostly informed by the oral histories of those people. One example that can illustrate this point is the concept of cultural tourism where tourists are given an 'authentic' African experience of a certain social group, whether it be 'AmaXhosa' or the 'great' 'Zulu nation'. Though not problematised, and commodified to serve tourism, most of these 'heritage' experiences are derived from the lived experiences and living archives of people (however mediated) which are not always captured in the books and history curriculum that is taught at school.

Indigenous knowledges of the people are important in telling the histories of the people. Morgan Ndlovu (2014:12) is one scholar that explores the potential of exploring the indigenous ways of seeing, knowing and imagining the world as an enabling factor of moving beyond the now defunct Western-centric canon. However, for this process of democratisation of knowledge to be effective, the struggle for the decolonisation of knowledge and the fight against epistemic violence should be sustained and continued pressure should be applied to Europe and North America to de-imperialise knowledge (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, cited in Ndlovu, 2014). Furthermore, the idea of epistemic violence and the colonisation of knowledge enables us to understand the dynamics and the relationship between the structure of colonial domination and knowledge production. It is therefore very important to move away from that kind of canon if we are to embrace an Africa-centric curriculum that is grounded on the indigenous knowledge of the African people. Having said that, institutions of memory as a whole are part of the knowledge production process, that knowledge should be used to educate the next generation, and it must be placed in context with the local, continental and global history. It is for this exact reason that we should seek pedagogies that will facilitate that process and draw especially from the pedagogies of the South or pedagogies of the oppressed as articulated by Paulo Freire (1970). The struggle for multiplicity in cultural struggles is one that has and should be at the centre of decolonial pedagogy.

Wa Thiong'o (1993), in articulating the struggle for cultural freedoms, presents the argument that cultural freedom means that there should not be a singularity; this then means that cultivating the cultural knowledge embedded within heritage institutions should be an integral part of the

education system in contemporary Africa. Tisani (2018), who (as mentioned earlier) was also a member of the SAHP, argues that imperial epistemology is a construct that can and should be dismantled, meaning that if we are to search for pedagogies that are Africa-centric in the teaching of history in the country, we should take seriously the intersection of epistemology and pedagogy because they inform each other. The call for a decolonised education was made stronger by the #RhodesMustFall movement (2015) which began at the University of Cape Town and spread across the country and the world within months.

Until 2015, decolonisation was much invisibilised in higher education globally. In the years immediately following the #RMF student movement, Noroozi (2018:1) affirmed that decolonial philosophy of education is almost a non-existent term in the academy and that "rigorous intellectual and scholarly conversations on education tend to be centred around a specific set of concepts and discourses that were (and still are) generated, picked up or analysed by thinkers from a specific geographical and political space, such as Socrates, Rousseau, Dewey, Heidegger, and Foucault. This has led to the systemic ignoring and violating concepts and ideas generated from other spaces and lived through by other people". This results in the attempted universalisation and homogenization of Euro-American philosophies in education which came through imperial and expansionist ambitions of the West which resulted in epistemic genocidal practices. The colonial edge of these philosophies around education is mostly left unexamined and this is where decolonial philosophers come in to try and rescue the education system from its colonial thinking (Noroozi, 2018).

Furthermore, McKinley and Veriava (2009) argue that South African history has been and continues to be a history from above which articulates the perspectives and experiences of a powerful minority to the exclusion of a majority of people who have had an oppressed and marginalised historical experience. The history that is dominant in the discourse is always told from a position of privilege by people who hold socio-political, economic and institutional power. This leaves a great gap for the narratives to be shaped in a way that will benefit those who are in power and how they shape that particular history to push and mobilise a specific narrative that will fit their aspirations in whatever positions that they occupy. For example, Robben Island (as discussed earlier) as a significant site of memory in the political history of the country of the indigenous people of South Africa, going back to the colonial battles with the Khoi at the Cape in the 1600s, but its history has been manipulated in a way that it tells a single story of Nelson Mandela[xxxi]. Adichie (2009) warned about the danger of a single story and how it could have the

direct opposite of the desired impact. Instead of having the outcome of highlighting the struggles that the country has gone through politically, the ANC has appropriated the history of the island to push a narrative that is aligned with its goals and as such has alienated many people who were a major part of the political struggle in the country, most of whom were also political prisoners, as in the case of Robert Sobukwe and others. This differentiation in privileging certain political leaders in the historical and heritage narrative, has caused animosity between former political prisoners and the leadership of the ANC as witnessed from the statements that were made by the Ex-Political Prisoners Association (EPPA) in 2021[xxxii]. It would be beneficial to tell a history from below where those people who have been put on the periphery of historical discourse are given a direct voice so that they can tell their own history through their own understanding and words. This approach, which was ironically promoted in the Anti-Apartheid People's History movement in South Africa in the mid-1980s, would be very fitting in terms of looking at how people are telling their own stories through their own institutions of heritage and memory that are outside of the mainstream heritage economy. These are the stories that would be more insightful because they are not curated to fit a certain political purpose or to sell a certain idea, but they are the narratives of lived experiences and reflections of the people themselves.

## 2.7. Conclusion

Heritage in the post-independence continent and the country has been deployed in many ways in an effort to build autonomous states that were trying to build nations that are based on the anti-colonial values of the populace, but this has been complex and contradictory. Culture and heritage have been used as an attempt to unite the people of that particular country and to help them move forward from the damage that had been done by the colonial projects in their respective countries. Even at the peak of colonial occupation scholars, like Ngugi wa Thiong'o, had opted to use the tools that are offered by African culture and heritage (which in this instance is language) and refused to write in the colonial hegemonic English language. In the case of South Africa, it has been deployed as a tool towards nation-building and reconciliation. The ANC, through its reconciliation and nation building projects, built a number of monuments and museums that would reflect on some key issues in the history of the country that were previously marginalised. However, the fact of the matter is that some monuments and institutions of higher education in the county are still part of colonial memory and are even being used as examples to teach 'heritage' in the education systems. The issue that is addressed by the study is the decolonisation through

Africanisation of the FET history curriculum by exploring the integration of heritage sites in the epistemological and pedagogical core of the curriculum.

# CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHOD

## 3.1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY

### **3.1.1.** DECOLONISATION AND EPISTEMIC VIOLENCE

The study is an attempt to contribute to the efforts of the decolonisation of knowledge and to address the problem of epistemic violence that has always been persistent in the academy and the education system in South Africa. The struggle for the decolonisation of knowledge is not something that is new, that started in 2015, as there have been many scholars who have written extensively on the issue and have made some significant contributions to the discourse - especially with the independence movements over many decades and centuries in African countries. The entire Global South has been engaged in this epistemological struggle. These include scholars like Freire, Maldonado-Torres, Mafeje and Mbembe - to mention a few – who have made great strides over the years in contributing to a scholarship of decolonisation of knowledge, addressing epistemic violence and prioritising indigenous knowledges as the primary driving force in that process.

Dan Wood (2017) opines that the concept of decolonisation is understood in many different ways and can be used to explain a number of processes and also knowledge can also be understood in many different ways. The decolonisation of knowledge in the context of this study is a process that locates different interpretations of historical events that are taught in the official curriculum and ground them into a local context by drawing on examples of how these historical events impacted the indigenous people of the country and the continent as a whole. This comes from the idea that museums, heritage sites and all institutions of memory are not only places of history and memory but are actively involved in the knowledge production process and decolonisation as they capture the histories of people that have been marginalised and enter them into mainstream historical thought in higher education institutions and basic education alike. In addition, Noroozi (2018) submits that decolonial philosophy of education is almost a non- existent term in the mainstream discourse as the conversations amongst the scholars especially when it comes to education and decolonial philosophies is predominantly always centred around discourses and concepts that are generated and analysed from a Euro-American perspective which means that they are centred around a specific geography and political space. The legacy of trying to universalise perceptions

that accompany the imperial, colonial endeavour has also been witnessed in the education sphere which is the motivation behind the interventions that have been proposed by decolonial scholars all over the Global South. While the perception around acquiring formal education may be seen as something that is progressive in the universal sense of education, it might be a totally different experience for someone who has been subjected to an education system that deems them as intellectually incapable of producing their own knowledge systems and attempts to assimilate them to concepts that have been imported from the West and are foreign to them (Noroozi, 2017). It is exactly in this realm of intellectual thought where the scholars that are calling for the decolonisation of knowledge production operate as they do not only perceive this exercise as merely attempts to disrupt the mainstream discourse but rather as a way of liberation of the mind as Biko (1987) articulated. The interrogative endeavours of these scholars seek to restructure and overturn the socio-political and philosophical imaginations of society and centre them around the experiences of the epistemologically colonised beings that have continuously been placed at the margins of the knowledge production realm.

There are many interventions that have been proposed by African scholars in terms of how the process of decolonisation of knowledge could be approached and one of those scholars is Archie Mafeje (1986) who proposed that there should be a serious consideration of indigenous knowledge in the application of methodologies that have been developed from the West especially when they are applied to the African context. It should not be that concepts are imported as they are, and they are expected to work in the same way in Africa as they do in the west because the context is very different and as such the concepts themselves should be adjusted and developed in a way that they will be usable in the African context. Additionally, scholars like Ali Mazrui (1987) have also echoed the same sentiments with regards to the treatment of history of the continent and how it is articulated in scholarship and education alike. Mazrui (1987) argues that the history of the continent should be taken seriously and placed at the centre of historical thought so that it is not seen as only a subsection of World history but as a history that has its own merits and be treated with the respect that it deserves. It has been well recorded that for a long time the continent was absolutely erased in historical enquiry and even prominent European scholars like Hegel's statements implied that Africa is 'a continent without a history'[xxxiii] and has contributed nothing to the so-called modern civilisation. The decolonisation of knowledge fundamentally rests on the inclusion of the knowledge systems of the indigenous people as valid knowledges that need to be

studied, analysed and expanded and be on equal footing with western modern knowledge in terms of their epistemological principles (De Carvalho and Flórez-Flórez, 2014).

Furthermore, epistemic violence has been entrenched into the education system for a very long time and there are even academic disciplines whose very foundation was based on the pushing of other knowledge into the periphery and adopting a single canon of viewing and analysing the world. In a study on tracking epistemic violence, Dotson (2011), drawing on the seminal work of Spivak (1988), "Can The Subaltern speak"[xxxiv] reads 'epistemic violence' as the silencing of oppressed groups.

In the context of this study, the concept of epistemic violence will be used to analyse the way that the histories of the marginalised groups in South Africa have been excluded from the FET history curriculum by looking at the ways that the historical events are framed in the curriculum policy documents. It will critically assess whether there are other examples that could be drawn from museums, heritage sites and other institutions of memory that could provide an alternative perspective that would highlight the experiences of the marginalised groups during these historical events instead of relying on the Eurocentric version that is often prevalent in the canons of world history. It is for this reason that authors like Chinweizu (2010) in a paper prepared for the Codesria Conference on '50 years of African Independence'[xxxv] submitted that there is a need for an education that is focused on the liberation of Africa from its colonial shackles and that education should be conceptualised and implemented by Africans themselves so that they could developed a sense of self-worth that is based on their history and heritage. In this address to Codesria, Chinweizu emphasised the need for an independent African knowledge that is devoid of outside interference so that the continent can grow to its full potential. The main question that Chinweizu (2010) is occupied with is the current state of education in the African continent as a whole and to help us think through some of the flaws in the systems. The author raises some pertinent questions in asking: "Do our schools make us proficient in our African mother-tongues? Do they ground us in our African heritage? Do they steep us in the myths, legends, proverbs, ethical and aesthetic values bequeathed by our ancestors? Or in the cosmological and philosophical assumptions of our ethnic groups? Do they teach and commend the African architectural, agricultural and ecological wisdom that our ancestors harvested in the course of millennia of living in Africa?". The answer to all of these questions that they provide is a firm no and further asserts that our education system is still colonial in nature, and this is a challenge that must be dealt with decisively by Africa. Following this logic, then it becomes very clear that the heritage institutions in Africa

have an obligation to be an active part of the education system and continuously produce knowledge about Africans that has been excluded and the most viable way to achieve that in the current form of the education system is to entrench these knowledges in the curriculum and ensure that they are taught in a way that is historically factual and also a form of providing a critique of the world as it currently is.

Dos Sousa Santos and Meneses (2020) suggest that we should turn our attention to 'epistemologies of the South' in a book by the same title. The authors argue that the marginalised groups of the Global South in their diversity have inherited the spirit of fighting against injustices emanating from colonisation, capitalism and patriarchy to mention just a few. The scholars further contend that even though the Global South has been very politically vibrant and has in fact been part or affected by many historical events, it is rarely seen as a source from which theories to explain these events can be derived from (Dos Sousa Santos and Meneses, 2020). The epistemologies of the South therefore are not only those that are produced in a geographical area but rather epistemologies that are concerned with pushing back against the inherited struggle of domination by the Global North which not only took physical form but also dwelled into the realm of knowledge production regarding which knowledge is given priority over the other. Through these alternative epistemologies, those that have been conquered and colonised present the world from their own perspective outside of the parameters of the hegemonic Western knowledge that has been validated through years of imposing imperialist and colonial ideas on the indigenous peoples of the Global South (Dos Sousa Santos and Meneses, 2014).

The use of these epistemologies of the South in curriculum reform would mean that there would be some progress in addressing the damage that was caused by colonial conquest in the marginalisation of indigenous histories and knowledges. This could provide alternative ways of seeing the world to the learners instead of them being taught a single narrative that is told from the western hegemonic perspective. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2018) provides the most recent criticism of the epistemic violence that has occurred over the years in knowledge production in his seminal work on epistemic freedom in Africa. The author argues that epistemic freedom is fundamentally concerned with the right for Africans to theorise, think, interpret the world and develop their own methodologies and write from where they are located and not be confined by Eurocentrism. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2018) further argues that in the context where African people are producing knowledge as agents of Eurocentric history, the modern university and by extension basic education is still largely Eurocentric because the conventional philosophy and discourse still lies

within the parameters of European thought. Consequently, this thinking results in what is termed as 'African history' within the discourse whether it be from a point of view of colonialism, nationalism or Marxism. Epistemic freedom therefore means that the continent of Africa is repositioned into the centre of human history and as a valid site of historical knowledge production which can and should be globalised from its perspective.

### **3.1.2.** DECOLONIAL PHILOSOPHY AND EDUCATION

Decolonial philosophy and education are very closely related because the current education system that is employed in South Africa is one that is still highly a product of colonisation and has not been altered much since the transition from Apartheid to democracy. Noroozi (2018), through the study of Indian residential schools in Canada, argues that the hegemonic and universalistic aspirations of Euro-American thinking around the analysis of education has resulted in genocidal practises and assimilationist tendencies and these genocidal practises, as far as education is concerned, can be found in what is in decolonial scholarship termed as epistemicide (see De Sousa Santos, 2014). This means the erasure of other epistemologies and ways of thinking when it comes to education and how it should be applied (see De Sousa Santos, 2014). The author further argues that even though the idea of education might be seen as a positive thing in terms of how it provides one with upwards social mobility and other skills that they can use in their life, the assimilationist foundations of the education system cannot be ignored because they still to this day carry that colonial foundation that they were built upon. In the case of the Indian residential schools, it was a case of ¨killing the Indian to save the child¨ which was the racist slogan of these schools. This meant that the very essence of the Indian[xxxvi] child was destroyed in that schooling system so that they could be schooled through the British school system that would supposedly save them from remaining in their so-called backward state (Noroozi, 2017: 1-2). The essence of the Indian identity had to be completely destroyed according to the philosophy of these colonial schools which means that their heritage, language and other sacred practises that they hold in high regard were to be vehemently rejected by those who were in those residentials schools, and they were forced to do so. This case in Canada is not so different from that of South Africa because they are both former British colonies in which the British education system was imposed upon albeit in slightly different but similar ways. It is a well recorded historical fact that formal education in South Africa was introduced through European missionaries who were Christian and were on a civilising mission because they saw the indigenous people of the country as people who are 'backwards' and needed to be 'civilised' so that they could aspire to be like Europeans. The relationship between the

Christian missionaries and formal education meant that those who wanted to have access to formal education would have to embrace Christianity and also adopt its beliefs in terms of how one should live one's life. This meant that they mostly had to abandon their own beliefs because they were discouraged in the Church and seen as people who were savage and anti-Christ. This type of assimilation resulted in an education that is based on western educational philosophy which sought to make universal European ideas and philosophies around education and other spheres of life.

This is mainly where the work of the decolonial school of thought comes in, not only to disrupt mainstream Eurocentric canonical thought but also as a way of providing alternative discourses, pedagogies and epistemes that are liberatory in nature. Scholars like Paulo Freire showed in his seminal work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed (*1970) that there has been a violence that has taken place in the education sector, and it needs to be rectified with the utmost of urgency through equal dialogical processes, which is central to promoting an important cultural literacy. The latter, Freire addresses in *Cultural Action for Freedom* (2000; first published in 1970). The decolonial school of thought can provide us with the tools to be able to conceptualise such ideas that will wrestle education from the colonial grip and ensure that it embraces a liberatory character especially on the African continent. Furthermore, scholars like Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2018) have argued that it is time that Europe itself is provincialized and the knowledge of Africans be pushed to the centre because it is knowledge of the self. The #RhodesMustFall moment of 2015 is the most recent moment that has captured the arguments that have been made by decolonial scholars with the demand of a free, decolonised education system in every sphere of education (Mabasa, 2017). While there were various issues that had influenced the moment such as the race, class and gender dynamics and the commodification of education, as Mabasa (2017) mentions, curriculum reform was also a great part of the debate and the argument from the students was that there has been very slow progress in curriculum reform in the country. Even though the protests were largely based on the observation of university students, it can be argued that this is the case in most if not all phases of the education system in South Africa. What this means is that there is still a lot of work to be done in terms of curriculum reform and how the concept of redress is conceptualised in the South African education system. Barnes (2006), argues that the discourse around redress needs a radical shift because the concept has been used for many different reasons and as such has carried many different meanings, from correcting something that was done wrong to reparations and restoring equality. However, if we are to have an effective curriculum that will move towards achieving the goal of restoring the dignity of indigenous people, the concept of redress or reform needs to be

clearly defined in terms of what it seeks to achieve and how it imagines that goal will be achieved. Ndlovu (2014) suggests that it would be helpful for us to look at indigenous knowledge and put it at the centre of the discourse because Eurocentrism and western ways of knowing have failed to provide solutions to many of the problems that we are facing today. There needs to be a radical epistemological shift which would be some sort of epistemic disobedience that moves away from the conventional ways of thinking and begins to imagine a way of thinking that goes beyond the confines of Eurocentric canons. Mbembe (2019), commenting on the decolonial project in universities and which might apply to the broader education system, asserts that the student protests have generated difficult but necessary debates around the institutions that we have inherited as a country and continent in the post-colonial dispensation and what they do mean for the now. Mbembe (2019) poses a very serious question on how reformable these institutions are and whether they could serve a progressive purpose in the present. Citing wa Thiong'o (1986) Mbembe shows that the curriculum was an important part of the decolonisation project that Ngugi wa Thiong'o had in mind which was tied to the teaching and centring of African languages in the teaching of that curricula. The gist of the decolonial project therefore is to ensure that we go through a self-reliant process of knowledge production that will enable us to answer our own questions outside of the prescripts of Western canonical thought. It is through this lens that I critically analyse the South African high school history curriculum FET phase in search of how heritage sites, monuments and other sites of memory have been integrated in it and from what perspective has this process unfolded.

## 3.2. RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

The questions that are investigated in the research have mainly risen from two sources which are of interest to me in my research. The first one is the announcement that was made by the Minister of Basic Education in South Africa, Angie Motshegka in 2018, on the possibility of history being made a compulsory Further Education and Training (FET) school subject for all learners in the public schooling system in South Africa. As mentioned earlier, the Minister subsequently formed a task team that would investigate the possibility of history being a compulsory subject. The History Education Task Team (MTT) is made of historians: Professor Sifiso Ndlovu (Chairperson, UNISA), worker historian Luli Callinicos, archaeologist Professor Amanda Esterhuysen (Wits), historian Professor Sekibakiba Peter Lekgoathi (Wits), Associate Professor Nomalanga Naledi Mkhize (Nelson Mandela University), and Dr Gail Weldon (chief education specialist appointed

in the former SAHP and who was responsible for the FET history curriculum development between 2001-2004, textbook writer and practising teacher). Notably, both Callinicos and Esterhuysen served on the SAHP Ministerial committee until 2004. The MTT is made up of the most prominent Africanist historians such as Ndlovu and Lekgoathi. Professor Nomalanga Mkhize is also a renowned public African scholar and intellectual who has made monumental contributions both in the academy and civil society alike.

As indicated in chapter 1, the MTT formed in 2018 was building on the work that was done by those that had come before them and had the task of evaluating the feasibility of History as a subject being made compulsory at the FET phase in South Africa. The MTT published an extensive report in 2018 and made some interesting observations such as that the current curriculum has some limitations and needs to be strengthened and that the history of Africa needs to be given the depth and breadth it deserves. In the introduction of the *History Ministerial Task Team Report* (2018) the authors acknowledge that this is not the first review of its kind, and that the History curriculum has gone through many stages of review since the dawn of the democratic dispensation in the country. The task team was not only tasked with the mandate of evaluating whether history should be compulsory or not, but it was also tasked with the review of the pedagogy and epistemology that is embedded within the teaching and learning of History as a subject in the country. The announcement of the new History Education Ministerial Task Team became the subject of lengthy public debates in the country in the media and academic circles. The most important recommendation that was made by the task team was that History should be made compulsory and also should be taught as a stand-alone subject in the FET phase (*Ministerial Task Team Report,* 2018: 123). The task team argued that a good history education grounds learners and promotes humanity values and understanding in society. At a practical level, the task team recommended that the development and training of teachers should not only be left to the department of education but rather it should be a collaborative effort between the department and universities around the country so that teachers should not only know how to teach but should also be intimately familiar with the content that they are teaching. This means that prospective teachers should study history as a major subject at undergraduate level or at the very least take some courses from the history department if possible. Another important issue that the recommendations mention is that there has been a tendency to avoid teaching South African History, specifically Apartheid and liberation history as some people feel that it would create tension between the learners especially in the former Model C schools which have now been racially integrated and are

diverse in nature. This practise of exclusion of certain histories resembles the Apartheid style of history distortion and exclusion based on a certain colonial belief or ideology which should be discouraged (History Education Ministerial Task Team, 2018: 131).

Some critics and opinion makers were for the proposal and were arguing that making history compulsory would be a great initiative towards the nation building and reconciliation project that has been at the core of government since 1994.

Various scholars who are interested in the teaching and learning of history in the country and what the implication of making History compulsory would be, debated the recommendations of the report and what they would mean for the country.

Following the publication of the report by the Ministerial Task Team, there was a lot of debate as to what it would mean for history to be made compulsory in the country and whether that would serve any good purpose in the current dispensation. The most elaborate critic of the report and its recommendations came from Van Eden and Warnich (2018) in which they challenge the quality of the research that was conducted for the report, especially pertaining to history as a compulsory subject in Africa and across the world and by extension therefore challenging the credibility of the entire report and its potential use as the basis for making the decision on whether to make history compulsory or not. Contrary to the assertions of the authors mentioned above, Bam-Hutchison (2018) suggest that instead of dismissing the recommendations that are carried in the report as impractical and lacking in research depth, the report itself must be contextualised and located within the history of the history curriculum debate and how it has taken shape over the years. Bam-Hutchison argues that African historiographies and perspectives on history education have always been pushed to the margins and as such even though the black liberation movements tended to disagree on ideological grounds, they did find common ground in the articulation of a decolonised education and the need for history to be compulsory within that framework. The task team was carrying out their national task within a historical context that needs to be taken into consideration.

Beyond the ideological implications of whether history should be compulsory or not, there were some challenges that were highlighted by the report which also featured in the debate around the practicality of making history as a subject compulsory. One of the important issues highlighted was the issue of teacher training and the capacity of the country to produce teachers who are conceptually well versed in the discipline and can therefore teach effectively and efficiently (*Ministerial Task Team Report*, 2018: 125) Chisholm (2018) notes that the reality of the matter is

that teacher training requirements vary from university to university in the country and prospective history teachers are not necessarily required to have a background in History as a discipline. The reality is that teaching qualifications are also offered in universities of technology which do not have a history department and therefore making it difficult for those future teachers to be exposed to the discipline. Beyond the limitations or challenges that have been identified by the report, there seems to be a sense of hope and optimism around history education in the country and its significance in shaping the social relation in South African society. Kallaway (2018) notes that we have failed as a country in promoting the idea that history education at schools should be about teaching learners to think critically about the past and what it means for the present. The recommendations that are carried in the report are a glimpse of hope and should give direction to the department in terms of what it could do to achieve a standard of history education in public schools that would meaningfully contribute to society.

The second source of such questions arising is the #Rhodes Must Fall Movement (2015) which put a challenge to policy makers and scholars to detach the curriculum from the Eurocentric canon and teach content that is unapologetically Africa-centric that would speak to the experiences of the people who are required to engage that curriculum. At the peak of the #RMF protests there were serious engagements in many spaces around the country and some reflections on what has been done to improve the state of the curriculum across the board in the country. Through these negotiations and dialogues the students were very shocked to learn from the people who were involved in the education transformation projects in the first ten years of democracy, about such interventions as the reprinting of the *General History of Africa* volumes (as discussed earlier); and to shockingly learn that those materials never made it to their intended destinations (such as the majority of black township schools). More disconcertingly, it is not known where they ended up.

With these two key concerns in mind, this research investigates the process and possibilities of bringing Africa-centric archival public memory and heritage sources into the FET History curriculum.

### 3.3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Taking the theme of the integration of heritage sites in the FET high school history curriculum as the broad base of inquiry, the study will be focusing on the following questions.

MAIN RESEARCH QUESTION:

How could we integrate heritage sites and institutions of memory into the FET History curriculum and therefore teach the topics that are covered in the current curriculum by using African - informed foundations of research and knowledge production?

SUB-QUESTIONS:

- Which heritage sites, museums, monuments and other institutions of memory have currently been integrated into the FET school history curriculum, if any?
- How have they been integrated in terms of history education content and pedagogy?
- What were the strengths and limitations of this process on integration in terms of the Africanisation and decolonisation of the history curriculum?
- What opportunities could be presented by the integration of these institutions of memory into the history curriculum in terms of the pedagogical approaches in the teaching and learning of the history curriculum?

The above questions would be helpful in investigating whether there have been any significant strides in curriculum reform in post-Apartheid South Africa in terms of heritage and Africanisation. South Africa is fortunate enough to have a vast number of heritage resources that have been well documented which it could tap into in order to enrich the curriculum and ensure that it captures history in context. While the resources are available in abundance there are those that have been privileged more than the other because of the position that they occupy both in the cultural heritage tourism market and by virtue of being in the metropoles where they get more exposure. The metropolitans South Africa were the base of colonial settlements which means that the heritage sites in those spaces will have a more western outlook. The most fitting example to illustrate this point would be the City of Cape Town and the outlook of the heritage sites, monuments and also the general public culture in the city especially in the Central Business District (CBD). The City of Cape Town was not only the base of colonial administration for the longest time in the country, but also it was a significant site in terms of the colonial history because of the Dutch East India

Company (DEIC) which created a refreshment station there through Jan Van Riebeeck already by the 1650s. Due to this deep colonial history, the city has a significant number of colonial statues. Minty (2006: 422) argues that the Cape Town urban landscape conceals a lot in terms of the inequality that exists and that is the same with the heritage sites as well. Even though institutions like the Iziko Museums (comprising 15 national museums) have undergone major transformation, they still enjoy a lot of heritage 'privilege' simply because they are geographically located in the CBD.

### 3.4. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The study is prescribed as a desktop study that does not involve human subjects, interviews, or questionnaires. There are no ethical concerns as the study deals with materials that are already in the public domain.

### 3.5. METHOD

Ritchie and Lewis (2013) state that qualitative research is very crucial in the social sciences in the sense that it affords the researcher an opportunity to conduct an in-depth study on a subject matter by analysing it contextually and giving insights that would have not been so clear in a quantitative study. Quantifying social phenomena can sometimes be misleading and hide very crucial information that is required in order for the subject matter under study to be sufficiently understood and therefore for the purposes of this study it was necessary to take a qualitative approach so that we can understand high school curriculum and its problematics based on the historical, social and economic context that it is taught in.

Alan Bryman (2012) argues that official state documents can be crucial sources of data in the social sciences as they are usually implicated in an action that will be taken by the state which will in turn affect the people of that country directly or indirectly. Cardno (2018) also posits that policy documents are a very important resource because of the insights that they offer on educational problems both at a practical level and also for research purposes. The educators who are in the classroom interpreting and implementing the curriculum are of course guided by these policy documents which means therefore that they are an invaluable source in terms of not only understanding the problems that exist but also trying to move towards finding solutions for those

particular problems. However, the scope of a Masters' mini-thesis does not allow for such an in-depth qualitative study.

In the seminal work on the anthropology of *Texts, Persons and Publics*, Karin Barber (2007) argues that texts that are produced in a particular society can reveal a lot about that particular society and how it sees itself. Even though texts are used as a way of trying to achieve something within that society they are also political in nature because they try to communicate the values that they are trying to embed in that society. Bakhtin (1986: 103) cited in Barber (2007) posits that where text is absent, there is no object of study, meaning that text occupies a very important position in the study of societies around the world. While the everyday use of the word 'text' may refer to the written word, Barber also includes orality as a form of text because it can also be used to study and learn certain important things about a society, especially in the context of Africa as most of the history and heritage are transmitted orally and has only been recorded in text and other formats in recent times. The social relation, ideas and values of a society can be traced through the texts it produces. This would mean that looking at the curriculum document policies as 'text' that are produced within a specific socio-political context and trying to embody a body of values that can be transmitted to those that are learning the content that is in that text would be a valuable way of understanding contemporary South African society through the history that is being taught in public schools.

In reflection on the above, in this study I have therefore selected to apply the following methods:

1) A Literature Review of the development of History Education in the post-Apartheid period to track they key developments and challenges as relevant to the decolonisation and Africanisation discourse.
2) A Literature Review on heritage discourse to try and understand what type of programmes could be useful in improving the curriculum that these institutions were involved in and how they were disseminating such information to the public.
3) An analysis of the FET History Curriculum policy documents based on what is prescribed for the phase in question so that a critical discussion of its contents could be undertaken.

The COVID (2020-2021) pandemic that has affected the whole world, of course, presented some challenges in terms of accessing sites physically (especially travel costs from Khayelitsha) and

therefore a significant portion of the data was collected online from the official websites of the museums and heritage sites.

# CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

## 4.1 THE CURRICULUM AND INTEGRATION OF HERITAGE AS IT EXISTS TODAY

The process of curriculum reform in South Africa is one that has been long and ongoing, spanning a period of seventeen years with the National Curriculum Statement coming into effect in 2012 as the one that is still being used to this day (Department of Basic Education, 2011). The process however was not smooth as there was a lot of work to be done moving from an Apartheid society characterised by separate development and the education sector being highly regulated by a government that embodied a racist ideology, which was also promoted in propaganda and taught in the history curriculum in schools. The new democratic government sought to reform this curriculum in line with its ambitions of reconciliation and acknowledging diversity in the country. In a country as diverse as South Africa it would be expected that there would be different views on how to go about this reform. Commenting on the politics of curriculum reform, Chisholm et al (2003) contend that there were many contestations in the committee that was tasked with revising the curriculum; mostly with the fundamentalist Christian right wing trying to influence the curriculum towards religious education. However, in the end, it was a rights-based approach that prevailed where many voices contributed to the final phrasing of the curriculum.

The Department of Basic Education (2011), in its curriculum policy, asserts that the curriculum is built on values that are embedded within the Constitution of the country which are to heal the divisions of the past that are the result of the history of the country, and to build a democratic society that embraces social justice and human rights. I argue that if this is the intention of the curriculum then it would be appropriate to include heritage institutions as an integral part of the curriculum because they play a big role in commemorating and celebrating the diversity of the country while educating about significant historical events that have shaped South African and our global society as they exist today. Heritage institutions are not only for the commemoration of history, but they are also engaged in research and knowledge production and therefore form a core part of the epistemologies within a country. Leinfelder (2016) argues that museums, for example, have played a critical role in the transmission of knowledge through extensive research that is conducted within these institutions.

Though the #Rhodes Must Fall movement (2015) has renewed the public interest in the decolonisation of the curriculum in all spheres of education, much of the transformation work that

has since been done, especially in South Africa, has mainly focused on institutions of higher learning. Acknowledging the fact that basic education is the bedrock or pathway to higher education, it becomes important to lay the foundation at that level so that the learners that graduate from high school and eventually end up in these institutions of higher learning, have a much broader knowledge that is not confined to Eurocentric knowledge. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2018) emphasises the importance of epistemic freedom in Africa, meaning that the knowledge that is produced on the continent through various institutions must be prioritised in the education system and be repositioned to the centre of historical knowledge and be globalised from its perspective. It is very important to acknowledge that the pedagogies that are employed in the delivering of the curriculum do not fall outside the realm of epistemic freedom and justice. Therefore, the issue does not only become that of the content that is included in the curriculum but also how it is taught and from what perspective.

The curriculum is organised around certain themes according to the successive grades within the FET phase, meaning that the learners tackle these themes as they progress with their history studies at high school level. Due to the scope of this thesis, it is not possible to discuss all of the themes and topics covered and therefore a few examples will be selected to advance the argument. In the grade 10 part of the policy document, the French Revolution of 1789 is allocated as one of the major themes that are to be explored in that grade; it is listed as the third topic to be taught in term two (Curriculum and Policy statement, 2012: 15). The dominant narrative that is pushed by this topic is that of revolution and the making of modern democratic societies. Daniel O'Neill (2002) argues that the French Revolution is regarded as the event that is the foundation of political modernity as it exists. The theme within the curriculum policy further goes on to say that the role of revolutionary ideas must be highlighted and the role of the ordinary people in the revolution must be flagged as one of the most important issues.

## 4.2 On Revolution and Resistance

The use of the French Revolution (1789) as an example of revolutionary thought and of the building of a democratic nation, I argue, lies within the confines of the western canon or Eurocentric realm of knowledge. The Curriculum and Assessment Policy Document (2011:15) for term two of the grade 10 curriculum cites this as an example of understanding the concept of a revolution and the

ideas around equality, liberty and freedom. Africa as a continent suffered severely the consequences of colonisation and slavery, and South Africa is no exception. There are many people who lost their lives in the unjust wars of colonial conquest as a result of resistance against colonisation and a desire to maintain their autonomy as societies. Even in the Americas, the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804) was one that was 'unthinkable' (to cite Black historian Trouillot, 2012) - because the colonists could not fathom the idea of Black people standing up for themselves to fight for their own freedom. The country became the first Black republic established from the freedom resistance against European slavery; this significant history and heritage of anti-slavery resistance in the world remained little known in the colonial disciplines, until recently.

There are many African revolutionaries that have contributed to the struggle against colonialism like Chief Maqoma of the AmaXhosa nation who was amongst the first beyond the early Cape colony to be banished to Robben Island alongside others like Makhanda ka Nxele. Maqoma is commemorated with a monument at the summit of Ntaba ka Ndoda in the Eastern Cape. In a recent curation transformation initiative at the Castle of Good Hope undertaken by the national government, a number of new statues have been erected to commemorate the resistance heroes which include King Cetshwayo kaSenzangakhona of the AmaZulu, King Langalibalele ka Mthimkhulu of the amaHlubi, King Sekhukhune of the Bapedi, and Gorochouqua clan freedom fighter and Khoe leader Doman in the 1600s (Castle of Good Hope, 2018). Notwithstanding the conspicuous gender bias, this decolonial curation at the castle to re-interpret and re-write the colonial and Apartheid history can be a possible meaningful way to contribute to the pedagogy that is adopted in the teaching of the content around indigenous revolutionary thought, and military leadership that informed (since early times) the making of the current dispensation that we exist in today. However, indigenous women's history and heritage remain largely marginalised in post-Apartheid South Africa memorialisation except for the commemoration of the 1956 march on 9 August of 20 000 women to the Union Buildings against the Pass Laws (today an annual public holiday, Women's Day).

Another issue that is very important in the current context of South Africa that is covered in the curriculum is the issue of the South African War (1899-1902) and how it subsequently shaped white land ownership and race relations in the country. The issue of land dispossession in the country is one that has been present from time immemorial dating back to the times Africans first encountered the colonisers. The land debate has then subsequently been revived by the growing popularity of

the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) – especially amongst Black youth - in the country's political landscape. This is one issue that is still very much part of the socio- political discourse in the country and one that has the potential to strain race relations if not approached with care. While it is important to cover key aspects in terms of how significant historical events unfolded and discourse around them, it is also very important to be cognisant of the implications that a particular biased way of teaching history (with a focus on only one political or ideological perspective, even within the broad spectrum of the left, for example) could have. Narrow approaches could impact on how the learners understand South Africa's intellectual history and racial conflict in society today.

It is important to understand why land is such an emotional issue for the Black majority in South Africa and why it is considered unresolved as it is still largely white-owned. For example, it could be important to use the heritage resources like the District Six Museum which speaks as a living archive to the forced removals of people under the Apartheid Group Areas Act (1950) from the Central Business District (CBD), where the museum is located. The museum archives the stories of people who were forcibly moved to the periphery of the city into the area that is currently known as the Cape Flats. The narratives of the experiences of displacement from the land are archived in that museum and would be a very helpful pedagogical and curriculum aid in terms of illustrating the impact that the forced removals had on the lives of people – which has a long legacy into the present. The learners would subsequently understand the reasons why those displaced people are today calling for the return of the land to its rightful owners. Ngcukaitobi (2021), in his work on land reform in South Africa, captures in detail the history of colonial conquest and its close relation with the dispossession of the colonised people. Land dispossession was one the key issues that caused the indigenous people to engage in the wars of resistance against unjust colonial conquest. Bhambhatha ka Manciza in Zululand and King Sekhukhune of the Bapedi who were based in what was then colonised as 'the Transvaal' were some of the indigenous leaders who were instrumental in the fight against colonial imperialism and their history is documented in heritage sites (Ngcukaitobi, 2021) . The Battle of Isandlwana (1879) is one the historical events that is significant especially in Zulu heritage of resistance history and is re- enacted annually in commemoration of the events that took place and how they came to define the history of the country as a whole. These are some of the issues that might be considered when looking at ways in which the pedagogy that is employed in the teaching of the curriculum in high school can be enriched. The above examples are those that could be used in order to stimulate a pedagogy that is context-specific and to which Black learners can easily relate to.

In addition, there have been a number of scholars globally who have argued for the use of heritage sites as educational spaces that can benefit society as a whole. Andersen and Jensen (2018) argue that the museum as an institution can play a big educational role in society as a whole and that heritage practitioners must take this role seriously. The authors argue that museums mostly are still seen as places where old objects that have no relevance in life today are stored and can be viewed simply for those who are curious about history. Davison (2000) captures the role of museums and reshaping memory in society and focuses specifically on South Africa and argues that museums as heritage institutions play a mediation role between the past, present and future, and further contends that they give material form to the official authorised version of the past which subsequently becomes institutionalised as 'public memory'. This is to say that these institutions play a big role in facilitating practices of inclusion and exclusion; what is remembered or forgotten depends on how the curators of these spaces shape the narrative.

Commenting on the rise of heritage and reconstruction of history in South Africa, Rassool (2000) argues that even though there has been a rise in the museums, legacy projects and heritage monuments in democratic South Africa, there have been many contestations around what these institutions represent and how they have been shaped by the ideological outlook that has been adopted by the political leadership of the country. One of the most significant institutions that captures the history of the country and how it unfolded is the Robben Island Museum (as discussed earlier) – its problematic biases in heritage representation to be engaged with in a future critical history curriculum.

## 4.3 CAPS GRADE 10-12 HISTORY CURRICULUM AND HERITAGE

Curricula should undergo many phases of review so that they can be constantly adjusted and adapted as appropriate to new educational needs and research findings, as in any society globally. In this review process in the South African context, scholars have debated on whether the history curriculum is truly serving the purpose of teaching and learning History in an effective manner and whether it sufficiently rectifies the epistemological injustices of the past.

Heritage in South Africa and its conceptualisation has been a volatile and sensitive matter because of the colonial and Apartheid history of the country. Therefore, when particular contentious events are taught in the curriculum, as part of the 'heritage' of the country, there are always discussions

and debates around the significance of those particular events and why they should be included in the curriculum and how. The nature of debates is often such that there are those that will agree with the inclusion and exclusion of those particular events, and they will give their own justifications on why they believe that those events deserve that recognition.

One particular event that features in the current FET history curriculum is the Union of South Africa of 1910. Koekemoer (2010) commenting on the founding of the Union of South Africa in its centenary year, that this anniversary was of great significance for the country and thus had to be celebrated by the nation with much enthusiasm. Koekemoer grounds this argument on the fact that the Union moment forms part and parcel of the heritage of South Africa as a country. Yet despite this significance (he argues), the commemoration of the founding of the Union had disappointingly been ignored by the post-Apartheid government. The event itself was excluded from the Revised National Curriculum Statement (2003), predecessor of the current CAPS curriculum. Koekemoer (2010) further goes on to accuse the state of deliberately ignoring the event and not acknowledging it as part of the curriculum. Yet, for the majority of South Africans, the founding of the Union represents a political and economic convention between the Afrikaners and the British, following the conclusion of the violent wars of land dispossession, and displacement of millions of indigenous people by the end of the 1800s. The Union formed the first economic and political structural foundation of white South Africa uniting against Black South Africa. It laid the historical foundation for the 1913 Land Act, following shortly thereafter, and the implementation of Apartheid from 1948 in South Africa, which became world recognised as a crime against humanity. The founding of the African National Congress in 1912 could be viewed as a direct Black political oppositional response to the Union of 1910.

Given the current situation in the country and how in recent years tensions around racial issues have been amplified, contestation and debate as to the unproblematic inclusion of the Union of South Africa (1910) as part of the commemoration of 'heritage' in South Africa are not surprising. The celebration of an event that symbolically marked what would be an elongated period of suffering for the Black people in the country, would be rightly perceived as a way of dishonouring the memory of those who fought for freedom against white rule in South Africa.

Delmont (2004), in tracing the development of heritage in the first decade of democracy in the country, points out that by the year 1994, a significant 98 percent of 4000 national monuments in South Africa represented settler and colonial history. The argument that is forwarded by Koekemoer

(2010) in advancing the recognition of the Union is that the event is a monumental significant one and claims that aside from wrestling the country out of direct imperial rule it unified 'all of the people' of the country. This is a worryingly ahistorical analysis and just going through the accounts of authors like Sol Plaatje who wrote his seminal work *Native Life in South Africa* (1916), following shortly on the period of land dispossession cemented by the Union in 1910, and the 1913 Land Act that followed, one easily gets a sense of how devastating life was for the Black people in this country. While it is very important to teach diverse and inclusive aspects of the past and include as much of the country's heritage as possible in the curriculum, it is also equally important that the events that are taught in the curriculum are taught in an intellectually honest manner so that the learners can be able to make their own arguments (based on the evidence available), provide their own interpretations, and draw their own conclusions. The distortion or misrepresentation of such politically significant events is what leads to misinformation and could influence how future generations make important decisions and judgements – especially in a significantly fractured society, where deep economic inequality along racial lines still exists that can be traced back to political events like the white convention of 1910.

Baines (2004), in addressing a newspaper article which discusses the issue of heritage and inclusion, argues that in the analysis of such national events such as the founding of the Union in 1910, and also 'new' South Africa heritage projects like the post-Apartheid Freedom Park, Boer War leaders should be included in such a space, as we cannot escape the politics of public history in this country. The author further expands that institutionalisation and dissemination of a version of history is a political one and such should be analysed within that context. Baines further asserts that the notion of creating a common shared heritage has been used as a political one so that some events can be absolved from a reckoning history as far as their intent and consequences are concerned. This happens under the guise of creating this so-called 'shared heritage'.

## 4.4 The British Takeover of the Cape Colony

Another important event that is covered in the curriculum at grade 10 level is 'The British Takeover of the Cape Colony' in the early 1800s and the consequences that came with that action (Curriculum Assessment and Policy Statement, 2011: 17). This is important because there are many monuments and sites of memory that capture that history, and which could enrich the learning of the students in terms of how they critically understand the events that followed and

how they have shaped 'the South African nation' as it is understood today. 'The British Takeover of the Cape Colony' brought about profound changes which significantly affected the lives of indigenous people of the country in deep and lasting ways, and also the political status of the Afrikaners who were in control until the British took over. Land dispossession, the Homeland system and the migrant labour system for Black African people, are but a few of the direct consequences that came from this takeover. Major cities in the country (like Cape Town and East London) still have some of the British monuments that were erected during the colonial era to mark the imperialist dominance and rule of the British. Those learners who are residing in the metropolitans like Cape Town, Gqeberha and East London might easily recognise the names that are mentioned in that particular curriculum content because they would have had encounters with those names, whether they be on the streets, buildings and statues for that matter. The British made sure that they had left a significant number of monuments and street names in the landscape that would symbolise their dominance. These colonial statues and monuments were therefore at the centre of the student protests of 2015 which began at the British 'Rhodes-founded' UCT. Torchia (2015), writing on the student protests, argues that the uproar was not only about the presence of the statues in their respective locations but part of a larger social discourse around inequality, the state of the public education system and the glorification of the legacy of Apartheid and colonisation in the current dispensation.

Monuments like the Rhodes memorial, that is situated on the slopes of Devil's Peak in Cape Town (just above the UCT campus), have been inserted into the public discourse since 2015. The politics of public history (mostly through the student protests and by other activists) have long highlighted the issue of public culture in the country and its colonial and imperialist nature. While the topic of the content that is to be taught in this section of the curriculum is 'The British Takeover of the Colony' (Curriculum Assessment and Policy Statement,2011: 17), it is also presented as a way of introducing consequences and responses of that particular takeover and how it shaped the social relations in the country going forward because the events that followed thereafter were directly linked to that takeover.

## 4.5 From Wars of Resistance to the Land Act of 1913

The one piece of legislation that perhaps had the most impact in terms of altering the lived realities of Black people in the country and which was in fact linked also to the British takeover of the Cape,

is the Land Act of 1913, which (as indicated) followed shortly on the founding of the Union in 1910. This key landmark legislation made sure that segregation and land dispossession were a legislated reality in the country and also that the indigenous people of the land received only a mere thirteen percent of the land to share amongst them while the whites (7 per cent of the population) received the majority share of the land. This Act had dire consequences for Black South Africans right into the present, as the land remains within the possession of the white minority. Ngcukaitobi (2018) notes that the British administration had been trying to put the land of the Xhosa people under its administration for more than half a decade when the war of Mlanjeni was fought (1850-1853) to retain some form of autonomy which meant that they could still be free to live according to their own custom, albeit even though there was interference from the colonial administration. The wars that were fought in the area that is currently Makana are marked by 'The Settlers Monument of 1820' which stands at the hills on the Rhodes University campus. The monument was erected as a way of celebrating the settlers that had come to fight and 'pacify' the indigenous people of Makhanda. The building symbolises the veneration of colonialists even though it has in recent times been used for the National Arts Festival that takes place in the city on an annual basis. Under the same topic in the curriculum, the content also covers the Trek into the interior by the Boers as a result of the British taking over the Cape. As mentioned before that particular moment in history is commemorated through the Voortrekker Monument (Curriculum Assessment and Policy Statement, 2011:17). Weaver-Hightower and Weaver-Hightower (2022) argue that these colonial monuments represent the cultural violence that has come to be associated with symbols that celebrate settler colonialism and puts it on a pedestal while also being a constant reminder to those that have historically been marginalised; that even in the so-called democratic dispensation they are still faced with this kind of symbolic violence on a daily basis.

This section of the curriculum (Curriculum Assessment and Policy Statement, 2011: 17). also captures the responses of the Xhosa people to the occupation of their land in the present Eastern Cape and how these unfolded. Even though there are some monuments and places of remembrance that are capturing that history, they are however not part of the mainstream heritage discourse that is closely linked to the tourism sector in the country. The symbolism of these monuments that are linked to the Great Trek of the Boers and the battle that unfolded in Makhanda where the Settlers Monument is located are not interpreted with their nuances in terms of what they represent and what it means in the current context of the country. Weaver-Hightower and Weaver-Hightower (2022) assert that even though the Settlers Monument is known as the venue where the National

Arts Festival takes place, and has been granted some progressive liberal status, it does not take away from the fact that it still represents the original message that it was intended to, meaning the celebration of the settlers because it is built to resemble the colonial ship that they arrived in on African soil.

In addition to capturing these moments in history, this section of the curriculum also explores the Xhosa responses to the British takeover of the Cape (Curriculum Assessment and Policy Statement, 2011: 17-18). Besides being resistant and fighting for their land, the Xhosas had their own customs, rituals and beliefs and the phenomenon of prophecies that came through certain people, a cultural tradition that was certainly not something new to them. As such, the section explores the Great Cattle Killing of the Xhosa nation and how they came about (Curriculum Assessment and |Policy Statement, 2011: 17). The Great Cattle Killing of 1856 is a significant event in the historiography not only of the Xhosa people but of the country as a whole because they resulted in the deaths of thousands of indigenous people. There are still different versions of the story that are told to this day as to why the prophecies of a young girl by the name of Nongqawuse were believed to the extent that almost the entire Xhosa nation was willing to destroy their most valued assets which were cattle. Peires (1990), in discussing whether the cattle killings were genocide or suicide, explains how two young girls went to their family gardens which were just by the Kei River with the intention of chasing away birds from looting the corn in the gardens, and ended up relaying a message that all the cattle must be slaughtered so that the whole nation may rise from the dead and chase away the white colonialists back to the sea. Khumalo (2017) posits that one of the factors that could have contributed to the Xhosa people heeding the call to kill their cattle could be the fact that they were desperate for any sign that their suffering would come to an end because they had been engaged in a long battle with the British by then - for over a century. The cattle killings have been commemorated through a monument that was erected by the post-Apartheid Eastern Cape government. However, this monument has for most of the time been forgotten and put at the periphery of the heritage discourse or narrative. This 'Cattle Killing Monument' is ironically located next to the cemetery where the British soldiers, who were fighting the Frontier Wars against the Xhosa people, are buried. However, in comparison to the well-maintained cemetery for these European soldiers, the Cattle Killing Monument is in a very bad state as Khumalo (2017) points out. This anomaly is symbolic of the kind of narrative that is still dominant in South African public culture and heritage today where the colonial history still stands tall both literally and figuratively over the heritage of the indigenous peoples of the country. This

means that even in their death, the people who died as a result of the cattle killings still have not been afforded any sense of dignity. If those learners who are consuming this content were to visit these sites that are historically linked in so many ways, they would observe this glaring anomaly and irony. They may then perhaps associate blackness with indignity and whiteness with neatness, decency, dignity and order.

This is anomaly in post-Apartheid heritage is also true for the monuments that are in Makhanda. Even though the town has been renamed after Makhanda Ka Nxele who is the chief who led the battles between the Xhosa people and the British settlers in Makhanda, the Settlers Monument still occupies a higher position on the hill that overlooks the town which remains as a symbolic gesture that the Black people of Makhanda will forever be under the settler gaze. The site in which the battle took place is today called Egazini which literally means 'the place of blood' and it is now occupied by Black people who are descendants of the people who were working in town as servants to the settler community that had settled there after the defeat and banishment of the Xhosa people by British forces (Wells, 2003). As an effort to retrieve the identity and dignity of the African people in that particular area of Makhanda, the Egazini Project was formed as a way of curating a site of remembrance that would be centred around this historical event which in fact was a turning point in the settler and African relations at that time. Through works of art that depict the historical battle, the Egazini project then became a way of providing healing for the community so that they could look back and re-examine their past and rescue their imagination and memory as the Egazini project articulates (Egazini Project, 2000). Even though the memorial is there and it depicts a rich history of people who were fighting for their land, it is nevertheless not in the mainstream heritage discourse because as Weaver-Hightower and Weaver-Hightower (2022) postulate that Makhanda, even though its colonial name has been changed and the Settlers Monument has been used for other purposes, it is still very much a settler town dominated by settler colonial history and symbols. The contention that I make here is that the heritage sites, monuments and memorials that these events point to are very much still dominated by the Eurocentric colonial way of thinking and continue the epistemic, cultural violence that has been perpetrated for centuries by the colonial administrations in the country. The symbolic meaning of these monuments should be taken into consideration especially when they are tied to a specific history that will forever be entrenched in the daily lives of the oppressed. This symbolic violence that these monuments entrench, is very similar to the arguments that were made by the students at the University of Cape Town in the rejection of the Cecil John Rhodes statue. The call for the removal of the Rhodes statue was not

only because he was a ruthless colonial leader but also because of the symbolic and central position that the statue occupied on campus and relative to the city as a whole. It was occupying a position where it was overlooking most of the city and facing arrogantly with a gaze in the direction of the Cape Flats which is occupied by people who were dispossessed of their land by the colonial and Apartheid governments. This kind of symbolic violence continues that legacy of subordination of Black bodies in all spheres of South African life.

## 4.6 Heritage and Pedagogy

While the student protests of 2015 revealed that there is still some work to be done in terms of decolonising education in the country, it would be unfair and unjust to not acknowledge the progressive work that has been done by the former anti-Apartheid activists who have been waging similar struggles in this space. The battle for a decolonised, Africa-centric education is one that continues to be an important issue because of not only the history of the country and the continent as a whole, but also the current dispensation that we find ourselves in which is characterised by many nuances which need deep reflective analysis to be understood. Heritage sites specifically then present that opportunity because they are representatives of a particular history that is also related to the current social configuration that we find ourselves in. Mafeje (2008) argues that it is very important to teach an Africa-centric knowledge because it will capture best the authentic experiences of the Africans and also that knowledge in itself must be locally contextualised. The people then who are responsible for delivering the curriculum in the classroom must also be afforded some degree of agency so that they may be able to tap into the local knowledge at their disposal in their teaching.

Campbell (2012), in commenting on the agency of teachers in a curriculum context, argues that teachers should be given some room to be able to make choices that they believe are suitable for their context in the interpretation of the curriculum that is prescribed by the state. The teachers are obviously accountable to the state through its various assessment, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. However, the main thing is that they should be trusted with the autonomy to use their discretion and training in critical pedagogy so that the learners may get to localise and interpret the content in a way that will make sense and is relatable to them. Of course, there has been extensive debate on the sort of influence that the teachers carry in the classroom and how they use that

influence in relation to their learners. There are different positions with some pursuing a 'morality argument' which places teachers as moral agents who need to promote certain values, and some perceive teachers as only people who are responsible for teaching and who do not carry any form of obligation towards their learners (Campbell, 2012). While teacher agency is a very important topic that also needs attention and a much deeper analysis regarding heritage education, this research is limited to the use of local heritage examples to enhance the learning experience in the history classroom. The way in which the history curriculum is interpreted in the classroom and what sort of heritage examples are used (and how) when teaching certain content is very important. With the appropriate pedagogical approach, learners may be able to draw on some familiarity in their lived experiences and local contexts which will significantly aid in the understanding of that historical content, or interpretation of that past.

## 4.7 The Langa Pass Office and Lwandle Museum as archives

How could teachers utilise more local examples when delivering the content that is outlined in the curriculum documents? For example, migration is a big theme in the conceptual framework of the FET history curriculum and as such there are opportunities to draw examples from heritage sites that are dealing with issues that are related to the concept of migration and how it unfolded in the South African context - especially under British colonial rule, and the subsequent Apartheid system of the Afrikaner national party (Curriculum Assessment and Policy Statement, 2011: 18). The Lwandle Museum (located in the Strand area in the Western Cape) and the Langa Pass Office (located in the oldest township of Langa) are two such memorial institutions that could be used as living archives in communities that could amplify the issue of migration. Students in these townships can relate to migration as part of their lived experiences in these local realities. The FET learners who are taking history as a subject at school in the entire Strand region can be able to use that museum to source rich information about the migrant labour system in South Africa and how it came into existence. The museum is located at the site of what was once a hostel for migrant labour workers who were working in the area. The history of the migrant labour system did not disappear with the dawn of the democratic dispensation in the country but rather has left its legacy in many ways especially in terms of how people relate to the spaces that they occupy and which they call 'home'. Kappler (2021: 53) argues that "the historical legacies of colonialism and the

Apartheid regime continue to be embedded in a neoliberal post-Apartheid system, despite the latter's ambitions to be more progressive and equal to all citizens". This statement draws our attention to the continued presence of colonial structural creations even in the post- colonial democratic dispensation in the country. The learners would benefit from the experiences that they could gather at the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum as they are not only expressed through historical archives and exhibitions but also through oral stories that are told by people who were living in that hostel at that time. The interconnectedness of history and the present would become salient through these narratives and the knowledge gained would be much to the benefit of the learners in terms of shaping their world outlook in relation to the content that they are learning through the curriculum. Furthermore, learners could gain an understanding that the migrant labour system was facilitated and managed through certain laws and processes that made it easier for the colonial and Apartheid government to track the mobility of African people. They would also gain an understanding of how these laws such as the pass system was used as a way of influx control in the urban areas which are today still predominantly occupied by white people. This history speaks directly to the current racialised spatial configuration that exists in the country today, especially in a city like Cape Town, where Black people are far removed from the CBD, and where Apartheid racism still thrives on who 'belongs' where.

The Langa Pass Office holds a rich history in terms of how the movement of Black people was regulated through a court located in the township for those who broke the pass laws (Ralphs, 2008). This heritage site also includes the outside 'holding cages' in which people were held, awaiting imprisonment after being caught without a pass. The Langa Museum therefore occupies a very significant space in the history of the oppression of Black African people in Apartheid South Africa. For this reason, it should be incorporated into the curriculum to not only highlight the injustices that were perpetrated during the colonial and Apartheid periods but to also trace the historical trajectory of South Africa as a country and therefore give the learners a chance to arrive at their own conclusions in terms of whether the reconciliation project that was started in 1994 has actually brought any significant change to those who were oppressed by these systems. The museum is important because it not only reclaims the history of the people who were subjected to the cruel pass laws but also highlights the reclamation of space as a political and social justice project by the very same people who were oppressed through these Apartheid institutions. Ralph (2008) also posits that the museum touches on different aspects that have been subject to much debate in the democratic dispensation. The issue of citizenship and identity, for instance, is highly

connected to oral history as it tells the history and heritage of the people who were living in that area and how they got to be there. This history could be a useful tool if it is placed at the centre of teaching and learning history in South African public schools. Roux (2015) notes that the transformation of spaces so that they can contribute to the heritage archive of the country is very important even if that history is one that is painful. The reality is that most of the colonial and Apartheid government administration was done in these urban areas so it would be very beneficial for the learners to be exposed to these 'living heritage' spaces. This pedagogical approach is important for undoing the epistemological injustice that the country and the rest of the continent has been subjected to, but to also ensure that they start from the local (as an approach to knowledge production argued for by Mafeje) and work outwards. It would be beneficial for the learners in the sense that if they can see how the Apartheid system and colonisation as part of the history of this country has shaped the lives of the people both in the past and present, they could be better prepared to analyse and critically understand what sort of effect those experiences had at a regional, continental and global level.

The education system and the curriculum that it subsequently relies on should be designed on the assumption that it is moulding the thinking of future leaders and intellectuals of the country. Therefore, it should ensure that there is an eradication on the reliance on Euro-American ways of thinking about heritage and history. There should be a radical move towards radically Africanising the knowledge production processes not only in the country but the continent as a whole. Nyoka (2022) commenting on Mafeje's scholarship, especially the search for Africanity in social sciences, posits that Mafeje advocated for African intellectuals to start thinking seriously about African epistemologies and what this would mean in the academy. I argue that this cannot be achieved if the decolonisation of knowledge production is started at higher education level, rather than being addressed already at the foundation phase within the education system.

Heritage sites and institutions are key 'keepers' of knowledge and should be used as catalysts for learners at the schools to start thinking about what that past means for the country going forward and how it can be utilised for the improvement of the country. It therefore becomes very critical for policy makers to take seriously the role that these institutions can play and how they could be entrenched in everyday discussions and discourse around the social, political and economic issues that are affecting the country. It cannot be that the spotlight is only shone on these heritage institutions every September when the country celebrates Heritage Day. It should be normal for the learners at schools, especially those who are within the vicinity of such heritage sites, to visit,

learn about and critically engage the various histories and interpretations embedded in these sites, for fuller understanding of society as it is today. The history curriculum, together with heritage sites, should be used as a vehicle for knowledge capacity building and the nurturing of critical and informed young minds so that they remain constantly curious by asking pertinent questions about the past, and about what and how they are taught.

# CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

The history of South Africa is rich, diverse, extensive and complex in nature. While there are many aspects that still need to be uncovered, recovered and debated - not only in the academy but also in social commentary - the curriculum should be built on local African knowledge of history and heritage that attempts to deal with all the critical issues that are important in the country even though they may not always be aligned to the reconciliation project that the country has been embarking on since 1994.

Furthermore, the education of young people of the country should be built on an honest and fuller engagement with a complex past and on critical reflection of any single narrative. In doing this, they would be skilled to critically comprehend and interpret the knowledges, archives and sources for themselves in order to make informed judgment and decisions or choices around the present and future of their communities.

There are many burning and relevant social and economic issues that could be tackled in the country using the history curriculum and its relevant intersections with heritage sites as a tool to educate young people about the history of these issues so that they do not have a myopic view of the past and the present. This will assist them in making better judgements and taking more informed civic action about critical issues such as poverty eradication and the conditions imperative for attaining cognitive justice in South Africa. With fuller access to a range of diverse heritage resources and their interpretations, supported by more competent and contextual teaching in history education, they would be more able to hone the important and necessary skills to make informed judgements, based on access to a range of sources on the past, and the myriad of interpretations thereof. By critically engaging a range of diverse heritage sources and historical archives (museums, oral tradition, oral history etc.) on the interpretation of the past, with all the facts that they are able to access in the intersection of history with heritage, as sites of knowledge production, the South African education system will certainly make significant strides in decolonising and Africanising the FET history curriculum. This should involve also critical engagement with colonial archives and heritage institutions, in understanding contestation around them and the relevant debates, and why they matter on the continent and in South Africa.

Hence, following from this argument - a critical approach to the narration of a complex past - implies therefore also a critical approach to heritage sites and institutions. The two aspects are symbiotic.

The country has dedicated a number of heritage sites, monuments and other institutions towards the celebration of those who were marginalised by the colonial and Apartheid system and is giving them their rightful place in history as people who had a big impact in trying to improve the lives of their people. These sites are obviously dedicated to different people in different locations in recognition of their contribution to the struggle for freedom in the country in their respective ways. However, there has been limited use of these institutions within formal public education in the country and this is something that needs to be addressed properly and creatively so that the resources that are offered by these institutions can be protected and managed effectively and integrated into the curriculum in such a way that they will enhance the learning experience of the young people that decide to take historical studies as their chosen subject.

Another reality in the country is the fact that the most popular institutions of heritage and memory are still mostly concentrated in urban city centres which are not easily accessible to the majority of people in the country and that acts as another form of exclusion. The best solution would be to construct more 'living' memory and heritage institutions or sites available where the people are, such as the Langa Post Office and Lwandle Migrant Labour Museums which are located in townships and are easily accessible to the people that need to access that information.

It cannot be stressed enough that the radical transformation of the education system towards Africanisation as decolonisation is still an agenda that requires attention in the discourse. The student protests of 2015 under the banner of #RhodesMustFall echoed at a national level the Eurocentric persistence that still exist within the higher education system, which reflects also the continued and astonishing resilience of colonial aspects in school education. National attempts to erase this two decades ago through national and provincial initiatives such as through the SAHP and its IKS networks set up with oral history communities, local government, heritage institutions, and teachers, unfortunately abruptly ceased in 2004.

The UNESCO *GHA* educational project for the FET phase may have to be revived again, along with relevant support from local heritage institutions, and through the organisation of teacher training workshops by the DBE. Political party contestations and subsequent disruptions have traditionally (up till now) undermined sustainability in achieving Africanisation and

decolonisation in school education in post-Apartheid South Africa. It is therefore imperative that the work of the respective former Ministers of Education, the late Kader Asmal and Angie Motshekga, who set up respective History Teaching Task Teams, should be continued uninterrupted under the new Minister of Education appointed in 2024 within the new Government of National Unity.

South Africa is a young democracy that is still in transition and ways to improve social policies such as that of education through the curriculum should continue to be a priority, remain under scrutiny, and should be constantly improved to reflect the constantly evolving and dynamic societies in Africa that we are living in.

In addition, the use of technology in education is gaining much traction in terms of how young people access knowledge. Digital Humanities is becoming increasingly useful for the integration of heritage sites in the history curriculum. This implies possibilities for the Digital Humanities as a serious field of study in History Education, as it foregrounds the critical engagement with the 'archive' in its various forms, and the diverse interpretations and contestations thereof. However, this will require prioritising resourcing poorer schools with the digital infrastructures required for quality Africanised and decolonised education, in a country already battling with basic provisions such as employment, food, water, sanitation, safe transport, safe communities, adequate housing and sustainable energy resources. However, there remains an existent wealth of untapped heritage resources in local communities that remain to be innovatively explored and plans could be put in place to co-design possible programmatic digital interventions with and for communities.

It is very clear that the country still has a long way to go in terms of dealing with a just transition not only in education but in general. Education remains a key sector that drives social and economic development in any country. It would certainly be very beneficial to invest in the increased integration of heritage into the FET history curriculum as it deals directly with the lived realities of people and local place and is therefore meaningful to learners and their communities. This will help to place the country on a much better footing to enable youth to contribute socially, politically and economically – towards creating a more cohesive and relevant society, starting with intersecting history education with relevant critical understandings of heritage in their own streets and in their local communities.

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# APPENDICES

Appendix 1

The neglected Egazini Monument, Makhanda, Eastern Cape

Source: South African War Memorials and After

Appendix 2

Cattle Killing Monument

Source: South African Heritage Resources Institute

Appendix 3

Freedom Park

Source: wikipedia

Appendix 4

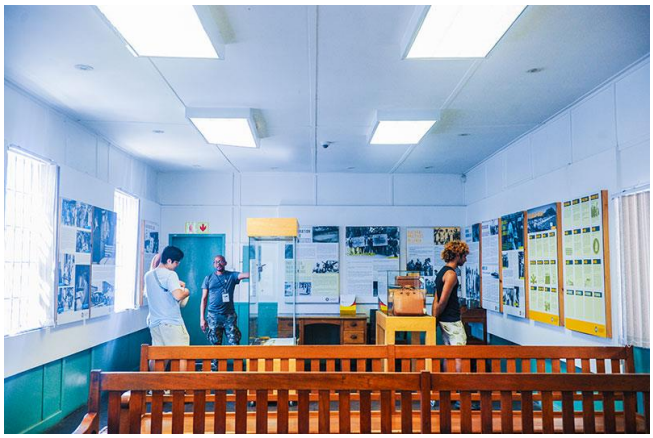
Union Buildings of the Union of South Africa (erected in 1913) as transformed site of the democratic government

Source: South African History Online

Appendix 5

Langa Pass Office Museum

Source : UCT News



Appendix 6

Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum – as an example of the rich heritage and history education resources in communities, by communities

Source: Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum

ENDNOTES

[i] Staff Writer, Big Changes planned for Schools in South Africa.2021 Articles available at: https://businesstech.co.za/news/government/528056/big-change-planned-for-schools-in-south- africa/ [accessed 26 July 2023]

[ii] https://lib.uct.ac.za/government-publications/articles/2018-06-05-report-history-ministerial-task-team-department-basic-education [accessed 1 September 2023]

[iii] See https://www.anc1912.org.za/the-freedom-charter-2/ [accessed 1 July 2023]

[iv] Born 1934, died in 2011. Served as Minister of Education from 1999 to 2004.

[v] https://www.justice.gov.za/trc/report/index.htm [accessed 30 June 2023]

[vi] In February 2000, the Minister requested the formation of a Values in Education working group which delivered a report on some key aspects that need to be considered as part of that process. The report is available at https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_document/201409/report-working-group-values-education0.pdf [accessed 1 August 2023]

[vii] See also https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_African_History_Project [accessed 1 July 2024]

[viii] Presentation made to the education portfolio committee (2002). Available at https;//pmg.org.za>appendices>020305history [accessed on 15 November 2023]

[ix] See *Whose History Counts*, 2018, pp.15-34.

[x] Also known as June Bam-Hutchison

[xi] https://www.unesco.org/en/general-history- africa#:~:text=In%201964%2C%20UNESCO%20launched%20the,and%20promoting%20an%20African%20perspective. [accessed: 24/11/2023

[xii] Served as Minister of Basic Education from 2009 to 2024, as successor to Naledi Pandor who in turn succeeded Asmal in 2004.

[xiii] See: https://web.archive.org/web/20031113135630/http://www.education.gov.za/bulletinonline/page3.htm [accessed 1 July 2024]

[xiv] http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID%3D42594&URL_DO%3DDO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION%3D201.html [accessed 1 July 2024]

[xv] See chapter 4 on 'Engendering African History' in Bam and Dyer eds. (2004)

[xvi] See https://www.unesco.org/en/general-history-africa [accessed 25 January 2024]

[xvii] https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000188292.xml=http://www.unesco.org/ulis/cgi-bin/ulis.pl [accessed 25 January 2024]

[xviii] An African scholar and historian from Kenya who specialises in African History, research methods and theory.

[xix] See Ki-Zerbo, 1981.

[xx] See: Hilson, G., 2002. Harvesting mineral riches: 1000 years of gold mining in Ghana. *Resources Policy*, *28*(1-2), pp.13-26.

[xxi] All published in 2024 to commemorate 10 Years of Freedom in South Africa

[xxiixxii] The University takes pride in its status as the number one ranked university on the continent and uses it widely in its marketing strategies. One example can be found on the university's website available at https://uct.ac.za/research-innovation/rankings#:~:text=UCT%20takes%20top%20position%20on,rankings%20released%20earlier%20this%20year.&text=UCT%20remains%20the%20top%20university,Ranking%20of%20World%20Un iversities%202023 [accessed on : 16/01/2024]

[xxiii] The General Education and Training (GET) phase is where the learners are taught general subjects to increase their interest and starts from grade R -9. They are taught more subjects at this phase and do not have the liberty to choose as opposed to the Further Education and Training (FET) phase which starts from grade 10-12 whereby learners choose their own subjects that they want to learn, a choice that depends on them with some guidance from teachers and other personnel qualified to do so within that particular school setting.

[xxiv] 'New textbooks dumped next to court'. Available at https://www.news24.com/news24/new-textbooks-dumped-next-to-court- 20120906 [accessed : 21/11/2023

[xxv] See https://www.unesco.org/en/articles/bringing-general-history-africa-education-curricula-africa-and-beyond, 4 April 2023. [accessed 31 January 2024]

[xxvi] See for example, Ndlovu, S.M., Malinga, M. and Bailey, M., 2019. Teaching history in schools: Captured curriculum/political pedagogy?. *South African Historical Journal*, *71*(2), pp.335-345.

[xxvii] Freedom Park is based in Pretoria and is a government initiative to celebrate the indigenous heroes who were instrumental in the resistance against colonisation and Apartheid. It is adjacent to the Voortrekker Monument.

[xxviii] The remains were returned by the University to the Northern Cape and were reburied. https://www.news.uct.ac.za/features/sutherland/ [accessed on 31 July 2024]

[xxix] Iziko is a post-Apartheid amalgamation of 15 national museums in Cape Town, which includes the Slave Lodge. https://www.iziko.org.za/. It was one of the Apartheid institutions that was linked to exhibitions and displays that included human remains of indigenous people that had been acquired in unethical, violent and cruel ways.

[xxx] Latest census should be referenced here.

[xxxi] Nelson Mandela and FW De Klerk won the Nobel Peace prize as a result of the transition that took place in the country from 1990-1994, which forms a key foundation for the country's 'single story', as the grand narrative on peace and reconciliation.

[xxxii] Presentation to the Portfolio Committee, Sports, Arts and Culture. EPPA/RIM workshop in Cape Town on 16/17/ April/21 (unpublished). See also Petersen (2018)

[xxxiii] See Chike, A.B. and Ifenna, E.P., 2019. A critique of Hegel's concept of Africa. *IGWEBUIKE: African Journal of Arts and Humanities*, *5*(1).

[xxxiv] Spivak, G.C., 2023. Can the subaltern speak?. In *Imperialism* (pp. 171-219). Routledge.

[xxxv] 'Education for Liberation in Black Africa', Unpublished paper presented at Codesria conference , Legon, September 2010.

[xxxvi] A problematic colonial term amongst First Nations in Canada