

**IN-BETWEENNESS:
A postcolonial exploration of sociocultural intergenerational learning
through cattle as a medium of cultural expression
in Mpembeni, KwaZulu-Natal**



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by

Lynette Sibongile Masuku

Student no.: G 9710053

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Supervisor: Distinguished Professor - Heila Lotz-Sisitka

ABSTRACT

This case study was conducted in a small rural community called Mpembeni, in South Africa's KwaZulu-Natal province. It was motivated by my observation of high levels of competence in 'cattle knowledge' amongst children coupled with a simultaneous failure at school. I view schools as integral parts of the community and consider them as being influenced by the community, which they in turn influence. This study set out to understand that which embodied informal learning in home/pasture-based contexts as well as formalised learning processes in schools. I used Sociocultural theory as the most congruent of educational theories to surface and illuminate the intergenerational learning processes that were taking place in the area. This warranted my use of research investigation methods that could, in non-intrusive ways, expose the everyday community practices that related to cattle as a particular medium of cultural expression. Ethnography, sourced from anthropology, aided by ethnomethods, was not only compatible with my study and the way in which I wanted to write out the research report, but also with my educational theory and its counterhegemonic intents.

To understand the colonialities that framed the discord that embodied home and school as learning contexts, I used postcolonial theory, not only as a lens but as a counterhegemonic response. This theory also informed my research methodology as well as afforded me the reflexivity tools for an examination of my own intergenerational learning and the relational identities of myself as 'Other' in the lives of the research participants. It further facilitated the exploration of the potential for potential hybrid third spaces within the bubbling meeting nodes of the socio-cultural context of school and home/pasture based settings of learning. I observed cattle herding related practices, interviewed children, their parents and/or carers, dipping tank managers, livestock inspectors, community elders and members. I also analysed some of the written and unwritten content that made up the formal and informal based learning processes and reviewed some of the most recent South African Curriculum Statements and related texts on the representations of cattle. I sought views from teachers on their interactions with the people of Mpembeni, whose children they taught. I also explored axes of tension, silences and presences on anything related to cattle in schools. I argue and make a case for the development of thought by African scholars to advance Africa's education rather than aid mimicry and the importation of theories of little congruence and relevance to the African context and Africa's future.

The study has made some contributions to new knowledge. This is in its exploration of sociocultural intergenerational methods and techniques that are employed for learning in community contexts, highlighting the importance of surfacing and understanding of children's knowledge and experiences. The study has gone further to deliberate the in-betweenness of school and home learning environments, highlighting and unsilencing silenced, peripherised, new, old, considered irrelevant in the past, context and time congruent and liberatory knowledges. I propose that the knowledges located in these cleavages of difference be utilised to transform and create learning bridges between home and school environments. I propose that those ways of knowing that see others as nothings, be exposed and unlearned. Methods of learning that naturally unfold at home could be replicated at school with a recognition of the intergenerational methods, techniques, practices and the learning values in a critically constructive manner that narrows difference and othering.

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*Khumalo
Mntungwa
Mbulaz'omnyama,
Nina bakaBhej' eseNgome
Nin'enadlumuntu ninyenga ngendaba
Nin'endla izimfe zimbili ikhambi laphuma lilinye
Mzilikazi kaMashobana
Shobana noGasa kaZikode
Zikode kaMkhatshwa
Okhatshwe ngesind'izinyawo nangezimfushanyana
UMkhatshwa wawoZimangele
Unyama yentini yawiZimangele
Mabaso owabas'entabeni kwadliwa ilanga lishona
BaNtungwa abancwaba
Zindlovu ezibantu,
Zindlovu ezimacocombela*

*Nin' abakwaMawela owawel' iZambezi ngezikhali,
Nina abakwaNkomo zavul'inqaba
Nin'enalukudla umlenze kwaBulawayo,
Mantungwa aluhlaza
Mantungwa amahle,
Bantwana benkosi!
Nin'bakwaNtokela
Inkubele abayihlabe ngamanxeba.*

*Abakhule ngezinyawo ezimfishanyana nezimaqhukulwana
Inyang'abthe beth'ifil'uZulu isiyethwese
Yethwese ngoNyakana kaMpeyana
UBando balubandebalushiy'uZulu,
UNTshwintshwintshwi kaNoyanda noNdaba
Unkone evele ngobus'emdibini.*

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ARVS	Antiretrovirals
CAPS	Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements
DDT	dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane
EVM	Ethnoveterinary Medicine
FET	Further Education and Training
FMF	#Fees Must Fall
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HLM	Hlabisa Local Municipality
IP	Inter-professional experience
MKO	More Knowledgeable Other
OBE	Outcomes Based Education
RMF	#Rhodes Must Fall
RNCCS	Revised National Curriculum Statements
TVET	Technical Vocational Education and Training
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development

ZAR	Zuid African Rand
ZPD	Zone of Proximal Development

CHAPTER 1: SITUATING THE STUDY



Figure 1.1: Boys herding cattle (A.B. Murage)

In bygone times, when the rocks were still soft, it was unheard of to listen to a story during the day without pinning a small stick into your hair. You would grow horns like those of the cannibals if you did not. Generally, stories were told at night around a fire or when lying on your grass mat ready to drift off to sleep. I was privileged to listen to indigenous stories at bedtime from my grandmother, gogo Simelane. I can't risk you growing horns. Now, pin your stick into your hair. Sit back, relax and listen.

Kwasuka sukela – Once upon a time!

There were no cattle in my father's homestead in Mbotsheni, the Southern part of Swaziland where we were left to the care of my grandmother. My father worked away from home as a postmaster in Mahamba, while my mother pursued her studies towards a primary teaching diploma in Manzini. As a child, I remember her recounting the most humorous events on livestock herding where she grew up in an area called Mbabane which is sandwiched between Dannhauser and Newcastle in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Her parents lived on a titled farm they purchased and also owned a herd of cattle. She was the eldest of seven sisters and one brother who was born when she had already left

home for boarding school. Different from most families and the norm, cattle minding was the girls' responsibility. Because of that, they used to be the ridicule of the community; for in those days, cattle minding and all to do with cattle was solely a male's concern. But what choice did they have as their brother was born much, much later in life. My grandfather belonged to the landed black gentry of converts who were allowed to purchase small holdings. He also had his bread buttered with homemade butter, milked and churned by my mom and aunts. The farm is still in the hands of the family and my uncle rents it out for as little as R1 000 a year to homeless families who construct their huts and end up permanently residing there. The buzz and bustle, the mooing sound of the cattle, the smell of the dung which still sits within the vaults of my rich childhood memories are no longer a feature of my mother's homestead. The areas which were the traditional grazing lands are now home to the numerous families that my uncle rents out the space to. It is now a neglected dry and dusty piece of land.

My first memory is of being strapped with a blanket on my paternal grandmothers' back, hot and sweaty while she sampled umqombothi, the local sorghum beer from the neighbouring homesteads and ate beef slaughtered for an ancestral ceremony. I remember being handed greasy pieces of offal to eat while strapped on her back. Meat was not my favourite food and least of all greasy offal. The smell of the cooking food, that of my grandmother's body smelling of the beer she was drinking which permeated her sweat pores and the heat, made me sticky, hot and irritable. She was very displeased when I started retching and throwing up uncontrollably on her back and soiling her dress and the blanket. I was speedily unstrapped and splashed with cold water. I must have been four years old and should not have been carried on her back for I could walk on my own. I was her sickly, fragile and favourite grandchild.

Frequently, I was sent out with other kids to follow the paths of the neighbours' cattle in the early morning to collect their steaming dung in a big metal container. Steaming cow dung smelled fresh and was a pleasure to handle as it thawed our small freezing hands. This dung harvest was mixed with very little water and mashed into a consistency similar to that of mashed potatoes. We would then sprinkle water on the floors before sweeping them, to make sure that the dust did not lift and the floor stayed moist for the dung application. A handful of mashed dung was scooped by hand and applied with snakelike painting movements. The floors would be sealed in this way. No one was allowed to enter the rooms while the floors were wet. When they dried, the huts smelled clean and fresh. On winter days 'gogo' (the Siswati and Zulu word for 'grandmother') sent us far and wide in

the early hours of the morning as the sun was peeping out and the grass was still covered in dew, to collect dried cow dung to start the morning and evening cooking fires. Cow dung fires are very smoky and make your eyes water while stimulating non-stop coughing.

When I was five years old, I moved to the Tshabalala farm on which the Thembelihle Primary School, where my mother taught, was built. The farm was also a home to chickens, ducks, goats, pigs and a large herd of cattle. I remember the huge, black, angry mud covered pigs with large teeth that roamed freely around the homestead. We were told to stay out of their way as they could easily dismember a child's body for a meal. The Tshabalala cattle made a big contribution to the protein in our diet, especially the sour milk. Thembelihle marked the place and beginning of my excitement with cattle. Barefoot, I joined the boys on their trips when they were herding. At first I was not welcome in the pastures but with a persistent annoying presence, I was eventually allowed into this man's world. I was taught some of the skills of herding, whistling commands and the names of the cattle. They were to be carefully herded. Making them run fast was discouraged as they could fall and break their legs. The bonus was to sit on the milking stool in the morning and have the older herders milk the warm contents from the cow's udders into my mouth. The cows were strapped on a milking pole and would sometimes kick when they were over milked. We always had to be careful on weekends when we washed and hung our uniforms to dry. I remember my brother chasing a cow that had removed his one and only school jersey from the clothes line and was chewing it. He had to chase and throw a stone at it. What the cow spat out was a crumpled sticky mess that triggered a loud desperate howl that enraged my mother.

One of the episodes I will never ever forget at Thembelihle is the day grandfather Tshabalala came to the school morning prayer assembly. He had come to show us what happens to anyone who lets the cattle stray and get lost through negligence. When all the usual formalities had been concluded, he approached the elevated veranda where teachers addressed us for the assembly with a leather sjambok and instructed that a wooden bench be brought to the front. His grandson Tsotsi was dragged in screaming and tied onto the bench. Grandpa Tshabalala then delivered the lashes. I closed my eyes and ears to block out the sound of the sjambok, the screams of my peers and those of Tsotsi. It all sounded unreal and dreamlike. From then on I went out of my way to help Tsotsi herd the cattle home. My feet cracked and grew a thick crust while my toes dripped with blood from the wetness of morning dew that penetrated the soft inner parts of my toes and made them damp and smelly. Despite all hardships and pains, herding was enjoyable labour. Another incident which I

vividly remember and look back at with a smile, was when my first grade teacher at Thembelihle asked us what we would like to be when we were older. One of the shyest boys in class raised his hand and said that he wanted to be a white man. We all thought his was the most brilliant and original of answers; but to our utmost surprise, the teacher broke out laughing. She then asked him why he wanted to be a white man and he said that it was because he did not want to own or herd cattle but would rather drive a beautiful car.

I moved from Thembelihle a year later and did my second grade at another school. I remember the anger of teachers who thrashed the boys who were frequently absent from school because they had to take the cattle to the dipping tank or were away from school because one of the cows had strayed away from the herd. Flashbacks of Tsotsi's beating would play through my mind again and again. The young herders always made an effort to rush to school after doing their cattle dipping duties, arriving late, dirty and sweaty or wet if dipping was on a rainy day. They went out of their way to be up at the earliest hours, dressed in their school uniforms and carrying their plastic bags with books to make sure that their cattle were the first at the dipping tank queue. Some had to herd them back home and be in time for school. The difficulties of combining cattle herding and schooling resulted in most boys dropping out of school. Cattle herding in the early 70s was valued much more than schooling. With hindsight, I now realise that most men had left home to go and work in the mines or in pursuit of other jobs, just like my father. Those who owned cattle left them to their wives and sons to mind. I do not remember any girl in any of my classes who suffered the same fate and trouble of herding as that of the boys, for none were herders. In later years, I would see elderly women herding cattle. Since my family possessed no cattle, cattle milk was purchased from neighbouring farms and we made amasi, sour milk. The smell of uphuthu, crumbly porridge as we cooled it to eat our sour milk meal, always quickened the pangs of hunger. Sour milk and crumbly porridge still remains my favourite dish to this day.

My first cow was acquired in 1994 and it was a dairy cow called Bella. Bella's original owner told me that she had just been mounted but chances that she might be pregnant were very slim. I saw Bella growing fatter and fatter and marvelled at how good my at a distance cow tending skills were. I almost had a heart attack when I woke up one misty morning to find Bella feeding a calf. All along I had not realised that she was pregnant. Bella did not live long after and died from a tick infestation. I realised then that farming was definitely not one of my greatest gifts and abandoned the idea of keeping cattle.

It was not until I worked with the Natal Parks Board in Pietermaritzburg, that the subject of cattle came to the fore. I worked as an education officer responsible for supporting the community conservation officers that worked in the parks throughout the province. Many times my work involved matters of park neighbours and their cattle. There were numerous complaints by park neighbours on problematic animals. A number of cattle were attacked and killed by lions, and leopards, warthogs harvested sweet potatoes and hyenas preyed on goats, sheep and puppies. My predecessor at the Natal Parks Board had developed resources in isiZulu to raise awareness of this matter and also to discourage park neighbours from removing the park fences that demarcated homesteads from the park and stopped animals from moving in and out of the park. The other reason was to limit the contact of wild animals such as wild dogs and cats with domesticated ones and to control diseases such as tuberculosis between cattle and buffalo.

Working with the National Parks Board as the environmental education manager from 2000, I remember a frantic call from one of my colleagues who was based in one of the national parks telling me in a traumatised voice how an elderly man had come to her office in tears saying that he woke that morning to find his cattle dead. This was contrary to the Zulu saying that “a man never cries”. According to my colleague, he had said that the area of his homestead closest to the cattle byre was carpeted with spoors of lions of various sizes and most of his cattle lay dead in heaps with broken and torn off limbs. Lions belong to the cat family and their cubs are playful and fascinated by movement and cattle are usually easy prey and would be used by cubs to practise their hunting skills.

From 2001 to 2003 I worked with the national Department of Arts and Culture as the Director of Heritage. One of my colleagues recounted his work on the centenary of the Anglo-Boer-Zulu war commemorations that he was involved in. As a team they were sent to purchase a herd of cattle that were to be slaughtered for the official event marking the beginning of the commemoration. They had to constantly brief the Minister of Arts and Culture on progress as they went about their work. On briefing him on the cattle purchase, he wanted to know the colours of the cattle. My colleague said as he started telling him that one was black and white and others were brown etc. The Minister stopped him in mid-sentence and repeated his question. When he resumed where he had left off, he was again abruptly stopped. The Minister instructed them to go and find out what the real colours of the cattle were and arrange another session when they could brief him properly. It was then that my colleague remembered that the colours of the cattle amongst the Zulu had/have

little reference to colour in the literal sense but are an abstract construct and interpretation drawn from the physical attributes of the cattle and their relation to the people and environment.

My upbringing from primary school age had been very much framed by the religious teachings of the Methodist Church. Traditional healing had only been practised in my traditional Hlatikhulu homestead before I attended school by my great grandmother who was a revered traditional healer of the area. 2005 was a life changing period for me as I had to answer the call of the ancestors to become a sangoma (diviner). I would plead with my ancestors in ancestral prayers to be directed to where my initiation would take place. It took place in an area called eZidonini in Mpembeni, Hlabisa. Mpembeni is the area where the research for this study was conducted. I had met gogo Mtshali, my spiritual father (though female), while I worked as an education officer for the Natal Parks Board and was involved in parks-community interactions. Gogo Mtshali was considered to be very wealthy because of the large number of livestock she and her husband owned. Daily talk at her homestead mostly centred on cattle and their health. While I lived with them, every time I went to the nearest town of Matubatuba, I was requested to purchase medicine for the cattle.

Through a trance dance and direction from my spirit, it was unveiled to gogo Mtshali that my spirit medium was a relative of my maternal grandfather. Apparently my grandfather had refused to accept the call of the spirit while he lived and now it was handed down to me to accept. To appease the ancestors an inzima, which is a pitch black Nguni bull with no spots (literal translation of inzima is 'heavy'), was to be slaughtered at my mother's home, where I was to fetch my spear of initiation, a necessary weapon for conquering everything that stood in my way, in the spiritual world as part of the rituals. I was accompanied by the healers and diviners from gogo Mtshali's homestead and vicinity to my mother's home in Dannhauser at Mbabane. 'Impepho' (helichrysum is the scientific name for this herb which is burnt in prayer to communicate with the ancestors) was burnt and the bull had to inhale its smoke as well as sniff a mixture of roasted and ground aloe and tobacco which made it sneeze while chants asking the ancestors to accept the offering were sung. While bellowing, the bull was tied to a tree and pierced with a sharp spear. Its jugular vein was cut open with a sharp knife. As it fell, a container was placed under its neck to gather the blood that gushed out. It was skinned and chopped into sizeable chunks with an axe for cooking and barbecuing. A bracelet was made from the bull's skin and another one from the fat that surrounded the gall bladder. These I had to wear. I was made to drink some of the contents of the gall sac. The rest of the gall was smeared on my body especially around my feet. The empty gall sac was blown and attached to my

hair keeping company with the two chicken and goat gall sacs that were already fastened there. When the cow's stomach was emptied, some of the contents from its intestines were rubbed on to me. A goat was also slaughtered and the wet skin was made into a bib that I had to wear there and then. I remember being almost eaten alive by the ticks from the goat's skin. It was not easy to get used to the smell of the skin as it dried and stiffened while I wore it for days. All this was accompanied by drum beats and trance dancing. My mother had brewed umqombothi, the Zulu traditional beer, to appease the ancestors. Men were served their meat in one very large wooden bowl and so were the women. My party of healers and diviners ate alone. Learner diviners were forbidden to eat the blood stew that had been freshly prepared. This we could only eat once we had graduated. The rest of the grassy content from the bull's stomach and the sorghum remains that had been sifted out of the beer were flung around the homestead to alert the ancestors through the smell to come home and join in the feasting and festivity. Bones of the meat that had been eaten were collected and burnt.

Many ceremonies took place before my healer party accompanied me home. These included a visit to the nearest waterfall in Hlabisa. We were at the waterfall on the coldest day of July in the earliest hours of the morning and I had to stand under the fountain while the water fell on my head. This was followed by the ceremony of eating the power of spirituality. After these rituals, a party that was to accompany me to my personal homestead was assembled. I arrived at my home to find that the cow for the big ceremony had already been purchased and was hidden in the forest. In the early morning when everybody had been assembled I had to run out of the hut and lead my eldest brother to where it was hidden. My success at finding it was celebrated with the sound of drums and singing. I had to also wear the gall sac of this cow. The meat was apportioned in the same manner as at my mother's home. The skin of this cow was dried at the instruction of gogo Mtshali and used for making my spiritual trance dance drum. It was after this ceremony that I was allowed to eat sour milk and blood stew. I was left with my "starter kit" for practising as a diviner, which was my divining bag with bones as well as a small basket of medicine. Some of the gall was emptied into a bottle and I was told that I was to rub it on my forehead in times of difficulty.

I communicated with my spiritual father after she had left me at my homestead on settling my tuition fee. I was told to transfer money which was enough for her to purchase a cow which would form part of her herd of cattle and would be referred to as Mntungwa's cow (this was my spiritual

name – and part of the praise name of my mother's surname, as my spirit was from my maternal family).

I returned to my spiritual home eZidonini three times after my home arrival ceremony. The second time was when one of gogo Mtshali's initiates was graduating. He was known to specialise in healing livestock and divining their sicknesses. On my visit in 2013, I found that one of gogo Mtshali's eldest grandsons who was five years then and ten years old now (2018) was responsible for herding the cattle and carrying out other cattle related duties with his mother, aunts and grandmother's supervision. I was very impressed with his knowledge of home cattle management. When one of the cows went missing, while I was there, he confidently told me not to worry as that cow had smelled the rain and he knew where it went. I remembered the lashings Tsotsi had received for the loss of a cow and prayed he knew where to find it. He told me that he always knows where cattle head for by reading the sky and mapping where rain had fallen. When the cattle were herded back to the kraal the next evening, the missing cow was amongst them. I was shocked that a boy of his age understood so much about cattle. I remember explaining to gogo Mtshali why my knowledge on cattle was weak and that one has to be brought up with cattle, know their ways and learn from elders how to manage them well. This would be the start of my research interest with cattle.

1. INTRODUCTION OF SELF AND INTEREST

The disembodied and unlocated neutrality and objectivity of the ego-politics of knowledge is a Western myth. (Grosfoguel, 2011, p. 5)

In 1986 I completed my junior degree with majors in English Language, English Literature and History which I did concurrently with a diploma in Education. This degree has greatly influenced my past and current writing projects and the choice of theoretical lenses to explore my subjects. In this case, my choice was to use Postcolonial theory. Young (2011, p. 172) noted that “Postcolonial Studies originated in Literature and comparative Literature Departments”. My junior degree was followed up five years later with a master’s in Leisure Studies and in 1999, a master’s in Environmental Education from a unit which has grown into the now fully-fledged Environmental Learning Research Centre here at Rhodes University where I am currently registered for my PhD study. The Environmental Education master’s degree was completed while working for the Natal Parks Board and for my thesis project I explored the role of indigenous knowledge in environmental education processes (Masuku, 1999). The areas around the Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Park in northern KwaZulu-Natal were managed by the Natal Parks Board and fell within my area of formal work. Mpembeni, a neighbour of this park, is my research context and site for the current study. Since 1999, when I completed my master’s thesis, Environmental Education as a discipline has, like an octopus, grown to be multi-pronged to better reach and respond to the complexity of the escalating global environmental crisis in its sharpened resolve to participate in the global, national and local issues and debates of the sector.

Between 1999 and 2015 I worked in different government departments as an administrator labouring, amongst other things, to detangle the imposed and sometimes necessary dichotomy between nature and culture. This was despite being highly cognisant of the complex continuous knotting of the environmental crisis alongside escalating knowledge bankruptcies of policy makers and implementers. Could it be considered a deliberate overlook of the crisis despite increasing delivery protests by the populace? (Some of these protests have been reported by Ntsala & Malatji and 2016; Nleya, 2011). This continued alongside an increase in corruption and a materialistic culture of accumulating acquisitions by the ones entrusted to guard constitutionally enshrined rights (Pauw, 2017). Increasing poverty levels and unemployment dared me to explore solutions in

educational processes in my work contexts as a response, such as securing funding for the rehabilitation of the old Gaol in Grahamstown and initiating the South African Heritage Resource Training course for practitioners in the heritage sector (2012).

In 2015, I elected to study towards a PhD degree at Rhodes University, the rotisserie of my study within which I have been able to assemble my thoughts in concert with literature and amass the thoughts and experiences of colleagues which has enabled me to venture into the field to explore sociocultural intergenerational learning in Mpembeni, a communal area within the Hlabisa Municipality in the north of KwaZulu-Natal, which is also my spiritual home.

1.1 THE INTENT OF THE STUDY

This study may be considered as a blend of a personal narrative with counter traditional narrative intent because it departs from the academic norm and is mostly written in my own voice to be consistent with the postcolonial interest of my study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Smith, 1999, 2005). I use a postcolonial lens to explore the role of sociocultural intergenerational learning processes in sculpting the way boys and girls aged six to ten years, who reside in rural Mpembeni, learn to care for cattle, as a form of cultural expression. My departure point when I collected data was from a position that such a learning relationship is not only a right and a process of cultural expression, but that it is also very important in their socio-ecological becoming. This was captured in the words of an elder as “cattle are us, and we are nothing without them”. I explored the potential for potential hybrid third spaces that foster this becoming within the bubbling meeting nodes of the sociocultural context of school and home/pasture-based settings of learning. As an intergenerational learner (Corcoran & Hollingshead 2014), I realised the importance of tracking my own learning and growth while in the field, most particularly with regard to cattle, a subject about which I know very little.

The study is postcolonial in orientation (Said, 1977; Spivak, 1988; Bhabha, 1988; Gandhi, 1998 and proponents of the decolonial turn – see Chapters 2 and 3) and relates my understanding of what, how, why and to what teaching and learning about cattle evolves to inform and shape current practices among 6-10 year-olds. The interrelated eventualities that compost the dynamism of culture in these contexts, spaces and places will unfold in the chapters to follow. How the

landscape, its environmental changes and challenges and their transformation of cattle behaviour and related human relations, alters the diverse sociocultural learning processes, while concomitantly oiling and keeping the wheels of culture in motion, will also be related.

Techniques aligned to critical ethnography as a reflexive method that is neither atheoretical nor neutral (see Boswell, 2006; Tomaselli, Dyll & Francis, 2008; Adams & Holman Jones, 2008) will be elaborated upon in more detail in the chapter that follows this one. The main technique, amongst others employed, is the use of a 'critical personal narrative' which is considered by Denzin and Lincoln (2008, p. 13) to be "a central genre of contemporary decolonizing writing". I underlaboured the interview techniques of community members of ages above 10 years to the oldest elders, as well as my observation of them and their environments with postcolonial theory. This was inclusive of the 6-10 year-olds that are the focus of the study. I reviewed the most recent South African Curriculum Statements (Department of Basic Education [DBE], 2011a, b, c, d, e, f, 2012) and related texts on the representations of cattle. I sought views from teachers on axes of tension, silences and presences on anything relating to cattle in such texts as well and what teachers make of the rich interactions with the people of Mpembeni, whose children they teach. I have used Sociocultural theory (Spannring, 2008, Belay, 2012) to submerge everyday cognition and situated learning within this community of practice that expresses most aspects of its culture through cattle. I further used Postcolonial theory (Said, 1977; Spivak, 1988; Bhabha, 1988; Gandhi, 1998 and proponents of the decolonial turn) to unseat/expose current forms of epistemological colonialities evident in the case study. My role as a researcher in the company of others, was to explore some of the variedly debated past, existing and potential strategies that build and enable the growth of hybrid third spaces (Bhabha, 1994; Mignolo, 1995, 2000, 2005; Meredith, 1998) of cultural expression in a changing world. The hybrid third space may for this study be considered as the area of decussion between the sociocultural based learning processes at home/pasture and school and agriculture broadly.

1.2 MY STYLE OF WRITING

The first necessity for the colonial writer – so runs the conventional wisdom – is to start writing of what he knows. (Dennis Lee in Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1995, p. 400)

From the first flicker of thought seeding ideas to pursue this study, to the research proposal development phase, I was determined to carry through my passion for writing in an enjoyable and accessible manner. I wanted the story I was determined to tell to bubble out from the fountain of my life context, community and experience, as well as my research field rather than elect published texts as the main reflexive voice that I constantly referenced to exhibit academic rigour, as echoed in Madison (2008), Denzin and Lincoln (2008), Smith (1999, 2005), Tomaselli, Dyll and Francis (2008), Adams and Hollman Jones (2008). From colonial times, the African oral story has been committed to paper, subjected to historical appropriation, locked into references and colonial languages which sifted out and silenced untranslatable wisdom and potential African stories, some of which resided in the public domain (Ramsarup, 2016; Lotz-Sisitka, 2016). To substantiate my argument, Foucault (1984, p. 101) maintained that “the coming into being of the notion of ‘author’ constitutes the privileged moment of *individualization* in the history of ideas, knowledges, literature, philosophy and the sciences”. A narrator may tell a story which may have, through the centuries, undergone many modifications from its original version. The moment the story is appropriated from community ownership and gets locked into the coffers of copyright that authorship dictates, it loses its dynamism with associated characteristics of mythical or legendary status and “runs the risk of re-codification, recolonisation” (Foucault, 1984, p. 101). It has been generally maintained that the one grand story was generated from historical facts, which historical facts, according to Gough (2008, p. 337) “*produce* events which are meaningful within their traditions of social relationships and organisations”. In my view, the sources and constructions of such stories (Lalu, 2009) are not only problematic and should be challenged, but have become objects of contestations, as echoed in Appiah (1992), Mbembe (2001), Mamdani (1996), Mudimbe (1988) and others.

The call for centring indigenous ways of knowing and experiences in the late 1990s compelled me to revisit and add voice to stories which had been written by a colleague that had been passed down from generation to generation and have continued to be embedded in people’s current and lived experiences. These were published at Share-Net (1997) free from copyright restrictions and were open to modifications. The thesis you are currently reading, which has been authored in my name, I must acknowledge, is an assemblage of many aspects sourced in the field which have undergone individualisation through the experiences I have brought to it, the angles and perspectives I have looked at them from and the questions I have used to interrogate the responses according to my research curiosity. It is a privileged moment of individualisation as seen by Foucault.



Figure 1.2: The 'Pillar Portrait' – the Bronte sisters by their brother Branwell Bronte (Sellars, 2011)

This Bronte painting and the question posed by Foucault's 1969 lecture "What is an author?" (in Foucault, 1984) compelled me to reflect on my role, the currency it carried and the expectations of the academy in how I should present the complexity of my research adventures with accessible rigour. Foucault (1984) asserted that writing at times takes the form of killing the storyteller. He is opposed to this killing and points out that writers write "not to manifest or exalt the act of writing, nor is it to pin a subject within language: it is rather a question of creating a space into which the writing subject constantly disappears" (1984, p. 102). I am determined to be within the story as the story writer like Branwell Bronte in the Bronte painting. Even though sometimes I would be lurking in the shadows or background, I intend to make explicit my mental struggles with the subject, my incoherencies as well as share illuminatory thoughts and ideas that I encountered in my past and in the course of my study. I want to be an accountable writer who can own up to the ideas I intend to immortalise in pen and paper. The 'I' in my writing is an affirmation of the fact that I held pen to paper. I am not only writing into paper thoughts of self and others, I am also writing away certain ways of thinking that identify me mainly as a holder of some of my culture's oral history, particularly because as Denzin and Lincoln said "the struggle of colonized indigenous peoples to tell their own stories is at stake" (2008, p. 13).

I am stripping certain ways of thinking that have been immortalised by emerging out of the subaltern status. On reflections in a co-written paper about their studies, Lotz-Sisitka and Burt (2002, p. 138) claimed that “the self is consistently present, rather than hidden...” in the texts of their thesis reports, as Branwell, the brother and painter of the painting of the Bronte girls is seen in faded presence in the background of his sisters, giving prominence to his subjects, yet present. Grosfoguel (2011, p. 3) said that we are caught within the Western canon, in this instance the canon that dictates to the academic administration and gears it for “reproducing within its domain of practice and thought”. By so doing, we end up reproducing a form of coloniality of power/knowledge which speaks for us; hence, “the subject that speaks is always hidden, concealed, erased from the analysis” (Grosfoguel 2011, p. 4), but not in this case.

It feels very natural that storytelling in varied ways is one of the main mediums for sharing my research project in this thesis. There are four reasons for that. Firstly, it is one of the most capturing mediums of teaching. Secondly, it fires the imagination and is creative. Thirdly, given an opportunity, anyone can tell a story. The last reason is that African forefathers of our literature Fuze (1979) and Mutwa (1988) have encouraged us to continue the tradition of storytelling. Mutwa (1988), in his book entitled *Indaba, My children* (*indaba* meaning ‘story’), captures the intergenerational bond that entwined/entwines children to their elders within the historical African tradition that is slowly dying. An extract from his poem entitled, *This I choose* in stanzas 6 and 12, (1988, pp. 3-4) follows:

There I shall sit before Ubabamkulu
Who shall relate to me the Tales of Yore.
There I shall kneel before the old Gegulu
And hear legends of Those-that-lived-Before.

Here, in the stories still told by the old,
I feel the sound and heartbeat of my race,
Which I cannot, in tales by strangers told –
For these, within my heart I have no place!

Noel Gough (as quoted in Lotz-Sisitka, Fien & Ketlhoilwe, 2013, p. 198) reminded us how, “curriculum is the stories we choose to tell our children, highlighting the powerful nature of the

narratives that are selected for representation and as curriculum and in their globalised form how such narratives turn to exclude or turn local knowledge forms into abjection and exclusion". This has helped to scaffold my decision to centre the role of story in learning,

In the unfolding thesis, I have also elected to create two stories that sit parallel to each other. Every chapter will begin with a story written in a style that does not succumb to the syntax of conventional academic writing. This italicised story will present my story within the research stories – flashbacks, biases etc. will have a number of functions. This will be followed by another story that more or else subscribes to conventional academic writing in normal font. The italicised texts function as texts for reflexivity. They also liberate and centre acts and experiences that resonate with my research question that may be lying beneath age-old layers of memory, community interactions or any episode that jumps up for attention. Cook-Lynn (in Denzin & Lincoln, 2008) claimed that our focus on such stories should not be to verify the truthfulness of them; they should rather be seen as an act of "respectfully remembering and honouring the past, not factual truthfulness". From a source unknown, he/she says this of his work:

In this text I do not identify myself in any sense as an official historian, but as a story-teller. The distinction may or may not be fine, but the stories that we tell offer a certain illumination not available to other forms of discourse. One of their virtues is their self-limited authority. They may interlace theories with lives, and take pride in the potential for illumination, but explanation is not really their role ... In a very real sense we live in fictions, and we and our projects are constructed by fictions – or language or ideology.

It also worth considering an autoethnography by Grossi (2006) which is a chronicle of her life and practice as a teacher. She considered her work as instrumental in letting her arrive at a deeper understanding of herself and her practice, which is teaching. My work is a mix of autoethnography and conventional academic writing differentiated by the choice of fonts. The italicised text, a mix of autoethnography, has been unshackled from conventional references. It is a way of presenting the multiple layers of the story I tell. The italicised story preceding the academic story has also been written in an accessible manner so that members of the community whose stories, lives, spaces, I have written about can read it. Those interviewed also hardly hear the story of the researcher, which makes many a research report a documentation of field monologues. Gough (2001, p. 110) made us aware that "the particular ways in which we give meaning to ourselves, others and the

world may be formulated through discourses of which we are largely unaware or which are taken for granted”, a point that is clearly articulated by Lotz-Sisitka and Burt (2002) in their chosen styles of writing.

I found Lather and Smithies’ ethnography, *Troubling the Angels: Women Living with HIV/AIDS* (1997) quite seductive in its narrative, style, empathy and rigour as a research project. At the time of their work, Lather was an educationist and women’s studies professor and Smithies, a feminist psychotherapist. The two authors document the first-hand stories of women suffering and living with HIV/AIDS. The roles of the authors are very difficult in a subject that has been overtly stigmatised. Their side of the story is informed by research that was current at that time from the medical field which was freed of medical jargon. This is presented alongside the stories of the women who they interviewed that were suffering from the pandemic. The placing of the stories side by side, creates an informative multi-storied conversation and succeeds in creating intertextuality. Its success reminds me of Chimamanda Ngozi’s cautionary lecture on *The danger of a single story* (2009). Gough’s (2008, p. 337) reference to personal facts as “testimonies to experience” gives me the words to describe how the different stories talk to each other. Lather and Smithies ethically and carefully brought to the fore the multilayered stories of AIDS. I have found their style of writing about so difficult a subject to be involved, deep, painful and careful. The most significant of all is that it makes the subject accessible and real, because the voices of the women are real. (See also antifoundational discourse theory in Lather, 1993, p. 676.)

Lotz-Sisitka and Burt’s (2002) reflections on “institutional and epistemological issues associated with writing and social science” subdued my anxieties on whether my style of writing would be accepted in the academy and brought memories of my readings of Robert Frost’s (1874 -1963), *The Road Not Taken*. I pulled out my well-thumbed copy of *The Norton Anthology of Poetry - Third Edition* (1983) and read the poem again. The last stanza that resonated with me most:

I shall be telling this with a sigh
Somewhere ages and ages hence:
Two roads diverged in a wood, and I –
I took the one less traveled by,
And that has made all the difference.

I knew then that I was indeed on a Frost road and I was pleased because there is potential for adventure on less travelled roads. The libraries the world over are full of conventionally written theses which have become the norm. The style I have chosen was/is equally less travelled. To “enable the textual conventions of my research project to reflect its socially constructed and partial nature, I chose to write in more narrative ways, rather than choosing the expository and clinical genre of traditional report writing”, wrote Lotz-Sisitka (2002, p. 138), in words that capture my intent. “Although this reflexive approach was congruent with the epistemology, one examiner pointed out the dangers of participants getting lost in the complexities of their own voice”, wrote Burt (Lotz-Sisitka & Burt, 2002, p. 139). I am grateful for her cautionary note which I have tried to bear in mind throughout my research and writing. Chinua Achebe in *Things Fall Apart* (2001) related the story of pre-colonial Nigeria in a non-romanticist and non-glorifying tone. He frowned on those cultural practices that he considered cruel such as sacrificing twins and celebrated those that instilled pride amongst Nigerians such as the wealth of sharing and respect for the land. I have elected to carefully, ethically and sensitively negotiate the weaving in of my voice and writing as Achebe does in his book.

1.2.1 Decolonising texts

On reading some of my initial drafts, a friend, Soul Shava, was persistent in his advice that I decolonise the text not only in my use of language but in terms of some of the conventional use of words, which I tried. Mignolo (2003, p. 137) said that “when we, the *anthropoi*, write in modern, Western imperial languages (Spanish, English, French, German, Portuguese or Italian), we write with our bodies on the border”. For instance, there is a tendency to give an English explanation of a word that gets bracketed in its indigenous form. I have decided to free the Zulu and Siswati words from the brackets that we tend to discipline them into. I use the word in its indigenous form and bracket the English explanation. This is not a contemptuous act but a way of working away the shyness we have with using our own language within so-called English written scientific texts when other words in their Latin, German and or French form are considered acceptable. Mignolo, who also challenges scholars of the South to work away from the colonial conventions (2013, p. 137), asserted that “we the *anthropoi*, who dwell and think in the borders with decolonial awareness, are already on the way to delinking, you need to be epistemically disobedient”. Secondly, I considered the use of ‘et al.’ to be problematic and my refusal to continue this tradition, is an act of absencing the absences that et al. does. ‘Et alling’ contributes to othering of the other voices and authors

within a text and plays a significant role in subalternising them. I will therefore not use 'et al.' except where it exists in a citation that I have used.

1.3 THE LAYOUT OF THE THESIS

The thesis has been arranged in the following manner:

Chapter One: Situating the Study

This chapter introduced my relationship with cattle from the time I was young, illuminating the context, time and spaces of my relationship in the company of others. I also elaborate on the style, tone and the language the thesis is written in and make justifications for these choices. I elucidate my role which places me at the heart of the action and declare that I am not a neutral narrator. Another function for this chapter is to briefly introduce the research question and the aspects that inform it.

Chapter Two: An overview of the research process

The function of this chapter is to give a more comprehensive description of the research question, aim and objectives. I also give an overview of the research process, with descriptions of the research site, research techniques, methods and the entire research process. The role of this chapter is to orientate the reader into the theoretical and methodological underpinnings as well as the sensitising constructs that are critical in the study.

Chapter Three: Postcolonial theory

The main purpose of this chapter is to explain what postcolonial theory is and the implications of such a theory in an African context and more specifically, in the site of my study. It argues and makes a case for the development of thought by African scholars critical to advance Africa's educational processes rather than aid mimicry and importation of theories of little congruence to the African context.

Chapter Four: Sociocultural intergenerational learning

The educational theory that functions as the fulcrum of this study is sociocultural theory. This theory, as understood in Vygotskian thought, which dates as far back as the 1920s and its view that

human development is inseparable from an individual's social, cultural and historical contexts, is outlined. Social constructs related to the theory such as the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD), the More Knowledgeable Other (MKO) and processes of learning that display the integrated dynamic processes of development and learning are brought to the fore. This is done through exploration of research work which displays sociocultural intergenerational learning by scholars displaying learning as connection and its rootedness in human interactions. The chapter also highlights the types of learning that happen in home environments and in untransformed formal education settings.

Chapter Five: Research findings on children's intergenerational learning experiences

The whole cycle of learning that happens at a community level in relation to cattle and how 6-10 year-olds are part of those learning processes as a form of cultural expression in home/pasture school contexts is related in this chapter. There are factors that influence and shape the home/pasture-based learning such as beliefs, values, relationships and climate change issues like drought. The views of those who have played a critical role in teaching the young ones what they have learnt are also shared here. These are the views of the youth and community elders.

Chapter Six: Research Findings on learning processes from schools and perspectives from community members, livestock inspectors and a local NGO on learning at school

The role of this chapter is to explore the learning processes that take place at school and the impact that school processes may have on learning that takes place in the home/pasture context. Curriculum statements of electives in Agriculture are further scrutinised to understand their linkages with community learning related to the subject. The views of teachers based on interview accounts are shared.

Chapter Seven: A concluding chapter with recommendations – Open-ended conclusions

This last chapter gives a broad overview of the study based on commentary from texts on findings. Recommendations, distilled from the findings of the study and related texts, are made.

CHAPTER 2: THE RESEARCH CONTEXT AND THEORETICAL LENSES



Figure 2.1: Newly born calves at Karioga Farm (Photo: H. Lotz-Sisitka, 2017)

We and the cows are all the same; we drink the same milk.
(Ugandan proverb – Stewart, 2004)

It was so unbearably hot on Monday that a crocodile could have jumped out of its pond to escape suffering a heat stroke, while we waited for the Chief's arrival. The sweat streaming down my face was a mixture of the heat and anxiety I had felt for days leading to this very important meeting. Even though my research proposal had been approved by the University, it was no guarantee that the Chief would give me a go-ahead to do the research I had proposed to do in his area. I had gone to pains to exhibit cultural sensitivity, grounded-ness and familiarity of context in my dress choice and demeanour, trying not to draw attention to myself as an individual. I had my tape recorder and writing pad with me. On arrival and assessing the mood, I realised it was not the kind of context in which I could even dare ask to record the Chief's response and those of the assembly of men that had converged to be his additional ears. He might have become too suspicious of my intent, for municipal electioneering talk had already started in the area and journalists were combing the country for news. We were told to be at the ready as we could be called in any time. We would be the first to see him despite our late arrival, which could mean that our request was of minor importance and could be dealt with quickly. It could also mean that the cultural values of prioritising a guest ahead of the usual and everyday topics of discussion took precedence.

The chief of Mpembeni was a man with a commanding presence. He sat behind a huge desk. The wall behind him was plastered with newspaper cuttings of himself as a middle-aged man. Featured was his role in developmental issues with members of his community and employees of the neighbouring Hluhluwe-Imfolozi Game Reserve. Gogo Mtshali, my hostess in her homestead where I lived and her daughter Senamile, his Council and I sat with our eyes cast down as a display of our humbleness. You don't look elders in the eye, for to this day, in many rural areas, it is still considered as confrontational, bold and a trait of disrespect. I felt the way I had felt as a child asking my parents to replace my uniform which had been torn apart by barbed wire. I had been running away from a dog that was set on us while trying to steal mangoes from our neighbour's tree. I felt, young, humbled and very ordinary when he spoke. It was the right way to feel. A distracting, annoying and persistent research voice kept on whispering a message to my cochlear nerve calling for action – observation, observation, ask for permission to record, request for permission to record. To shut it off, I held my pen firmly and scribbled away on my notepad. After the formalities and an introduction by gogo Mtshali, he candidly asked what my business in his area really was. I tried to explain in the most accessible way I could in isiZulu. His response was friendly without detracting from his status, while he related his life with cattle and the current effects of the drought on people and livestock, with particular attention to cattle. I knew that my composure and gogo Mtshali's presence had paid off when he said at the end, "It was good you came to see me first. I would have been upset to hear that there is a young woman who thinks too much of herself and goes around asking people questions about their cattle, collecting people and talking to them in groups. You have the permission you need, my child. You must talk to my headman first though". It was indeed electioneering time. Best I was cautious.

That same week on a Sunday, Senamile and myself sat under a huge umganu, the marula tree, at the headman's homestead on a grass mat looking up at the headman and three other men perched on chairs in front of us. These were his son, his little father (a younger brother of his father) and a visitor unknown in the area, according to Senamile. After a few minutes of conveying the Chiefs' greetings and explaining the purpose of our visit, he said kindly, "You are welcome my daughter, we grant you the permission you seek. You must continue doing research. The people of Mpembeni enjoy research and are always willing to answer questions." The headman further advised that I speak with the dipping tank masters of Songoyane, Sovana and Mpembeni. Not to confuse you, all these dipping tanks are in Mpembeni but only one of them is named after the area. The Sovana

dipping tank under Mr Mgabhi was just a stone's throw away and could be seen from the flat gogo Mtshali accommodated me in, while the one called Mpembeni under Mr Mbuyisa was a mere ten kilometres from eZidonini where I stayed. Considering that the Sangoyana dipping tank was difficult to access and much further away, I dropped it from my research sample. I could not however overlook conversing with its dipping tank master, Mr. Masuku, with whom I share a surname. According to tradition, we are relatives and have a common ancestor and he would have been offended to hear that he had been overlooked by his fellow clanswoman.

The people of Mpembeni did not only answer questions but asked me questions and many difficult questions. The reason might have been the daily intensity of the sun which many said was a curse, for it never set without the death of a cow. In isiZulu we say "lishona nezindaba zayo" (by the time the sun sets, new things would have happened). Even 78 year-old Demezana Ntombela said he had never experienced this kind of drought in his entire life. "After you have conducted your research, my daughter and things remain the same here ... what will happen to us parents of children?", one man at the Mpembeni dipping tank asked. I was not mentally prepared for many of these complex questions but took comfort that Mandla Manqele, the headman's son, had said to me, "We the Zulu people have a saying which goes: Life grooms its own warrior. You don't tell a person to get out of a comfort zone and go and become an expert about life. You see, life grooms its own warrior. By keeping and looking after cattle, warriors are groomed for life. You have not looked after cattle."

It was a few weeks after the permissions had been granted that I sat in Mbuyisa's lounge, the community-nominated dipping master of the Mpembeni dipping tank. A thought that I had been in a lush and green Hlabisa's Mpembeni in mid-January 2015 on my way to Rhodes University just flashed by. I had returned to my research site in mid-April 2016 with romantic notions of the beauty of the land and its people. To my utter shock, the people, the land and the cattle had been transformed far beyond my limited understanding of the place. In many ways it was a new site. All that the people mainly talked about, in hope, was rain. One man said that they had grown up being told that hope does not kill, but with hope for rain they had seen only the sun and experienced death and poverty. Hope for rain had killed the very essence of their lives – cattle.

Mbuyisa, who we were getting ready to interview, asked what cold drink Senamile and myself would prefer. He then sent his son to buy us two litres of icy cold Stony Ginger Beer from a nearby shop while we set up our audio research equipment. At the conclusion of what turned out to be a

very informative conversation, we said our good-byes. When we got into the car and were about to drive off, Senamile my research assistant reminded me that we had forgotten to take our leftover cold drink. It was a reminder; for in her book, I should realise that. I was puzzled. It had been bought especially for us, she said, and it was expected that we take it with. I could not dare go back and fetch it and discouraged her from fetching it out of embarrassment – for in my personal current world, it would have been impolite. I, not Mbuyisa, should have bought the cold drink to be consumed in the course of the interview, one voice said. The other voice, the voice of the child of days gone in me that had a rural upbringing reminded me that the host always displays his generosity to his guest and shares whatever he has, no matter how little it is because isisu somhambi asingakanani, singangenso yenyoni (the stomach of a traveller is not much in size but the size of the gizzard of a bird), so goes a Nguni saying. To bring food to the home of your host and serve it to him, insults his generosity.

From this incident, I knew that I would hear many voices and that some of them would be in my head and audible only to me. The human voices and the voices in my head would be contradictory at times and I would have to decide what was best to do if the situation called for action. I had no reason to suspect that there would be faceless voices in the dark whose communication I would have to decode and understand. But I heard one such voice one night. I was walking out of my flat when I heard a moo from one of the cows in the kraal. My flat was right above the kraal, you see. It mooed repeatedly as I to-ed and fro-ed from gogo Mtshali's house past the kraal with my lit torch. I thought, "Aha! Cows acknowledge one's presence and are disturbed by the mild light from one's torch". What a research-worthy find!

In the morning Bandlalenkosi, gogo Mtshali's seven year-old grandson announced that Ntombiyebhayi, gogo's sand-coloured cow had gotten her horns tangled in the kraal logs and had to be freed. Because of her drought weakened body, she did not have the strength to get up after she had been untangled. She must have been standing in that strenuous position all night. With tears streaming down her eyes and a trembling voice, gogo Mtshali sent for men from the neighbouring homesteads to finish her off. Senamile said that Ntombiyebhayi had been the milk river of the homestead and doubted there would ever be another one like her. I felt sad. I realised then that she had been mooing a call for her rescue to me. Cows don't just moo at night. This was a special moo. Had I understood this voice, I would have rescued her. I had failed her. From then on I was challenged to listen beyond the ordinary and to remember that there are other ways of knowing. I

had to bring on board non-conventional senses. The so-called sixth senses where superstition resides. It was clear that I knew very little about cattle and that there would be lots of learning to do and that by the time I completed my study, I would be a very different person and researcher.

The Mpembeni I was researching may be better known by going beyond the general attributes that sit in the many annual municipal strategic plans and business reports. As important as they are, they should be read alongside the stories that people tell about themselves, their land and cattle and learning. You have to be in a particular frame of mind and embrace a certain way of thinking which I will carefully guide you through in the next pages of this chapter, so you may understand my insights. Otherwise you may miss out on the dynamic complexity that Mpembeni is. You might also see beyond what I see. Which would be great, for many tales have not been told yet. Like many places you might have seen, lived in and experienced before, Mpembeni is not only layered and complex, but is as involved as a marble cake.

I hope your stick is still in place, for I invited you at the beginning of the story to pin it into your hair. I can't be held accountable if little horns are pushing through your skull like seedlings on the soil's surface.

2. AN ORIENTATION

This chapter is for orienting the reader to the sensitising constructs as well as the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of this research adventure. My research home and relations, a short recap of the triggers that compelled and enthused me to pursue this study and my broad research site will be the first to be introduced. This will be followed by the methods engaged and fleeting detail of the theoretical and philosophical frames that informed the research. More details will be given to a discussion on postcolonial theory in Chapter 3 and sociocultural theory and intergenerational learning in Chapter 4.

2.1 HOW I RELATE TO THE RESEARCH SITE AND ITS PEOPLE

Mpembeni is the area where Mrs. Mtshali who is referred throughout the study as *gogo* Mtshali resides. *Gogo* is a Zulu title that is used by grandchildren when they address their grandmothers. A grandfather is *mkhulu*. *Gogo* is also used to address a female person who is a *sangoma* (a sangoma is someone with a spiritual presence, who possesses divine powers and can read into the future). People of such a standing are entrusted with the tools and insights to train and initiate *amathwasa* (those with a spiritual presence) to become izangoma. Such elders are henceforth considered as important transmitters of indigenous knowledge (see Odora Hoopers 2001a, 2001b, 2002). Those they train become their children and address them as *gogo*. I am one of *gogo* Mtshali's spiritual daughters and known as such in Mpembeni. *Gogo* Mtshali is a livestock owning widow and a respected community elder of good standing with the chief of the area, Chief Hlabisa. I have lived in and out of Mpembeni at the Mtshali's at different intervals and am not entirely a stranger in the area. From February to April 2016, I resided at the Mtshali's, while I was doing this, my first critical ethnographic study. SiSwati is my first language, isiZulu, my second language and English, my third language. My written and spoken isiZulu is quite good. The interviews were primarily conducted by me in isiZulu with the support of *Gogo* Mtshali's daughter, Senamile, who was my research assistant. Senamile transcribed them and I translated them into English. *Gogo* Mtshali insisted that her real name be used in the study so that the insights she shared do not disappear into obscurity but are acknowledged back to her. Senamile has also indicated that she wants to be able to find her name when she does an internet search. Most respondents in this study have insisted that their real names be used as well. Even though this sits uncomfortably with me when the academy prescribes confidentiality of respondents, I have to be mindful and sensitive to navigate the academy and field expectations. I have made a decision to conceal their names in situations that would discomfort, shame and disrespect as well as alienate them from the community as per the ethical academy prescripts that regulate my research code of conduct. The issue of using or not using names is very important and warrants a broader discussion which unfortunately I cannot have here. It talks to the issue of silencing and unsilencing, appropriation as well as ownership and authorship, critical issues in deliberating issues concerned with indigenous knowledge and knowing.

The study I am relating actually emerged from my curiosity and interest in the complex understanding about cattle that *gogo* Mtshali's five year-old grandson exhibited when I visited her

homestead in Mpembeni in 2013. This curiosity grew into an aspiration to learn how such knowledge had been acquired at that age. I was taken aback in December 2014 when I learnt that he had failed Grade 1 and was keen to further unravel how that had come about through a professional investigation process. The question ‘What is it in the curriculum and in schooling that alienates children who were learning to carry out complex tasks which demand complex and creative solutions failing at school?’ was begging me to answer it.

2.2 THE PHYSICAL RESEARCH CONTEXT

Mpembeni, my case study area, is a home to speakers of isiZulu and covers 10.83 km² of land (see Figure 2.2 that follows). It is hedged between the small town of Hlabisa and a rural area called Nhlwathi and located within the Hlabisa Local Municipality (HLM). It is 15km away from Hlabisa on the eastern side of the R618. The nearest small town, Nongoma, lies 45km on the north-western side of Mpembeni. Hlabisa is located in the northern part of the province of KwaZulu-Natal, within the Mkhanyakude District Municipality, which is made up of uMhlabuyalingana Municipality, Jozini Municipality, Big 5 False Bay Municipality, Hlabisa Local Municipality and Mtubatuba Municipality. Mpembeni is managed by Chief Hlabisa who has an ancestral relationship with the land.



Figure 2.2: The geographical location of Mpembeni within a map of south-eastern Africa with a focus on South Africa



Figure 2.3: The geographical location of Mpembeni within South Africa's KwaZulu-Natal province

As per the conventional definition of poverty and education, HLM is characterised by high levels of poverty and low levels of education. These conventional definitions are challenged by this study as education is not always formal and affluence may not be attributed to financial wealth. The 2011 census (cited in the HLM 2013/14 Integrated Development Plan (IDP) Report) stated that, within a population of 71 925 with 13 184 households, 7 007 people had no schooling, 5 366 had done some primary schooling, 1 531 had completed primary school, 8 589 attended secondary education, 8 543 completed Grade 12 and 990 had some form of higher education (Hlabisa Local Municipality [HLM], 2013). Livestock subsistence farming is considered to be one of the key survival strategies, with the large herds of cattle regarded as a development resource for HLM which is considered a chief supplier of cattle products in the northern KwaZulu-Natal region (HLM, 2013). However, despite this observation, bold strategic plans to grow the industry into a major economy driver are non-existent.

The common livelihood strategies in Mpembeni are mainly livestock farming and to a lesser degree small-scale cultivation. Mpembeni has a population of 1 224 (113.04 per km²) people, 57% of these are females. Household distribution stands at 181 (16.72 per km²) according to the 2011 government census (HLM, 2013). Gogo Mtshali lives in a small section of Mpembeni called

eziDonini. Prior to the 2016 drought she lived with her two daughters and six grandchildren and owned a reasonable sized herd of cattle, goats, chickens, ten geese, three dogs and two cats. The dipping tank of Sovana, which is one of the centres of the communities' cattle care activities, lies at a distance of 400m from her homestead. To understand the relationship between cattle, culture and people, the study was initially going to mainly focus on the areas and people serviced by the Sovana, Mpembeni and Sangoyana dipping tanks and not on the whole of Mpembeni. Considering that the Sangoyana tank was difficult to access and was relatively dry, I was advised to focus on the Sovana and Mpembeni dipping tanks only by the local headman.

2.3 A BRIEF CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE AREA

A Facebook posting in isiZulu dated 19 September 2013 by Indabuko Yakho Community gives a historical account of the origins of the Hlabisa surname and why it is the most dominant surname in the Hlabisa Municipal area. Ngcobo was the original surname of the descendants of the people whose surname is now Hlabisa and they had lived in the vicinity of the Thukela River before Shaka's rule. Nqina is said to have been their ancestral father, who at the death of his father, left the Thukela area with his followers and their cattle and set up a temporary camp above the White Umfolozi River. The main food for Nqina's people was the meat from the cattle they brought while they camped on the riverside hoping to be granted refugee status and potentially become subjects by the Chief of the area. The hosts of the uninvited were curious of the forest dwellers who roasted their meat in a strange way. When asked about their origins, the visitors dismissed the questions by offering the enquirers loads of meat to sweeten them so they could influence the chief positively on their request to be new members of his clan. They were eventually accepted by the chief and came to be known as the generous ones who *hlabisa* (the people who honour you by slaughtering one of their livestock for you). Years and years later after they were completely considered not only as full members but also respected and powerful members of the community, their surname was changed from Ngcobo to Hlabisa and the area they settled in came to be known as Hlabisa as well.

2.4 RESEARCH INTEREST AND PROBLEM STATEMENTS

I have already indicated that my interest in cattle was **first** triggered by the complex knowledge about cattle that gogo Mtshali's five year-old grandson displayed in 2013, who then failed Grade 1 a year later. His failure raised and reinforced in me an aspiration to understand how a child who

could acquire such sophisticated knowledge about cattle could fail the first grade of primary school. When I expressed my dismay at this at the Mtshali's, a visitor there said that the failure was a result of the reluctance by schools to promote and encourage a relationship of cooperation on matters related to knowledge between elders and the young. I considered such reluctances as what potentially stifles the trans-generational impartation of knowledge about/in/for culture, leading me to concur with Ki-Zerbo's view (translated from French by Nyamnjoh in Nyamnjoh, 2012, p. 1) that "when we deprive children of their historical roots, it may depersonalise the people" and Breidlid's (2012, p. 7) statement that children's "potential lack of recognition of their own epistemological and spiritual background impedes the development of their full potential". Ki-Zerbo and Breidlid's views reiterate my earlier point (in Chapter 1) that intergenerational learning about cattle in Mpembeni had its importance in the socio-ecological becoming of the people. Ki-Zerbo and Breidlid's illuminative opinions serve as commentary to the shortcomings of the rarely questioned architectural intent of curriculum designers and their blindness to the area of decussion between the sociocultural-based learning processes at home and broader relations in contexts such as the pasture and school, as potential hybrid third spaces of learning (Bhabha, 1994; Mignolo, 1995, 2000, 2005; Meredith, 1998). According to Nyamnjoh (2012, p. 1), "education in Africa is a victim of a resilient colonial and colonizing epistemology, which takes the form of science as ideology and hegemony ... The outcome is often the devaluation of African creativity, agency and value systems and an internalized sense of inadequacy". Such a view is consistent with that of some African scholars (cf. Mazrui, 2005; Paraskeva, 2011).

These statements display that South Africa currently has in motion a curriculum that illuminates the bonded nature of power and knowledge with its defects as an enabler to 'becoming'. To enable a 'becoming', Neocosmos (cited in Lotz-Sisitka, 2016, p. 335, original emphasis) proposed that "if any teaching should be done it should emphasize *the struggles for an equal and just society and a dignified life* ... one cannot search for emancipatory inspiration in past or present idealised cultures, *but only in the exceeding of culture through the contradictions which it itself engenders*". Lotz-Sisitka (2016 p. 330), in accordance with Paraskeva (2011) further noted that a transit to transformed human activity in education requires an in-depth understanding of the historical specific context as well as learners' aspirations.

For my study, “cattle” lent itself as a subject with potential to function as a springboard to unlock an understanding of the **problem statements** I conceived in my scoping exercise as:

- a) An apparent limited knowledge of the nature of cultural expression about/in/for community contexts and how this shapes intergenerational learning and meaning-making by children;
- b) A pertinent need for hybrid third spaces for learning that better enables children to cross borders from home and community-based intergenerational learning situations into schools.

My problem statements sit alongside an enquiry on South Africa’s curriculum by Breidlid (2012, p. 3) posed as: “What are the values the indigenous pupils meet at home? *and experience?*” (italicised emphasis mine) and “Do they concur with those of the new curricula after 1994?” (see curriculum discussion in Chapter 7).

It is also worth noting that nostalgic views on the past, ambivalence and other characteristics that define the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised are prevalent in school curriculums and are also the subject of postcolonial texts (cf. Woolman, 2001; Rodney, 1983). Such contradictions were in praise of the pre-1994 government by an elderly visitor at the Mtshali’s which he claimed highly valued cattle by providing dipping chemicals and enforcing dipping. He also blamed the same government for enforcing formal education and suffocating the practical transmission of traditional knowledge about caring for livestock. My suspicion going into the study was: most teachers grew up in homes where cattle were reared and this was proven true. I was interested to unearth their stances in relation to cattle herding tasks and caring for cattle vis-a-vis expectations of learners at school. I used ethnomethods (discussed later in this chapter) through sociocultural theory as an aide to surface the processes at play within community relations and at schools. These oppositional contexts of learning sites (home/pasture and school) sit within broader historical and ideological frameworks of separations, exclusions and disparities. The path leading to the 1994 political dispensation in South Africa echoes some of these. In 1989 Stonier (in Ashley, 1989) said:

It is probably true to say that the debate surrounding education in South Africa has never been more intense than it is at the present time. This would normally be a good thing but the tensions resulting from the immense disparity in the provision of education for the various people in our country have clouded the issues. (p. vii)

The debates around education have not decelerated but rather intensified and the complexity has further been precipitated by the fact that education has come to be organised, provided and implemented from two departments. General Education and Training (GET) falls under the Department of Basic Education (DBE) and caters for grades R to 12. Tertiary and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) is managed by the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET). The conceptualisation of a new education at the dawn of democracy and end of apartheid should have been heavily guided by the historical inheritance of the problematics of Bantu education which had culminated in the 1976 revolts suggested in Stonier's statement. The country then had set forth to institute an education that addressed the disparities of the past, in essence a democratised education that would cater equally for all. A westernised form of curriculum which was driven by labour needs called Curriculum 2005, framed within Outcomes Based Education, was introduced in 1998. This was the first mistake. In 2001 the Department of Education realised that Curriculum 2005 and the Revised National Curriculum Statement fell short in meeting their goals as learners were transformed to researchers and teachers were held back from being drivers of the curriculum to become facilitators of learning (see Jansen, 1998). In 2011, the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS) were introduced as a replacement of the Revised National Curriculum Statement. The Minister of Basic Education was determined that a curriculum that went back to basics, most particularly in literacy and numeracy at the Foundation Phase (Department of Basic Education [DBE], 2012), be introduced. The current Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS) are meant to replace the assessment and programme guidelines as well as subject and learning area statements. The idea was that it be considered as a single clear and precise policy statement for learning and teaching that covers Grade R-12, which are the Foundation, Intermediate, Senior and Further Education and Training levels of basic education.

The flashback on how CAPS came about brings us to the **second interest** of my study which is:

- to understand the presences and absences of cattle and the perceptions of teachers on such in the Life Skills Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS) within the Foundation and Intermediate Phase in South Africa's basic educational level.

The main problem with the curriculums that were introduced after 1994 was not only that they were over ambitious in attempting to address a multitude of problems over a short period of time, there was also a great paucity of skills and experience in the majority of teachers who had received

an apartheid education. The imposition of technicist curricula of little relevance to the South African context has continued to the present. As indicated by Goetze (2016), an educational remedial specialist, CAPS is not without problems. She (2016, p. 2) said that: “There is something wrong with our current education curriculum and I am tired of being part of a system that is directly harming our children,” which echoes Breidlid’s (2012) and Lotz-Sisitka’s (2014) concerns about schooling, the curriculum and the leadership skills and responsibility of teachers. Goetze tells of daily phone calls from parents crying in frustration about their children’s progress, some who send their children to her for scholastic assessments, while others ask for guidance on how the load of homework they receive from school can be reduced (see section 6.4). In my view, the abundance of content, a knee-jerk reaction to its paucity in the OBE, is what makes children fatigued and fail. It is a case of too much, too early, while transiting to the new. Goetze wrote that she had received children who are as young as seven years of age who have been diagnosed with anxiety and stress related disorders. Goetze identified five areas within the curriculum which are problematic and are contributors to the high levels of national stress and anxieties experienced by parents and children. The curriculum is said to be:

- Too content heavy,
- Providing no time for consolidation,
- Too rigid,
- Over assesses the children, and
- Does not produce thinkers because it does not challenge children with problem-solving matters and critical and creative thinking skills.

The issue of a content overload is discussed in varying detail as it is very concerning, as children, most particularly at the Foundation Phase, are quite tactile (also see discussion on children’s views on homework in Chapter 5, parents’ responses in Chapter 6 and recommendations on how to deal with homework in Chapter 7).

All the matters that Goetze raised and was concerned about in CAPS, which contribute to the frustrations of parents, are also my concerns. The majority of children in rural areas such as the one in which my research is based, do not have parents who understand the challenges their children are faced with and cannot receive or give support for children who might be experiencing anxiety and stress related disorders. Goetze’s third concern on the rigidity of the curriculum is my focal concern (see discussion on curriculum privileging and exclusions in Chapter 7). The Foundation

Phase CAPS state that: “inclusivity should become a central part of the organisation, to learning, planning and teaching at each school. This can only happen if all teachers have a sound understanding of how to recognise and address barriers to learning and how to plan for diversity” (DBE, 2011 a p. 5). This, of course, is a defeatist statement as teachers are currently not equipped to recognise and deal with such barriers. The prescribed statements, as much as they may open doors for learning for diversity, are also far removed from the reality of the South African historical context, with the majority of poorly resourced schools located in impoverished communities (Nelson Mandela Foundation Report, 2005; Lotz-Sisitka, 2009; Breidlid, 2012; Lotz-Sisitka, 2014).

Major content on livestock and agriculture mainly surfaces in Grade 10-11 in Agricultural Sciences. In my opinion, a dominant livelihood practice such as livestock and agriculture should receive prime curriculum time and not be left as a specialism at the end of the schooling period. Lewis Gordon, a contemporary postcolonial/decolonisation theorist, considered that we conduct a metacritical examination of epistemic practices in a radical manner (2008, p. 135) and further contended that “failure to appreciate reality sometimes takes the form of recoiling from it, an inward path of disciplinary solitude...” which leads to what he calls “disciplinary decadence” (2014, p. 86). This phenomenon surfaces in the cocooned busyness by providers of knowledge in schools who are straightjacketed into performing the state-imposed curricula, if not frustrated by its prescriptions. A view that I maintained at the development of my research proposal – that schools exist within communities and should reflect each other rather than contradict each other – is based also on earlier published views in this regard (Masuku Van Damme & Neluvhalani, 2005). In his study, Sinyama (2011) displayed the benefits of teaching a localised curriculum, which Zambia introduced in schools in 1996. This curriculum formed 20% of the main curriculum and enabled a process of “inter-epistemological dialogues between traditional or everyday and scientific or institutional knowledge”. The continuation of colonised pedagogies and refusal to make room for initiatives, such as the one referred to in Sinyama’s study, can be equated to the “colonising of reason” (Gordon, 2014, p. 86). In my view, such colonising contributes to the creation of schizophrenic children who have limited opportunities for sharing their school world at home and their home world at school. The Zambian example displays an encouraging starting point for the expansion of knowledge and curriculum transformation (also cf. Lotz-Sisitka, 2007b, 2009, 2013; Breidlid, 2012, Maqwelana, 2011; O’Donoghue, Shava, Zazu, 2014).

I am reminded of the symbolic meaning of “*Kukude emuva*”, a loaded Zulu saying that is used as a lament when all is in a state of chaos. This centred saying comments on the detrimental

consequences of the capture of reason by haste and euphoria. It further laments the unreachability of a past that cannot be accessed to correct wrongs that one so desperately would wish to make right, for had they been made right, then the current would be different. The only way we can reach into the unreachable past of Stonier (in Ashley, 1989), Breidlid (2012) and many others, is by re-examining the complexities and resultant mutations in the provision of education they recognised then, with reality congruent interventions.

This analysis captures my understanding of the problems that beset the Foundation phase curriculum that I am concerned about.

2.5 A CULTURAL EXPRESSION OF CATTLE IN PAST AND CURRENT TIME CONTEXTS

I purposefully chose and centred cattle as a subject that expresses culture and disrupts the UNESCO discourse which privileges artistic expressions such as art as cultural expressions (UNESCO, 2005). I have used cattle and its masculinity as one of the major subjects that has facilitated varied forms of learning from time immemorial in Africa. I use cattle as a force that played and continues, in varied ways, to occupy an influential role in the lives of the people in the research site I have elected for this study. Storytelling is a cultural expression that is educative with potential to liberate learning and knowing from rote routines, repetitions and mimicry (Mutwa, 1988; Smith, 1999; Cook-Lyn, 2008; Nyamnjoh, 2012). I have used cattle as a springboard to explore varied forms of learning such as indigenous knowing (Masuku, 1999; Masuku Van Damme & Neluvhalani, 2004; Shava, 2008), endogenous knowing (Hountondji, 1997; Crossman, 2002), intergenerational learning (Corcoran & Hollingshead, 2014), local knowledge and traditional knowledge (O'Donoghue, Shava, Zazu, 2014). I have used cattle to explore learning at the boundaries of difference and within hybrid third spaces.

The subject of cattle has been taught from colonial perspectives and exhibits incoherencies and contradictions. The history of events and “discoveries” with notions of racial inferiority and exotic otherness (Smith, 1999; O'Donoghue 1997) characterises all forms of colonial and western engagements with Africa. Other forms of history are continually popularly regarded as non-conceptual warranting mediation, though mediated, exhibit ambivalences (see Mokoena, 2009). The third form of history, according to Foucault (1997, p. 8, is) “is local, regional or differential, incapable of unanimity” such as the study of cattle in Letty and Alcock (2002). These forms do not

indicate an exhaustive list of histories, as new and fluid ways of telling histories beyond the written word, accelerated by the advent of technology, continue to come into sight.

Smith (1992, p. 257) pointed out why it is important that the historicity of cattle is not overlooked:

... pastoral cultural ecology needs to embrace a concept of history, a past that over thousands of years has developed the close relationship between people, animals and the land.

The space of cattle in the history of Southern Africa is in the same drawer in the colonial archive where other histories penned with colonial ink reside (cf. Lalu, 2009). The open air indigenous archive – in the form of San paintings (see Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004, pp. 146, 205, 206, 217), detailing the histories of cattle and people is preserved in rock panels. Self-authored histories such as the translated *The Black People and whence they came* by a Zulu author, Magma Fuze, initially written in 1922 and published in 1979, which deserve being titled as classics, have been mediated by colonial voices. Lugg, the translator, and Cope, the editor of this book, and Mokoena, an African anthropologist (2009), downplayed Fuze's knowledge and considered his historical, geographical and cultural accounts as exotic and colourful, promoting the colonial notion of Africans as the exotic other. Fuze, on the other hand, found the white authored texts worth presenting alongside his own accounts, despite seeing them as culturally shallow. This was a very innovative way of thinking at that time in history; he pointed out what he considered as some of their historical inaccuracies. Reading his text and other historical texts provide that hybridity that is necessary when exploring the history of the migrations from the northern lakes to the Southern areas of Africa. He trusted his voice in telling his story to ensure that Zulu children don't lose their culture. Fuze's edited text, perhaps ironically and mistakenly, represents what Foucault called: "knowledges that have been disqualified as non-conceptual knowledges, as insufficiently elaborated knowledges; naïve knowledges, hierarchically inferior knowledges, knowledges that are beyond the required erudition or scientificity" (1997, p. 7). Foucault credited the strength of the critique in his works to "the coupling together of the buried scholarly knowledge and knowledges that were disqualified by the hierarchy of erudition and sciences" (1997, p. 8).

Notwithstanding the vagaries of history and their discontents as noted above, it remains evident that the period between 300 AD to the 12th century was a period that marked the peopling of Southern Africa by Bantu speakers (Ngcongco, 1980) moving from as far north as the Great Lakes towards the South. The central force in this process for this study is that of the migration of cattle

and people, about which reference is made in Nguni speaking people's clan names (Fuze, 1979). Within Southern Africa, battles initiated for raiding cattle by powerful kings during the Mfecane period went hand in hand with conquering people and their lands. The colonial "Finders, Keepers" tradition started in 1652 with the "discovery" by Jan Van Riebeeck and fortification of Cape Town and its surrounds by the Dutch East India Company into a Dutch colony. This "discovery" of "bands" of people, considered historyless and religionless, marked a change in the course of history and started the path to the western modernisation of the southern part of Africa which Europe considered a burden and responsibility. The modernisation meant the setting up of disciplines to study the other and teach the other to understand and serve the finders (Smith, 1999). The established Colony was later invaded by Britain which firmly imposed a very hostile rule that led to the 1835 to 1846 Great Trek migration by the early settler descendants of the Dutch into the northern areas of South Africa (Ransford, 1972; Mostert, 1992). The period between 1652 and the trek was characterised by cattle raids and battles between the colonialists and local inhabitants (Ransford, 1972; Mostert 1992). Age-old indigenous historical representations evidence this complexity in trance states featuring men, horses, cattle, wildlife, guns and blood on rock faces in the renowned uKhahlamba Drakensberg mountain ranges and other less known mountains and hills (Lewis-Williams & Pearce, 2004).

The first Zulu authored book in 1922 by Fuze (1979) records the travels and the victories over cattle and men by the people who consolidated themselves and through history came to be known as amaZulu. It is also the first book written with concern for the loss of indigenous knowledge and history. Fuze wrote:

Even though I may now be alone in this project, I think there will be many of us desirous of having the book *Abantu Abamnyama* in our schools, in order that our children may get to know where they originally came from, because at present they do not know. (1979, p. v)

Nyembezi and Nxumalo's (1966) *Inqolobane Yesizwe* (The Store of the Nation), a germinal Zulu publication, encapsulates most aspects of Zulu culture at that time. *Inqolobane Yesizwe* has become a classical reference book for everything related to Zulu traditional knowledge and is also a germinal record of the majority of sayings, proverbs, riddles, dream translations related to cattle. All to do and related to cattle is captured in 24 of 334 pages of this book. An unpublished PhD thesis written in isiZulu by VJ Mthembu (2009) entitled *Ubumqoka bezinkomo esizweni samaZulu* (The importance of cattle amongst the Zulu people) is a worthy narration of the superiority of place that

Zulu people accord(ed) to cattle. It is a formative contribution and functions as a reference to a culture that cannot be staged, slowed down nor glued to the present. The romantic relationship he intertwined of people and cattle regrettably deletes the motion that characterises it. He made available new arguments, not some of the common tired anthropological versions. In accordance with and evidenced by Fuze (1979), Mthembu (2009) and Mutwa (1998) pointed out that elders were responsible for imparting knowledge and skills to the young on all aspects related to cattle and recommended that teachers, community elders and parents continue extending this teaching.

Poland, Hammond, Tooke and Voigt's (2012) book *Abundant Herds* with its artistic representations of historical Zulu Nguni herds has popularised the value and beauty of Nguni cattle. It celebrates the poetic names for cattle that the Zulu people source from the environment. It reveals an indigenous naming tradition which renders the cow's skin as text, bearing the symbolic meaning of the word "colour" as representations of culture, the environment and all other that imagination sources from culture and conjures. Its romanticising of cattle and artistic representations makes it one of the most recently celebrated books on cattle and it graces many a table as a valuable collection. It has set a trend for the consideration of Nguni cattle as an artistic subject from skins, ornamental horns and paintings. Its reliance on Nxumalo and Nyembezi's (1966) book is evident. *African Local Knowledge and Livestock Health* (Bienart & Brown, 2013) is a record of livestock farming in rural homesteads. Even though its main focus is the Eastern Cape, reference is made to the relationships of cattle farmers between KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) and other provinces. All these texts confirm cattle as core cultural expression amongst the Zulu people.

These more substantive historical and contemporary texts are complemented by recent research projects and reports, also emphasising the same strength of cattle as cultural expression in the KZN area. The KZN farming systems research team's study of cattle and goat owners at Msinga in KwaZulu-Natal (Letty & Alcock, 2002) reports that:

Many men reminisce about the times when they were growing up and herded the cattle. They will tell you that now young boys are disinterested and undisciplined, and have to go to school so now there is no herding of cattle nor socialising of boys, hunting birds, making clay models, playing with sticks that happens during the herding of cattle. (p. 18)

This view is consistent with the ones I encountered in a deliberative scoping and clarification phase of my research interest before registering for this study with three elders in Mpembeni in the HLM

area described above. It is a view that was firmly held by most community elders when I was formally conducting my research.

A study by Ngcobo and Dladla (2002) seemed likely to relate closely to this research and covers agriculture broadly in KZN, with particular attention to education and training. The intent was to provide input to a national strategy for agricultural education. Disappointingly, very little attention is given to strengthening agriculture training at the Basic Education level and the implications of the lack thereof. Mention is made that agriculture as a subject is attractive to youth that have dropped out of school or are unemployed.

Salomon's (2011) study, which was conducted in an area called Okhombe in KwaZulu-Natal on cattle, relates to this study as well. Her study investigated why a rotational resting system for communal cattle collapsed six months after its introduction. One of the main reasons for such a collapse was attributed to livestock owners' fears that their cattle would be stolen. "Traditionally, young boys would herd the family cattle" (Salomon, 2011, p. 100). This means that with most attending school, livestock owners would rather graze them in areas where they can be seen from the homesteads. The lack of labour and means to employ herders as well as migrations to urban areas and the availability of social grants from government are factors that she cited as contributing to the reduction in investments in agriculture and livestock.

2.6 THE MEANING OF CULTURAL EXPRESSION

I emphasise that the use of the phrase "cultural expression" in this study is by no means an act of invoking the authority of UNESCO but an abrogation of it, as based on a view I shared earlier in the chapter that denotes that it is to subvert and rescue "cultural expression" from a reified idealism and imposition of it as a multi-spectrum pill for the ills of poverty in Africa as captured in the UNESCO's 2005 *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*. The reification of culture in the preamble to the 2001 UNESCO *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* is consistent with the way culture is perceived in the 2005 Convention. It is defined as "the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs" (UNESCO 2005 pg. 1). Hence, my wariness of the unending world

calls to “think global and act local” and related declarations made in UNESCO halls by party members who are removed from the pangs of daily realities and struggles of the African subject they claim to represent. It is problematic that many a scholar of African culture has embraced definitions alluding to culture as a set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society, as referred to even by Nxumalo and Nyembezi (1966), Fuze (1982) and Mthembu (2009), cited here as the torch bearers in the cultural work they pioneered. Based on this, Grosfoguel (2011, p. 17) asserted that “the paradox is that many world-system scholars acknowledge the importance of culture, but do not know what to do with it nor how to articulate it in a non-reductive way”.

The colonising cultural semiotics in the defining of culture and its essentialist stance referred to above, displays an arrogance that undermines the dynamism of culture, ignoring that many forms of culture are borne out of struggles and therefore might be of no economic value (see Masuku Van Damme & Neluvhalani, 2004; Kayira, 2013). This is echoed by Wane (2013:93) who, in her search for her indigenous history and knowledge, found that “instead of finding a static past, what I found was indigenous knowledge production and resistance that was able to operationalize an Indigenous past in the face of current struggles against an ever encroaching colonial presence”.

There are instances where calls such as thinking globally and acting locally are relevant but our non-critical stances and perceptions of them as panaceas for most of Africa’s problems, promoted by NGOs, Community Based Organisations and a multitude of other agencies, have created citizens that are increasingly becoming blind to African realities and struggles (see Shava, 2008). Already in 2013, Noel Gough had cautioned on the use of phrases such due to their being undertheorised and embedded assumptions that westernised form of educating are mostly relevant for local settings. Creating local and context informed solutions for African problems are a must. Western funded prescripts channelled through International Conservation Agencies teach and direct Africans on how to “*think*” and “*act*”. The impacts of Hluhluwe-Imfolozi nature reserve, informed by global management strategies in the HLM, are felt by its Mpembeni neighbours and this informs their practices i.e. on outbreaks of diseases commonly shared by game and cattle. Smith (1999, p. 1) advanced that we resurrect and re-appropriate our claims to “existence, to land and territories, to the right of self-determination, to the survival of our languages and forms of cultural knowledge, to our natural resources and systems for living within our environments”.

Research still remains one of the main techniques for knowledge creation to advance the goals of learning and education and “we need to consider how the forces of globalisation impact on African cultural expressions and values”, according to Biney (2014, p. 49). UNESCO’s mandate for the “free flow of ideas by word and image” particularly to express, protect and promote one’s culture, can mainly be through education. Grosfoguel (2011, p. 9) listed a number of entangled global hierarchies that were established in processes of colonisation. He cited Mignolo (2000) in his reference to a “linguistic hierarchy between European languages that privileges communication and knowledge/theoretical production in the former and subalternize the latter as sole producers of folklore or culture but not of knowledge/theory”. This study positions caring and living with cattle as a medium of cultural expression and in the chapters that unfold, I intend sharing with you how this culture has been expressed and the extent to which processes of its expression may have contributed or not contributed to intergenerational learning.

2.7 EDUCATIONAL THEORY INFORMING RESEARCH PROCESSES – SOCIOCULTURAL THEORY

Within my field of study, Environmental Education in South Africa, environmental learning processes are not confined to formal institutions and structures, nor particular age groupings or/and geographic settings. My use of sociocultural theory within this study is based on its capability for emerging processes and evidences of intergenerational learning (Corcoran & Hollingshead, 2014), in particular to learning in the home/pasture domain alongside learning at school. Sociocultural theory owes its roots to Lev Vygotsky (1896-1934). It is a theory that describes learning as a social process where the location of human intelligence is placed in society and human interactions. Simply put by John-Steiner and Mahn (1996, p. 191), it is “based on the concept that human activities take place in cultural contexts, are mediated by language and other symbol systems, and can be best understood when investigated within their historical development”. This means that its concern is with everyday cognition and situated learning which happens in daily interactions and that to understand the human internal mental and developmental functionings, one must look outside of the individual’s self. This learning is also mediated by semiotics which are tools and signs. Semiotics include language and mnemonics which are representational of objects e.g. musical signs. The most cited part of Vygotsky’s translated writing, taken from Wersch and Tulviste (1992, p. 549) is that Vygotsky considered that:

Every function in the child's cultural development appears twice, or on two planes. First it appears on the social plane, and then on the psychological plane. First it appears between people as an inter-psychological category, and then within the child as an intrapsychological category. This is equally true with regard to voluntary attention, logical memory, the formation of concepts, and the development of volition. ... [I]t goes without saying that internalization transforms the process itself and changes its structure and functions. Social relations or relations among people genetically underlie all higher functions and their relationships.

This Vygotskian position has been reaffirmed by a number of established and upcoming educational theorists, as his work and theory continues to be on the upsurge (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996; Rogoff, 2003, 2011; Scott & Palincsar, 2013; McLeod, 2014) even in education academic institutions in southern Africa where Engestrom and Sannino have put forward the theory of expansive learning based on the development of the cultural historical activity theory (cf. Mukute, 2009 and Lindley, 2014). Vygotsky's theories have further been developed for resonance and applicability in a variety of educational learning and research contexts. Such an upsurge is evident in Lotz-Sisitka's text (2016) which argued for expanding zones of proximal development within Bhaskar's concept of absence and dialectical processes of negation broadly within environmental learning and action. This indicates the growth and expansion of thought on the more knowledgeable other (MKO) and the Zone of Proximal development (ZPD). The case that Lotz-Sisitka made is equally valid for intergenerational environmental action in a setting such as the one within my study. In consistence with Vygotskian thought, I consider my research as confirming that cognitive functions are shaped by spiritual, cultural and interactional dynamics which also fuel the constant growth and /or changes in cultures.

It is at the ZPD where "the most sensitive guidance or instruction should be given" (McLeod 2014, pp. 4-10), so the child (and adults) can acquire and develop skills they will use on their own to further teach their siblings, peers and within the concept of intergenerational learning, even share their skills and knowledge. The latter has been proven with the speed and sophistication that the youth is grasping technology and assisting their elders with technological aspects related to their mobile phones and ATM banking. In my view, such interaction is not limited to human interaction and in my case, it could also be with livestock. The more knowledgeable others in the case of my research study may be the community elders, parents, relatives, peers, a teacher etc. The work of

Rogoff, Matusov and White (1996), Rogoff (2003, 2011), Correa-Chavez, Mejia-Arauz and Rogoff (2015) explored child development and learning in various settings outside the school and in intergenerational learning settings and processes. Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti (2005) stretched Vygotskian thought further in their research work exploring and displaying the linkages of knowledge creation in different settings such as those of home and school and also linking home and school, while locating and arguing for the potential of hybridity third spaces to foster better learning. They emphasise the firming of bridges between schools and homesteads and further make a case for considering home settings as vibrant and not to be ignored by formal school educationists and curriculum developers. Their goal is also transformation and decolonising of education. With no doubt, their work and thoughts resonate with my research.

2.8 RESEARCH DESIGN, METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

The design, methodology, methods and techniques of my study have been selected to be complementary and in synch with educational sociocultural educational theory, which I have argued for in the section above. In previous discussions in this chapter, I mapped the research context of the study, and briefly outlined my research interest area and the problem areas that the study aims to tackle. This section here now addresses the research process undertaken when embarking on the study, explaining the methods used, how and why. It further explains and gives justifications for decisions taken to make or not make adjustments to my initial research intentions. It a nutshell, it's the technical side of my research journey. My initial step into the research, before I was even sure if the topic I was contemplating pursuing would be my research topic, was conducting a scoping exercise.

2.8.1 Field scoping exercise

Before registration for my PhD and the development of my research proposal, I conducted a scoping exercise. First, I would like to explain what a scoping exercise is and my reason for doing one. Dijkers (2001, p. 1) considered a scoping study as an exercise that, “tends to address broader topics where many different study designs might be applicable”. Dijkers cited the aims of such an exercise from Mays, Roberts and Popay (2001) as:

to map rapidly the key concepts underpinning a research area and the main sources and types of evidence available, and can be undertaken as stand-alone projects in their own right, especially where an area is complex or has not been reviewed comprehensively before. (2001, p. 1)

Between 2 and 12 January 2015, I read a number of research methods topics to refresh myself on scholarly research methods in preparation for this scholarly work and that included the university's research code of conduct and research ethics (see appendixes 2 and 3). En route to Grahamstown where Rhodes University is based, I stopped at my prospective field research home, the Mtshali's homestead to find that a cleansing ceremony was to be conducted. Gogo Mtshali and the homestead were going to be cleansed to chase death away from the home by slaughtering a cow and brewing sorghum beer. Two years had lapsed since the death of her husband and as tradition demands, a cleansing ceremony had to be done. I initially had no intention of doing preliminary research prior to my enrolment for this study. My surprise arrival to this ceremony presented me with an opportunity to do a research scoping after realising that I would not have another opportunity to witness such a ceremony. My base motivator was my pinch's worth of knowledge which I deemed inadequate to justify the use of cattle as the springboard for my study. I considered the subject of cattle as very complex and therefore wanted to check if I had the capability to understand it with what I would term 'test interviews'.

I sought permission to take photographs and interviews from visitors of the home and from my hostess, gogo Mtshali. When the cow had been slaughtered, the women were served with the warm cow's stomach sac on a tray, the way one would serve a full cake. With a sharp knife the stomach was cut open and thin slices of meat were passed around and eaten raw with the wet bits of grass shaken off. I had to partake in this ceremony. I was also sent off to roast the fresh liver for the women as they were older than me. Community members had gathered around the home eating the meat and drinking fresh sorghum beer. Men sat around the cattle kraal.

Since I had not been seen in the area, many of the home visitors wanted to know where I was going with a fully loaded car. Explaining the purpose of my trip to Grahamstown and my interest in conducting research about learning and cattle, I was asked many questions. When one of the eldest men in the area came visiting, gogo Mtshali told me that he was one of the people I should interview as he did not have long to live and was sickly. This was another opportunity I could not miss. Since the interview took place in the main living room, it soon developed into a focus group interview which gave me more and broader insights on the roles that different members of the family played in cattle matters. The elderly man related his role from the time he was a child, to his youth and then as a man, when he had to pay a bride price.



Figure 2.4: Members of the community and relatives of the Mtshali eating after the slaughter of a cow which marked the end of a mourning period



Figure 2.5: Mr Demezane Ntombela relating the story of his childhood as a cattle herder

Cattle were usually dipped once a fortnight and the week of my visit was the dipping fortnight. I saw this as yet another opportunity. I helped herd the cattle with the youngster, Bandla, and his aunt to the dipping tank which was a great opportunity to observe how cattle were dipped as I had

never seen this done before. I asked for permission to photograph the dipping process from the dipping tank master which he agreed to. We briefly discussed my research with him asking me questions, puzzled by my interest in cattle. I made him aware that I knew very little about cattle. He offered me an interview to relate to me how cattle were managed in his area. In the evening, he came to the homestead with his training file, booklets and newspaper cuttings that he had collected of his area. He, like the community elder, related to me his role in cattle and the pattern from childhood, teenager to adulthood seemed to follow the same route.



Figure 2.6: Mr Mgabhi with a scrap book of newspaper cuttings on cattle that he shares with members of the dipping tank committee

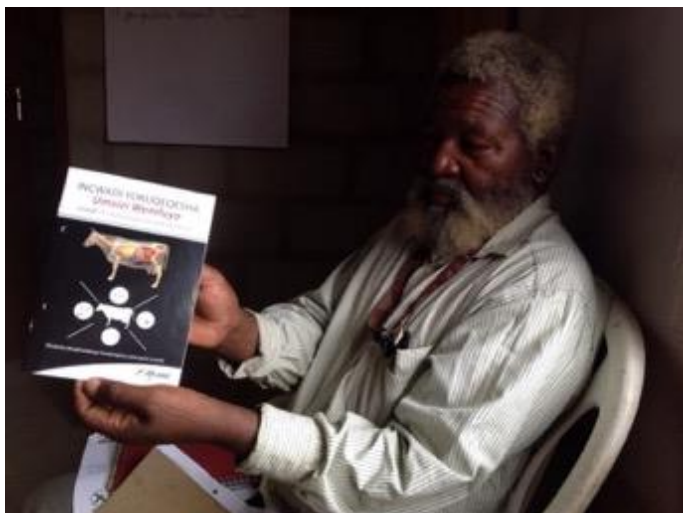


Figure 2.7: Mr Mgabhi with materials that he uses to teach and share livestock management issues with livestock owners

I sought permission and when gogo Mtshali granted it, arranged to have an interview with her grandson and this was done in the family living room; she chipped in, now and then. His friend who

had come visiting joined and partook in the interview. Gogo Mtshali's friend who had also come visiting, also ended up joining the interview. Two girls who had arrived at the homestead to rent traditional wear as they were going to attend a traditional wedding the following week, also joined part of the interview. In the evening, one of the local 25-30 young men came visiting the homestead as he had heard that the traditional beer which had been made for the cleansing ceremony was not finished. We ended up in a discussion about the schools where most of the children who herded cattle attended and which of these schools, I might consider for my research. I was also guided regarding the youngsters in the area who were involved in cattle care and herding and could form part of my research sample.

I derived valuable insights from this preliminary engagement with my research site. Firstly, my resolve to use 'cattle' as the central subject of my study was strengthened. Secondly, I realised that conducting one-on-one interviews within this community setting would be tricky and had to be thought out very carefully. Thirdly, in conversations at the homestead, I was made aware that one of gogo Mtshali's daughters had been a research assistant for a research team that was interested in cattle health in the area. This put me at peace as the previous researcher's interest and mine were different. Fourthly, I was forced to start thinking, clarifying and focusing on narrowing the breadth of my research ambitions, the research topic and the research area. The interview with the community elder revealed the different layers of engagement with cattle that a male member of the community goes through and influenced my thinking to consider boys in their youth to form part of the research sample. My meetings with my supervisor before the many drafts of my research proposals were much clearer thanks to this scoping exercise. Without the scoping insights, my research would not have taken the direction it did and I would have had many struggles while in the field and many misunderstandings. The scoping exercise allowed me to see a slice of time within the whole of Mpembeni as my visit happened in a time of plenty and rain. The period of data collection after the sanction from the university was to a completely different Mpembeni that had suffered the extreme consequences of a drought. Finally, the interest that gogo Mtshali took in the research convinced me to do a critical ethnographic study. Also, the manner that the scoping was done confirmed Dijker's (2015) definition and intent for a scoping exercise and helped me narrow down my interest in an area that is/was very complex.

2.8.2 Research design and Methodology

The fact that the study's concern is of a particular area within a particular municipality, in a particular province in South Africa, suggests that it is unmistakably a case study as it would be unthinkable to use ethnomethods in a critical ethnography study for purposes of making generalisations. I am of the view that a research method must exhibit an experience that allows all elements of a study to flow coherently, like an excellently choreographed opera which merges diverse elements into a coherent whole. A case study sets the boundaries of the area of investigation and, as defined by Bloor and Wood (2006, p. 27), is "a strategy of research that aims to understand social phenomena within a single or small number of naturally occurring settings. The purpose may be to provide description through a detailed example or to generate or test particular theories". This is echoed by Yin (2009) who maintained and further detailed its functions. According to the author, "case studies as a research project comprises an all-encompassing method, covering the logic of design, data collecting techniques and specific approaches to data analysis" (2009, p. 14). A case study design gave this research exploration a sense of permeable wholeness that illuminates its storied connectivity to people wider times and space contexts. Neuman (2006) stated that the relationship between a context and a site, is that a case can refer to a social relationship. In this case, the social relationship is based on cattle and the dipping tanks are the areas where livestock owners converge to dip their livestock and these people neighbour the dipping tanks. The other definer and unifier of these dipping tanks was that they were managed by one livestock inspector and fell under one chief and headman.

My intent was to understand how the people who patronised these tanks lived and perceived of their relationship with their cattle, land and the environment and how the young were taught and came to learn and live in a similar way. Before visiting the site for data collection purposes, I had made a decision to focus on the areas neighbouring the dipping tanks of Mpembeni, Sovana, and Sangoyana. My geographical focus was going to be the Mpembeni area. However, in consideration of data that was critical in informing my research questions, some of the schools fell out of this geographical confine. In my view, the research site remained Mpembeni even though the interviewed children's schools (that is, the sites from which I derived interviews of teachers) were from outside of Mpembeni. Yin's (2009, p. 2) view was that "case study method allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events such as individual life cycles". What distinguishes case studies from other research strategies is the lack of generality in the

interpretation, analysis and presentation of the research results (Neuman, 2000; Yin, 2009), which are situationally rich in insight and depth, offering insight but not generalisability to other sites. This was the case with the data derived from Mpembeni.

I am of the view that the geographical parameters that I selected for my study on cattle, which were united under the management of one chief, one headman, one livestock inspector, fulfilled the expectations of my research. The quality of the data sought was sufficient for me to make substantial findings for my study. All the elements that my study aimed at probing were within reach. The climatic conditions redefined the research site but such conditions were compensated by my interaction with the site through my scoping visit prior to the official research.

2.8.3 The research goal

The research goal for my study was to understand *how Mpembeni's 6-10 year-olds learn to live and care for cattle as subjects of intergenerational learning and agency at home/pasture and in school.*

De Sousa Santos (2009, p. 117) stated that: "The less a given way of knowing knows the limits of its knowing about other ways of knowing, the less aware it is of its own limits and possibilities. This comparison is not easy, but herein lies the learned ignorance we need in our time." The De Sousa Santos insights within that citation advocate and suggest that we question the manner in which current curricula limits other ways of knowing to address teachers' struggles in their attempts to teach for diversity and the resultant frustrations that young learners experience. While bearing strands of postcoloniality that merit unlearning, the De Sousa Santos insights provide aids for opening up hybrid third spaces within which home, pasture and school, as inter-related learning spaces, can be realised.

My approach to this research aim, with a counterhegemonic postcolonial theory lens (see Chapter 3) defined the kind of data I sourced which was uplifted, complemented and commented upon by literature. The De Sousa Santos citation here stayed at the back of my mind, and as I went about collecting my data, I knew I had to challenge my way of thinking and ways of researching. The cautionary and advisory tone in the work of theorists such as Smith (1999) on the need to decolonise our research as indigenous people, guided me. Evidence of such reflections may be found in some of my spaces for reflexivity provided for within my italicised writing and also within the thesis.

2.8.4 The main research question

The main research question is: *What strands of postcoloniality and forms of sociocultural learnings emerge in the investigation of cattle as a medium of cultural expression?* Associated with this, is the sub-question on *how hybrid third spaces can potentially be opened up in ways that resonate with, or construct a curriculum that builds a learning bridge that connects home and school learnings.*

The reason for conceptualising and framing my main research question as such was motivated also by textual evidence from some work that has been done on Foundational Phase education. In an exploratory study for areas to integrate indigenous and local knowledge at the Foundation Phase, Maqwelane (2011) found that the absence of localised curricula was the main contributor to an education that played out as being irrelevant and difficult to engage with by the children (Lotz-Sisitka, 2013). In addition to that, she found other factors such as mis-alignment between the curriculum and children's life worlds and meaning-making processes to be influential (see also Schudel, 2014). These included poor training and teacher's poor interpretations of the curriculum statements and their shortcomings in contextualising children's everyday lived experiences. She substantiated her claim with the 2003 UNESCO-UNICEF's Monitoring Learning Achievement Project Survey (2011, p. 34) where "Grade 4 learners' scores for Life Skills put them second-last amongst 12 African countries participating". Mahlo (2011) asserted that the expectations of teachers at Foundation Phase to have an inclusivity reach was ill conceived as most township schools servicing informal settlements are under-resourced in a variety of ways. I was puzzled to find that bean bags, hula hoops, jungle gyms, and puppets (amongst others) were prescribed as resources in the Life Skills Foundation Phase and Life Orientation Intermediate Phase curriculum, when the majority of schools in rural areas do not even have basic services such as water as shown in the Skelton study on mud schools (Skelton, 2014) and the Nelson Mandela Foundation Report (2005). Lotz-Sisitka (2013, p. 28) summed it up as, "These issues are exacerbated by poverty, the inadequate supply of teachers, textbooks and learning materials, poor-quality school buildings and poor quality teacher education, inadequately qualified teachers, and many other issues which, by now, are well known and well documented."

I was confident, while in the field and as I analysed my research data, that my research question, and research objectives were aligned to and spoke back to my research aim. The umbrella research method, Ethnography, borrowed from the field of Anthropology, lent itself well to the research aim

and questions as well. What is taken for granted within modernist thought is the superiority of formal education over what is conceived as formless home-based learning. Ethnomethods, in consistency with ethnography and sociocultural theory, displayed a potential to submerge understandings which are taken for granted.

2.8.5 Ethical research considerations

Considering that my method of enquiry is ethnography, I carefully considered ethical dimensions such as confidentiality and values such as respect. I had previously noted the reluctance of people in rural areas to sign anything especially when they can't read, which emanates from their mistrust of researchers, agents of change and salespeople. The ownership of cattle is equivalent to having a bank savings account and I suspected that cattle owners would be suspicious of signing any consent form prior to an interview and that such a request would render an interview ended before it even started. However, that was not the case. There was not one person that I approached who was reluctant to be interviewed or to sign a consent form. This was because my research assistant who was known in the area and came from a respected family was in my company for every interview. We both read the consent forms which I had written in isiZulu to research participants (see appendix 4). In the forms, we sought permission to interview, take photographs and to publish the discussion. I asked all to be interviewed, how they would like to be referred to in the written thesis report. All but one wanted their real names used. The reasons given were that they valued their inputs and wanted it known that they gave them. I did, however, mention that this was a matter I needed to think through carefully as I was also bound by the rules of the institution of which I am a student. I did also point out that some utterances which they might not consider as damaging to their characters, may be construed as such and that I therefore had the responsibility not to reveal their identities. One person said that it was important that when he or others do an internet search, his name should come up and it should be known that he contributed to scholarly work such as my study. After a discussion like this and reading out the consent form and filling biographical information such as names, genders and places of residence, a potential interviewee was asked to read the form and sign or put his/her name next to where their signature was to be placed, if he could not sign. We also tape recorded the conversations on the consent forms and these are available on my records. The same procedure was followed with school teachers and the livestock inspectors. We further sought consent for the use of research equipment, photographs of research participants, artwork etc. in the report (see photographic evidence of consent appendix 1).

In the event of interviews with young children, permission was sought through the parents. I visited the homestead of minors with my research assistant and discussed my research with their grandparents or/and parents. Even when parental/guardian permission had been obtained, the minor was still asked if he was willing to partake in the interview. All of them agreed. I interviewed all the minors in the presence of my research aide who is a mother.

The people whose names I have used in this report in relation to discussions are gogo Mtshali and members of her family. All were emphatic that their names be used. I have taken note not to use their names on articulations that would place them into disrepute. I took a decision to refer to some of the children by pseudo-names or just as 'a particular child' so that whoever reads my research report does not victimise them for what they said about the schools they attended. Real names are used in photographs. This I considered important as people at least can identify themselves in the photographs.

2.8.6 Research methodology – Critical ethnography

Ethnography is a systematic method of studying cultural phenomena born out of Anthropology. Ethnography is not commonly used by educationists. Considering that the field I am borrowing my investigation tools from anthropology is "perceived by the indigenous world as the epitome of all that is bad with academics" (Smith, 1999, p. 67), I had to think very well about the use of ethnography. The word 'ethnography' also refers to work that is produced through such a method of study. Bloor and Wood (2006, p. 69) defined ethnography as,

The description and interpretation of a culture or social group. Literally the word means the description (graphy) of cultures (ethno). The purpose is to provide an in-depth study of a culture that includes behaviour, interactions, language and artefacts. The aim is to understand another way of life from the native point of view by focusing on everyday behaviour.

Considering that my intent was more than a description and an observation of the Other, I employed critical ethnography as one of the methods to conduct this study. Fieldwork was my primary method for investigation (Robben & Sluka, 2007) and my intention as a researcher was to understand the depths, contradictions, complexities, the in-your-face, silenced and taken for granted aspects of a culture in relation to particular subjects/objects. Fieldwork and immersion were the main means of my research and an act of establishing a rapport to enable the research process (Neuman, 2000; Robben & Sluka, 2007). The range of objects I focused on for the research

were: a) cattle; b) foundation phase education; c) culture as a dynamic process transitioning from history, located in the present and in people's everyday lives in Mpembeni. I considered ethnomethods as relevant in this study, a critical ethnographic study, as the purpose within such studies is not to make generalisable conclusions.

Ethnomethods, which can be traced back to ethnomethodist Harold Garfinkel (1917-2011), are considered as one of the best means to investigate ongoing social community interactions of everyday cognition and situated learning (Rogoff, 2003; Henning, 2008) in critical ethnography. Simply put, when one is using ethnomethods, she/he is equally interested in finding out the methods that people use for producing the social order or processes in which they live and these methods exist within ethnography (i.e. immersion being one of them). They are valued for making sense of teaching and learning interactions (Henning, 2008, p. 143) and according to Bloor and Wood (200, p. 76) are relevant for finding out how people define and share meanings of the social world through interaction. Critical ethnomethodologists see knowledge as intersubjectively constructed and mainly analyse conversations, some of which may be overlooked and considered as common sense, as well as observe the performance of certain skills. This includes ongoing experiences and people's relation to artefacts. Amongst other methods, special attention is given to explore how people construct and reconstruct their identities and in this instance, as a cattle-owning community of practice through ethnomethods. I employed elements of the practice-based approach to sociocultural learning (Rogoff, Matusov, White, 1996) to view and understand teaching and learning using ethnomethods. Taking guidance from Henning (2008, pp. 145-6) (see 2.5 above), I formulated my questions to:

- investigate stories about, for cattle in Mpembeni;
- investigate forms of learning at home and school;
- investigate strands of coloniality;
- investigate home and school learning; and
- search for third spaces of hybridity.

I was keen to also surface stories in my life that interface/interact/comment with what I was investigating to create intertextuality and reflexivity.

Bloor and Wood (2006, p. 75) further referred to ethnomethodology as;

... 'people's methods' but may be more fully translated as the 'study of people's methods for making sense of the world'. The central aim for ethnomethodologists is to describe and analyse the practical procedures that members use to make sense of the social world. The intention is therefore to focus upon identifying and understanding the methods which people employ to decide whether or not something is real.

This study is not a uni-directional gaze that would result in my description of how the people of Mpembeni made sense of the world. I was interested in understanding how, in my interaction with them, I made sense of the world in relation to understanding intergenerational learning as an intergenerational learner myself. These reasons directed me to recognise the value of coupling ethnomethods with autoethnography which is defined by Bloor and Wood (2006, p. 18) as the "reportage of the reporter's own personal and emotional life that is explicitly informed by social science concepts and perspectives, by sociological introspection". This is certainly more than simply emotional life but also involves auto-reflexivity and monitoring of my growth and learning as an intergenerational learner and a critical ethnographer.

2.8.6.1 Research techniques in critical ethnography

Critical ethnography departs from traditional ethnography in many aspects. One is the recognition that the researcher is not a neutral and detached observer. I for one could not be entirely detached from my research site as I was not new within this community. The second is that observation is not a one-way process; in the process of data collection – be it observation, interviewing or doing – the subject is equally an observer of the interviewer and his/her observation colours the responses. Thirdly, my research assistant, a person known in the community would share her observations with me as we sat and discussed a day in the field. The fourth point is that critical ethnography is reflexive (see Andersen, 1989; Madison, 1999; Boswell, 2006) and has to be engaged with ethically and respectfully with attention to detail because it is an intrusion within a place where one may be considered an outsider (Wolcott, 1987; Hannan, 2006). Critical ethnography is not atheoretical and neutral (Andersen, 1989; Smith, 1999; Gonzalez, Moll, Amanti, 2005; Adams & Hollman Jones, 2008). With concerns on issues of positionality, I documented my observations on a daily basis and kept field notes thus exposing and challenging my assumptions, as well as used my observations and interview responses to refine my enquiries. I was aware, while in the field, that my whole

person and background would have due influence on the study and equally had to take cognisance of my powers and vulnerabilities and the likely influences my research assistant and host would have, as shown by Boswell (2006) in her study. My intent was to understand the research participants, not within a moment of gaze but as people amongst others and me, impacting relations and being impacted upon by context as subjects of history and living within a dynamic culture. The other purpose was to dig deeper and beyond the word to understand the ideology and complex social processes that informed their thinking and action. The study had a transformative intent, which meant that the data derived was not going to be only related but also analysed to bring out its transformative potential to potentially disrupt the coloniality within education through decolonisation. The transformative intent was also in the exploration of potential hybrid third spaces for learning between home and school as mentioned above.

I set into motion a number of strategies to make sure that I was employing critical ethnographic strategies while conducting my field research. This was very important as my knowledge of cattle was minimal as well as learning processes related to caring and managing them.

a) Immersion

I resided at a homestead within my research area for three months when I collected my first phase data which was aimed at understanding how children learn at home. After a period of six months, I went back to my research site and resided in the same homestead for one month while interviewing teachers from the schools that some of the children attended. My research home was the Mtshali's homestead which had a reasonably sized herd of cattle. I was lucky to be allocated accommodation which was closest to the cattle kraal and could observe cattle activities. This also meant I had to partake in the activities of the home which included filling the half-cut tractor tyre with drinking water when the cattle came back from grazing. It meant that every time I was in Hlabisa (a small town 15km away from Mpembeni) to purchase stationery or to use the local library, I would collect cabbage leaves from the supermarket as fodder for the cattle. I had to sit in a traditional court where my host had lodged a complaint against her neighbour for hitting and damaging her cow. At the cleansing ceremony, I for the first time ate raw meat from a cow that had been slaughtered. As a guest, I had to be cleansed of any impurities that might be associated with death that

could likely pollute the home and therefore, as a resident within the homestead I could not detach myself from what was happening.

b) Observing and being observed

To the homestead children I was a curiosity and the tools I used such as the computer, tape-recorder and my movements and activities, were observed. My interest in the cattle increased their interest and they would come knocking at my door after school to ask for extra buckets to ferry water to the halved tyre before the cattle were herded. I was involved in many activities, one of which was holding the legs of a cow while it was being skinned. The cow had to be finished off after it had been weakened by malnutrition and was not likely to recover. This was usually a task for 3-4 year-olds, but they were, at that time, at their pre-schools.

My observations usually started in the morning when cattle were herded out. Observations made at the homestead, for instance included seeing a young boy chasing a cow that was running fast which angered my hostess who worried that the cow would fall and break a leg. Activities in the homestead included slaughterings, children assisting with herding of cattle to be sprayed with tick disinfectants, roles they took seriously.

There were some observations that I made and held back from sharing for fear of annoying or irritating my hosts. One of my worries was the speed at which the cattle were herded into the dipping tank trench, especially the calves.

c) Random and planned conversations

The young boy who had triggered the interest in me for researching cattle told me one dipping day that he would not be taking one of the calves for dipping because it was weak and that some calves die at the dipping trench when the older and stronger ones fall on them in the disinfectant canal. Another matter I was curious about was the effect of dipping chemicals on people. In a discussion at the homestead about the consistency of the mixture of chemicals with water, one of gogo's daughters said that in the past, they would come back from the dipping with their noses blocked from the steam caused by the cold chemicals on the warm cattle they herded and that ticks would be dropping as they walked

them home. The discussion was that the mixture was so weak that the ticks were multiplying instead of decreasing.

Coming back from the field after doing interviews, my hostess would enquire as to how the field research had gone. I would share back some of the useful insights pertaining to livestock treatment methods. This was evidence of the reciprocal potential for critical ethnography.

d) Journal entries and field notes

My journal entries were mainly based on the random and not random conversations, observations I had made, questions I had. They were also about observations that had to be looked up in literature. To a large extent, my observations were critical in guiding me to revise questions I had posed in my interviews, as well as introduce questions to answer questions based on observations.

These journal entries and field notes were very important in tracking my learning. The day of my arrival I documented all that I did not know about cattle. The following were some of the entries I had listed in my journal: i) health, ii) behaviour, iii) dipping, iv) cattle grazing habits, iv) environmental degradation, pollution and impacts of on livestock, v) children's roles in relation with cattle.

e) Participation

There is a very close relationship between immersion and participation and some aspects that were related to participation have been reported upon in the 'immersion' section.

2.8.7 Background to sampling

The selection of the **sites for the case study** were informed by my interest in cattle and the selected dipping tanks were under the management of one chief and within reasonable distance of each other. This was the main monthly meeting place for cattle dipping herders. The **research sampling and size** was guided by the fact that the study had no intent for making comparisons of phenomena nor generalisable conclusions but sought a deeper and informed understanding. The size and diversity of the sample, made up of elders, youths, dipping tank officials, teachers, young cattle

herders and key community informants such as traditional healers and agricultural livestock inspectors, was carefully composed to explore all aspects that relate to the different angles of the research question. In the field sample, modifications were informed by the availability of the identified people. From this sample, I interacted with 32 people sourced from homes, government offices and the vicinity of the dipping tank. Ten people were teachers. Ultimately the sample was made up of 40 people ranging from 82 years of age to 6 years of age.

Many researchers enter the field with neatly packed thoughts on the potential richness of the data they would get and I was one of these researchers. I was roused to reality that Mpembeni was not neat and structured as my plans were and that the climate also had a role to play. The chief's headman advised against including the Sangoyana dipping tank and the community it serviced as one of the focus areas of my study at a meeting where I related to him the objectives of my research. He made mention of the fact that the water source that flowed to the Sangoyana tank had been dried up by the drought and thus was no longer used by the local cattle owners. He lamented the effect the drought had had on the environment, most particularly the loss of top soil and the newly created gullies which made access to the dipping tank and adjacent community areas by a small sedan car like the one I had, near impossible and dangerous. I therefore settled for areas neighbouring Sovana and Mpembeni. I did not entirely exclude Sangoyana as I interacted with the dipping tank manager. I did not, however, observe cattle in that area being dipped and also did not interview cattle owners and children herders from that area. This meant that the thrust of my activities would be focused on two dipping tank sites.

Sampling had to be in synch with the research design and methods and the fact that the study had no intent to compare phenomena or make generalisable conclusions but to make a deeper and more informed understanding of aspects of the research question. The size and diversity of the sample had to be of such a nature that one was able to recognise existing or potential for intergenerational learning. My approach to the modification of samples was informed by the availability of the identified people. The research sample was initially conceived to comprise:

- 6 elders aged from 75 years and upwards (two from each site, who own cattle and have herded cattle);
- 3 youth aged 15 -20 year old who have been herders (one from each site);
- 3 dipping tank managers;

- 6 teachers (two from each site who have content on cattle in the curriculum);
- boys and girls aged between 6-10 years (three from each site and from cattle-owning homes); and
- 4 key informants (livestock traditional healer, cattle medicine supplier, two agricultural livestock inspectors).

Once in the field, this neat grouping was revised and I had to depend on the availability of people. As I had learnt from my scoping exercise, I had to be flexible when an interview that was supposed to be a one-on-one ended up as focus group. I made sure that I had a number of consent forms to ensure that written permission from all participating was recorded.

Elders from the community and stakeholders supporting the community

All in all, I interviewed 25 people. These were:

- 4 focus groups of elders. The first group was made up of five men at the Mpembeni dipping tank. The second group was made up four men at the headman's homestead. This group was made up of the headman, his uncle, his son and a visitor. The third focus group was a couple who were interviewed at their home. The last focus group involved a couple and a visitor and this took place at the couple's home.
- 5 interviews were conducted that were one-on-one: two ladies between the age of 70 to 75, one 80 year-old male and two males aged between 50 and 60 years of age.
- 3 dipping tank managers: one from each site, Sangoyana, Mpembeni and Sovana. All three were male.

Community servicing stakeholders including,

- 2 Livestock inspectors (one male and the other female)
- One lady from a local NGO



Figure 2.8: Mr Masuku the dipping tank master of Songoyana interviewed by myself the researcher

Teachers

Eleven teachers formed part of the interview sample. Three of the interviews were small focus groups of two teachers. All those I interviewed were subject teachers, except for one principal of a school. From the high schools, two of the teachers were Creative Arts subject teachers and one was an Agricultural Sciences teacher. All teachers from the primary schools taught the Foundation Phase. The teachers were from four primary schools and two high schools in and within the boundaries of the Mpembeni area.

The Youth and Foundation Phase learners

In this grouping, I interviewed 15 people. There were two focus groups. One focus group was made up of five Foundation phase boys and the second one consisted of three Foundation Phase girls. These two groups were from the same family and they were interviewed in their home. There were four one-on-one interviews involving two males and females, aged above fifteen years-old, all held in their homes, except for the one female. One-on-one interviews of three Foundation Phase boys were held at the Mtshali homestead.

2.8.8 Interviews

Bloor and Wood (2006, p. 104) referred to interviews as:

The elicitation of research data through the questioning of respondents ... Quantitative (or 'semi-structured,' or 'depth', or 'ethnographic') interviews have a more informal, conversational character, being shaped partly by the interviewer's pre-existing topic guide and partly by concerns that are emergent in the interview.

Interviews are considered as the principal means of data collection which are supplemented with observation (Cohen, Manion and Shipman, 1991). In accordance with sociocultural theory, supplementary methods that would need to be observed include aids of learning such as mnemonics which means looking into symbol systems such as tools and signs. As evidenced in the paragraph above, interviews did form an important part of the research process. The manner in which I conducted the interviews with the groupings cited in section 2.8.7 will be detailed.

Data gathering with the use of interviews as the method was divided into two phases. The first phase took three months while I was resident at the Mtshali's homestead. These interviews included all members of the community that have been listed in the research sample (the children, the youth, the community elders, the livestock inspectors). The second phase of interviews involved teachers and a member of a local NGO and this spanned over a month.

2.8.8.1 Processes and insights of conducting research amongst children: Power relations between the researcher and the researched

Interviewing was not an easy process and demanded that I constantly ask myself if my line of questioning and questions were surfacing responses that were related to my inquiry or/and whether the sample I had constituted would/was surfacing and illuminating the in-the-shadows learnings I hoped it would. I knew therefore that I constantly had to be at one with my data which basically meant listening and taking instruction from it and making adjustments and modifications after each interview. This was especially the case with children. To interview children is very different from interviewing elderly people. More so, if you are the age of their parents or older, as well as share close cultural and ethnic group links with them, as was the case with me in Mpembeni with the 6-10 year olds and the teenagers. Respect is one of the chief regulators of the relationships between elders and young people. Khupe and Keane (2017, p. 30) also highlighted how important 'respect' was considered in their study where "One elder emphasised: *"Inhlonipho ngumuntu* [respect is the core of the human being]". There are different forms of respect for different

contexts and people. Knowing and exhibiting respective behaviours can be very resourceful, as well as limiting. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1966, pp. 125-127) dedicated two pages to exploring the meaning and significance of respect in the daily lives of the Zulu.

Inhlalo KwaZulu yayisimame ngenhlonipho. Njengoba bekuloku kuchazwa, izigaba ngezibaga, indlela yo kuziphatha kwabantu. ... Inhlonipho kaZulu ejulile ethatha wonke umuntu njengomzali ifakazelwa ukubiza kwethu wonke umuntu osebangele elifanele ngegama elithi; “Baba” noma “Mama”.

The fulcrum of coexistence in KwaZulu was respect. As it has been previously explained, how in each and every age group people behaved..... The deep rootedness of respect in KwaZulu where every adult is considered a parent, is testimony of our reference to everyone at their respectable age as “Father” or “Mother”.

My use of this 1966 extract is not with an intent to romanticise the Zulu culture nor to imply that it has stood still from time immemorial. In essence, it has undergone many changes. The emphasis placed by the authors on the depth with which respect is considered and its regard as the fulcrum on which life revolves, means that it is drilled and drilled into every child who drills it into anyone younger than him/her. Without making sweeping generalisations, it is safe to say that to a very high degree, the valuing of respect and regulation of relationships around certain forms and codes of respect was highly prevalent in my study; it is taken for granted and expected that one must be respectful to one’s elders. It is equally considered that to be respectful is to be respected and conduct yourself in a particular manner as an adult person. The embedded assumption is that those that are older are respectable by virtue of exposure to more knowledge and experience; their knowledge should be respected and not over questioned.

The age gap between the interviewer and interviewee is mostly considered as a knowledge and experience gap by the young ones who consider one as a source and likely educator. It can be a barrier when one expects the younger person to educate one on a particular subject in an interview context. In most, and if not all instances, of the research process, the children took it for granted, that by virtue of being older, I understood the subject matter better and therefore was involved with them in a skills and knowledge testing exercise despite my declaration that I knew very, very little about cattle. Bandla whom I lived with had with time come to understand that. Because of this generational gap, the children’s responses were at times thin characterised by run-on sentences

which carried expectations that I would fill in the gaps or, from my knowledge, possessed the ability to place their responses within a context they understood, which was captured in comments like “you see”.

During interviews, participants were at times respectfully impatient with my persistent line of questioning of a particular matter and when the same question was picked up again later in the interview, they would give a different response and connect it with another incident. To give an example, one boy child told me that three cows had died after being stuck in the mud over two days. When I asked him again towards the end of the interview how many had died he said only one and when I reminded him that he had said three, he then said that, the three he was referring to had died the year before. Their stories may sound incoherent at times but I took this to mean that at this level, they are also trying to comprehend and understand the complexity of mathematical problem solving and it was not numbers that mattered to them, as it was names and skin patterns that mattered. To overcome this problem, when they were interviewed prior to the elders in the homestead, I would verify some of the things they said with their seniors who would then clarify. At the summative data analysis stage when I was back at university I relied on my second key respondent and clarifier, gogo Mtshali whom I telephoned now and then for factual accuracy i.e. some of the cattle sicknesses may have more than one name and in my confusion I would think they were different diseases.

2.8.8.2 Employing tactics to gain confidence and trust

My first interview was of Bandlalenkosi Pearce, gogo Mtshali’s grandson on 15 January 2015. He had been a grade 1 learner at a school closest to his home, the previous year. This interview was the first followed by that of his friend Siphe, amongst a few done in 2015 that set the tone for the study and to a high degree, informed my research questions and all strategies related thereof for interviewing his peers. The interview in discussion took place in the Mtshali’s lounge in the presence of gogo Mtshali and one of her friends. Some girls who were also visiting the homestead listened in. The reason for conducting the interview in the lounge was to solicit buy-in from the grandmother of the child, a trusted and respected community member and to expose her to the questions that I am likely to ask other children. Even though Bandla had failed Grade One the previous year, one of the girls visiting the homestead who was listening in, complimented him on his command of the research subject and said that he was very intelligent. This in-turn injected

confidence in him and made him feel very proud and on the other hand, made me confident as it confirmed my assertion that his knowledge of cattle was above that expected of a child of his age in our current times. I trusted that he would offer the best advice on who within his age group, in his area would be good to interview. I purposely wanted him to understand that being interviewed was not an intimidating process and therefore assured other young people that I would interview on the process, based on his experience. To dispel conceptions of myself as a knowledge powerhouse, I told him I was a learner and asked him to teach me about cattle as my knowledge of them was near non-existent. Though puzzled about my comment, it did however inject more confidence in him. This is the approach I adopted for interviewing all the other children in the study. The presence of elders or someone familiar to them when I interviewed them was also a decision I took for transparency of the process and to dispel any misconceptions that anybody might have had about the study. I took time to explain what the study was about to my young interviewees before starting an interview. I had the impression that most considered the study as a trivial affair.

2.8.8.3 Interviews, observations and reflections

Interviews of 6-10 year olds and *Izingqwele*

Even though cattle minding has been, from times gone by, considered a masculine subject, from the onset of my study I had conceived of my research sample as made up of boys and girls aged between 6-10 years (three from each site and from cattle owning communities). As a result, during my 2015 visit to Mpembeni, I consulted with Bandla and his friend Siphe on potential girl children within their age group that I could interview. His friend came up with six names which I here cite in pseudonyms in the following interview extract:

There are girls that also go to the dipping they are accompanied by their mothers. There are four girls. Phumzile Mthethwa (8), Nomafulununu Dlamini ((9), Sanelisiwe Masuku (9), Nonhlanhla Khumalo (at Somfula Primary) is accompanied by her grandmother. Bekithemba Buthelezi – is accompanied by her grandmother. The girls start school at 8 and the boy Mfundo starts school at 6 and is at Grade 7.

It is interesting that these names are not singularly presented. What is evident is that in the carrying out of the cattle activities, the children are supported by senior women relatives which denotes the supportive, protective and capacitating role the relatives play.

As can be seen from this list, there were a number of girls I could interview but setting appointments through either their parents/guardians or grandparents for consent was not easy and at the times agreed upon, as they often had domestic duties to perform. Adjustments on my approach had to be made. As a result, I interviewed three girls within this age range and they were from the Simelane homestead in Nkweleni neighbouring the Mpembeni dipping tank. They wanted to be interviewed as a group which I agreed to. I interviewed eight boys. Three of these boys, which included Bandla, were from Ezidonini and dipped at the Sovana dipping tank which lies a mere 200 metres from the Mtshali homestead. Two of them were aged 8 in 2016 and one was aged 9. They were all interviewed at the Mtshali homestead. The five other boys were members of the Simelane homestead in Nkweleni and were interviewed as a focus group; their ages ranged from 8 years to 10 years of age.



Figure 2.9: Children photographed with the researcher at the end of two focus group interviews

Additional to this group of the 6 to the 10 year-olds was a group that fitted into a category called *izingqwele* (*ingqwele* {singular} *umfana obehlula bonke abanye* – a boy that excels above others in the broad activities that take place in the pastures including stick fighting etc. and not females). Two of them were male and one was female (my use of *izingqwele* is a de-emasculatation and neutralisation of the word as it has been stretched beyond its conventional male domain use). Their ages were 15, 20 and 21 respectively. I struggled to find girls in this age group who were cattle herders as they were not in the majority in the areas chosen for the study. The one female teenager within the sample was not imparting her skills to anyone. The decision to include youth within this study was informed and triggered by what emerged from a pre-research unstructured interview

with a 79 year-old male community elder, Demezane Ntombela. Ntombela's utterances made me realise the critical role played by *izingqwele* in bringing about intergenerational learning and I concluded that it would have been short-sighted of me not to include them, more so because the children themselves constantly refer to the older 'teenage others' whom they learn from. Confirmations of the teenager's roles further expressed by gogo Mtshali who conversation 'bombed' the interview between me and Demezane Ntombela. Sixty-nine year-old Mgabhi who was interviewed at this early part of the study, also indicated that boys of that age played a critical role in teaching the younger ones.

2.8.8.4 Interviews of teachers

The interviews of the teachers were markedly different from those of the community members. They formed the second phase of my interviewing plan. I elected to do a 'skim through' analysis of the data that I had gathered from the community and use the insights from them to structure the interview questions of the teachers. It is for this reason that I interviewed them six months after the first phase research investigation. The community elders had enquired as to what I was going to do with what they had told me and I had told them that I was going to share with the teachers so that they could understand what community members conceived of the education they were offering and the timely interactions that took place between the parents/guardians of the children they taught and themselves. I therefore needed careful time to consider what to share and ask the teachers about. Parents were of the view that they had a role to play in formal education and mine was to find out if there were shared views as far as that was concerned. So, besides questions related to curricula, my intention was to use the interviews as a way of validation. I interviewed all the teachers in isiZulu and their responses were mainly in isiZulu with a blend of English here and there.

2.8.9 Data analysis and presentation thereof

Garner (1991, p. 140) referred to data analysis as teasing out "what we consider to be the essential meaning in the raw data; to reduce and re-organise and combine so that readers share the researcher's findings in the most economical and interesting fashion".

Data analysis was a continuous process which took place as I translated interviews from isiZulu to English, analysing my questions and research questions and reflecting on whether they were being responsive to my project or not (see appendixes 5 and 6). Every translated interview had to have an aha! My journal had an 'aha section' where I recorded all aha entries. Analysis also took place in conversations with my research assistant as we reviewed field work notes and activities. Pre-analysis as skimming through after my phase one field constituted parts of analysis. However, the bulk of analysis was summative analysis.

Confronting the bulk of my data was a paralysing process punctuated with long periods of procrastination which took a period of three months. Despite the numerous guidelines for data analysis, I must confess that it was the most difficult process to pin down to a method. Garner's statement here assumes that the data we are dealing with is raw. The data I dealt with was not always raw as can be noted from my italicised stories which had been shelved in memory and forced out to converse or comment on the field emergent data. Field data called upon me to reflect on my formal practice as a researcher and my relationship and history with cattle. The data in my head was at times spiritual and intangible in conversation with data that emerged from conversations. Sometimes, switching off from interaction with data was impossible where one literally took data in dream world conversations. My near tangible data was of course conversations, observations (inclusive of experiential observations of touch, smell and taste) and formal texts such as the curriculum statements and literature that was related to my research question. For this reason, Belay's (2012) reference of dealing with the analysis of maps in his study on participatory mapping as "conversing with the maps" resonated with the analysis of my data.

Living in the field of my research for extended periods raised concerns from my supervisor that I might get too much data and get overwhelmed by it. Her advice was that when my enquiries no longer raised new insights, I should realise that I had enough data. That was the best advice and the reason I was able to leave the field before I started feeling like a cat entangled in a ball of wool. The amount of data was overwhelming and my view was that it would not comfortably lend itself to the exercise of coding and sorting into imposed thematic topics, which I had anticipated doing. I was aware of computer-assisted qualitative data analysis (Bloor & Wood, 2006) which should yield standardisation. I was also aware of thematic coding and the variety of methods such as colour, word coding, thematic coding etc. I trialled coding which created messier data as more and more

themes emerged and everything could fit everywhere. Computer assisted analysis and coding into themes was off-putting and I felt like I was disciplining my data into imposed structures that it was refusing to twist into. I conceived of a data analysis strategy that would work for me which may be considered as “unscientific” in a technical sense.

In my search for analytical solutions, my background as a student of history and literary studies led me into literary analytical traditions closely aligned to narration (see for instance, Rodway’s 1982 *The craft of criticism*). Some of the techniques I used were borrowed from literary methods of text analysis. As a student of literature I was trained in reading narrative creative texts, interpreting the message the writer conveys to me if any (literary tools - what is the writer saying, why, where, when, what mood comes through his message, how many times is that said, what is said about the writer and what does the writer say about him/herself?). The analysis of the text is very much informed by who the reader is and what the reader brings to the text. It is based on reading, digesting the whole and deriving meaning from the whole.

As the children are at the core of the study, I read all the transcripts of interviews. I slept over the stories. My brain summarised the stories and selected what Garner referred to as “the essential raw meaning of the data” subconsciously. The next day I wrote out from my mind the summarised story from the children’s stories. What emerged, was the meaning I had made out of the children’s stories as they resonated with me. I then imported the interview scripts at the bottom of my summarised text and weeded my questions out of the interview. The result was that each child had a story. I again imported all the transcribed interviews as they were. Now sitting in my document was a) a summary from my head; b) a unique story from each child; and c) the interview script. I looked for commonalities from all the children’s stories and unique features from each of the children’s stories. Patterns started emerging. This method was not the easiest but it allowed for the richness from each story to emerge. The raw interview script was used to import the conversation from each child as has been noted. This is the method I used to analyse the data from the youth and the teachers. The aha’s that I had collected within the course of my data collection phase functioned as commentary or/and are some of my major findings. This style of analysis was in consistence with my writing style and the counterhegemonic design of my study.

I read the data from the elders after the analysis of the children's data and used it as commentary to the findings that had emerged from the children's stories. Considering the amount of data that I collected in the field I have realised a number of themes that could be used for other research topics. It is fair to say that I did not use all the data that I sourced from the field however the data I used was sufficient to answer my research questions.

My analysis of text; that is mainly the curriculum statements, was guided by a number of topics. I looked for evidence of:

- a) current and future relevance;
- b) presences of environmental values that create cohesiveness between people and planet such as ubuntu;
- c) silences;
- d) spaces for in-betweenness;
- e) curriculum support resources;
- f) the results of the curriculum interventions;
- g) readiness of context and people to the curriculum;
- h) colonialities and biases.

The last chapter of my thesis is a continuation of analysis which leads to open-ended conclusions. It is a conversation between my study findings and the literature. It is a way of gleaning out the main story(ies) that emerged from the field and literature in response to the research question.

I also realised the disadvantages of limiting one's focus when analysing one's data on the more obvious tangible aspects as outlined in one's research plan at the expense of the instruments, opportunistic moments and strategies employed to aid the processes that surfaced the strata and complexity of contexts and data that a researcher may have encountered. To give an example, my visit to the community headman, was solely to solicit his help to alert the dipping tank community heads of my study. This visit ended up as an unplanned interview with three of his visitors which revealed gender and power relations as the men sat on stools and we sat on the ground on grass mats discussing the masculinity of cattle. The understanding of these relationships may take place at the data interpretation and analysis phase; hence the need to unpack processes as aiders and ushers to complexity. The think-on-your-feet choices and decisions I made instrumentally unveiled

particular attributes such as the relations of and within the site, between people, people and their livestock and the environment and most importantly, the multi-varied ways of knowing and learning.

2.8.10 Presentation of data analysed and validity

Tomaselli, Dyll and Francis (2008, p. 353) raised a number of questions about the writing of the critical ethnography story and autoethnography arguing that:

Published ethnographic studies are written as coherent wholes, and the mess and chaos of everyday life is hidden from the transcripts or streamlined into often beguiling theoretical coherence.

I consider my study as a critical ethnographic project, attuned to projects framed on solid self-reflexivity foundations such as the Lather and Smithies one, as reflected in their research report *Troubling with Angels* (1997). Such is the justification for sharing the complex messy process with my messy data.

I found the data, especially that sourced from the children and youth, inconsistent, full of run-on sentences, yes and no responses, not straightforward and crisp, but woolly, common-sensical and bland. With hindsight, I can now say that such feelings of insecurity could be attributed to the lack of an intimate understanding of cattle as a subject of research as well as my lack of experience in interacting with young children to source data for such a complex research enterprise. With persistent re-readings and a developed understanding of the ways and manners children respond, the data gradually morphed into rich illuminatory stories. In reflecting on my insecurities, I came to a conclusion that we don't research certain issues because we understand them, but because we want to know them beyond the representational knowledge that is captured in books and therefore venture into the field to seek undisciplined knowledge from primary data sources. Insecurities in ethnographic projects are echoed by Lather and Smithies (1997) in their researching on HIV/AIDS as they had not experienced the effects of the virus and felt they lacked the experiential knowledge of the subject they were tackling. Critical ethnography first, as a reflexive investigation method of immersion in the site, and secondly, as a particular way of writing, had to be methodologically strengthened. This was done through semi-structured and responsive-to-utterances interviews and through day-to-day observations which did not only inform and mediate

research findings but also validated or/and challenged pre-analysis interpretations such as the ones from my interviews of the 6 to 10 year olds of Mpembeni.

This therefore brings into the fore the importance of **transgressive validity** and its importance for this study. Denzin (cited in Bloor & Wood, 2006) argued that validity should focus on the subject rather than accuracy and an improved understanding of the subject should be considered as a reflection of validity. **Triangulation** and **member checking** are regarded as some of the techniques a researcher should consider for validation in ethnographic type studies. Lather's approach to validity was my approach. Lather (1993) promoted a number of poststructuralist methods that are akin to those necessary in postcolonial studies, as they disrupt the imposed order and techniques that are so methodically technicist that they potentially shield complex truths. The disruptive techniques that she mentioned are paralogical diversity (reflected in my juxtaposition of coloniality and postcoloniality and the possibility of third spaces), rhizomatic validity (reflected in my interest in following the ethnographies of cultural expression of culture), voluptuous validity (allowing for the full picture to emerge) and ironic validity (not shying away from the critical and paradoxical) (Lather, 1993, pp. 685-687). My style of writing, including the italicised sections of my thesis, are evidence of my employment of transgressive validity. I narrate some parts of stories as told, which I juxtapose and iteratively engage alongside the more formal research process narrative to create intertextuality between the two texts (see Lather & Smithies, 1997). This representation allowed me to communicate the complexity and the emergence of potential hybrid third spaces through intertextuality that will not 'flatten' the rich and complex cultural expressions found in the community. The second phase of my data collection involved member checking. I reported some of the results of the study to teachers and began the exploration of third spaces. In an ethnographic study, Barret and Williams (2002) (cited in Bloor & Wood 2006) considered the use of **thick descriptions** and the use of direct quotes i.e. the richness of the narrative voice to be important for trustworthiness of the account. Evident in my narrations is an involved ongoing reflexivity on my part which makes it a given that the same study, on the same site and everything equal by another researcher, would unveil completely different data and not yield results similar to the ones I arrived at, because of my responses to the field.

2.9 REFLECTIONS AND SUMMATIVE COMMENTS

I overlooked the depth, potential and importance of my research home as research space where I first spent three months full-time and one month a year later. Looking back into my research home space beyond the daily notes I kept, beyond the interviews I conducted and the observations I made and recorded, was the growth of me as a researcher and the growth of my young key informant Bandla. It is the home I lived in and its people that I researched that centrally shaped and reshaped my thoughts and onsite analysis. I functioned as a guest, as an active observer, as well as a participant in cattle caring activities with the homestead children. I also tried to live as ordinary a life as I could possibly with all other members of the homestead to try and not induce performative and posed behaviour for them. I did feel I was immersed beyond the dictates of my research project: looking for freezers to store meat for a cow that was finished off and being paid with a pregnant goat, negotiating and queueing for cattle feed, carrying water buckets to fill up the water tyre for the cattle to drink from, whenever in the rare times water came out of the one water tap in the yard and looking up weather forecasts on request on the internet. Hindsight, which is sometimes referred as the best sight, gives me the perspective to now look back into those contexts and times and see the single trees within the forest I was part of. It is the privileging detached position that Elias (1987) refers to.

Based on these hindsight reflections, it made perfect sense to centre my homestead key informants as the pivots of my units of analysis within the study with a further justification that it worked well and in synch with my style of writing. After all, it was in conversations with Bandla that my interest in cattle as a subject of my research was sparked. He was a key informant within the grouping of young children by virtue of being a subject of my constant observations and someone I participated with in activities relating to cattle and others in the homestead while I stayed there. Gogo Mtshali was like Bandla, also a resident and hostess key informant that I stayed with. I chose therefore to centre Bandla's experiences, key aspects of conversations with him, extracts from interviews conducted with him and general observations that I made which related to all his learnings within the homestead. In Chapter 5 therefore, extracts from interviews with him peppered by my observational insights as well as views from other children interviewees, scaffold or/and serve as commentary to the much broader research subject. In literary studies, Bandla would have been called the main character. This is not done to minimise the intergenerational learning experiences of the other children but was my way and method of centring the analysed conversations for better

reading and flow. The thematic areas of discussion that have been distilled from the data analysis process and which emerged from other young children respondents emanated from the broader research spaces he was implicated in. Gogo Mtshali occupied nearly as prominent a status as Bandla and functioned as a key respondent commentator amongst other elders.

This chapter was an opener to the research questions and the sensitising constructs and enablers to the research methods, approach and techniques employed in the field. The next chapter unpacks the theoretical and philosophical lenses that inform the study and how they are crocheted into each other. These are intergenerational learning, sociocultural theory and postcolonial theory.

CHAPTER 3: FOOD FOR THOUGHT – THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK INFORMING THE STUDY



Figure 3.1: An offering of blood stew on the ceremony marking the end of mourning at the Mtshalis

Freud, man of Dreams

Credo, sanusi and messenger of the departed

I could not sleep last night

Many a nights I could not sleep

Theory is a dark place with hallucinatory dreams

I was the colonial Rhodes University gate that Cecil John Rhodes bestrode saddled on his horse

Damn fool to call that beast 'research' Cecil

Dumbo is more fitting a name

'Hush' said a voice above my head

'Theory is but pus pressed out of a boil'

I looked up and saw Kwame Nkrumah

Authoritatively, he roared

"1964, Remember 1964?"

Lioningly he roared –

"We must ourselves take part in the pursuit of scientific and technological research as a means of providing the basis for our socialist society, Socialism without science is void. {..."

Then he faded away

Nkrumah faded away

From a green forbidding lake emerged King Sobhuza

"hush child, hush", he said

"I spoke in 1972 and many a word fell on deaf ears, Now I speak again!"

- *It is my unshakeable belief that Africa should endeavour to re-trace herself. She should labour hard to regain and maintain her old traditional and cultural virtues and values whilst blending with any acceptable foreign traditions. It causes pain to see Africans condemning and discarding their own good things in preference to the foreign ones"*

In my dream last night a man in white robes chased me up the roof,

I ran and ran like the wind

I ran like a thought into the vaults of memory

How could he catch me when he was tripping on his robes?

Like wings his robes lifted

Into space He dissolved

And I was pursued by a giant mosquito

Singing annoyingly into my ear

I am Credo Mutwa And be my messenger he said – tell them this –

I weep even now when Eurocentric education is being fed to our children. Fed in order to make them Afrofobes, creatures that hate and despise their motherland, which look down in contempt upon their own people, because this is what all European educated black people do. They despise Africa and all she stands for. And they are in contempt of the culture of her people. They are still even now doing the colonialists' dirty work for them, because if you want to destroy the culture of a nation, you must brainwash the youth of that nation and make them do your dirty work for you.

There is not a single university in Africa, even now which teaches our people the truth about themselves. There is not a single school in South Africa even now which teaches our people about what it means to be an African.

I but have visions, visions and imaginations

Imaginations About Dialogues

I imagine research, research in dialogues, research where we talk and do not extract

I imagine research reports that the blind can listen to

I imagine research where we go back to understand why the grain pit and the silo is but one thing

I imagine research where engineers and etymologists alike build grain pits

I imagine research where my voice speaks and my voice speaks my utterings

Where my knowledge is not packaged into reports.

Where my cowries are mine.

To thank me is to recite my father's father's father's name

Masuku, Nhlane, Thundabathole bafokazane basemzini.

Recitations that say – you OWN these words

You the one testicted from Masuku

Let my granddaughter find my name in Mr Google's drawers

So she knows that I spoke to you.

You want to silence me with your research ethics so that you can eat my words?

I imagine pages and pages

where shadows of my being stared frozen into your lens

where all have names and I am, just the other –

Me who has a name.

The Park Manager is George and I a ranger

My texted 54 year old brow and rheumy eyes

Rest on the nameless framed image of flies feasting on a runny nose

marked "the causes of diarrhoea".

White people never get diarrhoea?

Do not rewrite the history that I tell you in DNA
The remains of my SARAH Bartmann's have been lab poked and litmus tested
It is enough for you to know she was born around the Gamtoos River.
You want to prove otherwise for who?
Leave my remains be in Mapungubwe
Why can't I rest in peace?
Why am I in pieces?
Why must I be a research project lying in dark and forbidding drawers of colonial buildings?
Where are my claypots?
RELEASE ME
LET ME SPEAK
DON'T STEAL MY WORDS
DON'T STEAL My Hoodia
YOU own Basmati?
You own Rooibos?
You now tell me an enema is OK
You laughed at me and said it was barbaric
You who has become an expert of ME walk down in robes
Black robes like bats
I am an expert of myself
Speak with me not of me
I see visions,
My ancestor spoke to me in my dream last night
and I had no tape recorder.
Then rode in the one-legged one, Mvelincanti
Minerva, Isis, Athena, Neith, Serapis and Ganetha spoke in tongues inaudible
Their words were all over the floor when I woke up
I threw them in a blender
Is this goo timeless goddesses the theory that could frame my thoughts?

3. INTRODUCTION TO THE CHAPTER

This chapter foregrounds the theoretical articulations of postcolonial theory for this study. This theory informed the methodology and is the lens through which I viewed the different contexts of my study – primarily home, pasture and school as learning spaces. It further served as a critical mirror within which I examined and questioned the relational identities of myself as ‘Other’ in the field that emerged from my encounters and involvements into the lives of the subjects. It also provided the reflexivity tools for me to examine my sociocultural intergenerational learning.

I will further describe some of the terms that owe etymological parenthood to the word ‘colony’ and that make up part of the collective used under the umbrella of Postcolonial Studies within Postcolonial Theory. A brief non-linear progression of the germination and establishment of the field of study will be given. This will include a discussion on the relationship and or meaning of postcolonial theory, postcoloniality and decoloniality. The tenets, arguments, contexts and critiques of the postcolonial condition by the key critical theorists Edward Said (Palestinian), Gayatri Spivak (Indian) and Homi Bhabha (Indian) will be discussed. A summary of the key tenets and arguments of the following theorists will also be briefly shared and highlights of how they speak to the subject of the study illuminated: Argentinian semiotician Walter D Mignolo; Ethnic Studies theorist Ramon Grosfoguel; Boaventura de Sousa Santos, an economist and legal scholar; Mamood Mamdani, a Ugandan academic and political commentator; Achille Mbembe, a Cameroonian philosopher; Valentin-Yves Mudimbe, a Congolese philosopher; and Kwame Anthony Appiah, a British-Ghanaian philosopher and cultural theorist and Kenya’s Ali Mazrui.

The key terms in postcolonial theory that should surface from the discussion are: ambivalence, colonial education, essentialism, ethnicity, exoticism, hybridity, identity, ideology, language, metanarrative, mimicry, nation/nation state, orientalism, Other, race, semiotics, space/place, subaltern and worlding. Gandhi (1998: ix) referred to those key concepts that embody with ambivalence as “nationalism and internationalism, strategic essentialism and hybridity, solidarity and dispersal, the politics of structure/totality and the politics of the fragment”.

The last part of the chapter will focus on the main tenets of the theory and what the theorists say about culture, education, context and the environment, space and the people who inhabit it along with the relational dynamics of all. The main purpose of the chapter is to contextualise the

theoretical framework that informs the study. My purpose therefore is to pull out the main insights from the theoretical discussion and point out the particular routes to be followed, the particular counsel to illuminate areas of emphasis, commentary and views that have congruence, guidances etc. that are critical to respond to the research question in its particularity as *A postcolonial exploration of sociocultural intergenerational learning through cattle as a medium of cultural expression*.

In short, I aim to distil from their arguments the bearing they would have within the South African context if any, or how to draw it into the context of the case study unit which is a community within which there are homes and schools.

3.1 WHAT IS POSTCOLONIAL THEORY?

‘Postcolonial’ is spelled as one word or with a hyphen between the post and colonial. For the purposes of this thesis, I will use the non-hyphenated word. Postcolonial theory has its roots in Literary Studies (Kennedy, 1996) and is one of those very difficult theories to define because of its “disciplinary dispersion” (Gandhi, 1998; Young, 2009) meaning that it has been taken up in the Social Sciences, Humanities, Anthropology and Theology. As Gandhi (1998, p. viii) put it, “it seems to lack an ‘originary moment’ or a coherent methodology”. She traced its intellectual history to a dialectic between Marxism in one respect and poststructuralism/postmodernism in another. A number of scholars hold the view that activities associated with what is encapsulated in postcolonial theory date as far back as times preceding the transatlantic slave trade (see, for instance, Rodney, 1983; Grosfoguel, 2013; Rukundwa and Van Aarde, 2007). It is for the above reasons and the divergence in thought that I agonised for months on end on how to articulate with coherence what postcolonial theory is. Many a times I was encouraged by peers to use the term ‘decoloniality’ in place of postcolonial theory but I was loathe to do so without understanding its use and progression, as this is a term that has gained mileage and currency and is in popular usage in current times. I am confident so say, using a metaphor as a literary tool of analysis, that decoloniality is but a grape within a bunch of grapes called Postcolonial Theory.

Postcolonial theory is concerned with/about colonialism. According to Wikipedia (downloaded March 29, 2017) the role of postcolonial theory is to establish “intellectual spaces for subaltern peoples to speak for themselves, in their own voices, and thus produce cultural discourses of

philosophy, language, society and economy, balancing the imbalanced us-and-them binary power-relationship between the colonist and colonial subjects". Its primary aim is to illuminate and heterogeneously critique the direct and indirect effects of colonialism; in essence, it aims to function as a counterhegemonic response to the complex processes of colonialism through the application of theories and methods from fields such as literary studies, philosophy, ethnography, semiotics and psychoanalysis, to mention a few (Daniels, 2014). There are a number of key terms that are relational to and also characterise the theory that will be in use throughout the thesis and explained in content and context which display ambivalence and/or contestations as a defining trait.

3.2 PERSPECTIVES ON POSTCOLONIAL THEORY

The definitions with prefixes, suffixes, verbs, hyphens, -isms, tenses, social constructs and so forth that etymologically grew from the word 'colony' and are used to explain how colonialism impacted and continues to impact any and all in the colonised territories, are diverse. The 'postcolonial' within the title of my study and framing theory refers to more than the literal meaning of the prefix 'post' as understood in the language of the English. Young noted that "what might seem to be the obvious core meaning for postcolonial, that is coming after the colonial, cannot be taken for granted" (2009, p. 13). He said that he preferred to "preserve the historical specificity of the term, and to think of the postcolonial as involving what it might simply refer to as the aftermath of the colonial", a definition I am comfortable with. Broadly speaking, the epoch when countries of Western Europe physically stopped their enforced violent exploitative and imperialist expansion and occupation of countries outside of their geographical and political mandate, can be referred to as the postcolonial period. Young's (2009) further counsel is that the postcolonial must be understood as "involving" the aftermath of the colonial, which means that 'postcolonial' doesn't always mean what meets the eye.

Colonisation, on the other hand, is a human imperial act of forced occupation and its collective of associated social, political and economic intent and doings, is commonly and compoundly referred to as *colonialism*. To Altbach (1995, p. 452) "traditional colonialism involved the direct political domination of one nation over another, thus enabling, the colonial power to control any and all aspects of the internal and external life of the colony". Then, there is postcolonialism, which is

supposedly a period that succeeds colonialism, an aftermath of occupation and the condition of control without occupation. Sawant (2011) asserted that there are divergent views in relation to defining postcolonialism which may also refer to a set of complex activities/the relationship or/and the continuation of colonialism, in the sense that the colonies mainly get freedom only from political rule. Upendra Baxi's (2000, p. 540) consideration of postcolonialism from a human rights angle is that of "a troubled continent of contested conceptions". Andreotti's (2014, p. 7) statement qualifies Baxi and further elasticates the definition by maintaining that colonialism "subtly implies a set of ethical practices that render it impossible to turn our back to difficult issues, such as our complicity in systemic harm, the persistence of relations of dominance, complexities and paradoxes of crossing borders, the gap between what we say and what we do, or our own sanctioned ignorances". This is a view that is consistent with Paraskeva's (2012). Gandhi's (1998, p. 4) definition considers postcolonialism as "a theoretical resistance to the mystifying amnesia of the colonial aftermath. It is therefore a task of revisiting, remembering and interrogating the colonial past".

These definitions are testimony to the plethora of definitions on colonialism. This is because postcolonialism "represents a field of debate, not a single project, its areas of inquiry are multiple. Researchers from different disciplines challenge one another constantly" (Young, 2011, p. 170). In another respect, the term 'colonisation' can be stretched beyond human to human actions to describe human aiding actions in the spread and domination by certain species of flora and fauna of habitats they are not endemic to, as the case may be with *lantana camara* in Southern Africa. What one can glean from the definitions above is that, first, the terms colonialism and postcolonialism should not only be understood at the literal level. Secondly, that the terms postcolonialism and colonialism within postcolonial theory are at times used interchangeably to mean the 'persistence of relations of dominance'.

My exposure to postcolonial theory goes back to the earliest 1980s, when I was a student of African History and Literary studies at the University of Swaziland. The thinking that defined our perceptions then and critique of colonialism was consistent with many thoughts echoed in postcolonial theory, which is also aligned to the Negritude movement in the readings of texts such as Camara Laye's *African Child*, Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* and *No Longer at Ease*, as well as Ayi Kwei Armah's *The Beautiful Ones are not yet Born*, to name a few. Debates on Postcolonial

Studies have evolved on the elusive and nebulous condition it seeks to frame, which we referred to in Swaziland at that time as neocolonialism.

Another term worth discussing is 'decolonisation'. Young (2009) and Grosfoguel (2013) shared the view that decolonisation precedes colonial departures and may refer to struggles that date as far back as the voyages of 'discovery' and the encounters and all manners of occupation. I will discuss three meanings of the word 'decolonisation' that emerge from definitions by some theorists and I would like to clarify how they will be used in this dissertation. The first one is the process and act of abandoning of governance and occupation of territories by colonisers. The second meaning relates to purposeful acts by the colonised to expose embedded, sophisticated and complex strategies and processes that the coloniser planted and continually services to perpetuate relationships of domination and subjugation of anything and all to his benefit. The third one, is to erode and replace colonising strategies with thoughts, ideas, and actions that relate to rethinking, unlearning etc. that have, to a great extent, contributed to re-centring other forms of knowledge, knowing and doing.

Frantz Fanon (1925-1961) a Martinique born psychiatrist, philosopher and revolutionary confronted colonialism from a psychiatric, psychoanalytical angle. *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952) and *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961) are testimonies to his thought and an exposure of the racially motivated dehumanising colonial violence by the French on Algerians and exploitation of all their resources. He related the annihilation of humanness to French colonial justifications which he prescribed should be counter-challenged with similar force by the oppressed. Fanon considered colonisation as an act of aggression which needs to be countered with violence in contradiction to, for instance, the teachings of some resistance leaders such as the late Mahatma Gandhi and Albert Luthuli and the living Desmond Tutu and the Dalai Lama. Another challenger of colonial domination was Walter Rodney (1942-1980), a Guyanese born historian, whose role in generating some of the critical insights on colonialism are usually overlooked. His germinal text on *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1983) traces Africa's underdevelopment to as far back as the Trans-Atlantic Slave trade challenging dominant views and authored perspectives of African History. Rodney disquieted quietened colonial Occidental and dominating interventions that are at the root of the underdevelopment of Africa.

Rukundwa and Van Aarde (2007, p. 1171) argued that "postcolonial theory is a means of defiance by which any exploitative and discriminative practices, regardless of time and space, can be challenged". Edward W. Said, who is without contestation (Young, 2011) considered the king of

postcolonial theory, penned *Orientalism* (1978) a major text that examined the relationship between those in the West and the “Other” in the East (Goldie, 2015). He drew on the work of Foucault with respect to knowledge and power (Young, 2011), which underpins the positions of many postcolonial theory theorists. Other prominent early thinkers who have come to be considered amongst major postcolonial theorists include the queen mother of postcolonial theory, Gayatri Spivak (*Can the Subaltern Speak?*, 1988) and Homi Bhabha (*The Commitment to Theory*, 1988), whose concept of hybridity (amongst others) has come to be another major characteristic of the theory. Walter Mignolo (2000, 2003, 2005), a semiotician who deliberated on matters at the seams of knowledge and who explored metacognition in its relation to colonialism and peripherised knowledges, is another big name. Other prominent theorists from the Eastern geographical regions are Leila Gandhi, R. Siva, Dipesh Charkabarty, Amar Acheraion, to mention a few. Some of the leading scholars in Africa or/and of African origin are Achille Mbembe, Mahamood Mamdani, V.Y Mudimbe, Anthony Appiah, Ali Mazrui and Francis Nyamnjoh.

The following list offered by Young (2011) of writers from varied disciplines whose writings were anticolonial, has continued to grow to date: Simon Bolivar, José Martí, José Carlos Mariátegui, the Tupamaros, Carlos Marighella, Subcomandante Marcos, Daniel O’Connell, Michael Davitt, James Connolly, Countess Markievicz (Constance Gore-Booth), Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, Duse Mohamed, Mohammad Hassanein Heikal, Jalal Al-e Ahmad, James Africanus B. Hortus, J. E. Casely Hayford, Lamine Senghor, W. De Graft Johnson, Jomo Kenyatta, Cheikh Anta Diop, Ousmane Sembène, Kwame Nkrumah, Patrice Lumumba, Julius Nyerere, Mario de Andrade, Amilcar Cabral, Olive Schreiner, Solomon T. Plaatje, Nelson Mandela, Joshua Nkomo, Zanele Dhlamini, Steve Biko, Marcus Garvey, George Padmore, C. L. R. James, Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, W. E. B. DuBois, Sri Aurobindo, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, Mohandas K. Gandhi, Annie Besant, M. N. Roy, Sarojini Naidu, Bhagat Singh, Aruna Asaf Ali, Subhas Chandra Bose, B. R. Ambedkar, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sun Yat-sen, Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi Minh, General Vo Nguyen Giap, Zhou Enlai, Lin Biao, D. N. Aidit, Ti Kooti, and Donna Awatere.

3.3 POSTCOLONIAL THEORY THEORISTS

3.3.1 Edward Said

It is important to recognise that Edward Said's work on Orientalism, a foundational text on postcolonial theory draws some of its thought from Frantz Fanon and post-structuralist theorists, Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault. Likewise, Fanon draws on Lacan, a French psychoanalyst. This, therefore, means that all other branches of postcolonial theory owe part of their DNA to poststructuralist thought and denialist arguments and failure to acknowledge this genetic truth may be misleading (see Grosfoguel, 2011). An argument that says that we should consider drawing ideas to further develop the theory from thinking of the South is sound, but should not enforce an ignoring of developing liberating thought in the peripheries of the global north, such as inner cities etc. According to L. Gandhi (1998), the notion of discourse built into Orientalism is derived from Foucauldian texts, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and *Discipline and Punish*. A citation by Andreotti (2011, p.19) confirms Gandhi's observation and makes reference to Foucault's text which reads: "relations between discursive formations and non-discursive domains (institutions, political events, economic practices and processes)". This means that knowledge is bonded with power and that the justifications made by the West for their colonial adventure were power camouflaged and misrepresented as knowledge, a binary that Said exemplified in Orientalism. The reference to 'White mythology' by Derrida, cited by L. Gandhi (1998, p. 26), is said to suggest that the core of "Western rationality is racist and imperialist", another feature that Said gives in-depth attention. Frantz Fanon's influence on Said's work filters through in colonial Othering and description of the colonial binary in Algeria and Fanon's experience of colonial racism which Said expanded on in the context of Palestine and other Orientals (Credo, 2011).

Orientalism, an analysis of Western literary texts, by Said, documents the misrepresentation of Palestinians and other Orientals and further exposes the negating cultural representations of them by the Empire, illuminating ethnocentric views of knowledge as a binary of colonial power that accentuates and affirms colonial identities as superior. Disciplines implicated in promoting such views and called for reform are geography, politics, literature, history, ethnography and linguistics. This means that the act of educating in these disciplines was/is an act of indelibly inscribing and reproducing a colonially imposed identity powerfully packaged and disguised as neutral knowledge (Andreotti, 2011) imported from ideological processes of colonialism, displaying Western material and political power on the other. Said's book rang the bell to the persistent and perpetuated

imperialist colonising relations of power between the coloniser and colonised and the need to disrupt them and produce forms of knowledge “to help decolonize consciousness” (Go, 2013, p. 6) while substantiating Foucault’s call for the unleashing of subjugated knowledges. The idea of the Orient that Said unveiled is that of a European construction that serves to epistemologically and ontologically differentiate between the Orient and the main subject of the decolonial theorists, the Occident (Daniels, 2014).

3.3.2 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak

I found Spivak’s work impenetrable, deafening and it contradictorily marginalised and alienated me with the density of the language used. There is a marriage in ‘speak’ and ‘hear’ and I found them divorced in her texts. It is like the academy which should speak with and for us to authority in our presence needs to translate back to us what they communicate to authority. Her dense germinal text *Can the Subaltern Speak?* (1988) and others that follow, draw conclusions that her work is related to finding contradictions (aporias) to open up debates rather than proposing consistent solutions (Andreotti, 2011). Besides some of the criticism which I concur with, she commands respect for deepening postcolonial thought through the use of a deconstructivist feminist standpoint (Andreotti, 2011, Gandhi, 1998, Morton, 2007, Daniels, 2014). Her critique of Marxism illuminates the connections between the cultural and economic dimensions of colonialism, imperialism and globalisation critique (Andreotti, 2011). Spivak’s initial focus questions ethics of justifications and civilising processes exemplified by Hindu self-immolation of widows and practices that contend with “White men are saving brown women from brown men” (cited by Kapoor, 2004; Andreotti, 2011; Daniels, 2014). The women are considered as having made choices to commit suicide by the local men and the British activists feel justified to save them. Spivak refers to this act by the white men and brown men as one of righting wrongs in the face of others perpetually wronged. Spivak also considers prisoners, peasant labourers, tribal communities, subsistence farmers, etc. as the silenced.

Spivak’s 1988 text had been preceded by research work with a grouping of intellectuals that referred to themselves as the Subaltern Studies Group (Gandhi, 1998) with an intent “to allow the ‘people’ finally to speak within the jealous pages of elitist historiography and, in so doing, so to speak, for or to sound the muted voices, of the truly oppressed” (Gandhi, 1998, p. 2). Her particular questions are “Can we touch the consciousness of the people, even as we investigate their politics?

With what voice-consciousness can the subaltern speak?" (Spivak 1988: 285). She frowned at Foucault and Deleuze for desk-top interpretations of subaltern experience from an imperialistic vantage point and equated the South as data repositories for the development of thought which is neutralised, universalised and naturalised by the West (Kapoor, 2004; see also the work of Lewis-Williams & Pearce, 2004, pp. 146, 205, 206, 217). Spivak regarded such interpretations as an imperialistic form of epistemic violence protected by structured modernistic barriers, forbidding subalterns to speak for themselves (Daniels, 2014) and maintained that these produce class divisions and silencing.

Following Andreotti's description of Spivak's text (2011), which is consistent with Kapoor's (2004), the subaltern subject surfaces as a creation for domination by Spivak as subaltern agentic capabilities are incapacitated by her arguments that they cannot speak with authority because of the disempowering means given if given. Further to that, they may lack insight into their own predicaments created by a disempowering environment, a construction of neocolonialism of sanctioned ignorance. Her description of subalternism presents a hopelessness. Pouchepadass (2006, p. 189) said that postcolonialists make themselves intermediaries of the subaltern and pretend "to speak in the name of these subaltern peoples but only as an interpreter of their threatened cultural being". I realise that the blindspot on agency that Foucault is sometimes accused of, is recognisable in Spivak's view of the subaltern. She seemed to come up with justifiable barriers to imprison the agency of the subaltern. Another argument that Spivak surfaced is that of decentredness of the subject which creates an outside/inside binary and a questioning of authenticity and or essentialist standpoints, which she depoliticised. She said that strategic essentialism for purposes of liberational positions which is temporal, is justifiable as arguments of purity and ethnicity are universalising reifications of fluid and temporal identities.

She discussed an epistemic violence committed by imperialism which is constructed on sanctioned ignorance of the poor which places the past of colonialism, as faded as it is, on them. This is done, while blinding them with developmental policies which force on their shoulders the crippling weight and burden of poverty. Education is considered as one of those poverties and is used as a 'catch up' with the West civilization. I will delve into the detail of her positions on education in discussion to follow.

3.3.3 Homi Bhabha

Homi Bhabha, the author of *The Location of Culture* (1994), who was dubbed the 'Holy Trinity' by one of his major critics Robert J. C. Young, is undoubtedly another leading voice in postcolonial studies and as such made the list of "one of 100 Americans for the next Century" in the 1999 *Newsweek Magazine* (Huddart, 2006). The influencers of his critique are varied but the most prominent are Jacques Derrida, Jacques Lacan and Michel Foucault. He also examined Fanon's work quite intensely even though there are some arguments of misreading him (see Huddart, 2006). His approach of the colonial discourse is through a combination of psychoanalysis and post-structuralism (Andreotti, 2011). He is credited for coining and developing significant concepts which are vibrantly in the current debates such as Hybridity, Mimicry, Ambivalence, Stereotypes, Otherness etc., thus taking the colonial discourse discussion into further miles of complexity.

Bhabha challenged the thinking that preceded his entrance into the postcolonial debate by arguing that to see the world as divisions of unequal cultures, of the coloniser and colonised, as in Fanon and Said, is not only reductionist but also an oversimplification. The world should rather be seen as a human world instead of categories of first, third, Islamic, Christian etc. worlds (Huddart, 2006; Andreotti, 2011). Andreotti (2011) argued that as that may be Bhabha's view, the convergence of thought between him and Said lies in that they both "examine processes that divide, categorise and dominate the world". Colonialism should be seen downright as oppression and dominance and an epoch of varied nuanced, ambiguous and complex forms of contact and interaction, not mainly as differences between the coloniser and the colonised. It is 'difference', an illusion that the colonialists use to dominate the encountered; it is an act of asserting difference that creates a tension as ignoring the reality of sameness that leads to anxiety. Bhabha's focus, however, is on the similarities between the coloniser and the colonised and his exploration of means of agency for the Spivak subaltern.

To use the metaphor of a marble cake, I may say that the involved manner of discussion by Bhabha means that his concepts are intermeshed and used to describe the other. As a consequence, some authors maintain that 'ambivalence' is the anchor concept of Bhabhaian critique (Gandhi, 1998) while others consider this to be 'hybridity' (Andreotti, 2001). In the description of colonial encounters, Bhabha said that "it is not the colonialist Self or the colonized Other, but the disturbing distance in-between that constitutes the figure of colonial otherness" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 45). The in-betweenness is, in fact, the hybrid third space. Bhabha further elicited that we view identity

carefully as identity does NOT (emphasis mine) affirm a pre-given identity and therefore it does not profess who one is. There is an image on which one fixes an identity and the subject is transformed by assuming that image. This assertion by Bhabha brings to the fore the issue of ambivalence and the formation of identity and the construction of a political object. Gandhi said that the encounter between coloniser and colonised is, according to Bhabha, polarised and “necessarily bridged by a ‘third-space’ of communication, negotiation and, by implication, translation” (1998, p. 131). This means therefore that the coloniser and the colonised are involved in the transcultural dynamics of encounter.

I have already stated that ‘difference’ as the means of creating supremacy, serves the coloniser, yet the recognition of the colonised as equal, even if deferred by the colonizer, produces ambivalent subjects. The subject, as conceived by Bhabha, is caught up in a complexity of identities through a responsive engagement of copying the habits of the coloniser in repetition. This results in what is referred to as disturbing mimicry. This creates ‘not quite’ a copy of identity transformation that the coloniser intended (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2007, p. 125) but exposes the slipperiness of identities, the absence of predictability, the elusiveness of civilising and the absence of fixity necessary for the creation of Otherness (Andreotti, 2011, p. 27). In the South African context, the *fanakalo* (a South African language that was used by miners of different races amongst each other made up of different Southern African languages, including English and Afrikaans) of the mines could be considered as an example of mimicry, ambivalence and hybridity. However, Bhabha (1994, pp. 113-114) argued that, “hybridity is not a third term that resolves the tension between two cultures ... in a dialectic play of recognition” but is constant recognition whereby the colonised subject is rather free to negotiate and translate their cultural identities (Bhabha, 1994, p. 38). Some may argue that *fanakalo* was used to resolve tensions between two cultures and produces mimicry.

The radical denial of a hybrid and third space of enunciation by colonialists challenges and reveals the myth of the notion of the existence of a superior fixed subject who can construct the fixed inferior. The third space, as interpreted by Andreotti (2011, p. 31), is “where it is possible to return the colonial gaze and subvert the ambivalent construction of cultural supremacy itself, where colonial rule and the relational construction of colonizer and colonized can be destabilized from within”. Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (2007, p. 121) interpreted it as a “different model for resistance, locating this in the subversive counter-discursive practices implicit in the colonial ambivalence itself and so undermining the very basis on which imperialist and colonialist discourses

raises its claim to superiority". Mimicry, ambivalence and hybridity are Bhabha's offerings for decentring to subvert and rupture purity and decentre positions of power (Daniels, 2014).

Frauke Matthes (2005) explored the issue of boundaries and boundary crossing and hybridity in Bhabha's works through the writings of migrants and the meaning of double vision. She maintained that heterogeneity plays a role in surfacing new forms of creativity which allows for the interaction of one's past experiences with present ones. This makes me to consider and wonder about the place of *fanakalo* as a language, a language manufactured at the boundaries of difference.

3.4 DECOLONIALITY

In this section I would like to look closely at what decolonial thought is and then further give space to the thinking of Walter D. Mignolo, one of the major giants of decolonial thought.

There are a number of divergent views when it comes to the relationship between decoloniality and postcolonial theory; I will not give an exhaustive discussion on them but rather present a few. One is that decoloniality is the progression of postcolonial thought. The second is that postcolonial theory is the mother of the thought; thirdly, that decolonial thought is a theory that has no relationship with Western thought and has its own foundation and origin. The one point which I support and I have already alluded to, is that they share an etymological parenthood with the word 'colony'. The other point is that they have a theoretical background that is rooted in Saidian thought of being Othered and thus they have more in common than they are different. Therefore, in my view, decolonial thought, but not theory, is an off-spring of postcolonial theory. The decolonial branch is said to be an emerging and growing Latin American movement with Walter Mignolo and Anibal Quijano as theoretical seeders (Altmann, 2017). Other prominent theorists are Paul Gilroy, Madina Tlostovana (of Russian descent), Ramon Grosfoguel and Nelson Maldonado Torres, to name a few.

The postcolonial branch is much older, owing to the essence of *Orientalism* being an Othering of the East by the West which Spivak and contemporaries have nurtured and developed further to an extent that they are credited with the birthing of the "Subaltern Studies Group" and postcolonial studies. Therefore, the Latin American group refers to the approach to interrogating and addressing their colonial condition as a decolonial one. Nandi (2017) said that there are huge historical-

geographical-religious-cultural etc. differences that exist between the East Asia (de)colonisation condition and the Latin American one (I would add *economy* into those differences).

Walter D. Mignolo said that he had many times been asked about the difference between postcoloniality and decoloniality. His response has been that “both projects take on the meaning of decolonization ... although both projects drink from the same fountain, they are grounded in a different genealogy of thoughts and different *existentia*” (2011, p. xxiii). My open to contestation view is that decoloniality theorists take the conversation from Bhabha and all before him in another direction. Tlostanova and Mignolo (2009, p. 132) said that what decoloniality does is “the decolonization of knowledge and being by epistemically and effectively de-linking from the imperial/colonial organization of thought”. This, they maintained, is done by using different sets of concepts that share a different genealogy, a “non-Western or not quite Western genealogy of knowledge” (2009, p. 132). Grosfoguel (2011, p. 2) asserted that the focus of the Latin American subaltern grouping was to decolonise the Western canon and epistemology while the Asian Subaltern Studies group critiqued the Western European historiography as well as the nationalistic Eurocentric historiography of India. His other argument was that postcoloniality tends to focus more on issues in the academy rather than at the grassroots level. He voiced his concern about some subaltern groups with a tendency to produce studies “about” the subaltern “rather than studies with and from a subaltern perspective”. He accuses some members of the Latin American subaltern theorists who resided in America for doing such. Which, in my view alludes to the fact that the subaltern in such a scenario are not allowed to speak. The task at hand in Grosfoguel (2011:12) speak is to embark; on an anti-systemic decolonial liberation for social transformation in a non-reductionist way which should focus on, “a broader transformation of the sexual, gender, spiritual, epistemic, economic, political, linguistic, aesthetic, pedagogical and racial hierarchies of the “modern/colonial western –centric Christian-centric capitalist/patriarchal world system” (2011:12).

Decoloniality as a form of colonial resistance started in the Americas in the 16th century and the condition of colonisation precipitated postcolonial analysis (Srinivasan, 2017). The Latin American colonial subject was considered as something that breathes and the biggest mission was to try and eliminate it because these things were beyond the categorisation of inferior and did not have an identity worth stripping off. The mission to modernise and humanise the subject through varied ways which included religion was embarked upon after religious legal contestations (see Srinivisan,

2017 and Grosfoguel, 2011, on his argument on Descartes). On the other hand, the colonialists valued the Eastern and traded with them before colonising them, hence the voyages to the East. The Eastern subjects in this instance were classified as the Other and such Othering acknowledged their human existence, which later went hand in hand with negation to claim superiority as a means of controlling and domination (Srinivisan, 2017). Mignolo (2011) pointed to the fact that Occidentalism was the precursor to Orientalism.

Mignolo (2011) further made valid revelations on areas neglected by theorists on subalternarity and argued that in the description of the encounter by the colonised with the coloniser, the issues of racism, sexism, ecocide, ethnocide and genocide which characterise modernising and civilising are overlooked. Another point Mignolo emphasised was that when the West makes themselves the centre, generator and definer of global thought, this maintains continued definitions of the world from a western perspective which happens even with the poststructuralist critique. Grosfoguel (2011) alluded to this and it was fair justification for the breakup between the Subaltern Latin American group that wrote about the 'other' instead of writing 'with' and 'from' a subaltern position. As a consequence, Mignolo (2009, p. 452) recommended that as the physically decolonised, we need to recognise that the way we think is subconsciously and consciously framed and clouded by the colonial matrix of power. The result of this has been the production of distorted paradigms of knowledge which invigorate, empower and fuel globalised forms of coloniality.

The above debates, according to Grosfoguel (2011, p. 3), motivated for a need to decolonise subaltern as well as postcolonial studies and instead of criticising the injustices and marginalising of peripheralised thought, decolonial thinking and doing is aimed at criticising and disabling Eurocentric modernity. The determination is to "politicise epistemology from the experiences of those on the 'border', not to develop yet another epistemology of politics" (Laurie, 2012, p. 13).

3.4.1 Walter D. Mignolo

Walter Mignolo is an Argentinian semiotician and literary theorist who has written extensively on the concepts of global coloniality, the geopolitics of knowledge, transmodernity, border thinking and di/pluriversity in the context of his main focus – the modern and colonial world. He is one of the major theorists when it comes to decolonial thinking, evidenced by his major text *The Darker Side of Western Modernity* (2011) and *Learning to Unlearn*, which he co-authored with

M. Tlostanova (2012) and coupled with a number of articles on his positionality and justification for the development of decolonial thought.

Mignolo viewed coloniality as a constitutive element of modernity. His analysis was drawn from Quijano's concept on the 'coloniality of power' which Quijano says was founded on the colonial matrix of power. This is a concept that has been popularised by most decolonial thinkers. According to Mignolo (2009), this matrix of power operates as four interacting domains (also see Tlostanova and Mignolo, 2009; Grosfoguel, 2011) and is said to date as far back as the 16th century. The matrixes of power are described as follows:

1. *Control of the economy*, based on appropriations of and (and subsequently natural resources) control over labour: financial control of indebted countries;
2. *Control of authority*, based on the creation of imperial institutions during the foundation of the colonies or, more recently, by the use of military strength, forced destitution of presidents of countries to be controlled, the use of technology to spy on civil society, etc.
3. *Control of gender and sexuality*, having the Christian and bourgeois secular family as a model and standard of human sexual heterosexual relations; and heterosexuality as the universal model established by God (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries), first, and then by Nature (from the nineteenth century to the present);
4. *Control of knowledge and subjectivity* by assuming the theological foundation of knowledge, after the Renaissance, and the egological foundation of knowledge, after the Enlightenment; and by forming a concept of the modern and Western subject first dependent on the Christian God, and then on its own sovereigns, reason and individuality.

These four interacting domains, to a great extent, also explain the concept of global coloniality and Mignolo (2009) said that they are not linear but internationally webbed. Decoloniality therefore was conceived as a project with the grand purpose and task of dismantling all forms of coloniality founded in the afore discussed matrix of power. Decoloniality is to be understood as an alternative to modernity, a necessary shift that delinks itself from universals and binaries such as those alluded to by Bhabha in his critique. Mignolo (2002a) projected modernity as a conjoiner to coloniality and their negative impact is epistemic and ontological. They are both held together by colonial difference. The relationships of the world are held together and regulated in the power matrix and the only way out is a delinking from modernity and from the canonical thinking held together by

Foucault, Derrida and Lacan (Tlostanova & Mignolo, 2009). Tlostanova and Mignolo argued that postcolonial thought is founded on a Eurocentric critique of modernity. Mignolo's other advice was that the colonised must imagine other futures to break out of coloniality's stranglehold.

Another critical concept that Mignolo discussed is that of the geopolitics of knowledge. Mignolo (2002a, p. 59) believed that the history of capitalism and the history of Western epistemology do not only run parallel to each other, but are also complementary. The expansion and development of Western Capitalism was backed up and serviced by a western epistemology. To back up this argument Grosfoguel (2011) referred to Descartes' "cogito ergo sum" (I think, therefore I am), while Mignolo (2002a) referred to Sir Francis Bacon's pronouncement on human learning, which Bacon asserted was derived from the human soul and located in three areas – memory, imagination and reason. Even though these learning compartments have been developed and modified, they have been recognised and imposed by the West as the pillars of thought. The paradox is that as much as there was no room created for other forms of learning, the three pillars came to present the universal conception of knowledge (Mignolo, 2002a) at the convenience of ignoring the permeability of its walls. Bacon's pronouncement and assumed impenetrability of the three emanations is the universalisation and enforcement of "a conceptualization of knowledge to a geopolitical space of knowledge" (Mignolo, 2002a, p. 59). Grosfoguel (2011) proposed pluriversality, an opening up of knowledge that allows permeability instead of the promotion of universality.

Mignolo's (2002a) discussion of the colonial matrix of power asserted that the geopolitics of knowledge should be seen as not divorced from that of modernity and the modern world system. He went into detail differentiating between modernity (associated with literature philosophy and the history of ideas) and the modern world system (social sciences), which are supposedly different but display the geopolitics of knowledge. The convergence of modernity and the modern world system, which is exposed by Dussel and Quijano, is that the modern/colonial world system is part of a sociohistorical structure which goes hand in hand with the expansion of capitalism. Colonialism has colonial difference as its basis. Modernity has to be understood as a characteristic of Europe and the modern world system unveils and vividly exposes colonialism at a global scale and infiltrates the whole world.

Mignolo insisted that we overlook the view that the Eurocentric critique of modernity is the bottom line and consider Dussel's proposition termed transmodernity: "Transmodernity is not a strictly European but a planetary phenomenon, to which the "excluded barbarians" have contributed, although their contribution has not been acknowledged" (Mignolo, 2002a, p. 57). Grosfoguel (2011, p. 26) presented Dussel's argument for "a multiplicity of decolonial critical responses to eurocentred modernity from the subaltern cultures and epistemic location of colonized people around the world. Transmodernity is a diverse response to the problems of modernity redefined by Mignolo (in Grosfoguel, 2011) which comes from the margins of the world.

Another important concept discussed by Mignolo is critical border thinking (see Grosfoguel, 2011). Critical border thinking redefines citizenship, democracy, human rights, humanity and challenges Eurocentric definitions. It is "epistemic responses of the subaltern ... instead of rejecting modernity to retreat into a fundamentalist absolutism, border epistemologies subsume/redefine the emancipatory rhetoric of modernity from the cosmologies and epistemologies of the subaltern, located in the oppressed and exploited side of the colonial" (Grosfoguel, 2011, p. 25).

3.5 THE POSITIONALITY OF AFRICAN THEORISTS ON POSTCOLONIAL THEORY

The discussion above has mainly focused on thoughts from Asia and Latin America with global commentaries. It is critical to explore the meaning of postcolonial theory within the African continent. The colonial conditions in Africa, Asia and Latin America are not comparable. The African continent was/is much bigger and more diverse than the contexts, conditions from which the postcolonial and decolonial theorists locate their critique from and within.

Coloniality and decoloniality in Africa date as far back as the Trans-Atlantic Slave trade with its displacement of Africa's able minded and bodied population. Walter Rodney, a subject of colonialism, gives an intensely well-researched perspective on colonialism which challenges the colonial story on slavery and Africa's partition. The formalised manifestation of colonialism known as the Partition of Africa/Scramble for Africa/Conquest of Africa and dubbed a 'place in the sun' by Germany was preceded by the 15 November 1884 – 26 February 1885 Berlin Conference to regulate the imperialist interventions by Britain, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, Germany, Italy, France and the conference host Germany. Besides the rules for fair play, colonialism was still fraught with contestations and conflicts which metaphorically could be equated to 'dogs to a bone'.

It is fair to say neither postcolonial nor decolonial thought is sufficient to analyse and address Africa's complex colonial condition. One of the major complexities is languages. The intensity of colonialism has meant that traditional languages of Africa were (are) equally diverse with some, such as those of the Khoi and San extinct or facing extinction alongside their speakers. The burdensome basket of colonial languages inherited by Africa, a contributor to the extinction of some African languages divided Africa into colonial language communities. The publications of scholarly work are now mainly in these colonial languages. Language challenges amongst others, have rendered precolonial intellectual collections and their scholarly wisdoms, such as those housed in libraries like Timbuktu, shut off from the general African public. The few scholarly studies conducted in African languages in the diverse universities of Africa (i.e. University of Zululand authored in isiZulu and the first Xhosa authored thesis at Rhodes University) will mainly be accessed by speakers of those languages.

It must therefore be taken into consideration that the works of African scholars as the ones I intend to briefly present here, have been written from and influenced by postmodern thought in their critique of Africa, as well as evidence Saidian, Spivakian and Bhabhaian thought. Paradoxically new forms of critique have emerged, committing the very crime Said, Spivak and Bhabha are accused of: reliance on desktop postmodern critique. How can you use decolonial thought to examine African thought? Mbembe is accused of borrowing from postmodern thought to write on the African subject. The recent examination of Achille Mbembe's conception of the African subject, its subjection and subjectivity by Sithole (2014,) a Southern African scholar, employs and privileges decolonial thought with its lack of congruence on the African context. It is critical therefore to first acknowledge that the tools for evaluating the value of Africa's knowledge status have yet to be designed. Secondly, the critique of African scholarly writing is not balanced and takes a critical stance typical of postmodern critique typified by Sithole referred to here, amongst others. Thirdly, decolonial theorists have a tendency of flavouring their texts with African authors and branded decolonialists such as Biko and Mandela, who, however, never feature in their references as is the case with Sithole. Fourthly, it is interesting that Foucauldian terminology such as 'discourse' is used liberally by decolonialists who claim to challenge all links to modernity (see Sithole, 2014, p. 99).

The case in point could be that, as Africans, we have no vivid understanding or knowledge of the content, nature, value and status of our knowledge estate from a quality and quantity point of view. The insights shared by the selected African theorists featured in this chapter (Achille

Mbembe, Mamhood Mamdani, VY Mudimbe, Anthony Appiah, Ali Mazrui and Francis Nyamnjoh) have been privileged by the question of my research enquiry. Their work should be understood within the picture I have just painted, highlighting the contexts within which they write and the thought that came before their writing projects.

I elect to examine and deliberate the views of postcolonial theorists V.Y. Mudimbe, Francis Nyamnjoh and Anthony Kwesi Appiah and their correlation to education later in this chapter, rather than discuss their broader postcolonial thesis. Mudimbe's renowned publication (besides his popular works of fiction) is *The Invention of Africa* (1988) which exhibits his thought with regard to what he considers as African philosophy (see also Mudimbe, 1994). This 1988 publication earns him the critique of essentialising African culture. British-Ghanaian Kwame Anthony Appiah, who is a citizen of America, is the opposite of Mudimbe and hardly tolerates essentialist views such as those of Mudimbe's on culture in Africa. Molefi Asante (2009) was extreme in labelling him as someone who hates his Africanness. Appiah authored a number of novels but is mostly known for *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (1992). He advocated for cosmopolitanism in place of essentialism and shared views on its role in education.

3.5.1 Ali A. Mazrui

I will be reliant on a commemorative lecture delivered to celebrate the life and times of Ali A. Mazrui to give a summative glimpse into his contribution to postcolonial theory in his insights of Africa. He is known for *The African Condition: A Political Diagnosis* (1980), his first book, and for writing and directing a controversial television series entitled, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage* (1986), premiered on BBC was based on a core theory on the invention of Africa and was accompanied by a publication similarly entitled, which was considered to be anti-African in Kenya. It covered the development of Africa's indigenous knowledge over time, European colonisation of Africa and the spread of Muslim and Christianity alluding to the decay of Africa. He asserted that Africa's identities were complex and constructed out of a complex of African culture, Western culture and Islam; these were the heritages which were the core of his theory on the invention of Africa. Ndlovu-Gatsheni's (2014) lecture captured in his article entitled '*My Life is One Long Debate: Ali A Mazrui on the Invention of Africa and the Postcolonial Predicaments*' is my main source. Ndlovu-Gatsheni referred to how Mazrui's academic life was coined by one Wai in 1984 into distinct categories: Mazruiphilia and Mazruiphobia. Ndlovu-Gatsheni synthesised Mazrui's work beyond these brackets. Within the

drawer of Mazruiphilia, the most interesting is that of being considered by Horowitz (in Ndlovu-Gathseni, 2014, p. 2) in the list of '101 most dangerous academics in America'. Praise for his work ranges from journals, world leaders such as Kofi Anan and a variety of intellectuals, including Edward Said.

What is central is that his work could be provocative, creative and flowery as well as challenge academic conventions, breaking the seams that hold and guide academic work to the point of raising controversies and transgressing disciplines which had appeal to appreciation by some scholars and dismissiveness by others. Mazrui was a critic of the economic policies of Nkrumah and Nyerere and condemned Marxist ideals in Africa while endorsing Malawian Kamuzu Banda and Tshombe of the Congo. This was more apparent in his stance and view that Marxism was a dual westernisation that was silencing African intellect. He was Africa's biggest critic on its postcolonial failures. He was considered as an advocate of the recolonization of Africa with his strong leanings towards the West, challenging pan-Africanism in favour of diverse ideologies of African socialisms and favouring what he coined Africanisation of capitalism. His argument was that there was a need for economic growth instead of socialist policies aimed at fostering an 'equality in poverty'. To challenge criticism on his data sources, Mazrui justified the use of one's life and personal experience as data.

Mazrui advocated for the redemption of Africa; inward looking into Africa's ancestral connectivity at the traditional and local level and human race and outward looking from such space and context into the other world (a form of hybridity). He traced African leadership as elder traditional, warrior, sage and monarchical which have largely contributed to leadership styles that exhibit mobilisation, intimidatory, patriarchal, reconciliatory and bureaucratic make-up with a resultant status of dictatorial. Mazrui celebrated South Africa as likely to transgress this problematic status and couldn't have envisaged the current challenges it faces.

Aspects of the invention of Africa as an ongoing process and theory had great influence and were taken into broadened and more researched directions by V. Y. Mudimbe, Achebe and Soyinka.

3.5.2 Achille Mbembe

Achille Mbembe is a prominent postcolonial theorist who is currently a senior researcher at Wits University's Institute of Social and Economic Research. Based on his major publication *On the*

Postcolony (2001), Mbembe is regarded as Africa's sod cutter when it comes to postcolonial theory. Weate (2003) traced the thought that shaped his insights into the Asian postcolonialists and to Frans Fanon in Africa. Mbembe's book, though viewed negatively by a wide range of scholars such as Syrotinski (2012), Weate (2003), Sithole (2014), he is considered by Pouchepadass (2006) as the first of the postcolonialists to write out of the French colonies as a remark on the silence by the French to write on the postcolonial condition. Even though the book gives expression to and critiques European colonialism, a given in postcolonial theory, Mbembe further examined the "contemporary representations of Africa" (p. 188) confirming Pouchepadass's view of going beyond postcolonial theory. Mbembe is frowned upon by many of the critics listed above for his heavy reliance on a Eurocentric framework in relation to the manner in which he illuminates failures, deficiencies and pathology (a mockery in cartoon representations) in the postcolony. He exposes the colonial tyrants, their excesses, obscenity and their undermining conduct as a part of the individual internalised legacy which plays itself out in contemporary Africa. Mbembe ignores highlighting the sophisticated global machinery and its hand in the postcolonial disorders and decay he so articulately exposes. Pouchepadass (p. 191) said that "I am to some extent disappointed by the absence in this book of a reflection of the possible future of Africa". Syrotinski (2012) went so far as to refer to his writing as "genealogical misfortunes", while Weate (2003, p. 15) concluded that

Mbembe's project of opening up a new epoch of African writing beyond the colonial is, as it stands, doomed to failure. It commits the double error of attempting to erase the past completely as well as not providing any substantive ground for further development. *On the Postcolony* literally lacks body. ... His failure to see beyond de jure limitations, and his refusal to engage with everyday praxis and modes of creative resistance entail that his account is complicit with the very Western victimology that he has sought to avoid.

Mbembe has continued to write and focus on curriculum transformation in higher education (2015, and see review in Njovane 2015) and students' forms of protest, highlighting that they are locked in politics of solipsism in emphasising individual experiences of oppression and oppressive curricula. There are mixed views about his work, some accusing him of reifying individual experience and ignoring autographic literature as ways of articulating individualised pain of black bodies (see Njovane, 2015 and O'Halloran, 2015).

3.5.3 Mamhood Mamdani

Mamhood Mamdani is the current Director of Makerere University's Institute of Social Research in Uganda. His research interests are in culture as a political subject, colonialism and postcolonialism, African and international politics and the politics embedded in the production of knowledge (Wikipedia, retrieved 12 May 2017). He is the author of a number of books that address political conditions in Africa and the one that he is popularly known for is *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (1996). He related that "this book, then is about the regime of differentiation (institutional segregation) as fashioned in colonial Africa – and reformed after independence – and the nature of the resistance it bred. Anchored historically, it is about how Europeans ruled Africa and how Africans responded to it. Drawn to the present, it is about the structure of power and the shape of resistance in contemporary Africa" (p. 7). Mahmood conceived of his mission as that of further problematising the loaded concealed hypocrisy in the intents of the colonialists to address the so-called "native question", to stabilise neocolonialist ambitions.

Mamdani lists the objectives of writing the book as that of questioning Africa's history as an analogy. Secondly, it was to argue that apartheid was not unique to South Africa but that there were different blends of it in all colonial interventions by the British, French, Portuguese, Belgian, Germans, etc. They had sophisticated names; the British, for instance, called it 'indirect rule'. The third objective was to illuminate and critically analyse the contradictions of ethnicity, namely, the emancipatory and the authoritarians. Postcolonial states were not democratised, he argued, but were rooted in separations of the urban with the rural and also on the basis of ethnicity, civil control in urban areas and traditional laws administered by chiefs in the rural areas which he termed 'decentralised despotism' (p. 8).

Mamdani has been undeterred in his intellectual contributions to an array of issues relating to academic freedom and decolonisation of education in Africa and is one of the main postcolonial theorists and political analysts who has focused intensely on systems of governance in South Africa including the educational systems and particularly higher education (Mamdani 1993).

3.6 POSTCOLONIAL THEORY WITHIN ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION PROCESSES

I still subscribe to the O'Donoghue definition (O'Donoghue & Janse van Rensburg, 1995) of the environment as interacting dimensions of the biophysical, social, economic and political. The

environment is equally a social construct in flux and its definition is contextually informed and broad. Environmental Education involves learning and educating about all and any of what is alluded to in the O'Donoghue definition in numerous ways responsive to relational dynamics, space, time and context to promote values of coexistence with and within our biophysical environment, with each other and in harmonious and peaceful ways. Having said that, I put a disclaimer on the definition's fixedness by pointing out that environmental education processes have constantly been (borrowing from Lather, 1991) "contested, temporal and emergent". In consideration that my study explores a particular kind of education, I thought it worthwhile to explain what my understanding of this growing field is.

As alluded to in discussions preceding this section (3.5) I intend to use postcolonial theory as "a tool for thinking" (Andreotti, 2011, p. 57), as an illuminator and magnifying lens through the complexities and perspectives surfaced by my research question. My reading of postcolonial theory, that is inclusive of decoloniality, exposed a rich and in-depth complex archaeology of thought, which demanded a multi-tasking exercise of acting as if the object or field of discussion was education and asking myself what its commentary on my enquiry maybe. I also listened for theoretical silences and paused to think what supplementary theories may be employed to pick up where postcolonial theory stops (a technique employed in Shava, 2008). From the Subaltern theorists grouping, Spivak stood out for seeking out ways to educate differently, in counterhegemonic ways and in consistence with her postcolonial views. The extent to which she achieves this is discussion of another study. Decolonial theorists, such as Grosfoguel and others, stated clearly that they want to depart from the obsession by postcolonial theorists mainly with matters that are philosophical and abstract with barely any reach to grassroots movements, but they ignore the role basic education has played in concretising and perpetuating Eurocentric modernity and its future potential to penetrate its roots and disable its broader intents. There seems to be a changing view from this positionality now with theorists such as Maldonado Torres entering the fray of discussion of decolonising education in institutions of Higher Learning with the role he plays in the Centre for Decolonisation at the University of South Africa (UNISA).

Most African scholars, including diaspora ones such as Walter Rodney, have and continue to highlight the role of colonial education. Generally, however, there is a startling paucity of engagements with basic education which is the foundation of higher education. The exclusionary focus on higher education and fierce determination to address colonial curriculum baggage and

destabilising infrastructure, while ignoring challenges faced in general education, is similar to icing a hollowed-out cake. Lotz-Sisitka (2014, p. 49) drew our attention to South Africa today where “800 000 children are employed as child labour, many of whom are also raped and abused. Across the country, most children still receive a very poor quality of education, despite massive increases in educational expenditure”. She also echoed Nelson Mandela’s call that “we must start with our own children”, a bolster to my interest in basic education and most particularly, foundation phase education. Despite some of the cited weaknesses in postcolonial theory and its areas of emphasis, there is wisdom barely applied in educational processes coupled with insightful critique from theorists such as Vanessa Andreotti, Joao Paraskeva and Boaventura de Sousa Santos (to mention a few) on knowledge ecologies to enrich and focus debates on education. African scholars’ insights in illuminating the African education context such as Francis Nyamnjoh and others, whose work focuses on the South African education system, are invaluable. I am further challenged and encouraged to explore thoughts and viewpoints on ‘hybrid third spaces’ espoused by cultural theorist, Homi Bhabha, and semiotician, Walter Mignolo, related to my case study. The views from Grosfoguel and Paraskeva on breaking out of the paralysis of modernist/poststructuralist critique that immobilises thought can be stretched to bear relevance within the context of education. The interpretations of Leila Gandhi and others’ thorough the density of thought enriched my interpretations.

Based on my preference for postcolonial theory over a decolonial lens, I feel compelled to share existing critique and some observations of their similarities and dissimilarities at a theoretical level. I decided to take this a step further and use Vanessa Andreotti’s comparative framework table (2011, p. 57) to display how they relate to educational processes (see Figure 3.1 that follows). The cautionary rationale is that it be read with an understanding that “the productive power of comparing differences and similarities in these approaches lies in the acknowledgement of their contextual contributions *and* insufficiencies, as well as their potential to bring each other into creative crisis and into something new”. My adaption of her table excludes the critical Race Theory lens because it holds little if any relevance to my research question. I deliberately italicised and greyed the boundaries that my research questions transgresses to display its porousness.

Table 3.1: A pedagogical comparative framework of selected approaches against institutional suffering (adapted from V. Andreotti (2011, pp. 59-60))

	Postcolonial Lens	Decolonial Studies Lens	Indigenous Studies Lens
Problem	<i>Cultural supremacy at the basis of justification</i>	<i>Coloniality of power as the basis of epistemic racism</i>	<i>Dispossession, destitution, cultural loss, historical trauma and its effects</i>
Nature of problem	<i>European colonialism based on enlightenment humanism and its legacies</i>	Darker side of Eurocentred modernity: violent appropriation and exploitation of capitalism	<i>Territorial occupation, genocide, continuous epistemic, geographical and economic subjugation, pathologising practices</i>
Possible strategies to address the problem	<i>Ethical (non-coercive) relationship with the Other: learning to learn from below: taking advantage of discursive ambivalence to renegotiate meaning and power in third spaces</i>	<i>Border thinking; transmodern ethics and philosophy of liberation; critical cosmopolitanism</i>	<i>Self-government, cultural revival, decolonising methodologies, multiepistemic governance, traditional spirituality/healing</i>
Agent and purpose of contestation in academia	<i>Teachers and scholars tackling colonialism within academia and society and reaching out to the Other</i>	<i>Teachers and scholars from the global periphery opening spaces for uncontested peripheral knowledges.</i>	<i>Indigenous teachers, academics and critics decolonising their contexts and seeking to mainstream indigenous knowledges without domesticating them</i>
Relationship construction, vision of the future	<i>Open agenda against subalternity (constant re-negotiation) grounded on ethical imperative and mutual ongoing learning</i>	Solidarity with struggles and social movements in the periphery that should provide alternative to current unequal system	<i>Self-determination based on rejuvenated and revitalised traditional values</i>
Locus of contestation	<i>Literary management, development studies, international relations, education</i>	Geopolitical economy of knowledge production in sociology, social sciences and philosophy	<i>Governance, philosophy, sociology, education, health, social work, law</i>
Focus of contestation	<i>Cultural supremacy, civilising mission, ethnocentric benevolence, Cartesian subject, Enlightenment humanism, universal reason, rational consensus, nation state ideology, "orientalism", essentialism, unexamined universalism of Western schooling, "development", human rights, democracy</i>	<i>Hegemony, Eurocentrism, linear/developmental time, capitalism (accumulation of wealth), anthropocentrism, global designs</i>	<i>Primitivism, teleological time, property ownership, nation-state ideology, humanism, Christianity, western rationality, individualism, Western schooling, pathologising practices, deficit theorising</i>
Potential sympathetic critique	<i>Over-reliance on Western theories, lack of a vision that could inspire a subaltern revolution, focuses on work with privileged audiences with limited</i>	<i>Teleological project of "liberation" desire for consensus in the periphery, risk of</i>	<i>Risk essentialism (as internal colonialism), ambivalent role of indigenous elites,</i>

relevance for the oppressed, risk of
'trashing of modernity', unintentional
reproduction of Cartesian mode of
being

essentialism and
romanticisation of
oppressed voices

unexamined hope for an
alternative modernity

In a previous study (Masuku, 1999), I explored the role of indigenous knowledge in environmental education processes. The problems I addressed were similar to those referred to by Andreotti in the indigenous lens compartment of Figure 3.1 in combination to the ones in the postcolonial lens. My current research question is located between these binaries in examining education at home, pasture and school. I employed counterhegemonic research methods consistent with postcolonial theory to understand teaching at home and school with an aim of exposing embedded colonialities in Foundation Phase education and other community orientated state-sponsored and structured interventionist educative developmental programmes including those offered by non-governmental organisations. Explorations into the colonialities were with the intent to understand potential hybrid third spaces. Generated understandings have the potential to decolonise and erode sedimented and overlooked ways of doing, understandings etc. My intentions were also to listen out and interrogate relational dynamics, experiences, the taken-for-granted and conversations etc. within which new forms of knowledge are silenced at the community level by familiarity and proximities (big forest) that research could surface. This theoretical thought lives within the tenets of Bhabha, a postcolonial theorist and Mignolo, a decolonial theorist. The insights shared by decolonialists are equally important and cannot be ignored. Considering that the context is located in a rural community that is fairly traditional, the indigenous lens, as related by Andreotti, represents a compartment of thought that is held in the spaces and context of my study as reflected in my research questions (see Chapter 2).

3.7 DELIBERATING THE HYBRID THIRD SPACE IN THE IN-BETWEENNESS OF THE BINARIES OF THE CASE STUDY

On national culture (*The Wretched of the Earth*), Fanon attests particularly to intellectualism and the temporality of culture and in his agentic statement, said "Each generation must out of relative obscurity discover its mission, fulfill it, or betray it' (Fanon, 1963, p. 205). It is like every teacher/learner is compelled to find a mission in life that she/he works towards and performs outstandingly. It is a mission that we may betray if we realise its flaws or/and do not contribute to the common good. We have the liberty to betray short-sighted missions. I pulled an extract from

Fanon that Bhabha developed further and asked my colleagues to give their interpretation. The extract is as follows:

It is not enough to try to get back to the people in that past out of which they have already emerged; rather we must join them in that fluctuating movement which they are just giving a shape to, and which, as soon as it has started, will be the signal for everything to be called to question. Let there be no mistake about it; it is to this zone of occult instability where the people dwell that we must come; and it is there that our souls are crystallized and that our perceptions and our lives are transfused with light. (Fanon, 1963, p. 227)

To prove the polyvocality and multivalentness of Fanonian thought, my colleague Injairu Kalundu-Bolis interpreted this statement as:

I believe Fanon is talking about education being a tool to chart the way forward. Essentially, I think that he is saying that we cannot be content to simply describe or bear witness or highlight the past that people have been in, a past that they themselves are emerging from. It is our job as educators to rather position ourselves with the people in the uncertain and shaky process of bringing an alternative future into being. A future that is slowly being given shape to in the present moment through the sense making of the people right now. For me it's about education positioning itself on the horizon on emerging futures in a way that it can nurture emancipatory futures. I love the fact that he uses the word 'dwell'. In order to create from this place, we need to be steeped in the sense making that the people are giving shape to right now. It is only here that we can begin to shift and change ourselves as educators as part of our practice and be of service to an emancipatory future.

I interpreted Fanon's statement as: People have moved away from certain indigenous practices and therefore trying to take them to that past, which they might have had no choice but to struggle in, through indigenous knowledge systems, might not work. We are encouraged to meet them in the complex intangible present and current struggles which are in motion. Such interventions resurrect other complexities which raise more questions.

The original thought on hybridity is owed to Bakhtin (1985-1975) in his perception of hybridity as double voiced, double accented, double language, which is fought out in the collision between different views (Wesling, 2003 and Paul, undated, p. 1). Fanon makes linked reference to hybridity in his description of *the zone of occult instability where people dwell*. It is at this 'zone of occult instability' where hybridity, which Bhabha (1994) confirmed, takes place. Bhabha then carefully analysed Fanon's description and pointed out the flux and fluidity of culture and indicated that it is

mainly “the ‘difference’ in language that is crucial to the production of meaning and ensures, at the same time, that meaning is never simply mimetic and transparent” (Bhabha, 2011, p. 1). Bhabha advanced that

the production of meaning requires that these two places be mobilised in the passage through a Third space, which represents both the general conditions of language and the specific implication of the utterance in a performative and institutional strategy of which it cannot “in itself” be conscious. What this unconscious relation introduces is an ambivalence in the act of interpretation... (1994, p. 36)

In reading Fanon, Lee (2015, p. 23) advised we unthink the mythical figure he has been fashioned into and “situate him in time, beyond the vicissitudes of social and political theory”. I am in concurrence with Gates’ point in *Critical Fanonism* (1991) that Fanon’s writing is not only open to varied interpretations and polyvocal but/and also multivalent, finding convergence of thought in his interpretations of the colonial condition with the field of education. He (1963, p. 36) exposes the relationality, dialectics and the in-betweenness of decolonisation which can be understood from the point he makes that “decolonisation is the meeting of two forces, opposed to each other by their very nature, which in fact owe their originality to that sort of substantification which results from and is nourished by the situation of the colonies”.

A pictorial representation that vividly describes the hybrid third space (Bhabha 1994) is the one below (see Figure 3.2) by O’Donoghue in O’Donoghue, Shava and Zazu (2014). This diagram represents research work that has been done in Southern Africa by environmental educators over time, breaking the boundaries between nature and culture and what has been termed indigenous ways of knowing and other centred ways of knowing. The figure further represents the collapsing and the osmotic porousness of boundaries in knowledge formation processes capturing Vygotskian thought, further highlighting the third spaces and the possibilities of expanding knowledges and centring peripherised knowledges. The hybrid third space I see reflected in this diagram “is the process by which the colonial governing authority undertakes to translate the identity of the colonised (the *Other*) within a singular universal framework, but then fails producing something familiar but new” according to Bhabha (in Meredith, 1998, p. 3).

For my study, which is interested in understanding the strands of postcoloniality and forms of sociocultural learnings in relation to cattle, it is crucial to explore how hybrid third spaces can be potentially opened up in ways that resonate and construct bridges between home/pasture and

school-based learning. Something that we need to bear in mind constantly in our analysis of curricula and calls for curriculum transformations is Appiah's counsel, that third spaces are not only located in South-West relationships but also in South-South ones (1992, p. 26). Bhabha (as cited in Meredith, 1998), in speaking of the hybrid third space and its meaning, is of the view that the most creative of cultures are produced at the boundaries of difference which invoke the imagery of the meeting point of the Indian and Pacific oceans, the pit of creation and recreation of new species bubbling with new possibilities.

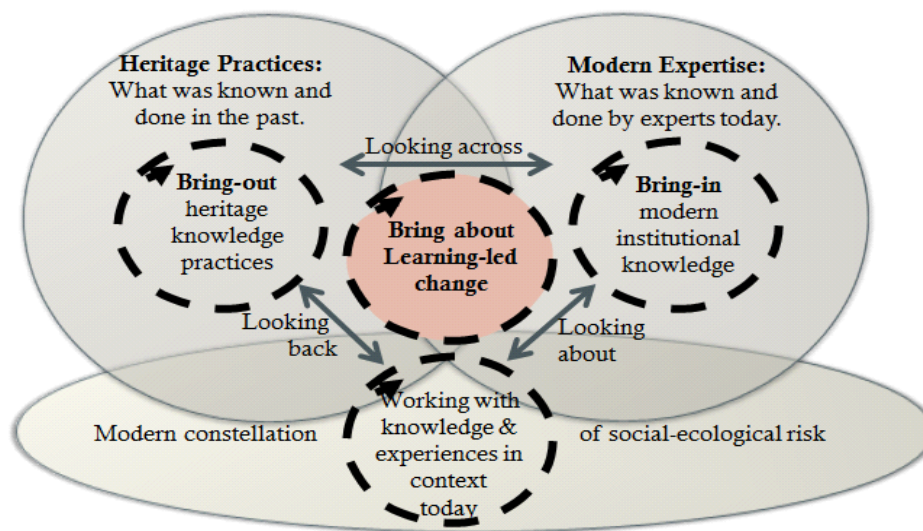


Figure 3.2: An adapted version by O'Donoghue of learning interactions across everyday experience and what is known today (in O'Donoghue, Shava and Zazu, 2014)

Sterret (2015) examined the third space in the exploration of health students' development and learning to find out if students are "at an in-between, or Third Space between identity in a single profession and potential identity as an interprofessional clinician" (p. 654). According to Bhabha, forms of multiculturalism are formed. Kramsch (2009, pp. 233-354) pointed out that language education has drawn inspiration from Bhabha to coin 'thirdness' and from semioticians to further analyse language literacy. This brings to the fore the work that Mignolo has done to further develop the concept of the hybridity through linguistic and visual images.

Bhabha should be read with the backdrop that he has been criticised for not articulating a coherent analysis of the nature of historical and material conditions that may be surfaced through an analysis of a framework of a colonial discourse and places emphasis on the current (Parry, 1996).

The search for the third space in my study is an examination of learning that is intergenerational in nature about cattle, a critical co-shaper and definer of Zulu identity and culture. Postcolonial theory identifies potential third space learnings and what may be unlearned that will emerge between the elders, children and the teachers – an intergenerational relationship. I looked for evident strands in the teaching and learning relations that characterise the mobile culture of the people on this site. Mine was not a search for dichotomies but a search for the ambivalence and contradictions to unshackle the chains of colonial domination and thinking – the living curriculum through cattle – which is known in heritage language as “living heritage” (Department of Arts and Culture [DAC], 2009; UNESCO, 2003). I am a product of a colonial education and carry indelible marks of it. My intention was not to restore a form of stability in the curriculum, but an attempt to expose and open the debate and challenge for others who begin to use postcolonial theory to examine learning at the boundary of difference of home/pasture and school contexts.

3.8 SUMMATIVE COMMENTS

My intention in this chapter was to relate the main contours of postcolonial theory and associated constructs that relate to my research question. It was further to share the literature that I will be reliant on to carry my arguments through and not to capture representatively all aspects of postcolonial theory as I have already indicated that it is a broad field. To avoid making this chapter excessively long, I intend using ideas shared by thinkers within the postcolonial, decolonial and indigenous lenses consistently throughout the discussions that follow, employing their commentary to illuminate the education processes I intend to expose. My next chapter will focus on sociocultural intergenerational learning theories and weave a dialogue between them and postcolonial theory to show the areas of convergence between the theories to guide the reader as to why they were elected to frame the research question and study.

CHAPTER 4: SOCIOCULTURAL INTERGENERATIONAL LEARNING



Figure 4.1: A painting of a thumb-sucking girl (Kiera Malome)

I must have been five years-old and the happiest when my sister's school was over. It was always a great relief from the company of my grandmother, whom I followed around while she weeded the fields and picked umbhidvo – edible weeds for the evening meal. I would help her sometimes as I had learnt to distinguish poisonous weeds from the edible ones. My grandmother's cat called Buli, which had one eye that was always watery mewed annoyingly for affection and followed me around all day long. The happy recitals of my sister and friends would alter the daily sounds and monotony. "This is Benny. This is Betty. Betty is a girl. Benny is a boy. Benny and Betty are walking. They are walking. This is Father. This is Mother. Mother is Mrs. Moyo. Father is Mr. Moyo. Mr and Mrs Moyo are walking. They are walking." I would run to meet her and she would hold my left hand. I had no clue what they were reciting but it fascinated me. I was a very content child with my best companion my right thumb which had the life sucked out of it and was permanently lodged in the chambers of my mouth. I did not like playing with the other homestead children and mostly responded with shaking my head no or yes when spoken to. I did everything with my left hand and snatched all treats I was given and ran away before they were taken away from me. I shied away

from visitors and refused to balance my right hand with the left to shake their hands in greeting or to receive anything. I avoided long conversations which would force my thumb out of my mouth. I was therefore considered rude and antisocial. Not that it bothered me. I looked forward to going to school so I could recite Benny and Betty though the prospect bothered me too. My mother had told me that my first grade teacher would make me unlearn the use of my left hand for all class tasks and that the other kids would tease me for its use. It already greatly annoyed me that I was called a monkey. There was a common belief that monkeys are left-handed. I would wake up in the middle of the night with a bitter or hot taste on my thumb which had been smeared with chilli or aloe. I would spit on it and clean off the offending smearing. I suspect it was my mother's best attempts to stop me from sucking my thumb to save me from the trauma I would face at school. The other kids at the homestead even instilled fear in me by telling me that my left hand might even be chopped off at school.

The first three months of primary school were the most dreadful and I always wished I was a bird and would not have to go there. I earned a lot of hidings from my teacher for breaking my slate, for licking it clean because I had forgotten my bottle of water and rag to clean off my writing and for the use of my left hand. I have no idea when I switched from left to right to write and suspect it must have been when the teacher eventually tied my left hand up with a cloth. I hated the school drills. We would stand behind each other in a straight line with the short ones in front and the teacher would shout, "Right. Attention. Left, right, left right, march!" I always got my knickers in a knot, so to speak, by starting on the wrong foot and in panic I would look at the other fellow learners to try to self-correct. I think the teacher thought I was the dumbest of all the kids in my grade. With hindsight now, I think that besides being left-handed and left-footed, I don't think I was ready for school, despite being nearly six. I believe that my Grade 1 teacher had sympathy for my mother who was also a teacher at the same school and promoted me to the next grade when I failed my Grade 1. Throughout primary school, I managed to scrape marks together to just pass to move to the next grade.

I had slowly melted and begun to socialise with my school peers by the second term of my first school grade. IsiZulu was the medium of instruction. My favourite illustrated Benny and Betty's were the only English books we read at primary school. By the end of the year we all could recite the Grade 1 Benny and Betty book from the first page to the last. I developed a big appetite for reading

as I got older. My mother nicknamed the illustrated books I used to page through “right thumb” as they had forced me to abandon sucking that thumb. One day my grandmother saw me page through a dictionary and was awe-struck. I overheard my mother amusedly telling my father that my grandmother had said that I must be a very clever child to be able to read such a big and heavy book. My grandmother loved listening to stories and would beg my elder siblings to read to her. They very rarely did and hid behind homework they did not have. I took pity over my grandmother and started practising my reading by reading my sister’s Zulu written story books to her. She was patient and soon became accustomed to my reading and I would find her eagerly waiting for me to pick up from where I had left off the day before when I came back from school. If the story was sad I would hear her trying to suppress her sniffles prompting me to pause and give her time to regain her composure. I read Mntanami, Mntanami, Kungavuka Abenquni and Inkinsela yaseMqungundlovu for her while still at primary school. Reading was not only pleasing for me and her but it also meant that I was exempted from doing the housework by her. When she was away visiting friends, I would climb a tree, find a good branch, snuggle into a book and ignore my sister’s persistent and annoying calls for errands. My reading labour was paid back by the tales my grandmother told us in the dark of the night when the candle had been blown out. I got tired of reading to her as I got older and she then switched to listening to the radio broadcasted plays. She must have boasted about my reading skills to her friends in the sorghum beer shebeens she frequented. They would send for me to read letters from their sons who worked in the mines. I was usually paid with a vetkoek that I would gobble on my way back home. Much later in life, my friend Thabsile told me that she also grew up reading letters for the young miners’ wives and was constantly instructed to stuff her ears with pieces of cloth so that she could not hear nor understand what she was reading. She said that many a times she had to restrain herself from laughing when she came across juicy romantic details. Different from me, she also had to write dictated replies to their letters.

I also tried my hand in handicraft making and became very good at sewing by hand. I made flowery handkerchiefs for my father and darned his socks. In the second-last year of primary school, we were introduced to sewing machines and had to produce our first apron which was to be worn for our Home Economics class in our final primary school year. By the end of the year what was pinned on the wall with my name on it for the school teachers to select the best apron of the class hardly resembled an apron. The sewing teacher had constantly made me undo the stitches as they were

either wrong or were made with the wrong thread. I with no doubt got the worst marks. I abandoned sewing and moved on to crocheting. A neighbour taught me how to crochet with a match stick. I used to search for old jerseys, cut them up, harvest the old wool and make myself the fanciest and most colourful of mini-skirts. To this day I can still crochet with a match stick.

Then there was choral music. My mother was known as one of the most accomplished choral music teachers. While I, on the other hand, have been told to this day that I could never make a living singing, even with a cap in hand. All my siblings sang in school choirs happily except me who had to against my will. It was all for dear mother that the music teacher insisted I join her choir and sing the soprano. She was a very sweet teacher and her request was that I sing very softly because my soprano was special, made me feel special. After blowing the pitch pipe and setting the pitch I had to curtsy and receive it from her and pick up on the song. Because of this task I couldn't bunk music even if I wanted to. My mother would buy large sheets of brown paper from the butchery owner who was my father's friend and write the notes of the songs she was supposed to teach for the annual choral music festival. Before she taught the song to her choir, all of us (her children) were assigned parts which we sang until the song took form and jelled. She would also visit the different schools we attended and assist the music teachers there. I remember the many voice training sessions. It was about singing from the stomach and rounding the notes.

Through all this I never lost my love for reading and my mother made sure that it was sustained. I would beg her to read to me at times, but she would rather I read out loud to her so she could correct my English pronunciation. Since the school she taught at was far away from home, she used to leave home on Monday morning and return every Friday with books for us to read. As a consequence, I was never seen or heard throughout the weekend. I would spend the week replaying the stories and looking forward to reliving the imaginary lives of the Snow White and Rose Red, Snow White and the seven dwarfs, The Three Little Pigs books etc. I also remember reading folktales from Tanzania with lead characters Kibo and Mawenzi. I read, read, read; comics: Mills and Boons, James Hardley Chase, Nancy Drew, the Secret Seven, Noddy books and so on and on. I even read the Sunday Times newspaper and did the crossword puzzles with my father. I read anything that had words such that when my mother decided to pursue her graduate studies majoring in Literature, she would bring her books home for me to read and solicit my opinions. I was consulted when she had to embark on her English Literature assignments. I was at High School then. After my Cambridge O-level certificate I enrolled at university and English Literature became one of my majors.

To this day my ability to distinguish between left and/or right is not automatic as it may be with most people. As a result, learning to drive in my 30s with a man in his twenties as a teacher was a struggle. He likened teaching people from my age upwards to teaching an old dog new tricks. When I enrolled he told me that older people don't learn easily, their brains are tight. As a learner driver I was expected to turn left or right, indicate left or right, watch my right etc. and I was shouted at when I got it wrong. I had though, initially told my instructor, that I struggle with getting left and right, right. After many frustrations, I eventually got it right when I decided to write 'left' on the back of my left hand and 'right' on my right hand. So, every time I had to respond for either I simply looked at my hand in front of me and executed the command.

4. INTRODUCTION

In the last chapter I gave significant detail on the theoretical lens of my study, postcolonial theory, which also served as a literature review on aspects of the theory that had bearing on the research question. This chapter is dedicated to elucidating my educational theory, namely sociocultural theory and intergenerational learning. I will here, however, avoid an involved examination of both and their supposed variances and rather irradiate their tenets and clarify their coupling. I shall also justify my decision for selecting them with their associated social constructs to labour alongside postcolonial theory while explaining their congruence with the overall research question. I have already in Chapter 2, given a brief introduction to the theory.

4.1 SOCIOCULTURAL HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND LEARNING

Sociocultural theory has been closely identified with Vygotskian thought from as far back as the 1920s. My particular interest relates to how it explores and considers human development as inseparable from an individual's social, cultural and historical contexts. It is also concerned with everyday cognition and situated learning as a natural social phenomenon that happens in everyday interactions. Vygotsky promoted the view that individuals cannot be disconnected from the institutions within which they operate, based on the particular ways they behave, in the activities they may or may not engage in.

McLeod (2014) re-affirmed Vygotsky's belief that society plays a fundamental role in the process of meaning-making which varies across cultures. According to Scott and Palincsar (2013), it is in social interactions that individual development and higher mental functioning happens. The second level of learning that happens in social interactions is mediated by semiotics which are tools and signs. Semiotics includes language and mnemonics which may be representational of objects e.g. musical signs. According to Vygotsky, mnemonics and problem-solving skills, inventions such as mathematics, literacy skills and all sorts of ways of reasoning do not only aid cognition but cognition is also reliant on them (Rogoff, 2003).

Rogoff explained that Vygotsky's view was that development and learning is an integrated dynamic process involving four interrelated and interacting levels, namely, the ontogenetic (learning across the years), phylogenetic (slow genetically transforming over historical epochs), cultural historical (across decades for material technologies such as literacy, computers etc.) and the micro-genetic (daily learning in diverse contexts, genetically and influenced by cultural historical background). There is evidence of these within the context of my study, some evidence even in the evolution and relationships between members of the herds (cattle). Cognitive functions are understood to be shaped by cultural beliefs and an intellectual adaptation of culture with assistance from the More Knowledgeable Other (MKO) (McLeod 2014), who in this instance, could be those older than the 6-10 year-olds within the home context and teachers at school in my study. They could also be peers or siblings or/and even tools programmed to aid learning and the agricultural livestock inspectors. MKOs function and aid at the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) where "the most sensitive guidance or instruction should be given" (McLeod, 2014, pp. 4-10) so the child can develop skills they will use on their own such as caring for cattle and herding them. Rogoff confirmed that it is in thinking with and alongside others of (in) complex processes with the use of tools of thought that trains and inculcates skills and the ability for children to think independently. This they do by "transforming the cultural tools of thought to their own purposes" (2003, p. 50). It is via their participation at the ZPD with others that children may also learn. This is also confirmed by all authors in the Correa-Chavez, Mejia-Arauz and Rogoff (2015) publication and most particularly given specific attention by Mejia-Arauz, Correa-Chavez, Orht and Aceves-Azuara (2015, p.38) in their study on children in Mexico in community settings that are indigenous and non-indigenous:

... productive work is rarely something children are compelled to do alone. Usually this contribution is done with a close family member and not only does the child carry it out

without relying on the presence of others ... even after learners have mastered an activity, work is often seen as something that is accomplished *with* others.

This is a significant area that my study has an interest in and where evidence of collaborative learning takes place.

4.1.1 Growing debates on intergenerational learning

It is evident that sociocultural theory has grown into many offsprings embraced by diverse theorists in and outside the field of education. The leading and most published of theorists whose thinking on teaching and learning in sites outside the classroom and community contexts by young children and the youth is Barbara Rogoff (2001, 2003, 2011, 2015). She authored *Learning Together: Children and Adults in a school community* (2001), *The Cultural Nature of Human Development* (2003), and *Developing Destinies: A Mayan midwife and Town* (2011) amongst others. Rogoff has also published numerous papers on the subject of sociocultural learning. She maintains that the forms of cultural tools associated with learning are changeable and as unfixed as culture is. For instance, in the context of my study, the barns for cattle have changed and the materials used to construct them have evolved with climatic change, scarcity of hardy woods and have been influenced by economic and political issues. The tool used to discipline the current hybrid cattle has become a small stick instead of a leather thong historically used on the Nguni breeds. The tool has evolved to avoid tearing the fragile skin of today's breed with its commercial value. According to Rogoff, "development over the life span is inherently involved with historical developments of both the species and cultural communities, developments that occur in everyday moment-by-moment learning opportunities" (2003, p. 51).

The particular clarification on the relationship between culture and human development that Rogoff makes is that people contribute to the creation of culture and culture contributes to the involvement of people. Therefore, culture is not an entity but a process that mutually constitutes with individuals, which echoes Kalundu-Bolis's point in Chapter 3 (section 3.7). In each generation people participate in sociocultural activities with others with tools which they inherit, alter and share and instantaneously contribute to the transformation of their practices and institutions. Coppens and Alcala (2015, pp. 102-3) explored how non-contingent gifts (*domingos*) as tools are a cultural practice which rewards and functions as learning aiders for good behaviour and/or participation in shared endeavours. I sought to unlock evidence of such learning in the examination

of cattle-related everyday learning related activities of the Mpembeni people. Rogoff's extensive and intensive research on the inseparability of culture from human development and the use of real life examples in her explications as an alternative to obfuscating issues in abstract theoretical thought, was invaluable.

In a further read of Rogoff's work, one finds a clear articulation of sociocultural learning as very much a process of intergenerational learning even though she does not use the construct "intergenerational learning". In between the lines of her discussion is a conversation on indigenous knowledge and local knowledge making processes even though her examples are drawn from all the continents. Throughout her book, pictures say a thousand words about intergenerational learning across the spectrum, historical inherited practices, state institutions such as schools, nursing homes and caregivers, community, siblings, peers, with tools etc. In one chapter, she discusses collaboration in thinking across Time and Space where talks about the conversations we have with invisible readers who have taken great care to be communicative to those reading their works. The reflexivity with her work is indicated thus:

You probably have a different background than I and maybe of a different generation. You may have a different educational tradition, first language, and purpose for engaging with ideas regarding culture and cognition. All these aspects of communication are central to my cognitive efforts in writing at this moment. Thus I am involved in a shared endeavour with people long gone (such as Vygotsky and Dewey) and not yet born, as well as technologies and practices that we have inherited (such as literacy and the computer) that we participate in transforming. (2003, p. 273)

4.1.2 Observation, participation and learning to fit in community contexts

We are cautioned by Rogoff from isolating culture as the main category of individual identity and advised that it rather be treated as practices within dynamic communities that individuals participate in that may shape but not confine one's outlook on life to a particular way of being (2003, p. 77). This guards against the generalisation as well as historical reification of cultural practices based on specific designations. This is well interpreted in the O'Donoghue figure 3.2. in Chapter 3 (section 3.7). Rogoff also holds the view that children learn about their surroundings and the sounds around their mothers before they are born and when they are born they are ready to learn more. Caregivers are constantly observed by the children they look after and with time

imitated and considered to play critical roles in the children's development. She further claims that "they learn the skills and practices of their community by engaging with others who may contribute to structuring the process to be learned, provide guidance during joint activity, and help adjust participation according to proficiency ... children everywhere learn skills in the context of their use and with the aid of those around them" (2003, pp. 69-8). These may also be siblings, neighbours and members of the extended family, which means that in some communities, the community may function as a caregiver by correcting behaviour of children or making them conform to community behavioural expectations. When it comes to the issues of whether gender determines what children learn, Rogoff said that both biological and cultural heritage play a major role, which means that they could learn according or against their gender and the people around them may enhance or dissuade them. It is for this reason that my research does not confine itself to exploring the care of cattle only amongst boys, as looking after cattle is traditionally considered a male task.

When children move into other community circles where they are to spend extensive spans of time (such as school) for the first time, learning to fit in is a very important part of cognitive development because it entails decisions on determining where certain behaviours are appropriate or not. My study sets out to explore the responses of children to school in the early grades who had been taught to look after livestock as well as those of teachers and the responses of family members back home to what and how they are taught. There are, for instance, varied expectations in different cultures on how children should behave which may confuse them which Rogoff also alluded to (2003, p. 257). Amongst the Nguni people of Southern Africa, to look at elders in the eye when conversing with them was considered disrespectful and a challenge of their authority, yet when I was growing up, our European teachers expected us to look them in the eye. A practice like not looking elders in the eye may still be observed in many a rural family such as those in the area of my research Mpembeni. Rogoff (2003, p. 257) also referred to communication with one of her research respondents, a Mexican American, who was also brought up with the instruction not to look elders in the eye.

4.1.3 A contrast of "learning by pitching-in" and "assembly-line instruction"

To explain sociocultural theory further, I also consulted an assembly of articles by 32 researchers edited by Correa-Chavez, Mejia-Arauz and Rogoff (2015). This publication displays an upsurge of interest from the field of anthropology in processes of everyday learning, in particular with

children's learning within community settings and the role that adults play in this. This assemblage by the 32 researchers and all Rogoff's work resonates with my study. Their work in this mix and interplay (anthropology and intergenerational learning) largely covers the geographical areas of Mexico, Guatemala, Peru, Argentina and to a lesser extent, the United States. The nexus of their argument is that within community contexts, children learn mainly by *observing and pitching-in*. This type of learning is contrasted with a formal classroom education which they refer to as *assembly-line instruction*. Her argument is that children could benefit from methods of teaching borrowed from the natural earlier forms of learning they are exposed to in earlier ages within formal learning settings. Figures 4.2 and 4.3 below have been modified from Rogoff 2014 (in Correa-Chavez, Mejia-Arauz & Rogoff, 2014, p. 4) and describe the features of 'learning by observing and pitching-in', while Figure 4.2 beneath it describes 'assembly-line instruction'.

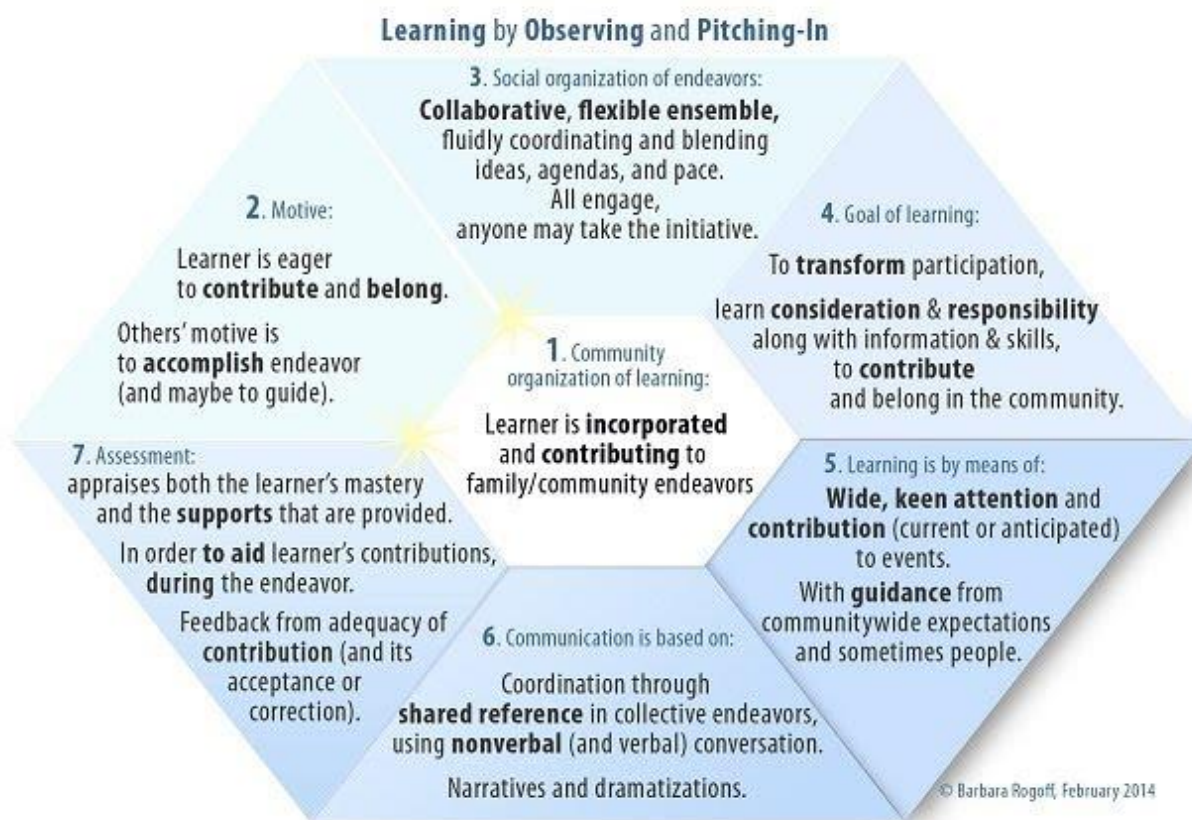


Figure 4.2: Learning by Observing and Pitching-In (in Correa-Chavez, Mejia-Arauz & Rogoff, 2015, p. 4)

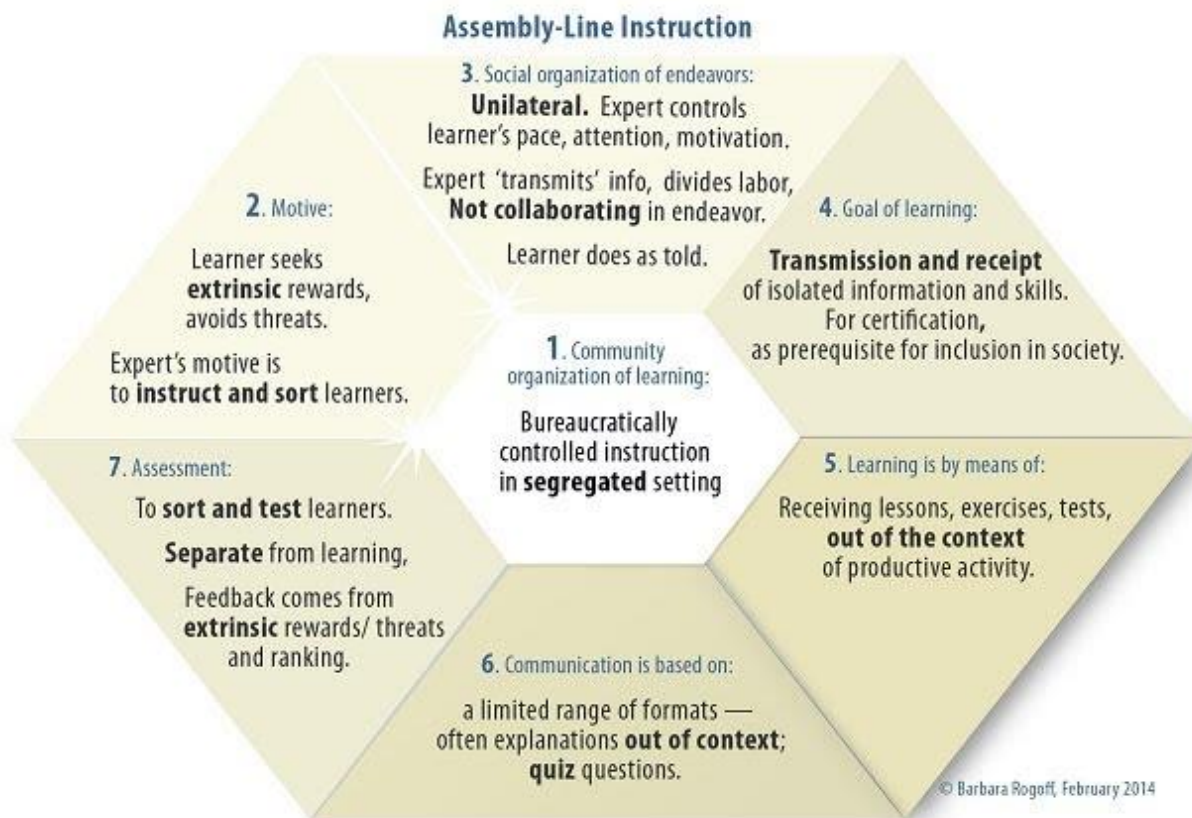


Figure 4.3: Assembly-Line instruction (in Correa-Chavez, Mejia-Arauz & Rogoff, 2015, p. 5)

A chapter by Remorini (2015) in this book is of particular interest to me in its examination of concepts such as reciprocity, respect, autonomy, which echoes aspects in Rogoff's diagram of learning by observation and pitching-in. Her study was conducted in two communities in Argentina and illuminated their learning of environmentally relevant skills for growing up in the forest. The respect that is accorded in human relations is also accorded to the forest. The learned particular ways of inhabiting the forest and walking in it are part of an integrated ecological cosmology. In such a context, "more experienced individuals *orient* or *educate* children's attention toward some relevant features" (p. 283) and in Vygotskian lingo, these are the MKOs. Remorini (2015, p. 284) pointed out that the particular learning is a creative process influenced by environmental changes which includes "discarding previous knowledge and /or "discovering" new knowledge in order to achieve the best fit with the current situation ... learning and training begins in childhood..." There is convergence in the learning processes that takes place in this forest community with my case study, as environmental learning and change influenced by climate change influences children's learning as the impact of climate change is very involved, intense and devastating. Children are

given the autonomy to explore and engage with the forest in responsible ways and in Remorini's language are not seen as objects for domestication by teaching; the distinction between a made and natural environment are also not seen as opposites.

Another study in the Correa-Chavez, Mejia-Arauz and Rogoff book (2015) that resonates with mine, exhibiting sociocultural and intergenerational learning, is one by Jimenez (2015). He examined Mexican families and their interactions with each other, the natural environment and animals. The health of their livestock is important and rituals to safeguard their health are taught. A significant point that Jimenez makes is that, "many activities are done without the intention of learning although learning is achieved; instead these activities are done to satisfy needs ... we learned to cut firewood because we needed to bring firewood home, not to learn to cut firewood" (p. 297). The views of Tlhalefang and Oduaran (2006) in their study which explored the indigenous values influencing learning systems of the Basarwa (the Bushmen) in Botswana contrasts as well as converges with those of Jimenez. They found that (2006, pp. 8-9)

On the whole, learning is deemed to be productive and contextualised in the sense that output was visible or even tangible. Practical activities are upheld in the process of acquiring skills. Observation and imitation play an important role in the learning systems. Experimental activities are conducted so as to get practical knowledge and skill in the execution of duties.

The learning that Jimenez refers to is incidental and based on need. However, considering that the learning by the Basarwa who have faced many challenges in relation to owning land in Botswana may influence the way they view learning as learning is very much about survival. It is for this reason that in terms of their monadic lives and being forced from their lands, literacy in reading the environment as text for hunting and for water was a matter of survival.

4.1.4 Collapsing the boundaries of learning

The research work of Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti (2005) which was also invaluable complements that of Rogoff and fellow researchers. It is equally in synch with Vygotsky's theory of learning and Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti concede to "have drawn from sociocultural perspectives in designing methodology that views the everyday practices of language and activities as constructing knowledge" (2005, p. 25). This, in their view, is justified by an understanding that the learning of recipients of what Rogoff terms 'assembly line instruction' is in essence "bound within larger

contextual, historical, political and ideological frameworks that affect students' lives" (Gonzalez, Moll & Amanti, 2005, p. ix). This view is woven into the 16 chapters that make up their publication.

My interest in investigating children's learning prior to school-based formal education is based on a firm belief that they enter school already having been involved in intricate learning of an intergenerational nature. This is confirmed in Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti (2005, p. x) in their citation of Cummins view (1996) that "prior experience provides the foundation for interpreting new information. No learner is a blank slate". The socio-historical circumstances within which learning takes place within community settings are said by them to be formed and transformed within everyday practices. To theorise on them entails gleaning from the messiness of ordinary life associated practices that are a combination of the opaque, emergent and sometimes, the counterintuitive. Similar to the work of Correa-Chavez, Mejia-Arauz and Rogoff (2015), Gonzalez (2005, p. 2) pointed out that her roots in investigating children's learning and teachers' practices was backed by her training and views in anthropology and ethnography. Despite the fact that I lacked anthropological training, I was convinced that borrowing from anthropological research methods such as ethnography would unearth practices I would have missed out had I focused on traditional methods such as surveys and interviews (see Moll's description of the methods in the book on p.17). Gonzalez revealed her initial view into their research project as a naïve one which considered that the transformation of teaching was based on fixing teachers' conceptions and educational practice. Her thinking was challenged by the realisation that teacher's conceptions and everyday classroom practice cannot be isolated from institutional constraints and contexts, standardisation as well as homogenisation, which she considered as the killer of any desire for autonomy that the teacher may have. The critical question she raised, which the book attempts to answer, is: "How can collaborative ethnography, where teachers are engaged in researching and applying local knowledge, be sustained when institutional constraints mitigate its continuation?"

The research initiators considered collaborating with teachers in answering the above core question as, amongst other issues, a central way for the teachers to view ways of learning that they may have taken for granted and as common-sensical as well as reflect on their practice. Though I will not go into detail on their methods of investigation as a collaborative team, it is worth pointing out that both parties were learners and educators. This meant that research methods were shared and ethical considerations discussed and agreed upon. Their research work aided teachers' learning

about the everyday lives of the children they taught. Of particular interest to me in the research work of this team of researchers was the careful use of the term 'culture' and avoidance of its reification. They pointed out that such reifications slow down or/and lock cultural practices to certain characteristics such as homogeneity.

Their work and methods of investigation broaden the basic understanding of Vygotskian thought in that it displays that the MKO role is not cast in concrete but might, in collaborative projects, be constantly redefined in the construct 'we are both learners and educators'. Such a construct therefore challenges the assumptions that define assembly-line instruction where the teacher positions himself/herself as the MKO. Their work further displays interdisciplinary work (teachers, researchers, community people and children) and intergenerational learning processes.

I hope my work in Mpembeni, though a small scale case study, contributes to the wealth of knowledge and thought that has been generated by the Latin American researchers and all the mentioned theorists in consideration of the paucity of research work in this area in Africa. I struggled to find research work by African scholars at the anthropological and formal and community learning interface. The growing interest within the continent in intergenerational learning processes is, however, encouraging.

4.1.5 Learning as connecting the past with the future

Smith (1999, p. 145) skilfully and colourfully knitted the connection between intergenerational learning with sociocultural learning and local knowledge when she said that, "The story and the story teller both serve to connect the past with the future, one generation with the other, the land with the people and the people with the story". Smith was articulating how researchers using decolonised research methodologies, should understand the place of stories within indigenous communities. Smith, like Rogoff, does not use the word intergenerational learning in this book (1999). One must consider that Smith was writing with concern about the manner that aboriginal people are researched and the role of research in silencing local voices. South Africa's past has many examples of such research methods and is not immune from them. To bridge the wide knowledge loss gap, Smith focused on the role of elders in bringing silenced stories to the fore. In the process, she ignored looking at bottom-up knowledge-making processes, a matter that is also not accentuated by Rogoff (2003). It is therefore justifiable that Hollingsfield, Corcoran and

Weakland (2014), though concerned about environmental education declared that “Despite significant commitments to children and youth in environmental education, there is little research on intergenerational learning”. (See Masuku, 2015 for a review of the book and some of the case studies.)

4.1.6 Intergenerational Learning and transformative leadership

The work of editors Corcoran and Hollingsfield (2014) entitled *Intergenerational Learning and Transformative Leadership for Sustainable Futures* is with no doubt a worthwhile contribution to my study, complementing the works already mentioned and opening another window into socio-cultural theory. These editors bring together a wealth of examples from educational theorists, practitioners and researchers’ understandings of intergenerational learning, specifically in the context of transformative leadership in 32 chapters by 82 authors from 26 countries and six continents, as well as include the views of organisations such as UNESCO, UNEP and IUCN. In a review of their book (Masuku, 2015), I pointed out the general understanding of intergenerational learning as a top-down transferral of knowledge, a view that is also commonly held in South Africa. I also acknowledged that very few lessons have been documented on the learning exchanges from the young to elders and most particularly, within homes and rural community contexts. Spannrig (2008) referred us to the same problem within the corporate and state sector where managers are concerned about on job training, succession plans etc. Spannrig said that “the younger employees seldom transfer their “new” technological knowledge and skills to the older generation” (2008, p. 8). The complementarity of their work with the other researchers mentioned in above sections is bringing into discussion formal and informal learning and education. Masuku (2015) asserted that intergenerational learning as a concept can be implicated in a variety of learning contexts which interweave into each other such as indigenous knowledge processes (Masuku van Damme & Neluvhalani, 2004; O’Donoghue, Shava & Zazu, 2014), sociocultural learning (Rogoff, 2003) and decolonial thinking (Andreotti, 2011). To foster intergenerational learning relationships, those participating in it must feel safe and their views must be respected, according to Kocherthaler and Hoogesterger (2014) and Wals and Tassone (2014). This was the case in the Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti’s (2005) collaborative studies with teachers through the use of the concept of all parties being educators and learners.

Case studies by Schudel, Belay Ali, Osano and Adam, Maclean in this book successfully bring to the fore the top-down and bottom-up, across formal and informal intergenerational learning processes that take place in the different countries. When one considers, the age differences and 'the boundaries of difference' between the participants engaged in sociocultural learning processes in intergenerational learning exchanges, there is bound to be a translation and negotiation (see Bhabha, 1994) of meaning and understanding. The shifting of fixities (Bhabha, 1994) is evident in learning encounters where technologies of learning such as computers, cameras and cell phones are used and most of the time, habit, inflexibility, discomfort with learning new and easier ways of doing things and resistances are common with elders when learning with younger people. The fixities are also challenged when the stereotypical thinking about the ways certain things are done is rattled.

Kocherthaler and Hoogester (2014), in their study of child-centred development, challenged community conceptions about children where they (children) considered them as competent with evolving capacities as opposed to vulnerable and incompetent stereotypes (see also Fernandez, 2015). When parents were asked to let go of control and believe that they can learn from their children's self-directed projects, they confessed to have learnt a lot from their children. Schudel (2014) whose case study was located in South Africa, looked at a relational perspective on intergenerational learning by exploring nutrition and food for a school in a semi-rural township context. In her project, she established a research relationship focusing on local practices between a particular school and the local community. She concluded that there were shared learnings between the school and the community. The children also brought knowledge about wild spinach from their families to school which was used to broaden an understanding of nutrition, human rights and justice. Common to all the examples of studies on intergenerational learning is that the most important aspect in intergenerational learning processes is the use of participatory learning approaches, which is also presented in the Correa-Chavez, Mejia-Arauz and Rogoff (2015) study on learning by observing and pitching-in. The challenging of fixities and creating of a climate where participants don't feel intimidated by each other's presence, is very important. Garcia (2015) pointed out its occurrence in a Peruvian case study where there was mutual respect across generations as children observed and participated in activities considered to be for adults. The other important aspect is the language used in such engagements. Language that is intimidating and abstract for local contexts may create a paralysis and stifle people's cognitive capacities (see

Masuku, 1999). Belay (2012) emphasised the importance of participatory learning techniques in his mapping project in Ethiopia which brought together youth, women and men to explore traditional ecological knowledge. The work of Correa-Chavez, Mejia-Arauz and Rogoff (2015) is an elaboration of the learning processes that Belay writes of. The use of paint as a medium of engagement that is accessible and the reliance on what people remembered made participants feel valued and that their knowledge counted as relevant for addressing local environmental issues.

4.1.7 Individuals, generations and dynamic cultural communities

The basis of the whole discussion on the cultural nature of human development by the theorists discussed thus far is anchored in the position that we can mainly understand cultural processes and communities if we consider “development to be a process of changing participation in dynamic cultural communities” (Rogoff, 2003, p. 52). An important aspect to consider is that some anthropological studies conducted in KwaZulu-Natal have tended to capsule culture (see for instance Mthembu, 2009), something we should be wary of as stated by Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti (2015). In the context of my study, this statement therefore suggests that the researched communities at and in interaction with home/pasture, school and local NGOs and governmental institutions (livestock inspectors) have, over time, changed the way they participate in response to changing cultural processes and environmental issues associated with living and looking after cattle. Rogoff (2003) pointed out the problematics of the nature/nurture binary discussions and traditional ways of viewing learning as a biological process. Such false dichotomisation shadows the fact that humans are biologically cultural. It is also out of synch with the O’Donoghue view (1995) of the environment as interacting dimensions of the biophysical with the political, social and political (in O’Donoghue & Janse van Rensburg, 1995), which challenges the problematics of the binaries that Rogoff (2003) highlighted. Within the conservation sector and amongst environmental practitioners there is a growing alignment with the O’Donoghue definition of the environment which, within communities, has not been theorised but is evident in people’s ways of interacting with it (see Masuku, 1999). This does not necessarily mean that the school curriculum reflects this position.

I disfavour a curriculum that compartmentalises learning to biological confines where children’s abilities and skills are argued in IQs and rather value one that considers the role of sociocultural historical processes, a view that I bring into my research study. Rogoff’s diagram (see Figure 4.2) on assembly-line instruction summarises this.

4.2 OPEN ENDED CONCLUSIONS

In my thinking, 'generational' goes beyond a reference to an age category but to the ages (epochs) that can be attached to particular types of knowledge. For instance, computer knowledge and the placing of a chip inside a cow to be able to track it and photographic memory about a cow to be able to track it within a community that understands the colour of cows as patterns are knowledges that belong to particular periods and a generational epoch. When these knowledges are shared, it is an intergenerational experience. This is, therefore, the complexity within which I view intergenerational learning.

Smith (1992, p. 257), with reference to history and pastoral cultural ecology, pointed out that

The cultural memory may be limited, but the adaptive skills are not. Each child learns the stories of its society from family, and is closely intertwined with the creation of being by proximity to the environment and basic needs of the animals. The young Fulani neophyte hoping to advance his spiritual experience calls on Koumen to guide him to understand the basic questions of the herding life. Koumen says that 'The strength of the Peul is in cattle. The day when there are no more of them there would be misery' (Hamptate Ba and Dieterlen, 1962:65; Authors translation). While the gods and the initiated are better teachers than the present writer can be, one can only hope that by giving a 'past' we add power to the search.

As presented by Rogoff and other sociocultural development theorists, all learning processes happen in sociocultural contexts amongst individuals within dynamic biophysical, constructed, abstract, historical, geographical, evolutionary etc. contexts and that particular learning is intergenerational learning. I brought into discussion some African postcolonial theorists in the chapter preceding this. Some had views which I am saving for discussions to follow in the next chapters, such as Nyamnjoh (2012) who looked at the resilience of colonial education in Africa and made proposals on how to unseat it. Smith (1999, p. 19), citing Lorde (1979), reminded us that "The master's tools can never dismantle the Masters' House". So we need to construct the tools and also be instrumental in decolonising taken for granted research methodologies, if we intend undoing the past, current and possible colonising tendencies of our curricula.

The framework presented by Andreotti in Chapter 3 (Table 3.1) displayed the liquid contours between the boundaries of the postcolonial lens, decolonial lens and an indigenous studies lens

exposing socio-cultural-historical process of human development and the porousness of these boundaries. Not only was the framework describing the boundaries but it also reflected the nature of the learnings within a community where there is no particular grouping, that is an island in space and secure from being impacted by developments that have happened in the community such as the enforced formal system of education that is constitutionally considered a human right. In Mpembeni, the area of my study, which is classified as rural, one finds that the educational processes at play, be they formal or informal, at school or at home, exhibit the permeability of boundaries that I referred to in terms of the framework that Andreotti shared with us (2011, pp. 59-60).

The O'Donoghue diagrammatic summation of hybrid third spaces (see Chapter 3, Figure 3.2) functions as a synthesis of the educational processes at play in a context similar to Mpembeni, reflecting what Paraskeva calls a curriculum that ventures into brave terrains and a "posture that constantly slides amongst several epistemological frameworks" (2011, p. 151). Within this diagram, the tenets of Rogoff's discussion are also unmistakably glaring and the leanings into complex processes that shape development and learning are apparent. The diagram with the circles in involved and overlapping ways of knowledges reflects the fact that knowledge has to be (will) negotiated and translated (Bhabha, 1994). I layered and interpreted this diagram with insights that Andreotti's (2011, pp. 94-95) shared. In my view the role of environmental education is that of a process that contributes to "multicultural and global justice education" (Andreotti, 2011) if coupled with a postcolonial counterhegemonic agenda. To achieve a multicultural and global justice education, Andreotti (2011) proposed that we engage in activities that involve a "critical engagement with debates. Learning from with others. Working towards ability to work together based on mutuality and reciprocity". This O'Donoghue (2014) diagram makes the Andreotti proposed activities come to light. In such engagements and activities and situations, conflicts and differences are seen as opportunities for learning.

The concluding remarks made by Rogoff (2003, pp. 368-369) in her book made me reflect on the construct 'cultural expression' captured in the title of my thesis and my tongue-in-cheek appropriation of it from the 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions. Cultural expression and social becoming are constructs that are intermeshed and articulate individuals' cultural participation processes and everyday cognition as

an act that continuously defines the response in the presence and its constant defining of a future. The last words which Rogoff writes in italics are: “*There is always more to learn...*” (2003, p. 369).

Her concluding futuristic remark is preceded by open-ended italicised summative remarks which are intertwined into it:

- a) *Culture isn't what **other** people do*
- b) *Understanding one's own cultural heritage, as well as other cultural communities, requires taking the perspective of people of contrasting backgrounds*
- c) *Cultural practices fit together and are connected*
- d) *Cultural communities continue to change, as do individuals*
- e) *There is not likely to be one best way*

I would err by assuming that her remarks are clear at the literal level and self-explanatory. The bold in remark a) is the author's and it made me reflect on my reflexivity and reminded me to recognise my research endeavour as sociocultural development and learning and how her descriptions of her research participants are very much about me and my participation with others. Remark c) is loaded. She explained it as “an understanding of how cultural practices fit together forming patterns of variation and similarity is essential”. This assertion I do not agree with as I don't consider all processes to be systematic, logical and fitting because we would not see the need to alter them then because as she concluded, *There's always more to learn...*

The chapter to follow will focus on Foundational phase children's learning experiences.

CHAPTER 5: CHILDREN'S INTERGENERATIONAL LEARNING EXPERIENCES



Figure 5.1: Bandlalenkosi (the child who inspired me, the researcher to conduct this study) controls a cow while observing his aunt Mkhethi apply ointment on its ear

The sun was just about to throw itself upon its mother's chest in embrace (a SiSwati/Zulu metaphor for the setting of the sun) when I arrived at the Mtshali homestead. As I drove through the open gate, gogo Mtshali's four grandchildren ran alongside the car yelling my spiritual name in greeting at the top of their voices. Their excitement interlaced with happy screams which were in chorus with the barking of the homestead dogs, impelled gogo Mtshali to come out of the house to inspect. When she saw me emerge out of the car, she broke off into a rhythmic welcome dance which was in synch with her soprano ululations. I just stood there and laughed. One of the kids sped off towards the house and at meeting Mkhethi, their aunt, announced that I had arrived. I had avoided informing gogo Mtshali of my visit as she tends to worry about road safety. Anyway I had been quite confident that I would find her at home as had always been the case with all my previous visits. I had stopped at the Matubatuba shopping centre and purchased groceries for the family and myself, making sure not to forget ingredients for traditional beer umqombothi and marshmallows and apples for the children. The kids helped me offload the shopping while slyly scanning through the shopping bags for what I might have brought them. From afar, Bandlalenkosi, who was now seven years-old, shouted a

greeting as he herded the cattle into the kraal. Behind him in procession, the geese headed for the halved truck tyre to have their last evening drink. The goats nibbled their last greens around the rickety main gate while their kids bleated for attention from their mothers.

It was 13 January 2015 and I had thought it best to begin my academic journey to Rhodes University in Grahamstown from gogo Mtshali's home at Ezidonini. Driving through Hlabisa, I noticed a huge board announcing a Kentucky Fried Chicken outlet which had not been there the previous year. The thought that came to my mind was that the proximity of this KFC meant that people no longer had to travel as far as Matubatuba to purchase that unhealthy overused and burnt cooking oil they loved so much. The local market traders were heading to the taxi ranks with their wares on their heads as I passed the big hospital at the turn off to Mpembeni, which had been the provincial hub for HIV and AIDS research in the late 90s. It was faded and seemed to have suffered considerable physical neglect. The revelation of the newly tarred road ahead of me which I had always known to be gravel was a great consolation to the sorry state of the hospital. Even though my thoughts were quite foggy, I had made up my mind that my research focus would be on the subject of cattle herding by young children. Driving up the winding hill after the hospital and past the speed bumps, I saw a lot of young boys herding cattle towards their homesteads with their mixed breed dogs happily running behind them. The cattle were fat and glistened with life. The hills near and far were carpeted in lush green grass and my guess was that tons of rain must have consistently fallen in the area that year. The tarred road stretched away for kilometres on end and while I marvelled at it, I was constantly on the lookout for the turn-off to Mpembeni. After passing Somfula High School, the road became unfamiliar and wove its way uphill towards Nhlwathi. I made a decision to stop here and ask the people who were working on the road for directions towards the Mpembeni Clinic. I did not want to call gogo Mtshali and ask for directions because I wanted my visit to be a surprise. They told me that I had missed the turn-off and must drive back in the direction I had come until I got to a shop named Thandanani where I would find a turn to the right which would lead me to Mpembeni. From that turn-off, to my great relief, all the landmarks were familiar.

Gogo Mtshali's husband had died in 2013. Pressing work commitments and inadequate financial resources had barred me from attending his funeral. The last I had seen of him was at the beginning of that year and he had been very ill. Bandlalenkosi was five years-old then and excited about starting school the next year. My chats with him about cattle were started off by the anxiety he had given his grandmother for disappearing after he had kraaled the cattle at sunset one day. When he eventually resurfaced after we had given up looking for him, he explained that he had noticed that one of the cows was not amongst the herd and that he had gone to look for it. Out of curiosity I asked him how he knew where to look. He said he first went to look

for the cow at the dam and when he did not find it, he enquired about its whereabouts in that area. Someone had told him that he had seen it heading for a hill towards the Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Park. The reason it had headed that way was clear, he said. That area had received rain and the cow had smelled it and wanted to be there before the many herds headed that way the next day. According to him, it was a very clever cow. He had abandoned looking for it because he was scared of being attacked by the hyenas that prowled that area at night. I so wish I had tape-recorded this talk. But as I have said previously, life just trudges on sometimes, it is like a dream that unfolds and unfolds and when you wake up, you realise you had no camera nor tape-recorder to capture the core of it but its tastes and smells linger in your memory.

All this coming from a five-year old was not only shocking but very deep for me who knew nothing about cattle. The seed to investigate cattle herding by young children was immediately planted after this conversation. Starting my intellectual journey to Rhodes University from gogo Mtshali's place in 2015 was intentional. It was first to check if I could reignite my 2013 interest in what I thought could be my potential research topic. The second reason was to convey my face-to-face condolences to gogo Mtshali for the passing on of her husband. When the offloading of the groceries had been done and I had been shown where I would sleep, I had a wash from a plastic bathing bowl and then sat down with her in her lounge. I offered gogo Mtshali the bottles of Black Label beer that I had purchased in Matubatuba for our relaxed evening chat. While drinking, she updated me about the happenings in the community and developments in the homestead. I was very disappointed to learn that Bandlalenkosi had failed his Grade 1 and would be redoing it that year.

It was not long after dinner that gogo Mtshali said that she had no doubt that I was a child of a spirit for I could not have arrived at a better time; the next day would mark the beginning of a ceremony to cleanse her as her mourning period for the loss of her husband had come to an end. The big clay pots were already bubbling with umqombothi and the cow to be slaughtered for the ceremony had already been selected. I was quite excited at hearing this, for never had I witnessed a ceremony of this nature. This would also give me first-hand experience and insights into the relationship and significance of cattle in community rituals, I thought. I had not only been trained on research protocols and ethics when I pursued my master's degree at Rhodes University but had also done considerable reading on research methods to refresh my mind for I felt a bit rusty, before setting off on this trip. I was happy to hear about this ceremony and recognised this as a great opportunity for my study. I immediately sought permission from gogo Mtshali to conduct a few interviews as well as take photographs of the ceremony and was thrilled when she agreed.

5. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapters were focused on illuminating theoretical lenses, research methods and processes etc. This chapter presents a different phase from all previous ones. It is the first of a series of chapters that begins to reveal my research insights and encounters in the field which have been distilled from documented snapshots called data.

This chapter gives analysed views of the experiences of 6-10 year-old children that were involved in cattle care activities as well as those of youth older than this age group who played and continue to play a role in imparting some of their skills to the below 10 year-old group. The first part of the chapter specifically looks at these experiences within the context of the home. Interspersed within the children's voices and experiences are the clarifying voices of the elders, not with an intent of dominating the conversations of the young, but functioning as voices from repositories of oral unwritten knowledge that help fill in the incomplete sentences of the children. The second part of the chapter looks at how the children experienced the school setting, culture and learning environment in the context of their home tasks related to cattle as well as the knowledge they had about their welfare even prior to starting school. This section also looks further back to the experiences of the *izingqwele* (*ingqwele* {singular}: *umfana obehlula bonke abanye* – a boy that excels above others) as shared by them.

Audible within the articulations of these groupings are the views of the community elders as a commentary on home and school learning processes. Their observations on formal education are from a less involved experience with the school educational processes but rather emanate from their observations as a result of looking into schools through lenses coloured by community values that envisage cattle as one of the core pillars that expresses their culture. Secondly, their views are informed by the interactions they have with learners at home and not only what the teachers say of them but how they expect them to function within the home and community context. As the thesis author, I don't censor the child's experiences and voice from within me in fear that the academy may regard them as egoistic, non-verifiable, unpublished, unquotable and irrelevant, but liberate them as commentary on some sections of the chapter. At times as a researcher, I feel like an open cast miner, who in her search for the treasured ore, reveals more and more varied layers of soil and rock formations which would otherwise never have been exposed without the digging.

I took a decision to refer to some of the children by pseudonyms or simply as ‘a particular child’ so that whoever reads my research report does not victimise them for what they said about the schools they attended. From the interviews with the foundation phase learners, I learnt that despite the legislated banning of corporal punishment, its use for instilling discipline was still prevalent in some schools in the rural areas. This could be attributed to the fact that many of the children interviewed live with grandparents who consider corporal punishment as the only real form of punishment and therefore approve of it being administered at school.

Maphisa: Most of them stay with grandparents. Their mothers and parents are either in tertiary institutions some are students at the high school, working in the big cities and others are orphans of HIV. 60 % of them stay with grandparents.

Teachers also confirmed that the majority of elders who attend parent meetings are in fact grandparents. To avoid making sensitive disclosures on corporal punishment that were/cannot be corroborated by evidence by myself in relation to some school identities, I have decided to hide their identity by referring the one under discussion as ‘a particular school’. My intent is also to avoid creating an atmosphere where schools shut their doors to researchers because of presenting contentious issues, without going beyond the ‘more’ echoed in the popular belief “there is always more than meets the eye”. In many instances, researcher’s interests/questions may not be in-depth enough to delve beyond their curiosities to understand the everyday complexities of schools within their communities. As I write now, it is my duty to strike an ethical balance to sensitively articulate sensitive matters while ensuring that the doors of researching education processes in schools remain open to future researchers. The schools which the interviewed children attended were Mthekelezi Primary School, Somfula Primary School and Somfula High School.

5.1 THE PLACE OF CATTLE AMONGST THE CHILDREN AND YOUTH OF MPEMBENI AND FACTORS INFLUENCING MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES

The purpose of this section is to walk the reader into the site while I surface aspects and regular practices that display the centrality of cattle which evidently highlight it as one of the foremost mediums of cultural expression. This method will by intent begin to illuminate the forms of sociocultural learning contexts, layers and processes where intergenerational learning is composted and shared across generations.

5.1.1 Community beliefs, the drought and cattle numbers

Having arrived in Mpembeni at the heart of the drought meant that, to a certain degree, some of the responses from research participants were filtered through the climatic conditions of the time. The sea blown winds that came up to Mpembeni many times caused whirlwinds which some believed represented ghosts protesting the drought. These were ghosts of people and ghosts of cattle. The municipality-supplied taps would remain closed for weeks owing to insufficient water at the supply water spring source that fed a reservoir (see Figure 5.2 below). The seven-headed snake which was supposedly manning the spring water source was blamed for this state of affairs because it was opposed to certain provincial park Hluhluwe-Umfolozi and community development projects and needed to be appeased. The seven-headed snake was also blamed for swallowing some of the cows that got lost in the area. The snake is said to at times transform itself into a chicken in disguise. This area was avoided for grazing and for letting the cattle drink.



Figure 5.2: My research assistant, Senamile Mtshali, standing at the edge of the pool that is home to the seven-headed snake

I one day witnessed an incident when dark clouds were building fast in the sky and the place was getting darker and darker during daylight. All of a sudden a chorus of metal being beaten to metal started out and grew louder and louder by the minute and the women in my homestead grabbed

metal plates and started hitting them with spoons while chanting that the snake must return to its waters. This was an activity reserved for women because of their gentle nature and capacity to calm and chase away danger but also to demonstrate that they are not scared of it because the snake does not like the sound. I learnt that the snake would have caused too much damage, lifting up roofs from houses and killing many cattle and had to be chased. In an hour after this chorusing to the snake had stopped, the wind slowed down. Gogo Mtshali told me that the wind, thunder and rain that fell on that day was not heavy and this was a result of the pleading with the snake by the women.

The behaviour of community residents in these challenging times can be further understood with an insight into the numbers of cattle the community owned to comprehend the interwovenness of cattle in their lives. The master of the Sovana dipping tank, Mr. Mgabhi, provided the following detail:

Sovana livestock owners 115, *izinkomo* [cattle] 1 141,

Mpembeni livestock owners 148, *izinkomo* 1 257,

Sangoyana livestock owners 55, *izinkomo* 1 038,

The Hlabisa area in total has 2156 livestock owners and 24 100 cattle

Sangoyana was the area I could not access because of the erosion but the data is still important. These were the numbers at the beginning of 2016 which had not been updated with numbers of cattle lost to the drought.



Figure 5.3: Dipping tank manager of Sovana Dip, Mr Mgabhi, with data of cattle that he collects and records on dipping days

5.1.2 The place of cattle

When it came to the meaning of cattle to the people of the area, I could not find a better definition than the one that prefaces the Poland, Hammond-Tooke and Voigt (2012, p. 10) book. It is without the freezing of culture in time that is found in many an anthropological text. With sensitivity to context, Poland pointed out the depth of the relationship in this way:

Where tradition still holds sway, cattle are companions in every aspect of daily life; patient intermediaries between the world of the living and the dead. This symbiotic relationship has made the identification of man with beast intimate, affectionate and reverent.

The descriptions by De la Harpe, De la Harpe, Leitch and Derwent (1998, p. 58) look at the macro:

Cattle's importance is also partly due to their association with the ancestors ... In addition to being of wealth and status, cattle traditionally played a significant role in all aspects of Zulu culture – political, economic, social, spiritual and aesthetic.

To a high degree, tradition still holds sway in many homesteads of Mpembeni, especially at the homestead where I was resident. It is also undisputable that cattle intersect into many aspects of people's lives as noted by De la Harpe, De la Harpe, Leitch and Derwent (1998). This was not verbalised by the 6-10 year old interviewees but rather echoed by the teenagers and all other interviewed members of the community (community here excludes organised and regulated groupings such as schools and teachers, Department of Agriculture officials and NGOs). The lack of verbalised accounts did not necessarily mean they were unimportant but rather that looking after the cattle was a task that presented no choices, one they simply had to execute because they were expected to and was not necessarily something to consider as either important or not. More so, at that age children might simply do what is expected of a respectful child; societal, peer pressure and other issues may also have played a role. It might also have been too early in their lives to determine and verbalise what was important.

Within the perspective of looking after cattle, which has clearly been defined as a valuable asset within the homestead context, such 'looking after' would demand a certain way of behaviour and particular skills in the home and pasture called *ukwelusa* – herding. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1966, p. 45) said that;

Ukwelusa lokhu kwakungumsebenzi osemqoka wabafana. Ungafaniswa futhi nesikole somfana kusukela elusa amankonyane aze aluse imihlambi yezimkomo. Akhona amanye amantombazana elusayo, ikakhulukazi uma bengekho abafana.

Looking after cattle was important work for boys. It can also be likened to a school for a boy from the time he herds calves until he herds large herds of cattle. There were some girls that looked after cattle, mostly when there were no boys.

From Poland, Hammond, Tooke and Voigt's (2012) and De la Harpe, De la Harpe, Leitch and Derwent (1998) we established the importance of cattle amongst the Zulu in general. Nyembezi and Nxumalo then make us aware of the importance of looking after such a valuable homestead asset as well as the importance of the responsibility for whoever has to look after them. In this context, it is the children that have this responsibility. Nyembezi and Nxumalo went on to say that this could be equated to the traditional precolonial school a boy child needed to attend and the responsibility progresses to complexity within the traditional and cultural setting. Girls are not usually given this task, only as the last resort, if a boy is not available. The fact that occasionally girls do take on this role gave me a licence to include girls in my research sample.

5.1.3 Defining cattle

As an intergenerational learner I was taught by Bandla that the word 'calf' cannot be used loosely. The youngest newly born of a cow is called *umvemve*. One that is slightly older and still drinking from its mother's udders is called *inkonyane*. *Ithole* is a calf that has or is about to be weaned from its mother's milk and is transitioning to being adult. *Ithole* can be sent to the dipping tank but must be carefully watched so that big cows don't trample it.

From the interviews with the children I learnt what it means to look after cattle. The versions they gave were varied but the common features were that their cattle care activities were mostly carried out during school holidays. Their tasks during school days was to bring the cattle back from the pastures, separate the calves according to their age groups and kraal them. Calves don't sleep with their mothers and are separated to stop them from being overfed and exhausting the mother. Too much milk may also give them running stomachs.

5.1.4 Herding cattle and associated activities

An important activity, amongst others, which emerged with the advent of colonialism in relation to livestock management was the introduction of different types of kraaling, cattle dipping and the minimisation of transhumance. Mgabhi, the Sovana dipping tank master, detailed the traditional method that was followed in looking after cattle. I decided to include this here despite this chapter being for sharing children's experiences. The modifications of Mgabhi's version from the children's versions would not give the reader an insight into what 'real' herding should be. I must point out though that this is not the sum total of the activities conducted when looking after cattle. Excluded are the types of night kraaling, the processes of herding cattle back for night kraaling, preventing diseases, traditional and modern healing methods, death, postmortems, eating of the meat etc. Cattle herding included fun activities such as stick fighting, pottery, bull fights, bird identification and hunting, setting traps for small animals, riding of older calves, catching locusts, hand balancing sticks, riddles, hide and seek etc. (see Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1966).

Mgabhi's description of the daily routine is as follows:

The cattle are allowed out in the morning. They are herded so that they do not get into people's fields. There comes a time when the sun is higher after 11 to 12. The udders are full and they want to feed their young and be milked. You are to herd them towards the river to drink, they wade in and others drink. They are to be herded home. The calves are also allowed out to graze in the morning. When the cattle are herded back, the cows are then locked in and especially the feeding one. I go into the house and fetch milk pails. The ladies of the house have large milk gourds. These have holes on the bottom. The whey is taken out of the gourds. It comes out all blueish. The rest of the milk is thick and creamy and she shakes it. This is poured into containers. The whey is taken to the kraal. The fresh milk that comes out of the milking process is added into the whey and the milk is used for feeding the young ones. The thickest sour milk with the fat is kept in the gourds for the mother and the father of the house. The young ones of the house are only fed the milk with the whey.

The cow to be milked is tied by the horns to the pole. The calf is allowed to drink from its mother. The moment the milk starts coming out heavily and the calf is choking, the calf is pulled off. You then approach the cow from the side and tie up its hind legs together. You have with you the milking pails which are carved out of wood and at the top area they have pimply bumps. These have water to wash hands and to wash the cow's udders. The milkman crouches and places the milking pail in between the legs and starts pulling and squeezing the udders. As the milk tone changes as it passes

mid-full in the pail, the cow can hear the sound. If it's a provocative one, it will start kicking so that it can throw the dung into the pail or make you uneasy such that the pail falls over with the milk. After at least a pail has been filled, you bring back the calf, and it feeds again. Once it has fed you pull it off and milk again. This is the process done and repeated with all the cows on a daily basis. The calves are pulled off their mothers to make sure that they are not overfed with milk because if they are, their tummies are too full they get the running tummies and cannot digest the grass well. The last milking on the last cow is done not into the pail. There is cooperation between the milkman and the calves as the calves act like the taps for the udders and our task is to regulate the calves' feeding process. We would sit under the cow and milk onto our heads and our whole bodies would be covered with milk. We would then take the milk pails into the huts and our mothers would have the food ready for us. We would eat our food, get the cattle out of the kraal again and set off into the grazing areas near the river. We would then jump into the river and wash the milk off our bodies.

The changes through times as well as the increase of responsibilities that children have at home plus school homework, more especially during the course of the school terms and sneaked-in leisure activities, has meant that the processes described by Mgabhi have been minimized over time. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1966) pointed out that cattle herding could be equated to the traditional schooling system; unfortunately these two systems don't fully operate alongside each other. The formal school system has taken precedence over traditional systems as in Mgabhi's description which has optional dos and don'ts.

5.1.5 Cattle dipping

Dipping took place twice a month. It started at 5 am of every alternative Monday. All the children I interviewed gave elaborate detail of a typical dipping day. There is always a buzz. Members of the dipping tank committee are there helping out with counting the number of cattle against the record that each cattle herder submits. The most beautiful of purebred greyhounds also grace dipping day. 95% of the people dipping their cattle are male – elders and young men. The issues of hierarchy are very visible as being a member of the dipping tank committee is highly regarded and comes with privileges of driving your cattle in first which is called 'stirring the consistency of the medicine'. The young boys who are children of the members of the committee arise early to be first in the queue to have the family herd enjoy this privilege. I have shared an excerpt from one Siphephelo Qwabe on how he experienced dipping day:

I know about cows when they are in the dipping tank. I go with my father all the time. We leave at 5 in the morning. I lead them and my father follows from behind. At the dipping tank we make them stand. We join a line, and when the ones in front move forward ours follow. [*gogo Mtshali corrects that: before the cows get in they are counted and they are counted and it is noted which ones are absent*]. When the cows get out of the tank. They are kept in an enclosure and they drip and when they are no longer dripping, they are let out.

Besides the business of dipping, cattle owners update entries in their stock ownership books, make sure that they are up to date with payments as well as register newly-born cattle, cattle additions that are lobola contributions, report on deaths and sicknesses. They also produce certificates of ones transferred from one dipping tank to the other. At times, the livestock inspectors meets with the committee members to get a sense of the status of the area's livestock. He updates them on developments and alerts them about planned training workshops. The dipping tank is also a meeting place to update each other on general events and happenings between friends and family. It is at the dipping tank that informal aspects of learning take place.

Of interest to me was the different cattle management practices between different dipping tanks and their suitability and congruence to community needs and challenges. Cattle owners living close to Nkweleni and using the Mpembeni dipping tank, made a decision that they would not dip their cattle on a Monday which was normal practice in the Sovana and Sangoyana dipping tanks. The issue of dipping on regular working days was a colonial imposition that has been practised from as young as I remember going back into the late 60s when I attended school. The community took this position based on a number of issues. One, was that young people who herd cattle are disturbed from school activities and end up arriving late for school and get punished by teachers. Secondly, young people are losing the knowledge and love for looking after cattle and that needs to be re-instilled by moving dipping to Saturday. Thirdly, dipping on Saturdays allows quality time to interact with cattle herders and exchange ideas instead of the rush that usually happens. Some of the older people who look after cattle, most especially widows, struggle to herd cattle to far away tanks and do not have the strength to run after them once they get excited. There are more people available on Saturdays who assist with herding the cattle. The Hlabisa town Department of Agriculture livestock inspectors do not attend all dipping sessions and therefore governmentally imposed times on when cattle should be dipped, could be overlooked. The dipping tank master was in constant liaison with the livestock inspector so if the Department wanted to do a census, monitor stock health or share information, herders would then bring their cattle on a particular Monday.



Figure 5.4: Cattle dipping at the Sovana Dipping Tank

5.1.6 Dealing with missing cattle

As cattle were/are a great asset, great care had to be taken that they do not get lost. The loss of cattle is every herder's greatest fear. In many homesteads, some of the cattle that are looked after, belong to relatives or neighbours who do not have the means to look after them or are too old to do so which adds to the responsibility. Of the children interviewed, there was not one child who did not talk about their experiences of looking after cattle without making reference to ones that get lost. I came to a better understanding of what 'lost' referring to cattle means and that it cannot just be understood at the literal level. Bandla's explanation was as follows:

When cattle get lost, we look for them. What we mean by they are lost is that – they were not seen at their time of kraaling. It means they are not the right number. We count them every day and if there is one missing, we go and look for it. Some cattle when they are lost, we find them in the forest in an area called eNqolobaneni. They usually go there to drink water or look for their mothers.

His friend Siphephelo Qwabe explained as follows:

Two cows got lost, we looked for them and found them. They separated when I was herding them from the dip. Some came home and the two strayed. One cow that was reared on behalf of gogo Mgciza got lost and left its calf, some went to Gudlintaba but my uncles were there. When they do not come home, we get up early and go and look for them. I know all the cows that belong to my

home. The cows go into the veld and sleep there when it is dark. They are scared to come home and that they will meet a hyena that eats them. When it rains, they don't disappear. They sleep at our neighbours and sleep there because they are cold.

Gogo Mtshali assisted in broadening the meaning of the word 'lost' by also detailing that it meant that the cow

- a) joined another herd of cattle
- b) was stolen
- c) sometimes the females leave their own herd and follow males. The male ones would also follow the female and get separated from their herds and it may take a long time to find them
- d) may have followed the rain and gone where the rain is
- e) when a cow is not from the particular area and is used to a certain type of rain and life and has joined another family and is not used to its new home and it was lobola payment. Such a cow may try to go back to its home.

The context and cattle specific definitions of the word 'lost' as articulated by Bandla and his grandmother above, echo the density and tensions that the word evokes within families for cattle cannot be lost and must be found. Heavy punishments for missing cattle are apportioned on children cattle herders. The definitions offered on what 'lost' means opens up opportunities for places and spaces for looking and finding them.

From one seven year-old, I established that herding is not an enjoyable experience for some. This was largely as a result of the risks of cattle getting lost. In my investigation of whether he felt any emotional attachment with the cattle, this was his response:

I did not feel anything when I found the cow dead. My grandfather was angry. He hit us with his knobkerrie and we ran away and out of the gate and came back at night. My grandfather said 'voetsek' go and find the cows. When cows don't all come back, he gives us a hiding. This is the reason I don't like cattle. That he beats us if we have failed to look after cattle properly.

The loss of cows clearly has very serious implications for the young herders. It is evident therefore that the issue of corporal punishment is not one that takes place mainly at school but is also implemented in the homestead cattle herding and intergenerational learning context.

5.2 SOCIOCULTURAL INTERGENERATIONAL LEARNING

Everyday cognition and situated learning which happens in daily interactions can be taken for granted and viewed as common sense or something that needs to be done because it is either hereditary practice or cultural tasks that are prescribed and gender defined. Sociocultural theory as a tool of thinking, investigating and analysis of the data sourced from my investigation had a particular role in submerging and illuminating the taken-for-granted kinds of learned practices, learning processes and gave research participants an opportunity to reflect on practices that they considered as mundane. Interesting was also their reflective inquiry as to why learning practices associated with these everyday practices should be of research interest (see discussion in Chapter 4).

The learning processes that I distilled from the data are those which are of an Intergenerational nature and in the context of this particular research site, are linked with one of the most important aspects which regulates age-defined relationships and interactions at home and at the pasture – respect. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1966, p. 125), in considering relationships in the pasture, had this to say:

Ekweluseni abancane babehlonipha abadala

At the pasture young ones respected the elder ones

5.2.1 *Umuthi ugotshwa usemanzi* – To bend a tree you must do it when it is still a sapling

Children learn to look after cattle from a fairly young age. I asked the grandmother of my key child respondent Bandla about the age when he started learning to look after her cattle and her response was:

He started minding cattle when he was three years old.

All the children I interviewed had learnt to look after cattle from those older than them at home. Bandla was taught to look after cattle by his uncle. The age to start learning and the methods of teaching in the community context are not prescribed nor as conventional as they are within the formal schooling context. It is more a learning by doing with other and observation which Rogoff, Goodman Turkani and Bartlett (2015) referred to as “learning by observing and pitching-in”. The sheer presence of cattle in the homestead and observing them and learning their behaviours coupled with following elders while taking care of them, including herding, were some of the learning methods. I observed at my resident homestead that by the time children can walk and

respond to instructions, they are given little tasks related to cattle. A girl who was 2½ years-old was now and then told by the grandmother to chase the cattle away with others who were between 4 and 6 years-old. This was done to keep the child engaged in some activity instead of following the elders around and making all sorts of demands. Those who were at an age where they could follow conversations were also chased away so they could not listen in. The more tedious and time-consuming the task, the better, as it kept them busy for longer. This was the case at the Mtshali homestead. To learn about the behaviour of a mother hen, the 2½ year old girl was asked by her grandmother to bring one chick to her amongst the many following a mother hen. The mother hen fought and pecked her and she ran off crying. From this task, the little girl learnt chicken behaviour and to keep a distance from the mother hen and her chicks and respect their relationship. The safe distance observed with hens is also observed with cattle as their kicks can be fatal. It is for this reason that when they are sent off to tasks relating to cattle, there is always an older child whose animal behavioural knowledge is a little bit more advanced.

Evidence of their learning, most particularly from those younger than 6 year-olds, was located in the games they played. I observed them make mud huts and amongst the mud huts were kraals for their cattle and small stones were used to resemble cattle. They would make mooing sounds as they played and imitated those of the other animals such as the goats and dogs chasing them.

5.2.2 The significant other educators

The strength of the interview techniques I employed with children (an interview in the company of others), is that it made the interview conversational and relaxed. It allowed me to ask for supplementary information from the present knowledgeable others. Those listening in assisted with providing the ages of the people, the interviewee was referring to. With the information supplied I was able to determine that the knowledge flow and teaching was an intergenerational process. The grandmother and a visiting friend supplied the additional information.

There was consistency amongst the young ones that older people within the family and community had taught them how to care for cattle as well as herd them. Because of the numerous contacts I had with Bandla and the nature of homestead he lived in (it being a place where people came to be healed and some came to learn to be healers), he cited many people as having contributed to his

learning about cattle. Different people taught him different skills or way of thinking about cattle and their behaviour. This is what he said:

- a) I was taught to look after cattle by my big mom mam Khethiwe. She taught me that if I can't see a particular cow I must look for it and even ask people if they have not seen it.
- b) People that have taught me to look after cattle are uncle Mabhengwane, uncle Siphindile (around 30 years-old), uncle Benezer who is almost as old as uncle Mabhengwane, he is about 26. Uncle Siphamandla is about 30 years old. Brother Mini is about 30. My mother and my little mother Senamile have taught me, big mother Mkhethi and little mother Halala. I have visited the dipping tank many times with my biological mother, Hlengiwe. She has taught me a lot about cattle. Gogo usually sends me to fetch cattle.
- c) I was taught to mind cattle by my uncle Mabhengwane. He taught me how to hit cattle and command them to take instructions. When you want it to walk on you say 'Hhweg'. If you want it to get into the kraal, you hit it with the leather thong. The leather thong causes a lot of pain.

Extract a) points to the process of looking for cattle – instead of going all over the place, it is important to ask around. Because of the heightened knowledge about cattle and that people know each other's cattle, one is likely to get a lead as to which direction to search.

The b) interview extract is an interesting one when one considers the list of people given, specifically the uncles. These are relatives who have been temporal residents to the homestead who grew up in their homesteads looking after cattle. This means that the type of knowledge Bandla gathered is not necessarily local knowledge but varied ways of knowing and understanding cattle as well. His list starts off with names of males. The list of female names who are his relatives came as a result of further probing. He singles out his biological mother as one person he learnt a lot from. This is because his mother was a member of the dipping tank committee – membership is mainly reserved for men and it is very unusual for a woman younger than 30 years of age to be a member. This meant that though they would herd the cattle together to the dipping tank, the mother would assist with other committee members in the counting of the cattle, checking for diseases and injuries, absences etc. while Bandla minded the cattle, made sure they were dipped and herded them home in time to be ready to head off to school. This was an advantage and elevating because children of members of the committee dipped their cattle earlier. What this also meant is that his mother would discuss the matters discussed at the dipping tank at home with her mother, gogo Mtshali, and he would listen in. As a result Bandla told me that he knew that a new tank was going to be built in the place of the old one.

From the c) extract, it is evident that for cattle to follow instructions or commands, the herder must use specific words and a certain tone accompanied and aided by a particular tool, which is the leather thong. The interviewee stated that leather thongs cause a lot of pain and he was taught how to hit the cattle. This is because there are places where a cow should not be hit, considering that a cow with torn skin will attract flies and develop infections. The skins of a cows are also valuable assets and fetch good money when sold. Objects such as shields made from the hides, which are used at traditional ceremonies, are not cheap to buy. Two boys from different homesteads cited having skills for working the skins to assist their male parents, relatives and grandfathers. According to one of them, Siphephelo:

When I get back from school I eat then we make cowhide shields. People buy them from my grandfather and sell them in Durban.

This is clear evidence that the presence of cattle in the homestead is important as a source of income and that with their availability, children learn a variety of skills. One could further say that teaching skills to a child regarding looking after cattle goes beyond the responsibilities dictated by culture and customs and has evolved beyond the gender confines to be responsive to the realities of our current times. One of the girls I interviewed, Nontando, explained that in the absence of males in the homestead, as her grandmother was widowed and had no sons, the duty of looking after cattle fell on her and she was happy to carry these duties out. Here grandmother had taught her the skills needed for this task.

5.2.3 *Ubuntu* - Good neighbours mind each other's cattle

Nguni languages such as isiZulu are rich in idioms and proverbs and it is in these that indigenous knowledges, wisdom and values that regulate, comment, advise etc. are locked in and must be decoded. These are at most times used to emphasise or escape ordinary routine language to deepen the discussion or as a way to show off superior language skills in an attempt to show experience or knowledge on a matter being discussed. It was therefore important that at an early age of my growing up, part of my education at home was peppered with idioms and proverbs. Interestingly, this formed part of our curriculum in language subjects at school. It was our values education. I have selected the following proverb to capture the nature of behaviour that culture prescribed between neighbours as a display of *Ubuntu*. In these contexts neighbourly behaviour was not only to be extended to people but to their livestock as well. The fact that such a proverb was coined, meant that there was an important need to regulate relationships.

Umakhelwane wembesa isifumbu somakhelwane (Literal translation – a neighbour covers up the chest of his neighbour’s hunchback)

Neighbours should assist each other with everything.

Such ‘human-ness’ when it came to dealings with cattle was captured by Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1966, p. 123) as follows:

... cishe wonke umuntu wayenenkomo ngenxa yesiko lokusisela. Lokhu kusho ukuthi umnumzane othile wayenika omunye inkomo yakhe, ihlale kuye, izale, asenge adle amasi. Zande izinkomo, anikwe enye lona abesiselwe, lembewu yakhe ize yande.

Almost everyone had a cow because of a cultural practice of asking someone to look after a cow. This means that a certain male head of a homestead was given a cow, which would live with him, give birth, be milked and they would milk it and have sour milk. The number of cattle would increase. The one who looked after that cow would be given one, that cow would seed the birth of others.

The reason I went into detail describing the significance of language, Ubuntu and the normalising of relationship by sharing cattle wealth is because I want to display what went wrong when this proverb was not observed. I witnessed a conflict between neighbours which involved cattle. The scenario I am about to discuss functions as a peephole on how people value cattle. Watching it was like watching a role play unfold. In it I saw a class on values education in process.

This conflict between two neighbours was reported to the headman of the area. A date was set for a hearing. It took place at the headman’s homestead and was chaired by him in the company of supporting village elders under a tree. About 45 people attended the hearing. One child from family X had been lax with watching after his family cattle and had let them stray into the neighbour’s yard more than once. The cattle had grazed on the neighbour’s vegetables. The grandmother of this child herder had laid a charge with the headman and accused the neighbour Y of having cut open the hind leg of one cow as well as injured the tail of one other with a sharp object which had resulted in both cows walking with a limp. Neighbour Y on the other hand was angry that his homestead was used as a pasture by lazy children who should be minding their family cattle. The young cattle herder was given a hiding by the elder children of homestead Y. The aunt of the young cattle herder in family X had retaliated by hitting the elder children. There were heated exchanges between these two families at this hearing. The interesting aspect of this case was that the crux of

the court case was the issue of the injured cattle. Whatever the case may be, damaging livestock cannot be condoned. Even though neighbour Y denied having hit the cattle with a sharp object, the community was united in its anger against him. The father of neighbour Y who was in his 80s and a member of the dipping tank community was present at the hearing and was asked to explain why his young son, the accused, who was in his 50's could behave like this and why he had not been taught to display Ubuntu and treat other people's cattle with respect. The father of Y said that he had washed his hands when it came to the behaviour of his son as he was one of erratic behaviour. He maintained that he had been brought up well and taught to respect people's property and therefore he could not understand his behaviour. He however blamed the headman for settling his son on a piece of land which should be utilised as grazing land because it was next to the dipping tank.

Present at this court case were a number of community elders and young cattle herders of primary school age. To me this court case was a school in action for the young herders so they would learn about the consequences of negligent behaviour when it came to looking after cattle. What was interesting and significant in this hearing was that an elderly man can be reduced to a child and his parent accused of not having taught him ethical behaviour and respect for livestock. The 50 year old neighbour Y was stripped of his adulthood and standing as a man by angry community members who doubted his innocence. The matter was considered too complex by the headman who insisted that it be accelerated and heard by the Chief of the area as the accused was not cooperative. The young cattle herder who had neglected the cattle which strayed to the neighbour's home was constantly scolded by the grandmother who kept on repeating that young cattle herders who sleep on the job, disturb the peace and tranquillity of any homestead and that he had seriously embarrassed her in the community. This traditional court case was a big lesson to young herders on the importance of herding their cattle and that of their neighbour's. They had sat listening with keen interest at the hearing. This example also displayed the centrality of cattle in the everyday lives of the people in my research. When I asked the young herder what he had learned from the hearing, he said that first he had been very scared and that he was worried that his grandmother's cow was weak from the injury and may die. From now on he would behave like a big man and watch the cattle properly, he said. In other words, this event had made him grow. In isiZulu that is a saying that goes *ubudoda abukhulelwa* which translated means – to be manly in behaviour is not

something that one grows up to be. In other words, manly acts can be performed by those who are young and being a man has nothing to do with age.

Also worth commenting upon here is the community collaboration on cattle welfare. Learning is with others and not always family members. This strong sense of community is also reflected in a study by Khupe and Keane (2017: 30) who wrote that, “when children were asked to draw their house, all drew the whole village. One child wrote under his drawing: “A person without a neighbour is not a person”. Community members as a result do not have to be invited to a homestead when a cow has been slaughtered. This mainly applies to men as many, especially those who are neighbours, have lent a hand when cattle were ill.

5.2.4 Sending children on errands to neighbours

The display of neighbourly behaviour that I observed involved the sending of children to neighbouring homesteads. This process is integral in the exchange and sharing of knowledge amongst neighbours. I observed on a number of occasions children arriving sent by uncles and aunts to present a problem that a cow was experiencing. In other instances, they had been told to act with speed when they observed that one of the cattle was not in good health when their parents are not home. One boy came and explained that one of the cows in his homestead was weak and dribbling and he had been sent to ask my hostess, what it should be given. She asked the child detailed questions. She then sent the child back to his homestead with her daughter to check the symptoms and verify. She then prepared medicine for the cow to drink. On one occasion, gogo Mtshali sent Bandla to tell the neighbour what the symptoms shown by one of her cows were and to find out if he had a particular injection. The neighbour was to be told that if he knew the symptoms and had the right injection for it, he should bring it and assist with injecting the cow. To inject a cow is not an easy task as the cow must have its hind legs tied up so that it does not kick anyone. This carrying of messages by children develops a skill in them to remember and articulate relayed messages accurately and carefully. This is an amazing process of learning. Reaching back to my childhood, I remembered many instances, in the absence of telephones, where we were sent to relay messages from one point to another. It was only at observing this carrying out of these messages at the Mtshali homestead that I realised its potential as a medium of transmitting learnings and growing of knowledge.

Kenneth Mhlongo, a specialist traditional healer with knowledge on livestock health, explained that the sending of children on errands creates confidence and makes them independent in diagnosing cattle sicknesses and treating them. From observing him treating other people's cattle, his boys had also learnt a lot. He cited an incident where he had observed a neighbour's calf which he thought was losing weight because the mother did not have enough milk and he told his son what the problem with the calf was and he recommended additional milk and left for an errand. On his return after two days the neighbour told him that his son of 12 years had insisted that he deworm the calf. He said he was happily surprised and realised that his son had been right. This was not only learning from running errands with and for neighbours, but was clearly an example of bottom-up intergenerational learning.

5.2.5 Storytelling

Storytelling is another very old method of intergenerational learning that I was exposed to in the field. It is one of the reasons that I can recite the travels and history associated with my clan name. Constant recitals of my clan history as a child led to its memorisation. I credit my interview technique and the use of an unstructured interview for sparking a folktale on cattle out of Bandlela. The other motivator for that was the presence of people listening to the interview which transformed him into a storyteller with an audience. To help him ease into the subject without feeling intimidated, I asked him to tell me anything and everything he felt comfortable about telling me about cattle. The intent was to construct my follow-up questions based on what he had told me. I was surprised when he told me a folktale which he said he had created himself using one of the most well-known folktale characters of the Nguni people, the hare. I entitled his story: Pheshe kills uKhalulu's cow. The story is as follows:

Once upon a time the hare uKhalulu owned a cow. The hare asked Pheshe the wild Oldman to look after it. Pheshe decided to let the cow out of the kraal and it went off to graze. Pheshe then followed it, killed it and skinned it. Later in the day the hare uKhalulu came back home and called for Pheshe. uKhalulu told Pheshe to sit down and thereafter asked about the whereabouts of his cow. Pheshe did not utter a word. The hare then locked the door of the hut and went searching around the yard. There like a mat and pegged on the ground was the skin of the cow which Pheshe had salted to dry under the sun. The hare turned it over and saw that it was the skin of his cow. He was angry and went back to the hut and tied up Pheshe. He made him lie on a roofing sheet. He hit him with a leather thong until he was

almost unconscious. When he begged for mercy, Khalulu untied him and then fed him with cabbage and rice and told him never to slaughter his cow without permission. Pheshe was well behaved after that. Later in the year, the hare bought six cattle and they were well looked after by Pheshe from then on the hare and Pheshe became the best of friends.

The significance of this story was its role in unmasking the existing interwoven relationships between wild, domesticated animals and people which are mythologised in tales. The hare has been a very energetic and busy popular folklore character, not only in Zulu culture but in Nguni cultures in general. Small as the hare may be, in the animal kingdom it dominates all other animals when it comes to intelligence, cunningness and also it always gets its way. If there was a Big Five grouping of animals in folklore, the hare would be number one on the list. The hare's intelligence and authority is even respected by human beings who are inventors of the stories and well as characters. Even though the storyteller did not explain the significance of the story, what I read from the mere fact that he told it and the joy it gave him telling it, was the rarity of opportunities that children have to tell their stories orally to elders or amongst themselves – it is usually the other way round. I was quite surprised that I was told this story because these are stories that are rarely told nowadays. I suddenly remembered that at primary school we used to have oral exams where we were required to either recite a poem or tell a story. I asked one of the children if they have storytelling sessions at school with stories told by them and not the teacher. The child's response was:

She has never asked us to tell tales about anything and not about cattle.

We don't chat about cattle at school.

In the course of the storytelling I had flashbacks to the characters of the folktales my uncle proudly related to us in isiZulu in Swaziland during the late 1960s. No matter what folktale he told, uKhalululu the hare, was always a character and so were the cattle. These tales had been written up, published as prescribed curriculum texts for schools and taught (see *Kunyenyeza Esikhotheni*) then. They were certainly slightly different from the ones told by my grandmother while we lay on our grass mats at night after the candles had been blown out. My uncle who had learnt them from older relatives as well as 'book-learnt' them at school, told them with an air of superiority and with close accuracy to the book version. My grandmother's tales on the other side were more nuanced and creative. She never told a particular story the same way. In those days, the stories of wild

animals and cattle were features of two learning contexts, school and home. It is interesting that such stories have been, in post-apartheid South Africa, weeded out of the school curriculum.

The stories my grandmother told reflected aspects of South Africa's precolonial history of the Mfecane and featured social outcasts such as witches, who had been expelled from their communities and with lack of land became cannibals who were also involved in stock thieving. There were also efforts to integrate the outcasts into communities. The outcasts were at times members of clans that had been defeated in battles, stripped of their dignity and considered to be of lesser status than the locals and called *izithunjwa* (the abducted). They were given demeaning jobs meant for children such as cattle herding by homesteads that took pity on them. By the late 70s, the stories my grandmother told had integrated some modern features. In Bandla's story the cattle herder interestingly is enticed to carry on looking after the hare's cattle with modern foods, cabbage and rice. The heroes of traditional folklore have nowadays been peripherised by characters such as Superman, Spiderman, the Hulk and others, which feature on many television programmes. The moral values that went with the stories and the values embodied in their characters and their relevance with local history has faded away from school curricula. In his story, Bandla was able to weave the story of cattle, people and herding of the long gone past with uKhalulu and the present with rice and cabbage, bringing to the fore the significance of cattle. The hare was humanised to present authority and control in dealing with cattle. The moral of the story is that in looking after cattle well, one is rewarded with lifetime friendship and trust. Punishment for killing somebody's cattle is very heavy and can be a near-death experience. The cattle herder is revived and energised with rice and cabbage and must get on with his job.

5.2.6 The significance of cattle names and learning their cownalities

Of significance is that the knowledge about particular cows and their behaviours may be locked in their names. Most names give the child herder access to the nature of most members of the herd and how they need to be handled. Their names may at times be descriptions of their skin colours so that the children can easily recognise them and notice when one is missing without necessarily counting them. The names are usually given by elder members of the family. This was disclosed by Bandla who declared that "Gogo usually names the cattle. I was taught the names by gogo". He related the names as follows;

Hambushone, Paraffin, Velemzini, uMbulizinqe, uMnambithi, uHolobheni, uNtombi yebhayi, Lehobho, uMthelekwana, uDedendleleni, uGcokezimhlophe, uMathandukwenzelwa, then there are the older calves – uThousand, uAngidabuki, uShayizandla.

I will translate a few of the names to give an insight into the naming process and its significance. *Hambushone* refers to a walker that walks on and on and disappears from the herd and out of sight as if to the horizon. The name *Velemzini* would be given to a cow that joins other herds and is usually herded back to its homestead. It could also be a new member of the herd that has been newly acquired from a sale or as *lobola*, the bride price. *Dedendleleni* is a cow that does not follow the prescribed trail and takes off on its own and has to be herded back to the herd. *Angidabuki* means – I don't tear. It is a name that could be given to a cow with a very thick and healthy skin that cannot be easily torn by a leather thong. *Ntombiyebhayi* was a female cow with a beautiful skin which could be used to make a blanket for carrying a baby. She was finished off after getting her horns entangled in-between two poles at the kraal and was too weak to get up after being freed while I was doing my field work and residing at the homestead. *Gcokezimhlophe* was given this name because he was a pure white bull. Pure white cows are highly prized, respected and treated as members of the ancestral world and are likely to be slaughtered only on special occasions to appease the ancestors.

When a child is repeatedly asked to tend to a particular cow which is always referred to by name, the child remembers the cow and the cow moves from being considered just a cow amongst many or an 'it' but comes to be recognized as a worthy member of the family with a name. Each cow learns its name which is used in interaction with it when it is herded. It is interesting that the cows know their names. To teach them their names I was informed by one of the children that one must start when they are calves. It is done by calling out its name, snapping the leather thong loud to make a crackling sound and then hitting it gently with it on its back. When they are shouted at by name they lift up their heads from grazing and start walking off. Gogo Mtshali explained that the names are not usually given at birth but soon after the calf starts showing its behavioural traits which instead of referring to as personality for obvious reasons, will refer to it as its 'cowality'. However, those names that either describe the skin colour or any birth feature are given more or less at birth. Names related to horns are usually secondary names that come in handy and have

their use mostly for description when they are missing or when one does not know the name of the specific cow that is being referred to in conversation.

Cows are now given numbers by the livestock inspectors from the Department of Agriculture in Hlabisa. These are printed onto hard plastic plates which hang on their pierced earlobes and are referred to by community members as earrings. In the past these used to be engraved on their hind legs, a practice that has been discontinued owing to its attraction of flies. The numbers are used for administration purposes, to keep track of numbers and for research etc. by the Department of agriculture. Community members own booklets into which the numbers given to their cattle are registered. The children said that the numbers are only useful when the cow is lost and therefore used by the stock theft police to search and locate the whereabouts of the said missing cow. Community members never use these numbers to refer to their cattle. They are rather numbers that are registered in their dipping stock ownership booklets: they are never ever mentioned or used for describing their cattle. The home given names are the most significant.

Gogo Mtshali was very helpful at explaining that cattle can learn certain behaviours and repeat them unsupervised, which knowledge is very important when a cow is lost. Such knowledge must be learnt and known by cattle herders. The example she gave was that in times of droughts, cattle were walked distances to relatives to 'lick the grass.' This type of grazing is referred to as such because it is grass that grows when there is a constant drizzle. The grass is usually moist, young, supple and quenching to restore nutrients the cows had lost owing to harsh weather conditions such as a drought. She explained that the rain patterns in very close regions can be markedly different with one up the mountain and one lower in the valley. Some areas receive rains before others and knowledgeable cattle owners and their cattle know this. When the rains start coming in your area, the cattle that you had sent to relatives are herded back. The disadvantage with this type of grazing is that the cattle memorise these routes and can smell the rain when it starts falling in those areas – just like humans know what types of rain produces mushrooms, gogo Mtshali said. When cows go missing, children should look for them in areas where they are usually sent to lick the grass. For instance, cows from Mpukunyoni know that there is always light rain in Nhlwathi because they can smell it.

Another example was that if a cow has been sent to another homestead so that it can be mounted by a bull, the moment it gets pregnant it heads back home and inexperienced herders might think

that it was lost. Gogo Mtshali cited an incident where a herd of 20 cattle that had been kraaled by her for grass licking purposes, all disappeared one day. She sent her children to the cattle's original home. The children arrived at the cattle's home in rain which was proof that the cattle had smelled their homes' rain and headed there. She emphasized that all cows behave differently, for instance some cows, especially bulls, cannot take being hit and can get very angry and charge when annoyed. Some cattle favour certain grasses over others which they can eat non-stop and refuse to go home. Cattle herders need to be patient and when it is raining they should not force them home. They are not easily struck by lightning and bow their heads when they hear thunder to hide their horns from being hit. According to gogo Mtshali cattle have their cultures which they never lose. It is rather people that lose their cultures.

After listening to this in-depth knowledge from her, when retiring for the night and reflecting on our talk I started comparing the methods of the training of dogs and that of cattle. I consciously avoided the subject of their training for sport and concentrated my comparison on behavioural purposes and control. The training of dogs is considered a sophisticated and high order enterprise and the trainer is handsomely rewarded for it. In large cattle farms with modernised equipment and facilities, learning of certain behaviours is more programmed, where cattle graze and subject themselves to machines that milk them. I realised that to a large extent the training of animals is specifically dedicated to that of horses, dogs and cats and revered as the domain of so-called training experts. The knowledge of experts such as gogo Mtshali is little known.

I found it fascinating that people in the community also know each other's cows. The interest in cattle and knowledge of their behaviour is coupled with an interest and knowledge of other people's cows even when they are not walking within a herd. One day I called out gogo Mtshali to witness with me a boy who was running behind a cow which was running ahead of him at a very fast speed. She was very upset and said she knew which homestead the cow belonged to. She said that the boy was very naughty to make the cow run that fast, as it might fall and break its leg and that the boy deserved a thorough beating and should be reported to the owners of the cow. This intimate knowledge, ability to identify cattle and the relationship with cattle is passed down from generation to generation.

The death of one Ntombiyebhayi as a result of the drought is indelibly engraved in my brain. Gogo Mtshali was woken up in the morning by her grandson who alerted her to how the cow had entangled its horns on the poles of the kraal. I felt very guilty for had I known animal behaviour, I would have rescued it for I had heard gently mooing when I passed the kraal from the main house to my hut that night. I had thought the mooing strange but considered not important. After it was released by the local male neighbours it lay down on the ground and refused to stand even when they tried to help it up. I saw the tears streaming out of gogo Mtshali's eyes. Senamile my research assistant and Bandla's aunt said that Ntombiyebhayi will be greatly remembered for the number of calves that she bore and that it shall not be forgotten for there never will be a cow that produced so much milk in the homestead. This cow she said, had fed many of the homestead grandchildren. This is what Bandla said:

I give the cattle water. I like cattle. I feel bad when they die. Ntombiyebhayi just died and was killed by the drought. I was not happy and felt pain when she died. I feel pain that I lost a cow. I feel pain because it means the cow suffered. It was ill-treated as it lost weight and was sick.

By saying that he had given them water, a rare resource at this period when the drought was at its worst, was to say that he had done the best he could have and could not blame himself for its death. He did confess to me when we sat and chatted one day in my hut that he knew that Ntombiyebhayi would die because she was very weak and that he had told his grandmother that it was best she slaughter her, but instead she had hoped that the rain would fall and things would be better. It was like a dark cloud had befallen the homestead that day. I have heard many racial misconceptions on people's feelings about the death of animals which I will not allude to here. I did however, blame myself, for the death of Ntombiyebhayi.



Figure 5.5: Ntombiyebhayi, a week before she died, tended by Mkhethi with gogo Mtshali in the background who has a worried look

5.2.7 Learning to understand cattle health and illness associated symptoms

A friend of gogo Mtshali, maNgidi said one day in reference to Mpembeni; “my child this place has been transformed into a cattle graveyard”. She was indeed echoing the sentiments of many cattle owners. Considering that most cattle owning homesteads had young children herders meant that the emotional stress felt by their parents was transferred to them. It also meant that seasonal climatic change promotes certain knowledges that are shared to respond to this environmental crisis. I give the status of cattle deaths (see Table 5.1 below) which are directly or indirectly caused by the drought that were given by adult interview respondents who lived with young cattle herders, to unveil the magnitude and impact of the disaster.

Table 5.1: A table of cattle deaths in the research area

Cattle owner	Number of cattle dead and cause	Number of cattle alive
B Manqeke	14	20
Mhlongo	18	20
Mathenjwa	10	8
Mrs. Ngidi	30	5
Mbuyisa	12 miscarriages, 8 eaten by leopard	Unknown
Shangase	6 from eating plastic	8
A neighbour	20	0
Mgabhi	9	8

Echoing maNgidi's statement, Gogo Mtshali confidently maintained that Mpembeni was witnessing the worst drought she had ever experienced in her lifetime while I was there. Many cattle died during that time, with some homesteads losing a whole herd owing to the drought. As a result, there is not one child from the sample that I interviewed who had not experienced the death of a cow in their homesteads. The little rain that fell now and then while I was there was referred to by many as the spittle of houseflies, useful only to decrease the scalding hot temperatures. The municipal constructed water taps remained closed for weeks with water only coming out at the rarest of intervals. At least water tanks had been erected as part of community development at each by the local municipality. The lack of people's preparedness for the drought meant that there was a lot of despair and worry as each day passed with no rain. Considering that the children spend ample time looking after cattle, especially during school vacation periods exerted a lot of emotional pressure on them which they could not articulate fluently. The consequence thereof was that they had a heightened awareness and knowledge of their state of health. The 7 year-old at my research base would report all observed ailments to his grandmother. On 15 January when I interviewed him about cattle health this is what he said:

Here at home there was a sick cow and it ended up dying. Then we had a ceremony for a dead cow. It was killed by a sickness called *iqongo*. It was skinned and I was told to go and hang the horns on a pole on the kraal. They roasted the meat. This cow used to like running when it was hot. When you tried to stop it, it would just run on and get into the garden even when the sun was hot. They removed the gall sac and gogo said I must throw it into the toilet. Its calf had actually died earlier

and its gall was yellow and big. When the cow went to look for its calf it found it dead. The gall of a cow is sometimes green like grass or yellow.

The symptoms the cow was displaying as recounted by the interviewee are indicative of a rabies contraction. Cattle that have been bitten by a rabid dog may contract rabies. The symptoms for rabies would be agitation, aggression and failure to heed instructions. Rabies however is not *iqongo*. *Iqongo* which is carried by tsetse flies has a variety of names some of which are mouth and hoof disease, *unakana*, sleeping sickness and *trypanosomiasis*. Its symptoms are fever, muscular wasting, anemia and swelling of tissues as well as a discharge from its eyes and nose. The animal may end up being paralysed and its spleen, liver, lymph nodes and liver become enlarged. The spinal cord gets affected as well. The extract from the interview with Bandla evidences the complexity and familiarity of his exposure to the death of cows within a short space of time so much and so frequently that he had ended up mixing the symptoms. From the symptoms of *nagana* and those of rabies, it is not easy to tell what the calf died of. What is important is that he knows that cows may contract these illnesses and is able to describe to his grandmother symptoms that are not characteristic of everyday cattle behaviour.

From 75% of the interviews I conducted, I was able to establish that the meat of cows that died after a sickness and had been receiving treatment cannot be eaten as the medicine is still in the system. If it died before receiving an injection from an injury, people would eat it. If it simply dies, it is skinned and its internal organs are scrutinised to establish what the cause of death may have been. Children's observations are very intense to the point that they understand that the gall is one of the organs to read, looking out for the size and colour of its contents. The horns of a cow that has just been slaughtered are either hung on the door of the hut that is known to be the resident hut of the ancestors or with other families at the pole at the entrance of the kraal only if it was killed for ceremonial purposes. The comprehension of the symptoms that sick cattle may have, one that is as detailed as the one shared in the interview extract from this seven year-old boy is very high, considering his age. He understands that the gall is an important part of the cow that it is used to diagnose death causes. The gall of a cow is usually kept and not thrown away as it is important for ceremonial purposes unless when of course the cow died of ill health. It would be an insult to

offer ancestors gall from a sick cow and it is rather thrown away. Here are two descriptions of causes of death from two children;

Child 1 (first interview):

The colour of the gall was yellow. The gall of a cow that is slaughtered without any sickness is usually green like grass. The yellow gall was quite warm.

Child 2:

My father was the one slaughtering helped by me and his younger brother. After slaughtering he tells us what the cause of death is. When it was killed by a snake it gets something black in the stomach and that thing looks like a snake. We can't eat a cow that was killed by a snake. We didn't eat if but fed it to the dogs. The one that got lost was found. There was nothing wrong with the other cow that was slaughtered. The one that had nothing wrong with it had maize in its stomach. The one that was sick had a lung that looked burnt. It was brown. The lung was average size. We threw away the lungs and ate the meat. The one that had warts and worms we did not eat. When we gave it an injection the worms came out and gogo said we must kill it and we did. We threw it away.

When I interviewed Bandla a year later, I noted that his knowledge about how the meat of dead cattle is handled had improved. This improvement which had puzzled me for some time was clarified in discussion by a colleague Rob O'Donoghue. He explained that children also learn by rehearsal. They rehearse the practices they have seen and learnt as well as update their knowledge when they are confronted with new scenarios. Bandla had not given much attention to how the meat of cattle was handled but has grown to as the care for cattle forms part of his everyday practice. The advantages of doing an ethnographic study, where in that I was in the site for much longer and would see certain practices and understandings mature and in this context, I was able to observe growth in knowledge. I only learnt in 2016, that Bandla did not eat red meat. He did not like red meat because he had eaten too much of it from infancy. That fact could be attached to his lack of interest in knowing when people would eat the meat as he had no interest in it himself. An extract from the interview that I conducted with him a year later on this matter was as follows;

If a cow dies on its own, gogo asks that it is skinned. It was skinned, some roasted it and the rest was frozen. The cow that died gogo asks that they skin it and some take meat with. We do eat meat from a cow that died on its own. The meat of the calf that died we ate it. Fundo Dongo was asked to help skin it. It was skinned there and we put the meat on a big basin and brought it home on the wheel barrow. At home it was chopped and Fundo was given some meat. The calf was killed by the drought. We saw that it was sick and lying down. Fundo cut it up and skinned it. It died in the morning.

I also learnt that a lot of calves died because they did not have sufficient milk from their malnourished mothers. From the description given by the interviewee and the explanation that it was killed by the drought might have been led to discussions by adults on the cause of death. The other matter to note from this extract is that the calf had not died at home but was wheelbarrowed to the homestead. The incident of the death of this calf was mainly handled by this 7 year-old and an 18 year-old boy. This displays the level of responsibilities in the hands of people this young. A cow cannot be skinned by one person as the legs have to be held by another in order to remove the skin from the body. The skinning and cutting up of the cow is always a learning opportunity that demands the studying of the animal parts. I remember when the cow Ntombiyebhayi was skinned, between its skin and flesh were pockets of a substance that looked like mucous and was slimy. Bandla explained that the slime was an indicator that the cow had been hit on the spot or hurt itself. The death of calves was also a big loss in a homestead because it is a sign that cattle increases have become stunted as unhealthy cows were delivering weak and unhealthy calves and it was now a case of the survival of the fittest.

One of the colonial solutions to minimise tick infestation was to enforce the dipping of cattle. Many activities that deal with cattle diseases, happen in the home and when they are done by an adult, children always have to be present to assist and learn. Bandla's job was to calm and control the cow while treatment was being administered. As the eldest of the grandchildren and one living in the homestead, most of the male related tasks are done in his presence. He gave an account even though he may not have necessarily known what type of sickness it was:

Cattle are killed by ticks and white worms. The worms are usually on the legs they eat up the cow, there is usually a sore. The worms make the sore to be pussy. My big mother request that we tie it up. We tie up the legs so that it does not kick. Then she takes a sharp clean wire and pokes the sore and removes the worms and kills them. She then takes the tick salve and smears it on the sore. All the medicine that is given to the cattle is bought from the chemist. The medicines that are bought are – the medicine that is dripped on the cow, then there is medicine for ticks. It is white and creamy like Vaseline. Then there is a doom.....

In the course of the interview, Bandla fetched the products that were used and they were Kyron Tick grease, Cevamec injectable solution which was an antiparasitic remedy for cattle and sheep and these were kept out of reach of the younger homestead children.

5.2.8 Locally constructed knowledges

I became aware of the fact that people learnt a lot by sharing knowledge they have heard and experiment with it in times of desperate need and lack of financial resources. The young boy Bandla, rushed in one day and reported that a cow he suspected was eating plastic a few days previously was behaving strangely (sitting down and not chewing the cud). He was not sure but he thought he had seen it chewing something blue when he was letting it in for the night kraaling the day before. I had heard from one Mhlongo from Nhlwathi, whom I interviewed and who is known by the community as possessing very good indigenous knowledge on matters concerning cattle health, that when this happens, a cow is made to drink 750 ml of cooking oil and after two hours two litres of coca cola must be forced down its throat. He explained that the plastic bag gets entangled at a specific area in its digestive system and blocks the sending up of the stomach contents to be re-chewed. The cooking oil lubricates and irritates the stomach and untangles the plastic from other food contents. The coca cola bloats the stomach and creates air pockets. Both the oil and coca cola make the cow fart and in the process, give it diarrhoea. I told gogo Mtshali what Mhlongo had told me and the children were immediately sent to the shop, the cow was tied up, given the cooking oil and coca cola and then kraaled overnight with the calves for isolation and observation. The next morning pieces of the plastic bag could be identified from the isolated cow's dung. When I related this treatment to the livestock inspector, he told me that he was not aware of such a practice. I suspected this had to do with livestock owners not sharing their knowledge with him as his interventions to cattle health were known to be based on formal education.

The grandmother's response to the cow and plastic incident was quite informative. Her reaction was to round all the children up including those that visited the homestead to pick guavas from her tree. She scolded them and blamed them for the plastic wrappers of packaged snacks like chips that lay around the homestead. I supervised the collection of all the litter around the homestead. She told them that their failure to keep the surroundings clean had resulted in one of her cows almost dying from eating plastic. The absence of tall grasses and trees meant that the plastic bags that were being blown by the winds landed on the homestead fence. The children collected all the rubbish around the homestead and I monitored its burning to make sure that there was no runaway fire.

Another morning, Bandla discovered that one of the younger kids had defecated somewhere in the yard near my hut. He reported this to his grandmother, immediately stating that it was not good for the cattle. Gogo Mtshali was angry and told the younger ones that such a thing should not happen as the dogs, cats and the goats or cows might eat the faeces and get worms. The suspect was the 2½ year-old girl and she was threatened with a beating. The eldest of the young was made to cover it with soil, scoop it and throw it in the pit latrine.

Another topic that resonated with locally created solutions was related to me by two elders and some children. It was about the use of used car engine oil for killing ticks. A long stick was tied up with a cloth which was dipped into the oil and the areas infested with ticks are touched with this. The oil closes the pores on the tick and as a result they unclaw themselves and fall off the cow. This was to be done at the time of the evening near kraaling time to prevent chickens from eating the ticks. The activity was of course usually executed by the children watched over by someone older with instructions to avoid the udders of the cows.

5.2.9 Challenges with the impartation of Indigenous Knowledge

My reference to indigenous knowledge in the context of this study is specifically to knowledge that has been passed down from generation to generation (see also Odora Hoppers 2001a, 2001b, 2002). It is not for the purpose of comparing it to scientific or Western knowledge. I must confess that on arriving in the field, I had expected cattle herders to be highly reliant on inherited knowledge to address challenges they faced with regard to the health of their cattle. I was confronted with the opposite. In the face of challenges, there were modifications of practices based on their diagnosis of cattle diseases such as the cooking oil and coca cola solution, I already mentioned. The children knew very little about traditional herbs for curing cattle diseases. Two interviewees, gogo Mtshali and Mhlongo, who are both traditional healers said that they still made and administered traditional medicine, especially dewormers for cattle. This is what Mhlongo who advises many people looking for solutions regarding the health of their cattle, said:

I do give them traditional medicine. Because when a cow is sick with worms, people prefer traditional medicine and then I make them a litre. Because a cow takes a litre. It depends on the length of the backbone of the cow. The smaller the cow the less it takes. It usually takes 1 litre.

As a traditional healer, gogo Mtshali has been observed as being hands-on in terms of healing the cattle and Bandla recounted his participation in this process at times:

Gogo also makes medicine for them. She makes boiled medicine. She scoops it with a jug and pours it into a container and closes the container. She asks us to fetch our uncles and malume Siya. They then hold them tightly and tie them up. They then tie them up on the hind ankles. They force their mouths open and hold on to the tongue and pull it and pour in the medicine. It drinks it all. When they take this kind of medicine they are usually sick. Some of them hurt each other at the dipping tank. They step on each other.

As Bandla accurately accounts, this is one of the main medicines that gogo Mtshali prepares for the cattle. It is *umhlabelo*, the bone fixing medicine, also good for strained or torn muscles. Cattle usually fall into each other in the dipping tank and the risks of hurting each other are quite high. Many respondents indicated that they rarely offer traditional medicine to their cattle because they are worried about dosages. *Umhlabelo* has remained a mystery to modern science in terms of its efficacy in bone fixing.

One of the older boys, Thembela Manqele, a cattle expert, indicated his sources of knowledge about cattle as sourced from people such as his grandparents and also on his travels in trance space. He recounted his experiences:

I see myself as if I am herding cattle the very ones here. Sometimes they talk with me and we play. They show me traditional medicines, telling me that livestock is important. Now we no longer use traditional medicines that is because it's not the cattle of past days which were stronger. We buy these cattle from the white people. Cattle that still need to be followed around are bulls as they are given pills and are not strong. That bull is not strong and when the drought comes they die quickly. Any illness that comes or change of any sort, it gets infected and is sensitive. I know some of the traditional healing medicines. Some my grandfather shows me and those that I visit when I pass out show me. I have not tried to use them on the cattle in the home. I am scared of using it on the cattle of White people. They say that at times you inject the calf at 3 and the female cow at 7, the local medicine you can't measure them except with the eye. And you look and say it's now alright. If it needs to be cooked for a long time. All is guess work. You make it drink and then you give it too much and the cow dies. Grandpa taught me medicines such as that given when a cow delivers and not all dirt comes out. You give it *phehlacwathi* and *gobho* so that all dirt comes out. We give it a litre which in my view is too much.

Themabela's views on traditional medicine and the knowledge which has its source in trance space travels has been ridiculed as non-realistic, non-verifiable and unscientific. One aspect he highlighted is that the herds of cattle that are being herded are not similar to the Nguni herds of old and cannot be treated with the medicines encountered in the trance world so he is forced to fall back on the use of White medicine for White cattle. He is one amongst the few of those in his age group who has been taught how to use traditional medicine.

Mr. Masuku, the dipping tank master of Sangoyana, whom I interviewed despite not visiting his dipping tank, maintained that he had not trained his children to use traditional medicine and the knowledge has remained with him because he does not trust them to administer it. Another reason given was that it was convenient and easier to use modern medicine than traditional medicine, considering also that the children are not available at times when it is convenient for them to go to the forest to collect medicines. As a result, elders have resorted to using modern medicines and do not bother teaching children much about indigenous medicines anymore.

Shangase, a community elder stated that the reason that such knowledge was not being shared, was that most holders of such knowledge are dying and very few had been taught. Another dipping tank manager confessed that in times when modern medicine does not work, they resort to the use of traditional medicine. He, however, does not trust traditional medicine. The reason he gave was as follows:

There are not that many people who do, particularly us young people. Even if we do that, we are not that many. We look down upon it. We did not only look down upon it. Elderly people say that before there was an abuse of alcohol amongst the youth. You can't tell someone who slept drunk that when you get up in the morning, give a particular cow medicine. You will find it dead. There are no accurate measurements in traditional medicines and there are no written dosages and millimetres. If you say take a litre, a drunk person won't make a litre. That is why we end up going for modern medicine.

A scenario like the one from the dipping tank master suggests that the young men (who get drunk) who are instrumental in passing down the knowledge on traditional medicine to the younger ones are not trusted with the responsibility. They in turn do not teach the younger ones. Most elders interviewed indicated that they favoured modern medicine over traditional medicine because it is

difficult to determine the dosages to give to a sick cow. It was only the traditional healer, Mhlongo, who indicated that his children know the trees and that when he is away from home on healing expeditions and they run out of injections, his children go out into the forest to pick plants which they prepare and give to the cattle. This example also indicates the relationship between males and cattle in homesteads that have males as heads of families. The father focuses his energies on teaching the boys. The mothers have minimal roles, if any. In the absence of fathers, the boys have to take on matters related to the cattle. They are in fact being groomed to be able to take care and manage the cattle in the event of the father dying.

One child made reference to the traditional medical practice of protecting the home and cattle. *Intelezi* (traditional medicine for chasing away evil deeds and doers, bad luck and misfortunes and for strengthening the home) was not for internal consumption or for treatment of ailments. Every day, after all the cattle have been kraaled and locked up, the grandfather prepares *intelezi* and sprays it at the kraal gate and around the homestead gate. He was not aware what the herbs in *intelezi* were as it was an adult responsibility he had not learnt nor been invited to perform. This therefore suggests that in some homesteads there is a hierarchical unwritten rule regarding what and when certain medicines can be handled and by whom. From knowledge I had gained from gogo Mtshali, most plants that are used to make *intelezi* are highly poisonous and children might forget to wash their hands after handling them.

From this discussion the traditional medicines that were found still in use were the ones referred to by Thembela to clean up the uterus of the cow after it had delivered, a traditional dewormer, the bone-fixing medicine (which are all for internal use) and *intelezi* which is for protection from bad forces and pollution of the spaces they inhabit within the homestead.

5.2.10 Learnings at the dipping tank

The dipping tank is one of the central places for cattle activities. I visited the dipping tank to observe the process of dipping the cattle. Here is Bandla's account:

My mother had led the cattle to the dipping tank. She sent me to take her leather thong for the cattle at home. A new dipping tank was then built. I took the cattle off to the dipping tank once with my brother and we mixed the cattle on our way there. My brother Nqo and I led the cattle to the dipping tank. Nqo is ten years old. We arrived at the dipping tank with the stock booklet. We gave

Mkhulu Mgabhi and he registered the cattle. He asked where the bull was and we told him that we left it behind and he asked why we did and we told him that it was sick. He instructed us to lead the cattle into the dipping tank. They were dipped, then we left and we sent them off to the grazing veld. They were led back home and we kraaled them and they fed their feeding calves.

And here is Siphephelo Qwabe's account:

I know about cows when they are in the dipping tank. I go with my father all the time. We leave at 5 in the morning. I lead them and my father follows from behind. At the dipping tank we make them stand. We join a line, and when the ones in front move forward, ours follow. [Gogo corrects that before the cows get in, they are counted and absent ones are noted]. When the cows get out of the tank, they are kept in an enclosure and they drip and when they are no longer dripping, they are let out.

From these accounts, it is evident that learning is based on repeated and drilled-in activities, first with guidance and later independently.

I found dipping day to be one characterised by a hive of activities starting from as early as 5am where each herder must pay attention to his herd. Dogs accompanying herded cattle are also present. Both children's accounts are accurate and consistent with my observations. Members of the committee (mainly male) assist with the counting of the cattle. These are checked against the stock registration booklet and then placed in an open kraal and then queued into a passage that leads them into a pit that is about 20 metres long. They literally dive in as they get pushed by others from behind, walk through the water almost submerged and to the other side where they have to stand and drip the water back into the pit. It was concerning that some of them were calves which should have had a separate dip or been dipped at home. Owing to lack of financial resources, most are sent to the dipping tank. The way they jump in means that some are likely to fall onto others and the weak backed calves, especially, are in danger of getting hurt.

Here is an account from another child:

They say cattle die at the dipping tank. Some cattle don't die, it's the calves that die. A calf once died and it was led off in a wheel barrow. It was stepped on by other cows. They called a meeting. The meeting concluded that the water must be drained so that they can see what it is that kills the cattle. I was at the dipping tank and saw the dead calf. The owner of it carried it off on a wheel barrow. Some of them die. One calf was bitten by dogs.

The concerns given in this account were the concerns I had as I watched cattle being dipped for the first time in my life. Witnessing such incidents must be traumatic and most children are reluctant to take the homestead calves to the dipping tank. They are aware of the danger and responsibility and learn to weigh risks associated with certain actions in terms of whether they would compromise the health of a cow/calf or not.

5.2.11 Mathematical concepts that relate to cattle

When I asked Bandla and the other children about the number of cattle that were in the homestead, their responses were very complex. Bandla's response was:

There were many cattle and they gave birth to 5. Then they became 10 and they increased to 20. All in all they are 8 now.

It took me a while to understand that the word *inkomo* (cow) specifically refers to a fully grown cow. The words *Umvemve*, *inkonyane*, *ithole* all refer to cows at their various growth stages. So when you ask about the number of cows, only a certain group will be counted depending on which word you use. Still born calves are not counted. Differentiating between these growth development stages requires a special knowledge. All I could determine from Bandla's response with the help of his grandmother was that the number of fully grown cows that had died or been finished off because they were weak in 2016 totalled eight. The eight cattle he referred to here are the cattle that died that year which meant that fully grown cattle that were alive were 12.

This is what Siphephelo Qwabe had to say:

My father taught me to herd cattle. My eldest sister is 13. My mother is a housewife. My mother has matric and helps me with homework. My father looks after livestock, cattle 2, goats 1, dogs 4, donkeys 20, chicken 6, 1 duck. (When we herd cattle that includes my gogo's cattle and they were six) and four died. They were killed by a python, two of them. My father killed the python. He found the cow dead and the python was next to it. One was sick and my mother killed it and it was thin. The gall was yellow. My father saw it in the forest and also killed it, it had no appetite. The gall was red.

Non-context-congruent examples used at school, purportedly drawn from community contexts, aimed to create concept familiarity with children have been implicated in confusing rather than bridging gaps in learning between home and school environments. Mathematical problems such as '10 cows out of a herd of 20 cattle get lost; how many remain?' are given at school. Kids are said to

have responded with the answer 0. Investigations by teachers on why learners could be so off the mark at answering such problems have yielded responses such as – “there is no way I could lose so many cattle, my father would kill me. I would go out of my way to make sure that there are zero losses”. These mathematical problems overlook the responsibilities that children carry in cattle minding, which could be equated to looking after the wealth of the family. Other examples that have circulated, emanating from mathematical examples, have used goats, for example, ‘you are herding 20 goats, 2 of them cross the road and get killed, how many are left?’ Most kids’ responses would be 20 or 0, because the gootality (as opposed to personality) of these animals is that they follow a leader and if one crosses the road they all would. Another example relates to human children born at the same time. According to Nguni culture, children born at the same time are counted as one irrespective of their numbers. The reason I give all these examples drawn from community contexts is to display how formal school learning and knowledge construction processes, understandings, assessment etc. in their search for one universally recognised answer have failed foundation phase learners, particularly those coming from communities such as these. Their responses which are deeply analytical, context informed and based on day to day realities and experiences, are considered as wrong.

5.2.12 Interlinkages between cattle herding and environmental issues

Taking into consideration that Mpembeni is a rural area that neighbours the Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Park, one would expect the children to have a heightened sense of environmental awareness. Indeed, that was the case. Most were very aware of the impacts of living next to the park. Bandla indicated once that he would not venture to look for the cattle that have walked in the park direction for fear of hyenas, especially after sunset. The children might not understand the intimate aspects of climate change but they do understand the impacts that they live with associated with climate change. Cattle in this area forage and are not fed any secondary substances. Drought periods exert extreme pressure on them and increase the responsibilities of the herders. From habit, some cattle walk into dams they are used to and get stuck in the mud, watched over by hyena packs that finish them off. Leopards opportunistically watch and wait for the weak cattle, easy prey when they come to the water holes. In times of drought, water has to be provided to discourage them from walking to the water holes. At the Mtshali homestead, a halved truck tyre was filled up with water harvested from the roof into water tanks. This was Bandla’s responsibility, which I assisted him with, mainly if the water in the taps suddenly appeared before he was back

from school. The choice was to give them the poor quality water from the taps rather than the tanked rain water. Bandla supervised all those younger than him ranging from three to five years-old to ferry water from the tank to the tyre and I would also assist with this activity. He linked the death of *Ntombiyebhayi* also to the drought, declaring that if she had not been so thin and weakened by the drought, she would have freed herself. Observations of animal behaviour in relation to the environment were quite high with most children. Bandla for one indicated that the cattle had become so desperate that they had resorted to eating sisal. He came to me one day and said he was worried about a small bird with a red beak that had become a frequent visitor that was often sitting on the cattle. He suspected that they might be destroying their skins. I told him that it was called an oxpecker and its job was to remove ticks from the cattle. He asked if this was not the job of the chickens and I explained that the number of the ticks must be on the increase, hence the birds and the chickens were cleaning the cows. I also explained that the weaker the cow, the more ticks it attracts and the more ticks there are, the more birds there will be as they eat well and multiply. I asked him which animals were benefitting most from the dead cows and he said that it was the hyena and the dogs who feed their puppies, a worthy exchange of information between us. When it comes to the cattle diet, this is what he said:

They eat all sorts of grass, I have not seen them eat grass that is prickly or pricks like elephant grass. They now eat sisal. They also get into fields and eat maize, they eat the branches of a tree called *umkhuhlu*. They eat the leaves of orange trees. They eat branches of naartjie trees. They eat leaves from guava trees. Whatever goats eat, cows also eat. They also eat *amahala*. I have seen them scooping them out.

Amahala are round fruits of a wild tree that look like a squash with a hard shell. They would not be considered as part of the normal diet of a cow. This fruit must have been eaten out of desperation. Bandla insisted that he had seen a cow eat one which provides evidence that the children closely observe the behaviour of the animals and notice irregular behaviour.

There is a correlation between a healthy environment and the health of livestock. The homestead hygiene is clearly evident. It boasts three pit latrines and it is drilled into the children that they make use of the pit latrines at all times. After a nappy change, the wearer of the disposable napkin is sent to go and throw it into the pit latrine as a way of teaching hygiene at an early age to and to minimise cross infections between animals and humans. Bandla's heightened awareness of environmental issues is also as a result of knowledge shared by his grandmother who worked very

closely with the chief on environmental issues pertaining to the park and community and was a beneficiary of a number of community environmental education training programmes that were conducted by Paula Morrison.

5.2.13 Of girls and goats

Cattle herding is the domain of men and older women qualify only if they are widows and there are no older male figures to teach boys herding skills. From the two interview focus groups of young girls and boys, there was little evidence that the girls partook in major activities related to cattle. They had to let the goats out and herd them in and on rare occasions, they had to kraal the calves. Their aunt also indicated that she did not have much interest in cattle when she was young as cattle care was the domain of her brothers. The division of tasks according to labour means that few girl children have an interest in learning about cattle. As a consequence, the children's aunt is a lady who was comfortable to do a diploma in Plant Production at Mangosuthu Technikon. In some families, particularly the one where I interviewed the young boys as a focus group, their main tasks were also associated with goats, different from families where there are few boys. One of the older boys (an *ingqwele*) that I interviewed indicated that the younger boys in his home showed no interest in looking after cattle so their responsibilities were mainly carrying out tasks associated with calves and goats. The only girl interviewed in this group of *izingqwele* looked after cattle because her grandmother was a widow and her mother had died and there was no male at her grandmother's homestead. There is a holding back on teaching girls to look after cattle, more especially these days, the Sangoyana dipping master said. The reason for this is the risks associated with their safety and with rape on the increase. They are therefore often forbidden to go out of sight. In the absence of grass close to the homestead areas, cattle need to be herded to areas far away where there is more grass such as those close to the park fence. Girls would be at risk of being attacked by wild animals such as hyenas and leopards. Boys being boys are considered less vulnerable and should rather carry out these tasks than girls, he said.

5.3 FACTORS INFLUENCING THE EXTENT AND PROCESSES OF/IN/FOR LEARNING AT HOME AND IN THE PASTURE

I am of the view that the home and pasture-based experiences exposed children to a variety of skills and ways of doing as well as developed and enhanced certain values and attitudes related to how they interacted with cattle and that this was an ongoing process. The ways of executing certain skills, such as milking, tying up a cow, herding, etc., varied. This was influenced by whether the homestead had older males, whether it was female-headed and the frequency of resident male visitors. This was because the older people played a vital role in educating the young ones. Another variable that influenced the extent of the teaching and desire to learn amongst the children was whether the child was a boy or girl. I am of the view that boys were being taught not only to be able to manage their immediate homestead cattle, but to teach others and later be able to manage their own herds and family herds as future homestead heads. As alluded to, the reluctance to teach girls was because of the dangers associated with cattle herding. The risks and dangers of herding cattle by girls were, according to community members, much higher than that of boys as they viewed rape as something that would mainly happen to girls. Some parents were reluctant for the younger ones to herd out of sight as the hyenas have become braver and more opportunistic in recent years, moving closer to the homesteads. Hyena numbers have increased as well as a result of being able to easily catch weak livestock.

Skills such as milking are not transferred during a drought as the milk is reserved for the calves. Those children who had been taught these skills did not practise them in times of drought. I was told by one elder that milking a weak cow makes it weaker. Its body demands that it eats more grass so that it can generate the milk being demanded from it, yet there is not enough nutritious grass. This is what Bandla had to say about milking:

I can milk a cow. My uncle Mabhengwane taught me how to. They used to milk Ntombiyebhayi, Ndleleni, Hambushone and Holobheni. The benefits of cattle are sour milk and milk and whey. Whey is good for cleaning the stomach.

From this statement it is evident that some of the children's understandings are beyond mere interactions with cattle and they have an understanding of the broader uses of products from cows and how they enhance their quality of life. This can be traced in the interview of the young girls from one family in a focus group. They indicated that they had learnt how to apply cow dung in the

huts of the homestead by their grandmother. They were expected to fetch the fresh cow dung, make the mixture and apply it.

Schooling has also greatly altered traditional ways of interacting and handling cattle. Children are exposed to cattle for shorter intervals – after school and during school holidays. Parents complained that they are given too much homework and hide behind excuses of doing it instead of minding cattle (see Chapter 2, section 2.4). Of the elders interviewed, five blamed soccer as one of the detractors for boys as it was generally favoured above looking after cattle. The watching of television and the programmes that children sometimes watched were blamed for exposing children to the comforts of city life, eroding their interest in homestead values with many getting ‘hooked’ on programmes and local soapies such as *Generations*.

A conversation with gogo Mtshali and a community elder Demezane Ntombela revealed that children learnt a lot of skills interacting with each other in the pastures. Reduced times in the pasture meant that skills such as the identification of birds and learning about their habits are declining. This also means that creative skills such as making clay cows and baking them are dying out. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1996) referred to a number of games that cattle herders used to play while in the field. This to a great extent means that the loss of indigenous games is also on the increase. The hunting of birds by young boys and skills associated with pasture leisure time are almost non-existent, an unlearning that is beneficial for birders considering that Mpembeni neighbours Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Park. Bird populations and varieties are on the increase as indicated in my conversation about the frequent visits of the oxpecker to the Mtshali homestead which had been rare in the past.

Having said this, the reader must take into cognisance that this study took place at a time of an extreme drought and functions as a snapshot rather than covering most of the learnings likely to have happened at different times with better rains in Mpembeni. Some of the learnings that have taken place in this study are also not captured here but are echoed in sections throughout this chapter.

5.4 THE INFUENCE OF CATTLE HERDING ON FUTURE CAREERS AND OCCUPATIONS

I had an interest in understanding how young children who herded cattle were impacted by their activities and what considerations they were making in terms of career choices and long-term

occupations. Amongst the young boys who belonged to one family, the favoured career was being a soldier. Two boys wanted to join the police force. The favoured career choice for most girls was nursing and there was one boy who was also keen on being a nurse, specifically stated that he did not want to be a veterinary nurse. One of the elder girls wanted to be a tourist guide. One boy child wanted to be a truck driver.

I found it interesting that there was no overwhelming interest amongst the children in selecting careers related to the neighbouring Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Park. The park and the hospital were amongst the main employers in the broader area stretching from the Hlabisa, hence the big interests in health-related careers. It could be an indicator that many of them have not been exposed to the activities that take place in the park and the significance of a park. I wondered if the responses would have been different or if the ones I got were seasonal and had I done the study at a time when there was no drought, if they would have been different. With these long-term career and occupation choices, what was evident from all was that they had an interest in combining keeping cattle with their occupations but fewer cattle, owing to the amount of time needed to look after them. Most children said that the tasks of looking after them would be delegated to their children. One child cited the expense of medicine as a reason for wanting to have a small herd. Another child was very specific on his reasons for not wanting to be a livestock inspector considering that they had a significant role in the community. This is what he said:

I don't want to be a cattle inspector when I get older because I would have to wake up early and inspect. Inspect all the time. I will inspect my own cattle at home. There is nothing that I don't like about cattle.

A loaded response and a departure from the common career choices came from Bandla:

I will finish school and will not study anything. When I finish high school I want to own cattle. I like cows because they give us sour milk. I like that cows give us food. When I am big I want to be a Whiteman. Because I am white I will have cattle when I am older. I will be a Whiteman looking after cattle. As a white person I will have a big farm with cattle, goats, sheep, ducks, and pigs. I want to have a bull. I will herd my cows myself I will also grow maize and my cattle will graze in the veld and I will fetch them in the evening and give them water. I will have a house with 4 bedrooms. It must be double storey.

First of all, his response emanates from the fact that his father is bi-racial and he considers being White as something that one grows up to and becomes. There is an association of whiteness with

large expanses of land and mixed farming of livestock, plant production, large houses and being rich. He dreams of large-scale farming. Career choices related to livestock-related disciplines are not popular but, as Mr. Mhlongo the renowned livestock healer stated, his youngest son chose veterinary science as a discipline because of his love for livestock which made him a very proud father. An aunt to some of the interviewed children indicated she had been interested in both plant production and livestock management as part of a diploma in Agriculture but had chosen plant production when she was forced to choose only one.

One of the older boys who had dropped out of high school as a result of ill health felt that his options for a career were very slim. He saw the knowledge he had gained looking after his grandfather's cattle as his matric certificate and was confident of a bright future as a livestock owner and mostly as an owner of large herds of cattle.

5.5 CHILDREN'S VIEWS ON LEARNING ABOUT CATTLE IN THE SCHOOL CONTEXT

The responses to my questions with aims of assessing the relationships between home learnings about cattle at home and school were very revealing. The children found the question itself puzzling and I could ascertain that they considered these two areas of learning as clear and distinctly separate areas with different aspects to be learnt. Most of their responses were not as detailed and engaging as they were when discussing cattle in the home and pasture context. Following is a non-engaging response that rather enquires about my relationship with cattle and changes the subject as evidence of this observation:

Teachers teach no one about cattle. I would like to learn more about cattle at school. Teachers don't like cattle. I would like to know if any boys in your area herd cattle. Why don't you have cattle? Don't you have money to buy them? If you buy them would there be a boy to look after them? It is not right that there are no cattle in your home. So that you can teach children how to look after them. It is fun to herd cattle. You can till the soil, get milk, fetch firewood and mealie meal from the shop.

An excerpt to this non-engaging response to my question and many others similar to it are detailed by three children below:

Child 1.

No. We learn about how many hoofs cows have. We learn about the number of horns. We learn that if cows are ten and they are moving, how many hooves are moving. We are asked that if there are

20 cows, how many horns are there. Our books have pictures of cows. The cows are brown. A brown cow with calves. We get a hiding when we get to school late from Miss Hlophe. We get a hiding at the gate. The security guy at the school gate asks us where we were. I tell him that I am late because I mind cattle. X tells him that he was at the dipping tank. On our way Miss Hlophe gives us a hiding for being late. The security also tells us to go and pick litter if we are late for school. We are also made to run and touch the tree four times. We have never been scolded at school because of cattle.

Child 2.

My teacher is maam Bhembe. Maam Hlophe beats us when we are late from dipping. I was given 5 strokes. Most of the time we are beaten and scolded. She asks why I am always herding cattle.

Child 3.

We learn about cattle at school in words and mathematics. She does not teach us about cows. She has never asked us to tell tales about cattle. We don't chat about cattle at school. I sometimes arrive late at school. Taking cattle to the dip sometimes makes me arrive at school late. When I arrive late I greet the teacher and she asks me to sit down. She does not say anything about dipping cattle.

The dominant view in relation to cattle at school as evidenced by the first two interview extracts is that most children are punished when they arrive late after a dipping day. It is the same teacher that carries out these punishments. The first and third extracts indicate that the children do not consider the aspects that they list as being taught and learning about cattle. There is clearly evidence that there is pictorial engagement with images of cattle and these are related to mathematics. There is no attempt to engage the children regarding the traditional reference of cattle according to their skin patterns as documented in Poland, Hammond, Tooke and Voigt (2012). Besides corporal punishment, the children are made to pick up litter which is likely to reinforce perceptions of collecting litter as something that is done to punish.

A perception shared by most parents is that teachers have no interest in their children learning anything to do with cattle and actively discourage this:

What I have heard from my youngest boy once he has been to the dipping tank is that sometimes he gets to school late and when he is asked where he has been he said that his teacher said: "we are trying to give you bread for tomorrow, but your fathers are sending you to the dipping tank, they don't want you to learn but rather to be like them and be uneducated like them because they had to look after cattle. Today they are nothing". She meant they must focus on school education and forget about cattle.

A different view from the ones related by these children shared by another parent was that in some areas, especially his area, the matter of children's late arrival has been discussed at parent-teacher meetings. The manner of dipping was agreed upon and that dipping would start as early as 5am to give children enough time to dip family cattle and head home to prepare for school attendance. At this meeting, an agreement was also made that they would not be punished. However, in some schools, children are sent home and told to bring parents to explain why the children are late and this is done because teachers are fearful of giving them corporal punishment. Parents find this practice annoying and unacceptable as it interferes with their home activities and they expect teachers to punish them because their lateness is as a result of them not waking up early to dip the cattle so that they are at school in time.

Reaching back to my own childhood and remembering how art classes were also structured around stereotypical gender lines, I asked about art classes. In my primary school days, girls were assigned to home economics related craft skills such as sewing, knitting and grass braiding and making clay pots while the boys made wooden pins and clay cows. I was rather interested in whether at this level when most children are very tactical, they might be making art objects such as clay cattle. One child simply told me that they don't make clay things at his school. A question that I personally deliberated upon at this phase of analysis was the extent to which gender-defined roles at home, which the teachers themselves are products of, inhibits them from opening up the discussion on cattle at home in the classroom. Was this because of its lack of inclusivity as a subject or simply because it was a subject that did not warrant more attention than what was nationally prescribed in the national foundation phase curriculum statements?

5.6 VIEWS OF *IZINGQWELE*

I will share the views of *izingqwele* on their traditional roles in teaching younger ones how to care for cattle at home and in the pasture. As already stated, two of these were young men. Both utilised the Mpembeni dipping tank and were aged 20 and 21 respectively. The young female interviewee was 15 years-old, lived and assisted her grandmother with cattle care and herding activities in and round the homestead and the pasture and dipped the family cattle at Sovana. I will start with sharing the views of a 20-year-old young man who lived with his grandparents and had

become the homestead's right-hand man when it came to cattle responsibilities. He had dropped out of school citing an illness that was incurable and made his brain travel into unimaginable places. Despite this, he was the trusted one of his grandparents. I have given pseudonyms.

5.6.1 Thembela Manqe

This interview, which took place at his home, gave this young man pleasure and pride as he felt that what he did at his home was valued despite his having dropped out of school. I had been advised to interview him as he came from a homestead that was much respected and considered knowledgeable when it came to the management of cattle. His grandfather was one of the elders who formed part of the committee of the Mpembeni dipping tank. This dipping tank, owing to the drying up of the source that supplied water to its pit, was no longer functional. On Saturday, the area's dipping day, the cattle were led and queued within a longish log-supported structure and from there sprayed with disinfectants from containers that the men hung from their shoulders. Thembela was one amongst those who assisted the dipping tank master in carrying out this task.

He contended that the traditional role played by young men of his age in teaching young ones to care for cattle was critical in the past, but not any longer. This had started when he was being taught to herd cattle himself. Bigger boys used to provoke young ones to fight by mixing their cattle with those of other young boys. This would cause the bulls to fight. If your bull has been defeated, you had to prove that, as a herder, you would not be defeated and so they were given sticks to fight each other. Such a practice, according to Thembela, deterred some boys from herding cattle as activities like these were dangerous; one could even lose an eye. The reluctance to herd resulted in the decrease of family herds. Thembela's family still boasted large numbers because his grandfather took extra care in looking after the cattle. Thembela's reluctance to teach and send young ones to herd cattle was also because of good weather the previous year. Such good weather increased cattle numbers while the pasture size remained the same. As a result there were many cattle eating little grass.

Such a scarcity meant that cattle had to be herded further away and that one even sometimes has to sleep in the veld so that the cattle can eat undisturbed and unhurried, which he did. The younger boys were too scared to do this, and it was also considered dangerous. The cattle are usually

herded closer to the park and the risks were that one could be bitten by a snake or eaten by an animal. When it came to the young learning from him, this is what Themabela said:

Ayiii, there is no one I have taught to look after cattle yet hhayi they don't want to learn, and I have left them alone not even asking them to fetch the goats. When you ask they just pick up the laptop and watch in it. They refuse to even lock up the cattle. As Grandpa rounds and locks up the cattle, I round and lock up the goats. It was bought by my little mom. Now they just watch it. When you ask them to round and lock up the goats they get annoyed, it's like you have hit them. It's best I leave them alone.

The effect of the children's reluctance to help out with cattle minding and their pre-occupation with the laptop meant they can't even milk the cows, Themabela said. He stressed that this might not be a generalised view and emphasised that it was mainly children from his homestead that behave in this way. This was not entirely their fault but came about because most of the cows that had delivered young ones had delivered first borns and difficult to handle as they had never been milked before. This made it difficult to teach young children as such cows were very aggressive. In addition, most couldn't be milked because of the drought and the calves were with the mothers all the time.

As far as dipping was concerned, Themabela noted that children had to be woken up to go to the dip. However, the change of schedule in their area to Saturday suited them. On school holidays he had to mind the cattle because the children visited their mother in Matubatuba where there were no cattle. The mother of the children was concerned about their inactivity and lack of knowledge about cattle. If the boys were not taught, there would be a problem which could mean the end of cattle in the homestead. It seemed that the boys followed the instructions received from their mother pertaining to cattle, but not those from him.

To carve a future for himself as a livestock owner, he was encouraged by his grandfather to learn all he could from the dipping tank committee members. Interaction with them was like reading books about cattle, Themabela said. Since his grandfather had failing eyesight and weak knees, he had to run errands for him and was his walking stick.

You suckle lots of knowledge when you are with him because even at the meetings he says I must attend. When there are inspectors teaching us about a certain medicine that we must buy to prevent a certain disease such as *nagana*, he had told me that there would be people who would talk about it. I came back and told him that there is a medicine for sleeping sickness. They don't sell

it in a container. You explain that there is a sick cow which has scabs on its hide and lots of ticks on the neck. It is rough on touch, it is like the cow is shedding off its hide. That cow has *nagana* (sleeping sickness). My grandfather went and bought that medicine and we injected them. Many of people's cattle had died, killed from it as we did not know that type of sickness. I don't know where *nagana* come from. Like today I saw that there was a cow that is getting *nagana* that needs to be injected. From my observation, it's the water. Because when they have drunk water, they don't eat much and they drink where there is the multi-headed snake. Even when people drink that water they get problems with their bones. I suspect there is something in that water that is not good. Now there is no cow that delivers at least ten or nine times. You find that after delivering three or four times, it looks like an old woman.

Analytical comment: This interview paid particular attention to learnings that take place within the community context and in a particular family with a focus on sociocultural intergenerational learning from youth to younger ones. I could hear desperation and frustration in Thembela. Certain practices in the pastures were permitted and part of the rites of passage for boys, such as stick fighting, have nowadays become deterrents to herding. Thembela was frustrated with the interference of modern technology. His other concern, which he shared with his aunt, was the end of a cattle farming economy. His reasoning was that the lack of knowledge on looking after cattle would end his grandfather's legacy. One important aspect worth exploring is the sighting of plants in his dreams which is considered as symbolising learning from the departed. His dilemma though was that medicines which have been shown by the departed cannot be used on cattle that the departed considered as non-indigenous. I also noted that people were overwhelmed by the effects of the drought and were trying to find reasons for their misfortunes. Associating these with a supernatural phenomenon that is abstract, makes them resign themselves to the view that what they are dealing with is beyond their reasoning reach.

5.6.2 Bhutiza Maseko

Bhutiza was a family member of the Maseko homestead where two focus group interviews of 6-10 year-old girls and another of boys was conducted. They all looked up to him as the most knowledgeable of their uncles when it came to looking after the family herd of cattle. Bhutiza was still attending one of the high schools in the area.

His brothers were much older, and his father worked in Johannesburg. Since he was at school and came home later than the younger nephews and nieces, they were tasked with smaller

responsibilities around the home. The family owns nine cows and two calves had recently died. He said that he learnt to look after cattle from his big brother whom he had followed around everywhere. He was much older than most children as he was 8 years-old by then. His father had two wives and all the children lived with both two mothers and his eldest brother from one of the mothers was looking after the home and the cattle on behalf of the father. His brother is quite knowledgeable and advised him if he saw any problems with the cattle. Living close to the dipping tank master was an advantage as he also looked in to check that the cattle are well and gave advice. He also told them which medicines to buy. One other neighbour with a large herd of cattle also helped them and his herd was much bigger than that of the dipping tank master. His father used to have the largest herd of cattle in the area, however many had been lost to the drought and some had also been slaughtered for traditional ceremonies. He could hardly remember his father using traditional medicine, but then recalled him using a medicine for deworming the cattle called *umdlanlatho*. His older brother used to be sent to fetch it from the forest and prepare it.

The manner and combination of subjects at school do not give Bhutiza a chance to follow his career of choice which was to become a livestock inspector. One advantage to this is that one ends up with large herds of cattle and can become rich because people tell you when they are selling their livestock. Agriculture is not a stand-alone subject but is combined with Physics and Maths and Bhutiza struggled with Physics. He therefore chose the combination of Geography, Tourism and Maths Literacy and has resigned himself with training to be a policeman. Bhutiza used to do Arts and Culture as a subject and what they mainly did was dress up in traditional attire and dance. It was more a subject for practising and conserving traditional culture than anything else. In his view, the teachers did not take culture seriously. Any aspects of culture such as cattle care and herding were not taught. Arts and Culture was a subject in Grade 10 and was not partnered with another, while from Grade 3 to grade 9 it was offered in combination with other subjects.

Analytical comment: From the interview with Bhutiza, it was evident that decisions on dealing with cattle were his bigger brother's responsibilities. There was no evidence of much transfer of knowledge from him to the younger children and the knowledge resided with him and his elder brother. There was not much frustration about this, though there was a sense of loss of pride linked to the reputation of his father owning large herds and being one of the respected owners of large herds. The need for financial resources to sustain larger families puts pressure on men to delegate some of their responsibilities associated with traditional wealth to their sons, as is evident in this

family. Bhutiza's biggest brother is looked upon as the senior male in the homestead. This means therefore that with the training on looking after the family herds, the young become apprenticed with looking after the whole family and helping their 'mothers' and fathers come home for Christmas vacation periods. In this family, Bhutiza's brother has been assigned with this role.

5.6.3 Nomthandazo Mbulaze

Nomthandazo lives with her 71 year-old grandmother and helps her with all household tasks including looking after cattle. She is 15 years-old and goes to the same high school as Bhutiza. Since there were no younger children at her grandmother's place, there was no one she could train to look after cattle. She has learnt most of what she knows about cattle from her grandmother who was weak and not able to run and chase the cattle, once they start running off. She came to live with her grandmother when her mother passed away. She started looking after cattle when she was about 7 years of age. She has never been exposed to the traditional herding activities of the boys, such as stick fighting, as she herds close to home and alone. Her grandmother tells her not to fetch the cattle too late as the world is no longer kind because of rapes. Her tasks were to fetch cattle from the pasture and then prepare dinner. She considers the herding of cattle as a gentle task; making them run is dangerous as they may fall and break their bones. Hitting on the horns was forbidden and could blind the cow if the whip catches the eye by mistake. She was responsible for taking them and bringing them home from the dipping tank on Mondays during school holidays. During school days she leaves with them early and her grandmother follows later at a comfortable pace and distance. After they had been dipped she rushes home and gets ready for school and her grandmother follows behind with the dipped cattle. When she is away, a neighbour helps her grandmother by taking the cows with his to the dipping tank. They used to have six cows but then two were killed by the drought and one was slaughtered for a traditional ceremony. Nomthandazo said that when a cow is being slaughtered, all she did was bring a bowl to collect the blood and she is scared of dead cows. Two cows followed the rain and at a water hole, got stuck in the mud and could not move. After they had died her grandmother asked her male neighbours to fetch them and they were skinned and those who eat meat from dead cows took some of the meat, most of which was rotten.

According to Nomthandazo, community members do not find her activities with cattle odd and they are proud of seeing a young woman who is helpful to her grandmother which is the reason she is

hardly ever punished when she arrives at school late. They say that she is a respectful young woman who takes good care of her grandmother. She says that she knows that her grandmother cannot live without cattle and she must help her look after them. When they are sick, her grandmother sends for the neighbours. Her job is to round them up so they can help select the one that needs to be injected and the neighbours then inject them.

Nomthandazo was clear that she did not want to do Agriculture as a subject because it did not fit into her future plans as she wanted to be a tourist guide. She wants to be a renowned tourist guide featured in newspapers, promoting the tourism industry and discipline in schools. She wants to focus on guidance of fauna and work at Rhino Ridge (a place where the park lowered the fences to incorporate communal lands to the park of Hluhluwe-Umfolozi to give community people a stake). She indicated that had she been given information and knowledge about being a livestock inspector; she might have been interested, however, they have never had been told at school and briefed about such careers and the nature of their jobs. She would have valued such information as she had learnt such a lot about cattle from her grandmother. This she had valued. She has seen health inspectors at the dipping tank and heard that they have workshops but she had never attended any and neither had her grandmother, though she had been briefed by others.

Nomthandazo is interested in having cattle but not more than three as the price of medicines and injections is high and she would have to hire someone to look after them. She does not want to have a life of hardship but dreams of having a nice house in Durban and visiting countries like Mozambique.

Analytical comment: It was evident in this interview that Nomthandazo carried cattle responsibilities that were vastly different from those of Bhutiza and Thembela. It is interesting that the traditional and role defined training of girl children was considered in the context of what their responsibilities in marriage would be. Looking after cattle was not one of these. The economy and external organisation of the home was a manly responsibility. The internal organisation and family relations were handled by the women. Nomthandazo had to look after cattle and also be involved in general female household chores such as cooking the evening meal. None of the boys had domestic tasks that involved cooking and their tasks ended with the night kraaling of the livestock. The tone that permeated from the interview exposed the association of women dealing with cattle

as that emanating from a position of vulnerability, where the language was very much of 'helping'. The availability of help within reach and as an act of neighbourliness where cattle are concerned in families that are managed by women is an interesting one; there is a sense of helping rather than teaching. The tasks related to injecting which require skill and strength for tying up are carried out by the men who feel these tasks require manliness. The desire to teach others, as in Thembela's case, is not an option nor does it frustrate Nomthandazo.

5.7 SELF AS A RESEARCHER AND INTEGENERATIONAL LEARNER: A GIVE AND TAKE RELATIONSHIP

There was no shadow of doubt as to whether I was an intergenerational learner during this research journey. Contrary to conventional and common views of intergenerational learning as young people learning from their elders, the learning process that took place was mostly a bottom-up process. The centre of power-knowledge relationships was in constant flux between the researcher and the research participants, firstly, because the repository of the subject matter was the community and secondly, as a researcher, I was the driver of the conversation. Other knowledge shifts that took place were between academy knowledge and traditional local knowledge.



Figure 5.6: Gogo Mtshali, a relative of the Mtshali family and myself, the researcher (left to right) with the stomach of a freshly slaughtered cow served to be eaten raw

Factors that could have influenced this included my having arrived at a time when the community was experiencing one of the worst environmental disasters; I had no congruent experience to fall back on nor was I able to solve their problems. There were calls for knowledge emanating from the academy which I was seen to embody. People were at the cross roads of modernity and traditional practice and felt that I might know better. The discussion was not only steered by my research interest as I was not always the enquirer. One of my child research interviewees had a string of questions for me such as why I did not grow up with cattle; he had grown up with cattle and could not imagine a different life. Despite the formal explanation at every interview on the intention of my research, one of the youth interviewees, Nomthandazo, wanted to understand in detail what the data I was sourcing would be used for. A group of men that I met at the dipping tank looked to me for answers as to why the weather was so harsh and what they could do to prevent the deaths of their cattle. A couple I interviewed enquired as to how I would facilitate discussions between myself and teachers to create an understanding of matters they could not explain or discuss in parent-teacher meetings. Thembela, one of the youth interviewees, explained his puzzlement on the bone-eating cattle and looked to me for answers.

From prior research and my reading, I was aware that in times of calcium shortages, cattle may lick the bones of others. I did advise, however, that he took care to deter his homestead cattle from doing this as they may contract the diseases from which the other cows had died. He indicated that this was the first time he had observed such behaviour and had noted that it was on the increase. As an enquirer, I was not spared from enquiry! Despite my confession of knowing very little about cattle, I was not allowed to get away that easily and had to share the little knowledge that I had. I explained to the men at the dipping tank about climate change and the need to adapt their cattle management practices as well as the need to have wood lots for cattle fodder. I told the couple that my research strategy had been modified to share back conversations without referring to names, as every issue had many sides to be explored from. I also indicated that such a sharing technique could create an awareness and understanding between community members on how some perceived of the others.

Questions of this nature were not only unsettling but because they were asked from contexts of desperation, they demanded well considered and constructive responses which required careful

reflection which forced me to learn to think on the spot and be reflexive. We must learn to think constructive thoughts and reach into filed learnings while reading context and expectations. In my responses and with the questions I asked and responded to, I learned.

5.8 OPEN-ENDED CLOSING REMARKS ON THE CHAPTER

In this chapter, the investigation methods and techniques employed as well as the analytical tools to surface the understandings shared and the departure from the conventional norms of writing, define this as a postcolonial study. Undisputable within the evidence presented is the presence of sociocultural and intergenerational learning which is presented in section 5.5, a section which confirms that cattle are a medium of cultural expression. As much as the learning processes presented here may be encountered for other community contexts and areas such as Mpembeni, the ones presented here are unique to Mpembeni, also because of the role I played as a researcher.

Generally speaking, in KwaZulu-Natal, traditionally-held knowledge and practices had evolved, some had been discarded or modernised and was inconsistent with the times unless modified. Environmental landscape change and use of practices had also evolved with the times. Historical landscape practices were divided between fields, grazing lands, forests which could be utilised for firewood, graveyards and community settlements as well as hunting lands, sensitive incubation and breeding lands for fauna which were regulated by seasons. Community members complained that colonial land-use planning methods, such as the creation of the Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Park had resulted in a lack of respect for traditional ones which resulted in the decrease of grazing lands and growing human populations. There was very little, if any, traditional crop subsistence farming owing to lack of labour to manage cattle farming and crop farming. Failure to constantly and carefully watch over livestock during the day resulted in crops being eaten by unguarded cattle. Secondly, after the harvesting of the fields, traditionally cattle were allowed to roam and eat the maize stocks left and any other vegetation as fodder. Climatic change and other factors means that the cattle no longer benefit from maize stock nutrients in the field and thus are weaker during the drier seasons. The clearing of the fields and the composting with their dung was also a beneficial practice.

When considering learning issues, one must bear in mind that Mpembeni is characterised by grandparent-headed families as most biological parents of children, most particularly those interviewed, were away in the small and major cities in the KwaZulu-Natal province. Grandparents are therefore full-time guardians until the parents come for short-term intervals. This means therefore that there is a gap missing in the generational transfer of knowledge from biological parent directly to child. Another factor worth noting is the importance of the role of neighbours in the care of each other's cattle and that of educating of each other's children on all aspects related to tradition and the value and care of cattle. It is within these context definers that all the learning experiences, as articulated in this chapter, should be understood as emanating from. All manner of relationships are further abstractly regulated by 'respect' which is verbalised and forever punctuated in body enactments. These factors mark the significant differences in home and school learning processes.

In the next chapter I will share my findings as to how the people operating within organised formal structures view the processes associated with cattle and children's learning experiences at the Mpembeni community level.

CHAPTER 6: LEARNING PROCESSES WITHIN SCHOOLS AND PERSPECTIVES FROM COMMUNITY MEMBERS, AGRICULTURAL LIVESTOCK INSPECTORS AND A LOCAL NGO

We become everything. Mother, teacher and in a way social workers.

(Phumzile Manqele, teacher at Inqubeko Primary school, 2016)



Figure 6.1: The in-betweenness of conventional schooling and home/pasture learning – a girl reads at the entrance of a cattle kraal (photographer unknown)

I was fascinated by the book but not by school. I was grateful for the privilege to go there as some parents saw no value in sending their girls to school because whatever they learnt at school would benefit the families they got married to. Some girls looked forward to starting school and never did. I did. Their parents either could not afford to pay their fees or were reluctant to send them there as they were highly sought after. They were called ‘tidzandzane’ and hired to look after people’s children as if they were adults.

The girl in the picture could have been me though I would usually be found on the highest branch of a tree away from my sister and her calls for this and that, that needed doing in the house. I could not be found for people hardly look for children in trees. When I did eventually come down I was happy, still lost in the adventures of my story but ready to face my sister and a home cooked meal.

A kraal. A girl. A book. An entrance or/and exit. A tree growing within. A compacted and poor quality soil.

An abandoned hut. Mud walls eaten away by ants. A girl. A book. An entrance. An exit. Well-trodden compacted soil.

The promise in the book and what has been written by age and time within the walls of the room and the tired tree trunks of an empty kraal.

Once there were cattle but nagana and the sun stole them. Shells inhabited by crabs were kraals teeming with cattle.

School and home at an entrance and exit.

Home work of school work.

We have been given ladders suspended in the air that we must climb to abstract heights - CAPS

CAPS for a sun that set, umbrellas for winds, tornados and seven-headed snakes

Seeds for barren soils

An exit is an entrance and an entrance, an exit.

An entrance – an exit, a hybrid third space.

6. INTRODUCTION

I had given myself six months to study the data sourced from the children, thus affording myself an opportunity to study the context further and modify my questions for the teachers. Considering that I was concerned with intergenerational learning, it was a given that I followed the progression of children's learning from primary school to high school and tried to get a logical understanding of such learning. When I set off to seek permission to gather data through interviews with teachers, I had the KZN Province's Department of Education's research approval letter and was accompanied by gogo Mtshali's daughter. Her company helped embed the view that even though I did not live in the area, at least I stayed there and was not from one of the local cities such as Durban and that mine was not simply a fleeting interest.

This chapter therefore presents the insights and commentary on the learning experiences of children at home/pasture as well as at school from some of the livestock inspectors in the employ of the municipality's Department of Agriculture, teachers of the schools in the area, as well as those of employees of a local non-governmental organisation (NGO). These were groupings that offered services to the community based on their particular mandates. Foundation Phase teachers that I interviewed were from primary schools and high schools as listed in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 below.

Table 6.1: Teachers interviewed from primary schools

Primary schools	Gender of Teachers
Mthekelezi	One female and one male principal
Inqubeko	Two female teachers
Mbalikhona	Two female teachers
Mayakaza	One male and one female

Table 6.2: Teachers interviewed from high schools

High Schools	Gender of teachers	Subjects Taught
Sibongasonke	One female	Creative Arts

I also interviewed two livestock inspectors (one male and the other female), who were both stationed at the Agriculture Department's offices in the small neighbouring town of Hlabisa. The views and insights of community elders and parents who owned livestock and some whose children/grandchildren attended these schools, further feature as commentary on both learning contexts. The normal accepted practice in Mpembeni is that each community area appoints an honorary dipping tank master together with committee members who will help regulate, monitor and advise on the welfare of the communities' livestock as well as on all matters related to dipping. This chosen grouping is usually made up of trusted and highly respected male community members who command knowledge authority on the subject of livestock. They also functioned as liaisons between community livestock owners and the agriculture department employees. Based on the livestock inspectors' standing in the community as stated, I considered it mandatory that I interview two of them, especially those who serviced the three research selected dipping tanks - Sovana, Sangoyana and Mpembeni. My reason for interviewing these inspectors was that they interacted with the school-going children at the dipping tank. Secondly, they presented logical career progressions for children that are passionate about livestock.

I had in my research proposal indicated an interest in sourcing views from teachers on axes of tension, silences and presences on anything concerning cattle-related activities at school in interactions with curriculum links. My other interest was on cattle-related interactions between the school teachers and members of the community in relation with the children they taught. I perused the Foundation Phase curriculum statements in an attempt to relate them to the learners' views and learning experiences as well as matters such as food security, lifelong learning, climate change etc.

I was little prepared for the unexpected views that emerged on the role of the local NGO Unyezi in schools and schools' expectations of it. Unyezi is an NGO that focuses on raising awareness on health-related issues, most particularly HIV and AIDS in schools.

6.1 BACKGROUND TO INTERVIEWS OF TEACHERS IN SCHOOLS

My interviews were conducted in two phases as noted in section 2.8.9. The first phase involved the children, members of the community, livestock inspectors and the dipping tank masters as reported in Chapter 5. The core of the feedback given here is based on the interviews with teachers which mainly focused on sourcing their views on children's learning experiences. An interview that cut across the two phases was that of a principal of one of the primary schools whom I had been advised by one of the community elders to interview because he had grown up looking after cattle and was highly regarded. I considered the interview with him as a 'light switch' that gave insight on how teachers view dealing with cattle as a highly valued subject in the community. My interview with him and the understandings derived helped in developing and sharpening my research questions. It did not however prepare me for some of the broader social issues that teachers told me about, which also characterised the relationships between home and school, that were outside of my research question.

The decision on who to interview resided with the school. It was the principal at Mthekelezi who determined which teacher I could interview, while at Inqubeko, another primary school, it was the head of the Foundation Phase. The Mbalikhona Primary School principal also selected the teachers emphasising that school programmes should not be interrupted. We sat down, deliberated and decided on interview times with his teachers and the lunch hour was agreed upon. Decisions on who to interview at the high schools followed a format similar to the primary schools. At Mayakaza, the deputy principal selected the teachers, at Godloza the teachers had gone for training workshops and a school administrative officer assisted in setting up the interviews, while at Somfula, it was the Head of Department. I requested the teachers sign concession forms granting me permission to interview them and also made them aware that I would use pseudonyms to conceal their identities. I pointed out however that the names of schools would be revealed, so that the area the sample covered would be known. I further showed all those interviewed the research permit, research proposal and a set of interviews I had already done with community members. All the interviews I conducted were in the local language isiZulu with responses in the same but blended with English words here and there (see appendix 5). All the interviews with teachers were conducted solely by me. My intent was to interview teachers in focus groups of two persons. One teacher walked out of an interview after being called by the principal because an official from the

Department of Education was visiting the school. I interviewed only one teacher in one high school because the teacher who taught a similar subject was involved in examination invigilation duties.

6.2 LOCATING THE CURRICULUM WITHIN LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORKS

The South African Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) is clear in its preamble and purposefulness to: “improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person”. Education is undoubtedly one, if not the main key driver in the freeing of the potential of the country’s youngest citizens. Education should be to recognise, acknowledge, nourish, and direct that potential so that citizens live in peace with each other and in harmony with their environment. Parents and teachers should be at the forefront and steer this mammoth constitutional prerogative towards that potential. The efforts towards the realisation of this aim in South Africa can be traced back to 1997 when Outcomes Based Education (OBE) was formally adopted as a national educational framework and thereafter its supportive curriculum, Curriculum 2005 in 1998 (Jansen & Christie, 1999; Chisholm, 2005; Fataar, 2016). It came at a time when most of the country’s institutions were addressing the resultant disparities of a colonising and divisive pre-1994 apartheid system of governance. The mismatch in its overambitious intents with the realities of teaching, learning and infrastructure in the country demanded that it be reviewed in 2002 (see Chisholm 2000, 2005). The review led to the Revised National Curriculum Statements (RNCS) for Grades 1 -12 which, according to Chisholm (2005), were introduced in 2002. These Revised National Curriculum Statements were further revised in 2009 and paved the way for the currently operationalised New Curriculum Statement (NCS) and its Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS) which came into effect in January 2012 (Department of Basic Education [DBE], 2012).

Referring to these statements as ‘policy’ means that they are legal instruments that need to be adhered to and upheld. The prescriptions the statements articulate must at the end of the day deliver on the aims stated by the preamble of the Constitution.

6.2.1 The National Curriculum Statements

The current curriculum policy named CAPS prescribes inclusivity as a key to the organisation, planning and teaching in schools. Lebona (2013, p. 1,) in his study of inclusive education in South Africa, stated that:

In some countries, inclusive education is thought of as an approach aimed at serving children with disabilities within general education settings. Internationally, however, it is increasingly viewed more broadly as a reform that supports and welcomes diversity amongst all learners (UNESCO, 2007).

Lebona (2013) also pointed out that the development history of South Africa's curriculum continues to display leanings towards international educational trends (some positive e.g. indigenous knowledge inclusion and others short-sighted, such as OBE). The country's approach to inclusive education, as echoed in its policy document (DBE, 2011b), embraces an inclusive brand of education as one that is solely aimed at children with disabilities. The inclusivity which may be understood as the inclusion of children's learning experiences which entails the recognition and acknowledgement of their local and/or indigenous ways of knowing and doing prior to formal schooling through locally defined processes, has not been well thought out or guided through the policy statements. Further to this, even though the curriculum statements are in the legislated national languages, there are no guidelines or support for overcoming the mental barriers that parents and teachers have for using local languages as a medium of instruction. A vast number of local schools still opt to use English instead of their local languages. In the schools I visited, Life Skills, a Foundation Phase subject, was taught in English, a contradiction in itself of learning one's life skills in a colonial language. The schools further used the nationally prescribed English textbooks and their support materials. If parents and teachers in rural and poor communities elect to use English at the Foundation Phase (for reasons that could potentially be the subject of many a PhD), to what extent is there room within the school curricula for content such as livestock subsistence farming based on traditional and local methods and associated beliefs? One may hope that such is provided for in Creative Arts and Agriculture but that is not usually the case.

I delved deeper into the CAPS English version of Life Skills (DBE, 2011a, pp. 04 -5) for Grades R1-3 which described the aims of the South African curriculum in these subject areas as:

- a) To ensure that children acquire and apply knowledge and skills in ways that are meaningful to their own lives. In this regard, the curriculum promotes knowledge in local contexts, while being sensitive to global imperatives.

One of the principles that frames CAPS (DBE, 2011a, p. 05) that I chose for its relevance to this study is that of:

- b) valuing indigenous knowledge systems; acknowledging the rich history and heritage of this country as important contributors to nurturing the values contained in the Constitution;

The CAPS curriculum aims to produce learners that (DBE, 2011a, p. 05):

- c) Demonstrate an understanding of the world as a set of related systems by recognising that problem solving contexts do not exist in isolation.

The numbering of these aims is my own for ease of reference.

6.3 THE PLACE OF CULTURAL CONTENT SUCH AS CATTLE IN THE LIFE SKILLS CURRICULUM AT THE FOUNDATION PHASE

The aims of the curriculum, as related above, display laudable and encouraging intents. They convince one of steps towards the achieving the prescriptive captured in the Constitution's preamble. Different sectors of society have an interest in how the curriculum advances their goals and mandates with environmental educators like me interested in its potential at promoting education for sustainability.

6.3.1 Life Skills

The role of this subject in DBE (2011a, p. 8) is defined as "a cross cutting subject that should support and strengthen the teaching of the other core Foundation Phase subjects namely Languages (Home and First Additional) and Mathematics". Languages and Mathematics are the jewels in the crown of Foundation Phase education. Life Skills is organised in four study areas, namely: Beginning Knowledge, Personal and Social Well-being, Creative Arts and Physical Education. Within Life Skills, it is in Beginning Knowledge that I could find space to locate my subject interest in cattle. Beginning Knowledge is made up of Natural Sciences, Technology and Social Sciences which includes Geography and History. With teachers putting their emphasis on the core subjects, considerations for aspects associated with indigenous knowledge, specifically of a subsistence nature and food security which has suffered historical academic neglect is, in the context of my study, little catered for. There may be misplaced assumptions of Creative Arts as an area worthy of the transmission of indigenous and local knowledge through processes of an intergenerational nature. This could be based on the assumption one may load the word 'creative'

as allowing access to freedom and modifications of the prescribed curriculum in creative and congruent ways. Teachers' comprehension or/and training on how they need to organise and plan the associated learning experiences within Beginning Knowledge and Creative Arts does not broaden to include issues as critical as food security such as the care of livestock nor taps into children's home learnt knowledge of it, as evidenced in my study.

6.3.1.1 Beginning Knowledge and Personal and Social Well-being

I consider curriculum statements as proclamations that frame the teacher's mandates and bounds in the construction of lessons as well as enablers in what is envisaged in the aims referred of CAPS in 6.4 above. The information that the teacher would solicit from the new learners and their parents would be critical when the children starts Grade 1 and moves on to Grade 3. Environmental topics within areas that are related to cattle that could be featured are well represented within life skills from Grade 1 to Grade 3. I will substantiate my arguments by showing examples for topics specifically within the Beginning Knowledge and Personal and Social Well-being sections of the Life Skills curriculum. I will then share my views about the manner they have been crafted, some with potential for engaging learners further on areas related to my area of research and those that narrow such opportunities. The areas of concern lie first in the articulation of the topics in a reductionist manner, in their relation to geographical contexts, belief systems, environmental issues, resources in schools and the uses of language that are assumptive such as 'and' instead of 'and/or'.

Example 1

Grade 1 (DBE, 2011a, p. 30)

Topic: The weather – 4 hours

- *A daily weather chart*
 - *Regular observation of weather conditions*
 - *Hot, cold, windy, cloudy, sunny, misty, rainy*
 - *Symbols to describe conditions on weather chart*
- *The weather and us – include clothes, food, activities*

Notes: The weather chart should be updated throughout the year.

Religious days and other special days.

Explain to learners why they should never look directly to the sun.

This list is limiting and presented as prescriptive. In the context of my area of interest being cattle, within a period of intense drought and dying cattle, the weather chart is limiting.

Example 2

Grade 1 (DBE, 2011a, p. 31)

- *Religious days and other special days celebrated by the community should be discussed as they occur throughout the term. (2 hours per term are allocated for this)*

The issue with this prescription is that firstly, not all days of significance are celebrations but may be commemorations, ritualistic ones etc. For instance, I arrived at a ceremony that marked the end of the mourning for the death of gogo Mtshali's husband which included the slaughter of a cow, an activity that was observed by many community members. Secondly, the phrase "religious days and other special days" elevates the status of religion and places at the periphery, other ways of worship and belief such as spirituality. This phrase 'religious days and others' is repeated throughout the grades. Belief and worship are some of the main doors that open up as well as enable a variety of ways of being and belief that are located in indigenous and local ways of doing. Not acknowledging this, limits possibilities for the emergence and generation of ways of belief that have the potential to address the environmental challenges we are currently struggling with.

Example 3

Grade 1 (DBE, 2011a, p. 32)

Topic: My community – 4 hours

- *Places in my community – include buildings and places where we meet*
- *People in my community – people who help me; people who sell things; other people I know*
- *Looking after facilities in my community – such as public telephones, public transport and public toilets*
- *Keeping places clean – include using bins and not littering*

The first point is an example of an opening up statement which would be inclusive of dipping tanks, the graveyard, trees where community court cases are heard etc. The second point also encompasses areas that could potentially elicit stories that relate intergenerational learning. The 'such' in the public toilets is opening up rather than narrowing.

Example 4

Grade 1 (DBE, 2011a, p. 33)

Topic: Water – 4 hours

- *Uses of water*
- *Ways water is wasted*
- *Ways of saving water*
- *Safe and unsafe drinking water*
- *Storing clean water*

I selected this example in consideration of the scarcity of water and wondered about the water quantity and quality issues in the context of arid areas in times of droughts and puzzled about how teachers would handle such a topic.

Example 5

Grade 2 (DBE, 2011a, p. 43)

Topic: Seasons – 6 hours

- *The four seasons*
- *How seasons affect us – clothes, food, activities*
- *How seasons affect growing things – sowing, growing and harvesting*
- *How seasons affect animals – include farming e.g. sheep shearing, animal dipping; e.g. bird migration and nesting.*

Topic: Animals – 4 hours

- *Farm animals*
 - *Types*
 - *Uses such as food and clothing*
- *Wild animals*
 - *Types*
 - *Camouflage*

Topic: Animal homes – 4 hours

- *Animals and creatures that make their homes – such as birds, some bees, ants*
- *Animals and creatures that find a home – such as baboons, snakes, squirrels*

- *Animals and creatures that carry their homes – such as snails, tortoises*

The topic on seasons alludes to yearly seasons. In the context of climate change and the experiences of children, it may need opening up. It is closed down by the prescription of four seasons and the predictability of seasons, when the reality is not the given. It is worth pointing out that the examples given in seasons impacts on animals – livestock is alluded to. The topic on animals assumes that animals that are domesticated are farm animals. What about animals in homesteads, homesteads which keep animals that are semi-wild and not kraaled like cattle and donkeys that roam the nights of Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape? The topic on animal homes excludes homes that are built for animals such as kraals, pens etc.

Example 6

Grade 3 (DBE, 2011a, p. 57)

Topic: Disasters and what we should do – 9 hours

- *Types of disaster*
 - *Floods*
 - *Fire*
- *Other phenomena*
 - *Lightening*
 - *Earthquakes*
 - *Storms and strong winds*

Topic: Animals and creatures that help us – 9hrs

- *Animals that give us food and /or clothes*
 - *Bees*
 - *Chickens*
 - *Cows*
 - *Sheep*
- *Animals that work for us*
 - *Dogs – guide dogs, watch dogs, sniffer dogs*
 - *Donkeys and horses*

Find and read stories about other animals, like dolphins, that have helped people.

These chosen topics have their strengths and challenges. The disasters listed exclude drought as a natural disaster yet the curriculum statements were developed within the times when climatic change was a reality. The topic on animals and creatures as inclusive as it may be, does not clearly stipulate that the list is of domesticated animals.

My analysis of the curriculum is not exhaustive. What I tried to display in the selected excerpts, particularly where religion is positioned colossally over other ways of belief and its leanings to colonial missionary education, is that it has its shortcomings. Most of the examples or/and prescribed areas of focus within the topics did not convince me that this was a curriculum that was reflective of the South Africa we knew and know. To what extent do guiding statements such as those, particularly in Life Skills taught in English in study areas such as Beginning Knowledge, “ensure that children acquire and apply knowledge and skills in ways that are meaningful to their own lives? ... (And) promote knowledge in local contexts, while being sensitive to global imperatives”. To be sensitive to other global imperatives such as climate change, the child must relate the knowledge he derives from school first and then to his everyday home life. My view is that there were no creative and meaningful ways for integrating and implementing insights from the intense curriculum enquiries that began in the mid-1990s leading to these revised CAPS which motivated for the inclusion of indigenous knowledge in/for education processes (O’Donoghue, Masuku, Janse van Rensburg and Ward, 1999; Masuku Van Damme & Neluvhalani, 2004; Shava, 2000, 2008.). However, the inclusion in CAPS is more politically motivated, superficial and silencing as it lacks the rigour that is capable of breaking the barriers between home and school knowledge. It also suppresses the possibilities for third space knowledges to emerge. I found that the implementation of the curriculum in its current form in study areas within Life Skills such as Creative Arts and Physical Education is also limited by the unavailability of the prescribed resources i.e. expensive and unaffordable musical instruments, jungle gyms, hula hoops, bean bags etc. which are not available in the rural poorly resourced schools, such as the ones where my research took place (see Lotz-Sisitka, 2009). It is, to a large extent, a curriculum that is not inclusive of the experiences of learners in disadvantaged areas.

6.3.2 How the contradictions of home-based values of learning play out within the Foundation Phase curriculum

The contradictions, romanticisms and the paradoxical nature of non-tangible heritage and culture that is in motion and the fact that it is driven by the physicality of cattle as a tangible resource makes it difficult to understand the curriculum decisions and choices that teachers make in the classroom in interaction with the curriculum statements. It is like holding onto the fragments of an intangible heritage resident in mental reservoirs that is being yanked away in one context by the realities of the day and at the same time endorsing the license that peripherises it. The centring of cattle as a core of culture at home and its decentring at school surfaces curiosities and aspirations for researchers like me to unpuzzle the reasons behind it. One female teacher, who also owns livestock, felt that Zulu people who did not own cattle are not worthy of the dignity of being called human nor harbour human traits such as purposefulness. This is how she put it:

You can't be a person if you don't own cattle and goats. Cattle are our culture, people buy medicines and injections for cattle. Children are in trouble if the cattle did not come home. When a girl gets married, a cow must be slaughtered. If the cattle got into someone's field the children get in to trouble and get a beating. The neighbour will come and complain. We were ill-treated when we were young because of cattle. The parents would complain that there should be no lessons when children are dipping until late. Things are better now because of the drought.

This statement presents the values echoed by many of those interviewed who deemed cattle ownership as a centring of Zulu culture. Strangely the statement "things are better now because of the drought" also points out the benefits of the death of a culture that is anchored around cattle. Such a death in her words eases the tensions that characterise the relationships between parents and teachers within the school context. The first part of the statement may mislead one to think that the representation of cattle in the curriculum (written and invisible) would favour livestock at the expense of other content. It was a motivator for me to investigate the extent to which content related to cattle (or) and livestock is evident in CAPS (already related above) and the manner and the approaches used to teach it at the Foundation Phase in Life Skills and through to grades at the Senior Phase and the Further Education and Training level in the Creative Arts and Agriculture.

6.3.3 Children's views on the classroom interactions with curriculum content

Prior to unpacking teacher's deliberations with the curriculum, it would be worth revisiting the views of learners in the previous chapter (section 5.8). One view revealed a yearning for a

continuation of learning that had happened at home. The manner that teachers dealt with children who were late for school and statements such as “your focus on cattle will make you a nothing like your fathers” (see 5.8) had made some children draw the conclusion that teachers hated cattle. An interesting contradiction is that there was not one teacher amongst those interviewed that had not been brought up in a home where cattle were not of great importance.

One child’s account on some of the lessons about cattle pointed to the fact that it was an engagement that lacked depth. It was below their levels of erudition and close, in my view, to the trivialising of the content they had engaged with in much more depth at home. The child had this experience in the mathematics class. They were asked to count the number of horns as well as hooves, a certain number of cows had. The pictorial images of the cattle lacked cultural significance and the richness that colours the history of cattle the children knew – the cattle were plain brown, with nothing of the traditional Nguni cattle colours with a diversity of horns in the midst of other breeds. The significance of pictorial images at this level of education cannot be underestimated as pictures speak more than the words that represent them – true to the proverbial saying – a picture speaks many words. The meeting point between the words and the images is where the potential for third space learnings, local stories etc. lie.

As wordy and creative as children may be at this age in their lives, the time when most take pride in telling unedited stories and sharing uncensored views (see section 5.2.5) is an opportune moment where storytelling based on what they know can take place (see the account of child 3 in section 5.8). Bubbling within the silenced children’s stories and experiences are rich forms of knowledge. This knowledge, as well as knowledge packaged in book forms and teacher’s experiences with their cattle, are all potential hybrid third spaces which are untapped and which are not used to inform curriculum development initiatives that are likely to be responsive to aim a) in section 6.4.1.

6.3.4 Foundation Phase teachers’ curricular deliberations

All the primary schools I visited could fit in the category of ‘under-resourced’ with non-functioning running water toilets which had become pits in this time of drought. The infrastructure was functional, but the surroundings were unkempt and did not provide a pleasing and learning enhancing environment such as playgrounds, well-trimmed gardens and big trees for shade which are common features in some well-resourced schools. On a positive note, the Mpembeni schools

were all serviced with rain collecting tanks for drinking. I did not see any toys in any of the Foundation Phase classrooms, though most of the classrooms walls were plastered with posters which functioned as learning resources. The entrances were all manned by security guards who registered entries and exits.

I wanted to find out from teachers how they perceived the manner they dealt with the curriculum and most particularly, areas that may deal with livestock or/and domesticated animals. There was no uniformity in their responses even within the same schools. The following are views of teachers from the same school when asked questions related to the curriculum:

Teacher 1: When it comes to teaching about cattle – we teach on term 2 about domesticated animals. We tell them that they must make sure it eats, give it a name. Observe signs that it is happy or not happy. It must have a shelter or have a place to sit in the shade or sleep when it is rainy or cold. They must see animals as treasures. In our cultures we use livestock and *impepho* to deal and address our issues in a religious way. We can't use *impepho* at school as religions are diverse. We have to respect all religions. When we pray at school I don't force them to close their eyes as we have to respect the different ways of worship. We have assembly every day and pray and sing choruses that everybody knows to motivate and uplift children.

Teacher 2: For us at primary school there are no places that have been provided or given for teaching about cattle because even the natural science subject does not dwell on cattle but how wildlife increases and multiplies.

My reading of these two statements are that teachers might not be discussing their approaches to themes or/and topics they are teaching amongst themselves and could be seeing vastly different things within the same curriculum. My data does not provide ample angles for me to infer that there might not be learning exchanges amongst teachers. Evidently there are areas within the curriculum, as already displayed, that provided possibilities for not only teaching about cattle but also about livestock in general . The distinction made by this one teacher between cattle and wildlife might be relevant but the prime question is that of whether teachers' training has provided them with the abilities to stretch the curriculum statements they are given beyond mundane to relevance with the communities they serve.

The reference that the first teacher makes is in accordance with what one of the boy children said of what they learnt and he had shown me pictures of the cattle in his book. There was no evidence from any of the teachers or the children that there was anything learnt beyond that. The first teacher's statement further pointed out though the statements on religion were limiting, teachers make attempts to broaden the topic and display inclusivity. Could this be that the teachers themselves come from very different religious denominations or/and that religion is something that might be more sensitive and emerging more and more as one of the current re-definers of cultural and local beliefs? If so, there is a high level of tolerance with other belief systems such as spirituality in the community and its schools. It would be interesting to explore if this was the case in many schools especially those run by particular religious institutions.

In the midst of limited resources, teachers had resource persons within and in the not far vicinity of the school who played a supportive curriculum role. This was more incidental than school initiated. Schools cited visitations from groupings such as the police, safety and security personnel to teach about road safety, primary health care officials to promote vaccination programmes, environmental educators from the neighbouring conservation area Hluhluwe-Umfolozi to promote neighbourly relations with the communities. One other visiting group was from the electricity company Eskom to alert children about the dangers of electricity. They also had visits from the livestock inspectors from the local municipality department of agriculture to raise awareness on rabies and its effects on livestock. They further warned people of the dangers of eating meat from cows that had just been injected as many cattle were dying from various malnutrition related diseases. In relation to the livestock inspector visits, one of the primary teachers said:

I think it is important that the livestock inspectors should come to school and share drought information which the children can share with their parents.

However, this was not the case and any information related to cattle was dealt with at the dipping tank. The parents also visited the schools to relay messages about missing cattle and these announcements were made at the school morning assemblies. The most frequent of all visitors to all the primary schools were the social workers from the Unyezi, a local NGO. On my enquiry on whether visits from local resource community elders had been made to enhance curriculum topics, all respondents said that they had not taken place. The schools also conducted trips and these were not necessarily subject-connected but were to enable the young ones to see the sea as Mpembeni

is landlocked. They visited St Lucia, Durban and Richards Bay. Other visits that took place were to the Science and Creative Arts fairs.

I was quite aware that within the challenges, teachers faced with livestock and porous fences it would have been unrealistic to ask practical subject related questions about cattle. My questions therefore had to be broadly crafted around agriculture as a subject and gardens with a hope that it would lead to a connection on cattle. The primary school teacher I interviewed said that his school was an exception as it once had a garden. The garden had been a project that some of the grandparents (one of whom was gogo Mtshali) had initiated. Gogo Mtshali had indicated in an earlier interview that she used to serve as a member of the governing body in a school where they introduced gardening to supplement the school feeding scheme. Their concern had been the promotion of gardening skills and gardening in the community based on skills they had learnt from the various agencies that visited the communities. Owing to broken fences which let livestock in and incorrect harvesting times as well as a lack of security, the project was abandoned. With the loss and neglect of skills learnt at home amongst the young ones such as gardening and looking after cattle, the teacher had this to say:

We are planting a child that will not like its culture as cultures are not at school. It means we are planting a child that will live a life of White people with no culture. I would say that we are throwing away our culture. They take the child and teach them western education because all that is in the books is from the West.

It is interesting that by using the collective 'we' the teacher also implicated himself in promoting colonial cultures. However as a teacher, he felt helpless in changing the course and outcomes of his engagements with learners. His assumption about books was twofold. One was that all that is in books is colonial and foreign. Secondly, in between the lines of this statement, is that local and indigenous knowledge is not in books but is generative and not written. This statement is loaded and needs unpacking. It may suggest that, in the in-betweenness of the written and unwritten, is a hybrid third space for a dialogue that has not been spoken. If the child is being taught what is in the book, why is it valued by teachers like him and why does he, a teacher who is suspicious of what is in the book, choose a profession where he teaches what he sees as alienating from his culture? Within this contradiction lies the hybrid third space. The question to answer and be truthful to our intentions is: what do we teach for and what do we want to teach for? Is the potential that the Constitution talks about limited or need to be withheld for cultural relevance or offer more as the

child is a citizen of a global village? If we are planting a child that does not like his culture (cattle being an expression of that culture and one of the key providers for food security) then we need to relook at our curriculums.

The teacher also expressed his concern on Agriculture being offered as an optional subject at high school and wondered if the local school that offered it, had continued doing so. His concern was fed by the fact that many of the local schools were phasing out agriculture. I think his concern was based on his view that “schools are instructed as to which streams they should take and which not” without an assessment and a feasibility study of whether this could be implemented. The criteria for the selection of schools was known by this teacher.

6.4 ISSUES OF ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN SCHOOLS AND PARENTS

The topical issues of discussion between parents and teachers are: boy children’s lateness at school because of their herding duties; transport for children as a number get run over by cars on their way to school, especially at primary schools; discipline; as well as monies for excursions.

I did point out at the beginning of the chapter that grandparents carry the main load of parenting and guardianship of grandchildren and are the stand-in for parents on all matters that concern school for their grandchildren. According to one teacher, 75% of the learners in the foundation and intermediate phase are under the guardianship of their grandparents. Then there is also a large number whose male parents work in the metropolitan cities and are home only on the main holidays such as Easter and Christmas. Another interesting consideration is that a number of learners at high school are parents of some of the children at the Foundation Phase.

The discipline of children was one of the main issues of discussion and presents challenges and an intergenerational clash. Despite the fact that children may arrive at school late (mainly boys), grandparents insist that they be given corporal punishment. The teachers are reluctant because of the legislation which forbids corporal punishment. About 45 % of the teachers I spoke to indicated that they ‘still corporal punish’ the learners as it is effective and is what the children have been conditioned to believe and accept as punishment. They also noted that grandparents prescribe corporal punishment which they can physically no longer administer and transfer its application to

teachers. Some had even been known to say to learners – “let schools open so that those teachers of yours may deal with the lot of you”. One teacher indicated that he has started to consider the lateness and absences as sick leave and in the event that the child may miss a test, he gives them the test on the day they are available. The fact that most grandparents had little or no formal education at all means that there are areas in which they cannot assist or monitor the progress of their grandchildren such as homework and/or school projects. This therefore minimises opportunities for bottom-up intergenerational learning on school learning matters.

Issues related to cattle were not high on either the primary or high school agendas nor were they of prominence on the agenda that constituted interactions between parents and teachers, teachers and students and neither took pride of place in the primary school curricula. A statement by a teacher who was also a livestock owner alerted me to the dwindling prominence of cattle even within the home context and more so because of the negative impacts of the drought. He had this to say:

Today, people have built too much, pastures are few. Cattle are a low priority and cattle are dying. People don't have herders because children are at school.

This statement certainly does not hold true for all members of the community but points to the fact that the central position cattle held historically and culturally was being tested by climate change related issues as well. Salomon's (2011) study of rangeland management in KwaZulu-Natal attributed the shift in priority to land degradation which is also climate change related. The other factors that she referred to are those of urban migration, reliance on national grants as well as the shortage of herding labour owing to the government enforcement of compulsory schooling. Andrew, Ainslie and Shackleton (2003, p. 11) listed a number of factors and amongst these are: “prolonged droughts, a shortage of labour for livestock herding and consequent increasing cost of employing herders”. The shortage of labour is a consequence of compulsory education. My contention is that all these problems and listed impacts have not happened overnight – the Andrew, Ainslie and Shackleton study was done in 2003. The peripherising of cattle between parents and teachers must have taken place progressively as parents have had to release their children to schooling.

Hailey (1938, pp. 1207-8) lucidly stated the purposes and objectives of education from an African perspective as well as from a colonial one,

In such a community, the chief function of education is to maintain the continuity of culture by transmitting to successive generations not only accumulated knowledge but acquired standards of value and conduct; in Africa education is, and is intended to be, an instrument of change. ... Accordingly the African child will be introduced to a world of thought, of achievement and of conduct outside the experiences of his parents; this new access to new ideas is bound to make a break in his life, however much the educationist may wish to respect native tradition. What is to be the content of the instruction offered?

There used to be greater porousness between the school and home on issues relating to animal husbandry. I gave an example of my own experience in 1969 when I witnessed the public flogging by an elderly man of his grandson for a cow that had gone missing at school (see italicised introductory section of study in Chapter 1). This was in essence the transferral of home values on cattle to the school. Teachers were accommodative and receptive of such transfers and the display of parental authority when it came to transgressions and negligence on children's dealings with cattle. This incident echoes the last part of Hailey's view, that of the educationist wanting to respect native tradition. In my interview with Mgabhi, the current dipping tank master for Sovana, he related the resistance of his father to put him in school because he considered the development of his skills on the subsistence farming of livestock and crops as more important. The content of the instruction that Hailey questions for African education is what created the clash between Mgabhi's father and the principal of his school in the 1950s. This, according to him, resulted in numerous discussions between his father and the principal of the school.

My research of the schools revealed that, most particularly in the high school context, cattle are far from being regarded as the medium of cultural expression and there was no evidence of attempts to make it such. There was also no evidence that the school intended enhancing what Hailey saw as the purpose of on African education in the community context with aims and purposes *to maintain the continuity of culture by transmitting to successive generations not only accumulated knowledge but acquired standards of value and conduct*. Creative Arts as a 'spice to the package of curricula' and appeasement to indigenous knowledge processes at the high school level, exhibited attempts of doing that but lacked the foundational strength, rigour and depth developed as a result of extensive and intensive research that is typical of other subjects such as those in the natural sciences and those with a scientific linguistic foundation such as languages. It was a 'keep them busy' subject.

As a researcher, I am not advocating that cattle be the medium of cultural expression within the school context and take centre stage. I do however find it interesting that children can be citizens of shifting priorities within the home and school and learning contexts (see Janse Van Rensburg, 1994). At one level, the curriculum broadens their scope and at another level it is a limiting education that does not contribute to continuities of relevance to their home lived experiences. The parents have a love-hate relationship with school, enticed by the hope for the future, where they see school to some degree as a bridge to another world for their children and an escape from financial poverty. For me, a quotation made by Schama (1995) of Rene Magritte's 1983 lecture which is cited by O'Donoghue's (1997, p. 13) in his dissertation *Detached Harmonies* explains how parents externalise school:

This is how we see the world ... We see it as being outside ourselves even though it is only a mental representation of what we experience on the inside.

Teachers and parents could strive to harmoniously work towards the break in the child's life. The break in the child's life that environmental educators are striving for is not the same as that Hailey in 1938 envisaged and referred to. His concern and his questioning was on the potential of education on children with regards to:

... the relations between the teaching given to him and the views of the European community on his proper place in the social system? (1938, p. 1208)

It is a break that is articulated in South Africa's Constitution.

In my attempt to understand whether or not there is a harmonious transition for children from home and pre-formal school learning to the Foundation Phase entry level, I interviewed a number of Foundational Phase teachers. One teacher was quite detailed in her observations and none of them touched on the learners' experiences in relation to prior knowledge related to cattle herding. The Manqele teacher's observations were around toilet training, confidence and language. She pointed out the differences between children who had attended Grade R who were better socialised and confident compared to those who had not been to Grade R. As a teacher of over 50 learners per classroom, she confirmed a view echoed by many that most children lived with grandparents and unemployed aunties and uncles and sometimes mothers that came and went, or lived with their unemployed mothers in their parental homes. The parents who usually came at the

start of the year, especially those with children who did not do Grade R, did not understand much about their children's learning capabilities and gave misleading information which made it difficult for teachers to help them learn to socialise. The reason for dwelling on this point is to point to the gap that these first encounters provided for third space interactions between teachers and parents and the lost opportunities.

The techniques that teachers may employ to probe and get better understandings of children when they start school are probably not sharpened and broad enough to assist in engaging parents on what children have learnt at home. This could also be as a result of not prioritising that above making the new learners less anxious and feel part of the class. Some of the parents most likely have no understanding of what their children's learning experiences will entail and the curriculum statements at the Foundation Phase have changed many times. As a result, some parents do not consider that they have a role to play in the teaching and learning of their children at school and see it entirely as a responsibility of the teacher. In relation to this, one teacher said:

I will give you an example. We teach them about sounds that they need to learn. One day I gave them homework to practise alphabetical sounds with their parents. One child came back and told me that her mother refused to assist her. The child told me that her mother told her that: "that teacher of yours must drink less alcohol and stop thinking I am a drunk too. She wants me to do the work that she is paid for. She must do her work." I sat with my friend and asked her if she has ever seen a drunk person before and she said yes. I asked her to describe a drunk person and she told me that they don't talk sense and they walk funny. I asked her if she has seen me walking funny and speaking something that made no sense. She said no. I told her that I don't consume alcohol and that the chair she sits on will be for the little ones at Grade R next year and that me and her must learn so that she can vacate the chair for the little ones. She stayed for remedial classes, and a number do and they go home later with me when I go home. I don't fight back with parents. It will not get us anywhere.

At another level one should look at this scenario from another angle. Some parents might be overwhelmed by the amount of homework children bring home in the early evening when parents are tired after homestead chores (see also Goetze, 2016). I was exposed to a situation at the Mtshali home where a girl from the neighbouring homestead whose mother worked in Durban would ask gogo Mtshali's daughter to help her with her homework. What was interesting was that the child did not even try to do the homework. Members of the homestead encouraged the child to

rely more and more on me for homework help because they knew that I was a teacher by profession (see comments on homework by Goetze 2016 in section 2.4). I changed the manner that this matter was handled and insisted that she did the homework first and then later come for assistance. I assisted her twice using this method and after that she never showed up again. I was often very tired in the early evening after helping the under 6 year-olds of the homestead children with ferrying water buckets to fill the tractor tyre for the cattle and understood the attitude parents might have regarding homework.

In the context of Mpembeni, it was not only interesting and important but revealing that issues related to child abuse with their associated life-threatening diseases and risks such as HIV and AIDS were echoed as important and topical while those related to cattle were of little importance to teachers. Abuse issues ranged from indecent assault, sexual abuse and rape, to neglect, excessive and life-threatening corporal punishment and the use of insulting language. The fact that teachers voiced them and that it was mainly female teachers that did was very important to me as an intergenerational learner. I felt that they were reaching out to me as a teacher and a female and felt more comfortable in relating the children's plight to me than any other researcher despite the topic of my study. A female teacher, Ms Zungu said:

Once research has been done what can be done to assist us – especially with research findings? Especially about rape? What will the Department of Education do with the findings? What will you do? Can your university raise awareness in the community about the rape issues? I would like you to go to Unyezi and tell them about your findings.

I therefore made a decision that I would be the conduit of offering a peep hole view of the children's sufferings as expressed and observed by their teachers within and between the lines and horizons of my subject of concern, while staying true to my research curiosity. I also made a decision to give the NGO feedback on the issues of child abuse.

6.5 PARENT–TEACHER MEETINGS

Act no. 84 of 1996, the South African Schools Act (1996) stipulates provisions for the governance of schools. Parents and teacher meetings are some of the tools prescribed for the smooth running of the school. Having considered the formality and prescription of such meetings, I considered it worthy to investigate aspects of them. I noted that the congruent methods for management of schools may differ from one school to another depending on the different issues that may impact

on their management systems. For instance, some of the schools in the city centres such as Johannesburg, Pretoria and Cape Town might not have issues related to cattle but rather to pets. The difference of opinions between the teachers and parents on particular issues might be considerable as the teacher of Mthekelezi Primary School stated:

Teachers have their rules and parents have their rules. Sometimes there is no cooperation. To parents it seems like teachers are refusing that children take cattle to the dip. We only say they must not be late. Parents must help.

This state of affairs could be combated by the fact that the South African education is still evolving as the roots of apartheid continue to be pulled out. As already stated, that the majority of parents and guardians do not have formal education and find the roles they have to play in school governance sometimes puzzling and many are learning governance related issues as they go along. Parents in these governance structures might not maximise these platforms as relevant to address particular issues.

I did consider attending a parent-teacher meeting to understand the power-knowledge relations and the manner of discussions. On the other hand, parents and teachers might have felt uncomfortable knowing that there was a stranger and researcher in their midst. I asked a number of parents and teachers about the manner the meetings were conducted as well as the agenda items discussed to get a sense of what issues were considered high on the agenda between the two parties.

The issue of parenting is not simple and straightforward but complex, for example, some of the high school learners are parents. Their parents attend high school meetings attended by their daughters who are parents and further attend meetings of their grandchildren. The learner mothers are at times too embarrassed to attend meetings in schools that their children attend or are busy with home and homework tasks. School meetings are mainly attended by female grandparents. When I asked some of the parents about the roles they played at the meeting, they told me that they didn't contribute in the crafting of the agenda but arrive to an already set agenda and more or less listen to the school principal's updates on developments in the school. In view of the fact that I considered my interviews with the elders as an intergenerational exchange meetings and felt that I could offer them solutions as well, I made them aware that they had rights beyond

simply asking questions of clarification or listening to reports and that they could contribute agenda items on issues they felt were worth discussing.

Teacher Mbhamali from Mthekelezi Primary school pointed out that the issue of cattle did feature prominently in the school meeting agenda. Matters that could not wait for the meeting were dealt with through letters. The letters were read for the adults by those children with reading skills and there was an abundance of such parents in the community. In this way, yet again children who read letters for adults have an opportunity to be exposed and understand matters that are deemed of community-school importance and indirectly, mentally mature from such tasks. Community leaders such as gogo Mtshali considered matters that could improve children's learning; as a consequence she was one of the elders that were instrumental in pushing for the construction of a dipping tank that was closer to the schools. Teacher Mbhamali said that the proximity of the dip greatly reduced the number and intensity of conflicts between parents and teachers.

The first conflict intensity reducer, according to teacher Mbhamali, was the decrease in the number of cattle owing to the drought, an interesting comment from someone who used to have 16 cows and now had six because of the drought. The one of the proximity of the dipping tank is the second. One may deduce from her inferences that less cattle numbers are likely to transform interactions and contribute to quality learning interactions. Another matter that she mentioned was that often conflicts were seasonal as children struggled to wake up early in winter times to get to the dipping tank early. The dipping tank committee had made a ruling that the first cattle to be dipped should be those of the dipping tank committee members as they help with the administration of community dipping tank tasks and issues. The second ruling was that cattle being herded by school-going children must receive priority as they cannot be late for school. Everyone else can dip their cattle thereafter. Children who have overslept arrived at school late.

Teacher Mbhamali pointed out that when issues of lateness were discussed, parents pleaded with the school administration to exercise patience as livestock enables them to send their children to school as they can buy uniforms, pay for excursions etc.

6.6 TEACHERS' LIVED EXPERIENCES WITH CATTLE AT HOME

I have indicated that the principal of one of the primary schools set the tone about his relationship with cattle which later informed the manner he interacted with his learners, their parents and on anything and everything that was related to cattle. The principal, who was 44 years of age, was born in the Mpembeni area and grew up with cattle. He said that he was lucky that his parents were not reluctant to take him to school and related his life as a boy and cattle minder by describing how his day began with letting the cattle out to pasture before going to school. In those days the land was demarcated between people's homes, fields and pastures. The government of the day had erected fences and enclosed areas where cattle were herded for grazing. The downside with the pastures was that they were seriously eroded and the grass was of a poor quality; as a result owners of cattle would herd them to far areas away from the settled areas. The other problem was that no one monitored the pasture fence. As a result people stole the fences and poles and used these for fencing their homes and for constructing cattle byres. As a consequence, currently there are no fenced pastures even though some people talked as if they still existed. That absence of fenced pastures greatly contributed to a number of problems. One problem was that very few people practised subsistent crop production because cattle roam the area. Secondly, cattle are all over the place and children absent themselves from school to look after cattle that have gone astray. The third problem was that the number of people who have built homesteads had increased and eaten up traditional grazing lands therefore forcing children to herd cattle further and further away from settlement areas. Traditional wetlands and springs where the cattle drank from, had dried up owing to the number of cattle and increased number of goats. In the principal's view, school holidays were not periods for visiting relatives who worked in the neighbouring towns, which children nowadays did, but it was time to relieve the elders from cattle-related chores. The challenges associated with youngsters having to divide their time between cattle herding and school resulted in many of this principal's peers being pulled out of school by their parents. The principal related some of the reasons his peers had dropped out of school:

It was cattle indeed. They herded cattle and there were no others to herd cattle in their homes.

With others there was poverty and people did not earn much money. It was once in three months that grandmothers got money from the state, not sick people and single unemployed mothers like now. Luckily, I concentrated on school, others left school left and right. I saw education as important.

The principal saw a great deal of improvement between the pre-1994 government and the current one in terms of issues related to cattle which have contributed to improving the quality of education. In the past, dipping tanks were few and far from the people and the current government had brought them closer to the people and also helped rural farmers with cattle feed in times of drought. People have also been given tanks so that they can harvest water from the roof to store water for cattle as the drought intensified. With all these efforts from government, people are still never all satisfied, the teacher said.

When it came to passing on the skills he learnt from herding cattle to his children, the principal confessed that he had not been successful in doing this despite having tried his best with his son. His son displayed zero interest to the point that he would not even attempt to bring them home after grazing. As a result, the principal has employed someone to look after them. His enquiries on reasons for refusing to look after cattle from his son were met with silence and when it is time to look after them he simply disappears. The principal said he was puzzled and did not understand what his son was interested in. His daughter had no interest either. His son had indicated that he wants to pursue a career in teaching like his father.

When I started my study, I was of the view that some of the teachers grew up in homes where cattle were reared and that they, as young ones, were involved in taking care of them. This view was confirmed. At least three teachers indicated that they still kept livestock at their homes. Two of these were female and the one male was a principal at one of the primary schools. Two of these teachers pointed out that they had school-going children who played very minimal roles when it came to cattle care and as a consequence they employed adult males to look after their livestock. In my view, teachers find themselves operating in contexts which might not have complementary values with the ones associated with children's teaching and learning at home and at school. One example of a belief which was echoed by a number of community members was that corporal punishment aids learning and promotes respect in the community context. These elders considered that respect had greatly diminished, children were neglecting their home duties and such values had been corroded by formal schooling and its lack of discipline, which discipline in their view was corporal punishment. Practices such as corporal punishment have been regulated against in the school context, though there are instances where the law is violated and corporal punishment is

administered, as was stated by some of the children who arrived late to school, owing to their cattle duties.

One primary school teacher, Mrs Mbhele, indicated that even though theoretical and practical agriculture was not offered at school, agriculture-related skills were acquired from home tasks. Teachers gave examples of how these were acquired in their own homes:

Even though there is no agriculture we also have cattle. We ask them to check that they have no ticks, they are not hurt. I was away for a workshop and my 10 year-old son reported that the goat gave birth to two kids and that they died and when I asked what the cause was, he told me that they were very small.

The acquisition of such skills was confirmed by another teacher, Mrs Mhlongo, who said:

I agree with Mrs Mbhele. We also have gardens at home. But because of the droughts, some don't. The young ones also help. My son knows that his task is to water the garden. We make compost with my children. We plant seedlings and they separate and plant them, a skill they will never forget.

In Mrs Mbhele's view, schools were not too far in their embrace of cultural values and customs even though agriculture was not offered as a subject despite the content being taught not being closely aligned to what children learn in their homes. This 'not too far' was based on the fact that in her area, the grazing areas were fenced and that a decision had been made at the school not to punish learners that arrive late from cattle care-related activities. The point that they did not punish the learners was in her view evidence that they understood cattle tasks and embraced them. Their approach had minimised conflicts between parents and teachers.

What is interesting and evident from the accounts of these teachers is that the enthusiastic interest for looking after cattle they have or/and were brought up with, have not been transferred to their children. The intense and involved intergenerational learning that was witnessed in the homesteads, such as the Mtshali's, is not encountered in the homesteads of the teachers. In homes where the main source for sustainable livelihoods was based on livestock, the values of looking after cattle were drummed in from an earlier age. Even though some of the children claimed they would pursue careers not related to farming, they still considered having livestock and mainly cattle as part of their lives. The son of the principal who is in formal employment made no consideration whatsoever for livestock in his later life. It was of notable interest as well that the teacher parents

spent some of their income paying for the services from others for looking after cattle rather than either drumming in the values of looking after cattle or encouraging those they employ to teach their children to do so.

These teachers' reactions to their children's reluctance to learn skills associated with looking after cattle speaks volumes about their considerations for cattle as a medium of cultural expression. More so, within the school contexts where the curriculum statements do not highly scaffold the promotion of values associated with this livelihood strategy. In the bigger scheme of things, cited by the principal on dwindling grazing lands, the increased number of homesteads, unfenced grazing lands, droughts, an interest in looking after cattle is dwindling amongst the youth. This is despite the construction of more dipping tanks, subsidised cattle feed in times of drought and water harvesting tanks. My reading of the relationship between the teacher parents and their children is that there is very limited intergenerational learning that takes place between parent and child, child to parent in comparison with what happens in the other homesteads such as the Mtshali one when it comes to cattle as a medium of cultural expression. There is also none taking place between the person employed to look after cattle and the children of the teachers. If the teachers are not going out of their way to instil the values associated with food security, agriculture and looking after livestock in their homes, why would they be expected to do so within the school context? It is indeed a landscape of shifted priorities and constantly shifting priorities (see Janse van Rensburg, 1994) when it comes to home and school-based values.

Looking 40 years back, I see two scenarios. One is similar to that of the principal. When he was herding cattle, there was a keen interest from his parents to send him to school and at the same time, instil values in him to look after cattle. The second one was that of parents who were pulling their children out of school to look after cattle. There has been a great shift since then. In the current times, the shift is towards school rather than with learning skills associated with values derived from looking after cattle. This is not only happening with teacher parents but with also with those parents who indicated that children come home with homework from school and have to be excused from duties related to cattle. As a result, those parents/guardians mind cattle from dawn till sunset. The relief only comes in school holidays, that is if the children do not visit their parents in the nearby small towns. The balance that the principal's parents were successful in achieving with him is rare but not impossible. The case of the traditional healer, an expert in healing livestock is testimony to that. He proudly asserted that his son is studying veterinary science at Mangosuthu

Technikon and that he is all the richer and wiser as his son shares back with him what he is learning in college and this, for him with his unschooled traditional knowledge, makes him the happiest.

6.7 TEACHERS AS PARENTS AND SOCIAL WORKERS

When one of the primary school teachers at Inqubeko specifically mentioned that they are more than simply teachers to the children they taught, I could relate this to the common view and value that Ubuntu is rooted in. That value is that there is no woman that is barren as every child may call any adult their age a mother and that mothers in turn need to convey motherly behaviour to any children in their care. The comment that “Sometimes there is no cooperation between schools and the social workers” was made twice by a teacher 15km away from Inqubeko, which is evidence that in schools of reasonable distances apart feel they need more social worker support. The problems she mentioned were rape of children (male and female) by relatives and she said that cases of incest were rife in the community. As a result, she found that the children she taught were sexually aware and drew detailed and involved sexual images, rather than playful images or images of tasks or objects related to things such as cattle. This alludes to the fact that children’s exposure to acts that are denigrating of a community may also be learnt and seed deviant behaviours in the young. It is for reasons such as these that virginity testing was done and boys could have benefitted from testing as their abuse is not understood, ignored and cannot be proven without checking penetration.

6.7.1 Rape and child abuse

Other issues that made teachers feel as if their roles were extended beyond teaching into the privacy of homes was that of rape, virginity testing-related issues and livestock traumas that children suffered. HIV and AIDS issues in the community have further complicated the teaching of health-related matters. When one teacher taught about traditional medicine and the use of herbs for treating stomach cramps, de-wormers as a result of cross infections between livestock and humans caused by faecal consumption by cattle or pigs, a response from one child was shocking. The teacher had been teaching them about the use of anal stomach rinses. This girl told her that the way her uncle administered a stomach rinse to her, vaginally was very painful as it was a penal penetration. My point with this example is to show the need for third space discussions in the context of school about traditional practices and the misunderstandings that can be generated by

children which may make culturally unacceptable behaviours to be understood as the norm. As much as I will not go into them in detail, I will highlight them with hope that other researchers will take them on and research them in detail. I feel duty bound to raise awareness about such issues even though they might have fallen out of my research boundaries. To raise awareness and teach about reporting rape, as well as encourage her learners to report rape-related incidents, Phumzile Manqele, a Foundation Phase teacher, wrote and forced her learners to rote learn and recite the following poem. She recited and performed it for me:

Bhuti, Malume, Baba, Mkhulu

Uyephu nembeza?

Ngizokwethemba bani

Ubusy uyangiheha

Ngoswidi, imali

Hhayi bo malume

Musukungithinta lapho (touches the vaginal area)

Umama, unesi

Ongithinta lapho

Uzongithelela ngobhubhane lwe HIV

Bese ngifonela amaphoyisa

Ngithi 101111

My brother my uncle my father and grandfather

Where is your conscience?

Who will I trust?

You are busy trying to entice me

With money and sweets

No please my uncle

Don't touch me there (touches the vaginal area)

My mother and nurse

Can touch me there.

You will infect me with the HIV virus

I will then phone the police at 101111

(also, see Lotz-Sisitka, 2014 on child abuse and rape of children)

6.7.2 HIV and AIDS issues and agriculture

I had not made a link between HIV and AIDS and food security. It surfaced when one teacher pointed out that in her class of 45, at least 10 children were HIV positive and that the death of cattle and sparse vegetation meant that the children were less nourished. Since cows with young calves could not be milked and the milk was preserved for the calves, many young children could not have milk. With empty stomachs, they could not take their HIV medication. Wild fruit and wild spinach were hardly available. This is what the teacher said:

We find that there are sick children. Some of them are HIV positive and we need to make sure that they take their medication. That is why the feeding schemes are important. We make sure that they follow up on their medication.

This statement made me question the lack of an alignment of the curriculum to food security as a response to HIV Aids treatment which worried me, as per Khupe and Keane (2017, p. 30):

Severe poverty means that children often go to school not having eaten, or they stay away from school because of obligations to household chores.

I wondered if curriculum developers and the Department of Basic Education considered hours per day that a child spends at school a year in the care of teachers, as well as the number of children receiving Antiretrovirals (ARVS) and issues of nutrition in the long term. Had this been taken into consideration, feeding schemes should have been scaffolded by curricula that consider community nutritioning. The fact that the curriculum does not explicitly consider practical skills that children had learnt at home related to home nutritioning is problematic

The relationship between school nutritioning could go much further than creating unsustainable dependencies on government. School gardens that supplement school feeding schemes are critical in challenging community beliefs that are disempowering and promote consumerism. Gogo Mtshali who has guava, avocado, peach, mango trees pointed out that many neighbours ask for fruits from her and refuse to plant trees. She said she found the ongoing belief that the planting of trees in homesteads contributed to the increase of homestead deaths, problematic. There was no correlation between what they were saying and doing because they still came to her home to ask if they could pick fruit. In my view, school gardens with orchards would challenge such views and promote intergenerational learning from the school to the home. The many homesteads in the community that were impacted on heavily by the drought and the death of cattle could have

benefitted with vegetables from the school. The schools are more secure and fenced even though there are holes here and there, compared to homesteads and their gardens. They are also manned full-time by security guards who could provide security for the school produce and ward cattle off. My observation at the Mtshali homestead was that the children were taught skills of water conservation and recycling as every 2 litre bottle they found was filled with water for use in the garden. The dung from the cattle was also harvested and used for the home gardens. Brokering relationships between home and schools would be beneficial for school gardens and community homesteads could be the supplier of compost for such gardens. Five kilograms of compost from every child could contribute to vibrant community gardens and contribute much value to theoretical and practical teaching in the school (see Ikas, & Wagner, 2009; Bhabha 1994, 1996, Kayira 2013, Sterrett 2015, Kramsch 2009, O'Donoghue 2014, also O'Donoghue figure 3.2.).

The particular issue here is the fact that there is little curriculum dialogue taking place between the Department of Agriculture and curriculum developers. School feeding schemes are the domain of the Department of Basic Education and the Department of Agriculture hardly has a role in the matter. They should be playing in promoting agriculture in schools as Agriculture is their core mandate. Food security in South Africa requires more involved constructive curriculum talks that are futuristic and promote practical agricultural programmes in schools that are congruent for particular settings and communities which learners can also implement at homes to promote sustainable livelihoods.

My views on gardens were in concurrence with the principal of the primary school who grew up with cattle and currently owned some. He said that if he was involved in curriculum development processes, this is what he would do:

I would take agriculture and put it at primary school as it is not there and would insist that primary schools have gardens.

6.7.3 Traumas experienced by children as a result of livestock related duties

Biblical justification for corporal punishment was made by a teacher who lamented its removal from schools and claimed traditional cultural values promoted it as a tool for keeping the child alert. One teacher related an incident which made me think that there may be similar situations:

Another child came to school with raw scars around the neck as if he was trying to commit suicide. He told me that two goats had gone missing and when they found the one they tied it around his neck and the goat kept on dragging him. They went to look for the other one. He was released when the other had been found. I asked the grandmother to come to school. She never showed up and the child was never taken to the clinic, I ended up bringing medication and applying it on the child. I was very sad. I used my zambuk salb and ointment on the child.

Scenarios such as these, though abusive, reveal perceptions held by parents that there is growing laxity when it comes to children taking their responsibilities of looking after cattle seriously. Therefore, what is considered as negligence which results in the loss of livestock must be dealt with seriously. I have reported in Chapter 5 how one child said that the grandfather insulted him and another boy who resided at his homestead. He further hit them with his knobkerrie when the family cattle went astray and ended up stuck in the mud in a dam. Corporal punishment that is unforgettable induces pain as well as leaves physical and lifetime scars which are referred to in isiZulu as *ihamba beyibuza* (scars that elicit questioning from those who see them, even strangers) are likely to be considered as worthy of retelling the cause and thus function as a deterrent. Young ones who see the evidence of neglect would make sure that they avoid making the same mistake. The one who made the mistake would be sure not to commit it again as well, according to those who administer the punishment. Perceptions like these and the administering of corporal punishment should be avoided at all costs and create a hatred for the task that the child is supposed to carry out. Punishments like these do not aid positive intergenerational learning but promote traumas associated with looking after livestock. The boy who was beaten by his grandfather when the cattle were stuck in the mud said that he hated cattle and that even though he may consider having them, he would beat up his children if they did not consider their cattle herding tasks seriously.

6.8 THE PLACE OF CULTURAL CONTENT SUCH AS CATTLE IN THE AGRICULTURE AND CREATIVE ARTS CURRICULA IN THE FURTHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING PHASE

As much as my research focus is mainly on the Foundation Phase, I had an interest in understanding how Agriculture was dealt with in the Further Education and Training Band (FET) when it had not been taught at the Foundation, Intermediate and Senior Phases. Creative Arts, with its potential for

intergenerational learning and the sharing of indigenous and local related knowledge and content seemed to hold promise for possessing and addressing the issues related to my research curiosity.

6.8.1 Unpacking the Agriculture and Creative Arts Curriculum and learning processes at the senior Phase and Further Education and Training level

I interviewed two male teachers at one of the local high schools. One taught Creative Arts (Mr Ngobese) from Grades 8 to 9 while the other (Mr Siyaya) taught Agricultural Sciences from Grades 10 to 12.

It puzzles me that currently in South Africa, Agriculture is offered as an elective despite a number of challenges that the country faces such as job creation, food security and climate change. As much as it would be interesting to unearth the factors that convinced the crafters of the curriculum that Agriculture should be an elective, it would be a distraction from the aims of my study to try and find out the reasons for their decisions.

The statistics for youth unemployment currently (in 2017) sat at 67% (Peyper, 2017). The efforts of community development agents in teaching local people subsistence skills, for example, the breeding of chicken, have been thwarted by the dumping of massive and a cheaper 22 154 tons of chicken from the USA between January and December 2016 pushing local entrepreneurs out of business (Kapuya, 2017). With regard to the number of cattle deaths, a report in the *Mail & Guardian* by Kings (29 January 2016) stated that “Tens of thousands have died in separately reported incidents in different provinces, with KwaZulu-Natal reporting about 100 000 last year”. I shudder to think of the loss of the variety of indigenous seed species at the introduction of GMO seeds and its impact on the health of those already compromised by HIV and AIDS-related opportunistic diseases. The negative impact on the populace as well as the national fiscus must be huge. A report by Omarjee (2017) stated that 55.5% of South Africans were living in poverty in the face of trillions of South African Rands (ZAR) that have been lost to poor financial management in state institutions. South Africa has become a country of hardly any consequence for blue collar crimes. Calls from the landless majority on the redistribution of land are on the increase and have been joined by members of the ruling party, the very crafters of the current curriculum (Smith, 2017). The calls are taking place concurrently without a clear strategy on the path towards working the land and an intergenerational transfer of skills to achieve food security in the face of climate

change and desperately needed knowledge and skills to combat it. There is also a compelling need for the intergenerational transferral of skills across the races as part of social cohesion (Cloete, kotze, Groenewald, 2009). An emotional and political transfer of land without long-term strategies (Herman, 2017) could in my view plunge South Africa into the problems Zimbabwe experienced which pushed it from being the food basket of southern Africa to becoming southern Africa's begging bowl. Zimbabwe was previously the fertile ground for visionary futuristic programmes with concern for sustainable livelihood strategies such as the Campfire programme (Frost & Bond, 2008). I am illuminating all these social, political and economic issues which might at face value seem unrelated to my subject of research, yet they are multi-pronged, webbed and impact and influence the outlook on South Africa's future.

6.8.2 CAPS for Agriculture

At the Further Education and Training Band there were three Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements that were related to Agriculture and all were electives. These were Agricultural Technology, Agricultural Management Practices and Agricultural Sciences. Based on my nagging worries, as already expressed in this chapter, it was worth my while therefore to unpack and interrogate the outcomes to be derived from the teaching of Agriculture at the FET level and generate an understanding of the level at which they are realised within the school context. I desired to understand the extent to which these statements matched the reality of schools such as those in Mpembeni. Worth investigation as well were the opportunities availed by the curriculum statements and the contexts of learning for hybrid third spaces as possibilities for modifying or realising the said statements to untangle curriculum deliberations from the shackles of postcoloniality. I also wanted to know how these statements challenged the pre-1994 curricula of this subject, promoted intergenerational learning, as well as the values associated with food security at home such as subsistence livestock production and management. As much as my focus and analysis in this chapter are based on Agricultural Sciences, it is worth sharing all the outcomes that address agriculture at its broadest so that one is not seen as narrowly focusing on one subject area when others compensate for what one does not offer. It is for this reason therefore that I have listed those of Agricultural Management Practices and Agricultural Technology as well.

"Agricultural Management Practices is the study and application of production, economic and management principles that are used in the cultivation, transformation and marketing of food and

other agricultural products” (Agricultural Management Practices, DBE, 2011d, p. 8). According to the policy document the relevance of this elective is its value adding on the economic, aesthetic, social and cultural value of agricultural products. The Agricultural Management Practices elective subject articulated its expectations from the learning processes as follows (ibid., pp.8-9):

- Understand the social contribution of Agricultural Management Practice to promote a culture of human rights. Economic growth and sustainability as a tool for change, improve quality of life and provide solutions that are responsive to individual and community needs;
- **Adopt a positive attitude towards rural lifestyles associated with farming;**
- Help with the management of farming enterprise and be aware of the discipline that is required by a well organised farm;
- Organise and manage activities responsibly and effectively collect, analyse, critically evaluate and present agricultural information;
- Master and apply the skills they gain;
- Communicate effectively by using verbal, written, verbal, graphical and electronic communication skills and mathematical skills and applied management practices;
- **Be competent, informed and responsible citizens in the field of agriculture, and care for the environment by addressing indigenous knowledge (IK) and social issues;**
- Think creatively and critically in an agribusiness management environment;
- Care for the environment through the management of natural resources and the acceptable treatment of animals and plants;
- Acquire and use relevant technology in agriculture; and
- Access and value life-long learning and possible career opportunities.

In my theoretical examination of this elective, I was convinced that it is compellingly to a high degree, true to its name and purpose. Its focus is on high production geared for large markets. I was not convinced, however, that the two expectations that I bolded (my emphasis) were strongly presented in the topics of the electives in the curriculum. There is mention of subsistence farming as another method though. Considering that the learners are supposed to do mini research projects, it is likely that the last point of expectations is met, as well as intergenerational learning. My assessment is, of course based, on my interaction with the CAPS rather than observation of classroom practice and engagement with the portfolios of their research work. The constant reference of seeing livestock as occurring mainly in farms or for farms has been carried from the

Foundation Phase CAPS on Life Skills to this level. I sought for spaces of expression for alternative crop and animal production and management processes, farming methods, plans and designs such as, for instance, mixed cropping, permaculture, varied-culture farming (an opposite of monoculture) in the face of global climatic challenges and there was none.

Agricultural Technology on the other hand “focuses on technological means used in agriculture ... based on the knowledge of how processes, tools, equipment, structure, skills are utilised by farms to cultivate agricultural land Thus sustaining and maintaining the quality of life and increasing economic, aesthetic and sound cultural values” (Agricultural Technology DBE, 2011e, p. 8). Agricultural Technology is another elective (DBE, 2011e, p. 6). The learning outcomes for this elective were expressed as follows:

- Understand the social contribution of Agricultural Technology
- Identify and solve problems in an Agricultural Technology environment using critical, innovative and creative thinking in order to develop the creative potential of learners;
- Communicate effectively using verbal and written communication in Agricultural Technology;
- Organise and manage activities responsibly and effectively collect, analyse, organise, critically evaluate and present information;
- Use science and technology effectively and critically, showing responsibility and accountability towards the environment and the rights and health of others; and
- **Show an understanding of the relevant indigenous knowledge, values and attitudes which relate to Agricultural Technology.**

The technique of examining the Agricultural Management Practices elective was used in my exploration of this Agricultural Technology elective. I arrived at the conclusion that it was preparing a career for learners who are technically gifted and who derive pleasure from working alongside plant and animal farmers. I came to no evidence in my examination of the topics as to how the expectation expressed in the last bullet could be arrived at. The same could be said as for Agricultural Management, that I was not privy to observations of teaching nor evidence in the portfolios of their research work.

The elective I had more interest in investigating was defined as “Agricultural Sciences is the study of the relationship between soils, plants and animals in the production and processing of food, fibre, fuel and other agricultural commodities that have an economic, aesthetic and cultural value”. The outcomes stipulated under the Agricultural Sciences (DBE, 2011c, p. 08) are listed as follows:

- Develop an awareness of the management and care of the environment, natural resources and the humane treatment of animals through application of science and related technology;
- Develop problem-solving mechanisms within the contexts of agricultural production, processing and marketing practices;
- Be aware of the social and economic development of the society at large through personal development in commercial and subsistence farming practices;
- Become informed and addressing social justice issues; and
- Be aware of agricultural indigenous knowledge and practices through understanding agricultural sciences in historical and social contexts.

More thought and detail was given to the production of the Agricultural Sciences elective as evidenced by what has been detailed in the subject topics. It covered a wide range of agricultural subjects. The descriptions of each elective and stipulated accompanying outcomes were well thought-out and complemented the other two electives already described. It is a dilemma that they are not incremental with progression from one grade to the other to give one a complete qualification on agriculture when one completes matric. Another problematic is that there is no one subject that has a combination of all three. Consistent and common in the definition of each one is that they must contribute to promoting societal cultural values. There is hardly anywhere in the curriculum and in the topics selected that guidance is offered on how these societal values will be adhered to or promoted. Agriculture is holistically represented as focusing on both animal and plant studies and associated activities and processes, however more with an industrial and commercial slant, rather than/and inclusive of subsistent agricultural farming methods.

I interviewed a teacher of Agricultural Sciences in one of the Mpembeni high schools and it is worth sharing his views and teaching experiences and my insights and relate them to my analysis of the elective.

6.8.3 Agricultural Sciences – A teacher's perception

"It is a curriculum for imaginations." – teacher at a Mpembeni high school

The realities between the curriculum and what happens on the ground at school were revealing and concerning. A teacher of Agricultural Sciences in one of the Mpembeni high schools confirmed that Agricultural Sciences was indeed an optional subject and gave a background to the curriculum and the phases of teaching certain topics which was in consistence with the CAPS in the subject. He was of the view that there was some knowledge that children bring to schools which enhances their lessons and when I tried to probe, there was no tangible evidence or specifics he could relate to.

What was apparent in his views was that, as much as there was a great need to teach agricultural Sciences in the area, there were enormous challenges that stood in the way of reaching the CAPS-prescribed capability expectations. The three main challenges he alluded to were the school infrastructure, curriculum support resources and community attitudes related to agriculture as a subject. The first was that despite the fact that the school had a fenced garden, it did not have a water tank. The drought had impacted on the teaching of agriculture greatly as the bulk of the teaching had become theoretical and took place within the four walls of the classroom. The practical lessons that the teacher referred to mainly involved soil testing. The second challenge was the expense of agriculture as a subject to teach compared to other subjects. The teacher further indicated that he could not expose the learners to practical agriculture projects, programmes and farms within reach of the school, as most parents could not afford the finances this required. In my view, the drought had increased poverty levels in the area as most of the homestead considered livestock as their banks. Excursions to most parents were considered as fun time which required the learners being given spending money as well. The teacher's only option was taking the learners to a farm close to the nearby Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Park; the regional agricultural college called Cwaka was financially beyond reach. He had not invited lecturers or learners to exchange disciplinary knowledge on the subject.

The teacher's laments also indicated his powerlessness and an idealisation of the past of plentiness:

We used to plant in the garden before. We would sell the vegetables. Some would be ready when schools have closed. We would sell the products. The problems are that agriculture has been

reduced to a theory subject. Livestock diseases are just a theory. The community also creates solutions to cattle diseases that we hear from the children. In the curriculum it is specified that a certain aloe can be pounded and the cow must drink it when the placenta is not coming out and then it comes out. Agriculture is not taken seriously. It must be compulsory, some schools used to offer Agriculture but have dropped it. Because of the lack of government support.

At the Mtshali homestead, the lack of tap water did not stop them from growing crops. The children collected all the two-litre cold drink bottles they could find, which were filled with rain water and kept in the garden for watering in times of water scarcity. The whole school population could have saved the school garden if every child had brought a two-litre bottle of water to school for gardening. Instead, the reliance was on the school garden tank which was fed with municipal tap water which was rationed and only available once a week and usually on weekends. Exchanges of knowledge between the school and community on matters like these were critical but missing. These were times that demanded that they find each other to solve community home and school challenges imposed by water scarcity.

The appeal for learners to take Agriculture as a subject was very low because of the challenges already expressed. Only a few learners took Agriculture as an elective. The school allocated the bulk of their resources to the popular and compulsory subjects, leaving electives such as Agricultural Sciences in a needy state. An attitudinal issue and commonly-held misconception was that:

The students believe that agriculture is a dirty job and there are no office jobs, you are outside all the time; students used to be punished with agriculture activities but not anymore, that was in the past. There are people employed here to keep the school clean, they don't even pick up a paper.

Even though the teacher knew about these misconceptions, there is no expressed evidence of what he did to challenge and undo them. It seemed to me that they rather created a paralysis and he did not believe that he could change them. His statement further indicated the divergent views that parents, community members and the learners attached to agriculture. The view that the teacher is sharing here may promote the thinking that school is not for doing or learning what is done at home, such as learning to look after cattle. The view may well be that looking after cattle may be considered as common-sensical and the knowledge of community elders considered as common sense, as the curriculum did not even make room for them to share their knowledge nor participate

in activities that are considered as belonging in the domain of school. This misconception clearly indicates that the considerations of school and home/pasture as environments that teach different forms of knowledge in compartmentally different ways and processes, is not one only held by teachers, but also by parents. Activities such as cleaning the yard, which I have referred to having participated in at gogo Mtshali's after one of her cows ate plastic, are considered as normal within the homestead context. The hiring of people to clean the school yard and collect the litter, pushes the children further and further away from a relationship with soil. The consideration of agricultural activities they do at home as forms of punishment also alienated learners from agriculture and therefore they would not consider careers in agriculture in the long-term. The future career choices that the younger children in Chapter 5 considered were mostly in fields other than agriculture. Having livestock was considered as something they could do as a part-time activity or a culture servicing activity. The need to promote the importance of agriculture in the school by important stakeholders such as professionals in the field was missing.

Regarding my attempt to access whether there was any relationship between the school and the community in terms of sharing local or/and indigenous methods of farming, the teacher had this to say:

We have never invited community elders. The curriculum does not provide for them. The emphasis on the curriculum is crops for consumption. It is a disadvantage there is a link between life sciences and agriculture and some areas are handled there. We need to do soils analysis as well to prepare the soil for planting. We need to fertilise the soil.

This in essence means that the intergenerational learning that took place at school was only between teacher and learner. The relationship between the curriculum content and what the learners could identify with was unavailable as the teacher pointed out that the cattle fodder that the curriculum refers to such as lucerne, legumes and rye was something the learners had never seen.

The lack of transport and money to buy compost from the kraals in the community was another obstacle. In my view, this means that at this time of the area experiencing a serious drought, the learners could not provide problem-solving knowledge to save the dying cattle (goats were not as threatened by the drought). The cattle-owning community could not support the agricultural activities happening at school such as providing compost owing to the lack of transport; in the Mtshali

homestead, it was used for gardening. It is for such reasons that one teacher at a Mpembeni high school referred to the subject he taught as 'one of imaginations'.

The teacher's views on the purpose of learning and on deterrents of bad behaviour was interesting. According to him, the function of tests was confusing and there was too much emphasis on testing. As a teacher, he felt he was teaching for testing rather than for learning. If the child passed the tests, the parents were happy. The girls were vaginally tested to stop them from engaging in sexual behaviour and if they passed the test, the parents were happy. I understood what the teacher was saying here was that both forms of testing, which were community-imposed and school-imposed, were problematic and served to create pride rather than promote lifelong learning. They were event-related and did not contribute much to instilling stronger societal values, nor the creation of secure futures.

The same teacher was of the view that boys were becoming more and more neglected by society as the attention had shifted to the girl child who was celebrated in ceremonies that are nationally prioritised such as the reed dance. The girl child was monitored and vaginally tested and less exposed to rape. This meant that the rape of boys was on the increase as they were not tested for penetration. Secondly, the fact that the boys looked after cattle and had to herd them for distances away for auctions, as well as take them to the dipping tank, meant that they missed more classes than girls. They were also in areas which were desolate and exposed to rape and ritual murderers. They were often punished for arriving late to school if they had extended cattle responsibilities at home. The teacher lived in the area where dipping had been moved to Saturday. He considered this as a good arrangement that relieved the boy child considerably from the burden of two worlds – the school and home – and fulfilling their divergent expectations.

What I further gathered from the teacher was that a number of schools that offered agriculture in the region had declined as the number of school principals were dropping agriculture as a subject. "Agriculture is dying in schools, it is a serious problem that is why it is being phased out. There are two Agriculture teachers here and when we retire or die Agriculture will not be offered here," he said. This was of great concern to him as Mbopha, Nondumiso and Somfula were the only schools that were offering this elective which would be a big challenge to food security in the future. He said that the blame could not only be apportioned to the Department of Education but to

community leaders who settled people on grazing and farming lands which minimised areas where the children could practise what they learnt. He recommended that a module on education be offered alongside agriculture as none existed and teachers like him did not have the skills to encourage learners to take the subject seriously and they also lacked initiatives as they were not trained as school teachers.

In a nutshell, my exposure to a lone teacher who was overwhelmed by the challenges that the school infrastructure, the lack of curriculum support resources and an elective that very few learners were interested in urged me to look further into another subject, Creative Arts. I thought that Creative Arts could shed light as a subject within which content significant to intergenerational learning and local and indigenous knowledge of relevance to the community could be found.

6.8.4 Creative Arts – Teacher’s perceptions

Creative Arts was a compulsory subject in Grades 7 and 9. I interviewed a male Creative Arts teacher from the school where the agriculture teacher whose views I have just shared and analysed taught and a female one from a school about 20 km from this one.

Heritage month is considered an important month for the school with Heritage Day regarded as a day of celebration. Creative Arts as a subject was previously called Arts and Culture. The focus of the subject is fine art and technical art. The previous subject called Home Economics is part of this subject now. Both teachers have never considered involving community members in the teaching of the subject nor assistance with rehearsals as most of the teachers are locals and know the rituals, practices and the dances.

Both teachers’ views were similar in terms of what was considered the subject’s curriculum content. They considered the performative arts, cultural rituals as well as virginity testing as the main features of the curriculum and as activities that the curriculum constructors would have sanctioned and considered relevant for their contexts and community. In the words of one teacher, “it was a subject where they exhibited talents with each gender sticking to culturally gender defined roles”. They had the liberty to be creative and select what they considered as well as what was prescribed in the subject policy document. While transport was not provided for compost and the excursions to agricultural institutions for the agriculture teacher, according to his colleagues

transport was provided for virginity testing by government. The inclusion of rituals broadly included an inclusion and acknowledgement of the practices of other religions.

Elders had indicated that they felt excluded from school activities and teaching what they know best. The teacher said that she had not thought about inviting them but welcomed the idea as a good one worth trying, as, according to her, they were the ones who knew the reasons behind the ethics and customs. As teachers, they concentrated on the performative, neglecting the stories and ethics behind them.

Prior to making this consideration, the lady teacher had justified not inviting community elders:

In this school it is that there is limited space and time even though the community has lots of information. The other reason could be the time management and elders could take too much time. It is also that we look down upon them because we are educated. We are guided by the recommendations as specified by the Department. The Department of Basic Education does not specify using elders in their materials.

Some of what the learners learn is gender role-defined and as the girls make traditional meals which they bring to school, I was interested in finding out if any of the cattle-related skills and practices were incorporated, including some of the games that boys used to traditionally play while they were herding cattle. I was interested to know if cattle as a subject featured in their art and sculpting and if aspects such as their colours were given attention. The teacher's response was:

I hear about it but I don't focus on it. The problem is that in the syllabus there are four areas and you are restricted on choosing only two. That means that children who have capacity and talents in the other two you have not selected are left out. There is Dance, Music, Visual Arts and Drama. From these you choose two.

In her Grade 8 class, this teacher had 68 students and 66 in Grade 9. Creative Arts was regarded as a popular subject and taught on the sports field and was greatly enjoyed by the students because of the outdoors. It is taught outdoors because there was no hall and a shortage of classroom space. She did not consider inviting elders to teach dances to the learners because "they were taught the dances at home by community elders and were brought up with these dances and I also learn a lot from them". The songs and dances that were chosen for performances had to be ethical and

educative and address community problems such as drugs etc. Vulgar and non-ethical content was also not permitted. She had never considered doing a play that foregrounded cattle but would consider it as cattle are part of the children's culture.

6.9 THE ROLE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

The role of the state in the management of livestock in communal areas has its roots in the colonial history of the past and according to Bruckner (2014), it became more formalised with the eventual formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. This colonial imposition, as traced by Mwatwara (2014) in Zimbabwe, has commonalities with that of South Africa. In his Chapter 3 of *Detached Harmonies*, O'Donoghue (1997) explored in detail the ways in which Zulu people had come to know about the land, the wildlife and cattle. Such knowledge had been shared from generation to generation and people had learnt to co-exist with wildlife and cattle as well as manage the spread of diseases between game and cattle. Evidence of such knowledge can be traced back to the travels of William Ngidi, Ndiwane and Magera Fuze as far back as 1859 (Edgecombe, 1982 in O'Donoghue 1996, p. 72).

The continued roles and presence of the state through the various Departments of Agriculture in communal areas created a dependency on the services rendered by the state. As a consequence, the community is highly reliant on the services of the livestock inspectors/extension officers who are employed by the Department of Agriculture. They work hand in glove with the dipping tank committee members of each area they are assigned to. These committees are headed by the dipping tank master of that particular area who is expected to relay all he has learnt to his committee. It is the norm in the KZN rural areas to have a male dipping master who works with a majority of male committee members. These committee members in turn share what they have learnt with community members, who further share their knowledge with the children livestock minders. I thought it worth investigating the likely intergenerational learnings in this complex chain and interviewed two livestock inspectors. They were very informative on the relationships they had with the communities they served, which relationships were further gleaned from conversations with other community members. My other interest was motivated by the historical and colonial roles those who held these positions before them played in colonial times. These were forced upon the local livestock owners to manage and minimise the spread of diseases between livestock and

wild animals and, according to Bruckner (2014), worked under the local state veterinarians (see also Mtatwara, 2014). Drawing on the work of O'Donoghue (1996), it is evident that there existed amongst the Zulu, a wealth of local indigenous knowledge on how to deal with these.

The male livestock inspector I interviewed had worked with the community for at least 20 years while the female one had done for at least three years. I chose to interview a male and a female livestock inspector to get an understanding of how a female one was perceived in a role that the community recognised as predominantly male. I further sought to comprehend how their training had progressed from pre-1994 times to the current times and the extent to which it had transformed from its colonial roots, if at all. I felt that the newer female officer could share her insights with me as the memories of her training were more recent. In Chapter 5, I indicated that most of the children displayed no interest in careers associated with livestock and thought to explore the reasons for this from these two as well.

6.9.1 Evidence of colonial roles

The loss of cattle and the suffering that the Zulu people experienced at the time I was collecting data for this study because of drought and climate change reminded me of a struggle against the loss of cattle in the same area as a result of nagana in the 1920s. Competing wildlife conservation efforts and those of white farmers in common lands increased the spread of the tsetse fly transmitted disease called *nagana*, a cattle disease caused by the trypanosome parasite. The Zulu had avoided grazing cattle and buffalo in the same area and grasses in which buffalo grazed on were burnt and buffalo driven off it. Imposed wildlife and cattle management strategies by the colonial administration, coupled with other ways of dealing with cattle, brought in other complications that included the spraying of the area with potent chemicals such as dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane (DDT). This was at the expense of undermining ways that the locals had observed to control the spread of nagana. According to O'Donoghue (1996, p. 105):

The Zulu repeatedly lost numerous cattle in the roughly ten yearly occurrences of mass outbreaks of nagana. It was, however, to be the impact of the nagana on colonial farming interests that brought on the periodic organised hunts into the 1920s and the later game eradication campaigns.

O'Donoghue (1996) pointed to the link between the saliva of the wildlife on the grass which the Zulu people maintained spread nagana if cattle ate it. Numerous research investigations of grass

and the blood of the infected animals revealed the tsetse fly as the cause of the disease by colonial researchers. This resulted in the conclusion that wildlife and cattle should have separate grazing areas, a conclusion that Zulu livestock owners had made even before the arrival of the colonialists. The credit of knowing and expertise about cattle and wildlife was bestowed by colonial administrators to colonial researchers shifting and ignoring the source which had directed their research efforts and produced the results. To avert more nagana disasters (O'Donoghue, 1996, p. 119) said of the colonial scientists:

there was a need to influence and guide the life-worlds of people. An imperative to control and to influence others thus began to develop in a time of specialisation.

The reason for sharing this much detail from the O'Donoghue study is purposely aimed at pointing out some of the processes that led to the entry of colonial administrators in reserves that were designated as residential areas for livestock owners and the forced dipping of cattle. The O'Donoghue study serves as a backdrop explaining the growth of reliance on knowledge from the livestock inspectors by local communities. The peripherising of their knowledge over the years by colonial interventions explains the increased reliance on injections recommended by the livestock inspectors over traditional medicines. Community livestock owners had also developed eloquent and self-convincing reasons for abandoning the use of traditional medicines vis-à-vis trying to learn and improve on efficient ways of administering it. The local people have learnt the many colonial ways of looking after cattle, which ways have replaced the cultural knowledge that was shared by father to eldest son and down to the youngest of sons.

Furthermore, the absence in the CAPS in the three electives of Agriculture of the Zulu story of cattle, the lack of prescriptions to improve the proficiency of skills for reading their colours and horns, as well as the local ways of managing them is a continuation of the centring of colonial ways of knowing. There is evidence of the continuation of some of the ways of knowing inherited from colonial administrators that defines the relationship between the community and the livestock inspectors. For instance, I asked the livestock inspector if he encouraged local people to use traditional medicines. His response was:

No I don't encourage them, because I don't know it myself.

I also found the disruption of schooling, whether formal or informal, that came about with the enforcing of dipping cattle by colonial administrators and the neo-colonial extension services, to be

problematic. The fact that the Department of Education and that of Agriculture have not explored ways to avert the loss of education that children suffer on dipping days and the punishments meted out for such is concerning. What is encouraging, however, is the fact that parents in the Mpembeni area moved the dipping day to Saturday from a weekday to facilitate children not arriving late at school, to make sure that children do not lose their herding skills, as well as a way of giving fragile elders a break from herding and running after excited cattle in the course and aftermath of dipping.

Most parents explained that the dipping day was set to take place during the week so that the livestock inspectors could inspect the livestock if they come on a commonly agreed-upon day. The setting of the dipping day during the week was for the convenience of the livestock inspectors who do not work on weekends. Therefore, the disruption that has been happening in communities for decades was made to offer the inspectors the luxury of working between Monday to Friday. At least five of the interviewed cattle owners indicated that periods of up to three months might lapse without a visitation to their dipping tank on a dipping day by their livestock inspectors. Visits such as these are so important that even the elderly attend them so that they can get first-hand information from the livestock inspector who may also inspect their livestock, listen and answer questions related to the health conditions of their cattle. The community that moved their dipping day to a Saturday had made a commitment that whatever day they are advised on by their dipping tank master for a potential visit by the livestock inspector, they would bring their cattle.

6.9.2 Culturally informed receptions of male and female livestock inspectors

The female livestock inspector indicated that there were challenges for intergenerational learning between her and the livestock owners, some whom were as old as her father and even grandfather. Also revealed was the embedded community male views about the place of women in cattle. This can be traced back to the children, where it was mainly the boys who were involved in cattle roles. The few numbers of women who had enrolled on the animal science course training she had enrolled in also displayed that the area has to a large extent not shifted from being a male-dominated one. Her initial contact with male livestock owners was not easy:

Even when I addressed them they would not pay attention. The problems were many when I started. It is better now. It would happen when I had called the cattle owners or I had to inspect the cattle or inject them and then they would not come. They would say that they won't listen to a female person. You see, you also know how men are. It would be like when I tell them that I will be vaccinating the cattle for sickness such and you find that there is no response and when you ask a

person he tells you that he will not be told by a female and he would tell you that it's not like this or that and argue with you. It takes a long way when you work with people and be prepared for anything.

Gradually livestock owners learnt to trust and respect her views. She earned respect first from elderly men in an area called Nhlwathi. She said these were very energetic and enthusiastic men who were very keen. Considering that livestock inspectors start work very early in the morning, she indicated that at times she would work from as early as 5 am and leave the dipping tank as late as noon focusing only on animal care because most livestock owners have an interest in seeing the numbers of the cattle increase. She had been asked by elderly livestock members to teach them on how to assist a cow to deliver a calf and everything that entails deliveries. She said that she found her work enjoyable as people were learning a lot from her and she had taught them how to inject their cattle. Evidence of the fact that they have learnt from her is in that they carry out most of what she has taught them.

Her teachings eventually paid off and she said that, as a result,

I would do schedules 4-5 of medicines as they cannot. They make me desire to work with them.

Whatever you ask them to do they will do as they have been guided. You find that I have asked them to bring cattle on a particular day, if its summer around 4 am I leave home and arrive there at 5, you find that there are lots of cattle and they are all waiting for me to do what I have invited them for.

The confidence and respect that the communities of livestock owners that she services have in her and appreciation for her services means that she is protected from male bullying and shielded from ridicule that some female livestock inspectors may be subjected to at other dipping tanks.

6.9.3 The training of agricultural livestock inspectors

The views of the children and their reluctance to pursue careers in agriculture, the lack of preparedness for learners to work in community contexts are apparent in the lack of congruence between the CAPS and the reality on the ground, the context that informed the regulation of communal areas and livestock mapped by O'Donoghue's (1996) study, which provides some of the factors that should inform the training of agricultural livestock inspectors.

The male livestock inspector I interviewed who was trained before 1994 relayed a different picture to the female one who had been trained more recently. He relayed his training as an enjoyable experience of three years at Cwaka College where they had opportunities to do practical work on

the nearby farms. The medium of instruction for the training was English. The entry to the qualification subjects were Life Sciences and Biology. Geography was essential for generating knowledge on the types of areas that presented themselves as good for grazing while Maths guided one in calculating fodder, fertilisers and harvest projections. The female inspector did her animal health training at UNISA through correspondence which she completed and considered enjoyable but with no practicals. She then progressed to North West University where she studied animal health full-time. She did a three-year diploma. The entry requirements were similar to the ones of her male counterpart. There were three females in her class of 20.

From both, I was interested to find out if there was an education module which prepared them for teaching of any nature. According to the male inspector, there was none. The female inspector said that within their primary health care course they were trained on how to talk to livestock owners to enable them to recognise signs of ill health amongst their livestock. In her three-year diploma, they learnt nothing of teaching methods and techniques, how to plan training workshops and how to develop learning support materials. She described what they had learnt:

We do teach farmers that there are things to note on cows that indicate their health status when they inspect them in the morning. What colour is their pee, how does the skin look, how is the hair on the skin and we teach them all these things in the workshops. What we did was short courses that are done in the department that are short. I have a certificate from AFRIVET, a company that teaches us how you teach and what to do.

Evident in my engagement with the inspectors was that neither of them had been equipped with skills for sharing knowledge with others in their formal training. The female inspector's certificate was offered by a veterinary company with the aim of certain products being promoted for use by farmers. Therefore, to a large scale the knowledge that these inspectors had learnt was kept with them and they remained experts, only sharing what was necessary at a particular time, such as dealing with new diseases. The series of workshops that they were said to offer by one of the dipping tank masters was based on developments in policy related to the movement of livestock, livestock health, stock theft and branding. There was no training that prepared them for drought and alternative fodder nor any sustainable livelihood strategies. They saw their main classrooms as dipping tanks where most community male members converged. There were also formal workshops that were specifically for dipping tank masters. At times, community livestock owners

attended these. Children herders were never invited and did not attend. The training or information sessions that took place at the dipping tank took place after the dipping when the youngsters had driven the cattle home, when it was school holidays, or after they had left them for the elders to herd back home. Therefore, the type of intergenerational learning that was likely to take place was between the committee and the livestock inspector, the livestock owners and the inspectors and dipping tank masters. Children would only learn what had been communicated to their elders if they chose to impart this.

The fact that there is limited contact between the school and the department of agriculture specifically through its full-time agents, the livestock inspectors, meant that the interest for children to pursue further training in this sector was not generated. From all the interviews of the parents, only one child was reported to have taken training in livestock-related matters.

6.9.4 Why the lack of interest in livestock related careers?

The female livestock inspector was encouraged to take up training in animal health by a medical doctor who lamented the paucity of local veterinarians in the community as a woman; the impetus did not come from school nor from home. Could this have been because of the fact she was a woman and could not think of a woman choosing this as a career? Her background of having dealt with cattle when she was growing up further motivated her. In her three-year career, she had visited schools to promote agriculture. She was encouraged by the Department of Agriculture to visit schools and alert them that there were bursaries available for training in animal health. From her school visits and talks to at least 1000 learners, only two boys visited her office to ask further questions about taking up a career in animal health. However, even they did not pursue the training as their results did not fulfil the entry requirements.

The two livestock inspectors I had interviewed displayed enthusiastic excitement in assisting with the promotion of agricultural science in the school in the future and saw that the negative consequences of the lack of interest in the discipline may be addressed by assisting and supporting teachers of agriculture in the schools where it is offered, most particularly in topics of the curriculum that were specific to livestock management. The lady inspector considered an excursion to a dipping tank as relevant, as most children, despite their gender and whether there was livestock at home would learn. She said that she had some limited interaction with school-going

children, which was aimed at curbing the spread of rabies between dogs and livestock. This was with the use of videos and the children were told what signs to look out for in infected dogs and cattle. This had been part of her training and something she had continued with.

Last year I visited two primary schools and high schools, the videos on rabies are not good. Like a child infected ends up barking like a dog, so they get scared. Since we usually vaccinate against rabies we do it on school holidays as the primary school kids are the ones who bring dogs mostly compared to elderly people because they have been educated most often. They don't forget easily of the symptoms and remember forever. They are the ones who tell parents that rabies is dangerous and dogs need to be vaccinated against them.

From this interview, it is evident that there was bottom-up intergenerational learning between the children and parents which resulted from her interaction with the young ones.

She was quite concerned about the lack of agriculture at primary school level and was of the view that if one has not learnt about agriculture at primary school, they would not be an interest to take it up at high school level. There would be further reluctance after finishing high school to pursue agriculture-related training or specifically livestock-related training. The reason for this was related by one teacher, Mr Shangase, who said that:

Yes in being an animal health inspector there is a future. It is our fault by not requesting that they take children to where cattle are farmed such as one in Ulundi where there is a school that focuses on livestock farming. We are supposed to take them to such areas so that they can develop a love for cattle so that we can end up with our own health inspectors in the future. We love taking them to cities to learn to be doctors and take them to the beach so that they can learn to swim to while away time.

Her views were consistent with what the Agriculture teacher I interviewed had said and echoed what Mr Shangase above had said. Her views follow:

Nowadays kids don't like agriculture. When some kids finish they take other fields. I have observed that when I do field work and go out to the dipping tanks, the youth tells me that I spent my time studying just to inject cattle with medicine. You can tell that they don't see it as so great a field of study. They see you as someone who is uneducated if you do animal health. I think there is a need for more education so that they can understand animal health. they don't know much about livestock they know that you must go to the shop and buy food to be eaten at home and school and at school they are not educated properly that you can survive with knowledge from agriculture and have a livelihood.

These are views that need to be addressed and the Department of Agriculture has to play a big role in reversing these negative conceptions.

6.10 ON BEING AN INTERGENERATIONAL LEARNER AND A RESPONSIBLE AGENT OF TRANSFORMATION AND DECOLONISATION

It was only in the course of my research investigation with schools that I became aware that an officially registered NGO called Unyezi operated in the Mpembeni area. Its operational offices were opposite the local clinic and it was mainly female-staffed and received most of its operational funds from a USA-based NGO and the South African Social Security Agency as well as the National Lottery Fund. The key function of this NGO, was counselling, HIV and AIDS education and infection prevention and support for those infected. In its mission, its key focus area was girls. I shared with the Director my research intent and progress, as well as issues I had unearthed in my enquiries that were relevant in their work, as I had been asked to by one of the teachers.

My research intent as someone who was also an intergenerational learner was to share back what I had learnt to contribute to the 'taking of conversations further'. This was relevant to those groupings or key stakeholders who might not have recognised some of their blind spots in their work. My engagement with the NGO was intentionally aimed at the decolonisation of the USA-related feminist views on addressing gender disparities that had been overtaken by complications such as the scourge of HIV and AIDS infections. I regarded my feedback as important because teachers felt comfortable to share their views with me and secondly, because they believed I could do something with it despite it being not related to my research topic. I was worried that researchers after me might ignore their role as potential agents of change. The technique of sharing back was built into my research strategy. I had already done some sharing back with the livestock inspectors in a constructive manner explaining that community members believed that they paid for dipping chemicals instead of government and the need for this to be clarified. This discussion had led to clarifying angles which were relevant for my research while at the same time allowing me to share views which aided problem solving. I made sure to conceal the identities of my research informants to avoid possibilities of them being victimised.

I made the NGO director aware that at every school I had visited, all teachers had mentioned the critical and constructive role that the NGO played. I informed her that in the course of my

investigation and field data analysis, it had become apparent that in their HIV and AIDS issue programmes, they could consider paying the boy child more attention. They had become a vulnerable lot, first because cattle were at times herded in areas away from home and there was an increase in the rape of young boys as well as indecent assaults. The NGO was not aware of this which could have been due to their conception of Mpembeni as a rural area where such practices might not have been considered as prevalent. The second matter I alerted her about was that the celebratory victory bangles that girls who had passed the virginity test wore sent girls who had not passed them into seclusion, yet many could have failed the test because they were incest rape victims. The agriculture teacher pointed out that boy children were the main recipients of punishment for lateness at school owing to herding and taking cattle to the dipping tank. My discussion with the director led to a talk on the need to explore the safety of boys and matters of their sexuality by giving them spaces to talk and counselling. I considered my discussion as a way of decolonising the entrenched anthropologically derived and promoted views of gender and sexuality where gender was defined as male and female. Another issue was informed by feminist approaches to gender which in the beginning were aimed at the equalising of rights but resulted in pushing the male child in the margins. I considered our discussion and the work of the NGO as critical in opening up debates that the community has been reluctant or feared to have with them as they were respected and appreciated outsiders in the area. However, their focus as experts and counsellors to matters they were experts in made them blind to triggers of the problems that they had to address which belonged to wider community struggles, such as the fact that some of the boys spent long times with cattle far away from home and may be raped, as they focused on girls. It would be a potential third space discussion for the NGO to hear how they could work better and serve better rather than always telling the community how to live. This could help them respond to the challenges of the times as an important new stakeholder.

6.11 OPEN-ENDED CLOSING REMARKS ON THE CHAPTER AND SUMMATIVE COMMENTS

In the analysis of the data that related to learning that took place within the school context, it became apparent that the bridge between school and home as a learning context was very wobbly and that the CAPS, as well as the school environment, did not strengthen or improve some of the indigenous and cultural ways of life that could contribute to food security. All the players within the community that I discussed here seemed to be working in their little pockets or silos, oblivious of

what the other was doing, if it did not fit into their core business. I had sympathy for the Foundation Phase teachers who were so committed and keen to involve parents in the learning of their children but were snubbed because parents did not see this as their role – teachers after all are financially rewarded for this job by the state. The despair of the agriculture teacher and the phasing out of agriculture in schools was a concern. What was encouraging was the moving of women into the middle of a sector that was the preserve of men and which was displayed by the female livestock inspector. The NGO director was encouraging in her promise that counselling could be administered to children who had suffered ill treatment because of the loss of livestock as well as the intention to include boys in their programmes with the realisation that indecent assaults were on the increase in the area.

There is a bigger question to be explored in the divisions that became more and more apparent that boys were recognised and pushed into male roles of involvement with cattle while the focus on girls was around femininity and an obsession with their sexuality, control and virginity. The attention on young girls' sexuality had found expression in NGOs and schools while that of boys was all related to hardship and authority and its domain was very much the homestead. In my eyes Mpembeni emerged as a very busy site which had all the people it needed to improve issues of food security, preparedness for the challenges that come with climate change (such as the death of many cattle and the lack of supplementary cattle fodder). The dipping of cattle on week days is as old as the introduction of cattle dipping. The introduction of dipping on a Saturday is an act which could be considered as very simple and common sense and was the most innovative and transgressive of acts that I encountered and worthy of following by other communities as it offloads the burden that most boys carry, while at the same time affording them the opportunity to practise their culture. There was glaring need for a different education, an education that brings everybody together to understand that their problems can be solved from within.

CHAPTER 7: THROUGH THE HOOK OF A CROCHET NEEDLE A PONCHO TAKES SHAPE – A Synthesis, open-ended conclusions and recommendations

There were too many disturbances and I just didn't understand why it took her so long to finish making a garment. She would shout out at the very top of her voice from her bedroom where she was sewing, "Lightness, Lighty, maLightness". I would shout back, "Ma, I am coming". This was an endearing nickname she had given me because I was very pale when I was born. I would say to my friends, "Eish, damn, there she goes again". Had she heard me I would have gotten a really good smack on my bum. My friends would be very irritated as I ran into the house. They either had to continue or pause the game whilst I attended to my mother. She would be at the ready with her tape measure around her neck looking above her spectacles at her creation on my body. After a few more measurements, I would race out back to my friends. Sometimes I would see her undoing stitches she had made and also trimming the garment. There were many a nights she would sit by her sewing machine, rethreading hoops and loops of her Singer sewing machine and we would be asked to help push the thread through the eye of the needle. Sometimes the needle would break and my brother would be sent off with the specimen to buy another at the cloth shop that belonged to a Malawian tailor. I remember this tartan red cloth. I have no clue where she got it from. From it she made three matching skirts, one for me and others for my eldest and youngest sisters. As an adult, I know now that the tailoring process might have been shorter, but my child's memory says otherwise.

Then there were the ponchos. She had learnt to make these from an elderly lady friend whose husband was a teacher where she taught, gogo Gaboo. My mother, the intergenerational learner, was my teacher. She would sit with many colourful balls of wool making colourful squares. These would then be crocheted together. The neck was knitted and joined to the body of the main poncho piece. Then the scissors would come out and tassles would be made and tied to the bottom squares. Three ponchos she used to make and the neck piece had to match the colours of our bell bottoms. On Sunday we would be marched to church, all shiny and cute in our bell bottoms and ponchos. There were lots of compliments and my mother would follow from behind with a very happy smile glued to her face.

Every time I had to embark on a near impossible task, I used to think of the tartan skirts and the ponchos. My mother did not make one, but three. The ponchos must have been more difficult to make with all those different coloured balls and balls of wool. Yet she made and finished them. Even though I have never made a poncho, I know that I learnt how to make one from her and that one day, I will make one as colourful and beautiful as the ones she made.

Was it pleasurable work? Was it work or play or both? Many a times I have reflected and asked myself these questions, but my mother the seamstress is not here to answer them. If anyone asks me, the wordsmith a similar question I will answer thus:

It was one word, then others which made a sentence, then the sentences were deleted, merged, revised, commented upon and revised. Some beautiful paragraphs walked off into the darkness and eeriness of the graveyard of cyberspace, never to be seen ever again. Many a times I have walked off. Whisperings from those paragraphs that stayed enticed me back with promises of a day when one last full stop will be committed to a final sentence. One last full stop. I did become again and again one with those paragraphs that stayed. The faithful paragraphs, one paragraph after the other, became chapters. So many ideas I had to make sense of. Piles and piles of ideas, like the balls and balls of wool my mother had to make the ponchos from. So many colours ... Now! This final, yet not final chapter. Not final, for it is not just a story. Not my story. Words here from there, words there from here, words never heard or seen. These words that crocheted the story were not just mine. They are words of a story of the land. All I did was commit them to paper as a messenger of many worlds. So read on. If you derive no pleasure in words, may the words dance themselves into a painting that tells its story.

For now, to stitching the squares and attaching the tassels to the poncho ...

7. INTRODUCTION

By intent, I elected a postcolonial theoretical framework as a definer of my research project to function as a counterhegemonic response to the widening gaps between the school in community and home/pasture learning environments and to aid in revealing and acknowledging the layers, processes and intermeshed varied forms of learning that exist in these spaces. I tried to cross the abstract intellectual bridges that ‘separate’ differences (Smith, 1999; Said, 1977; Spivak, 1988) by using research techniques and writing styles employed by feminist writers, Smithies and Lather (1997), brave writers, Lotz-Sisitka and Burt (2002) and I borrowed tools and techniques that the anthropological field employ and claim as their own through the use of ethnography (Boswell, 2006) challenging what Lewis Gordon has termed disciplinary decadence (2006, 2014) and later taken up by De Sousa Santos (2009). In previous chapters, I took it for granted that the design and style of my writing evidenced disruptive counterhegemonic intents of speaking abrogation and tongue in cheek, challenging the conventions that the academy has prescribed for academic writing. In transgressing these boundaries, I can claim that my project is postcolonial by nature, purpose and design.

For ease of reference, the research goal for my study was to understand *how Mpembeni’s 6-10 year-olds learn to live and care for cattle as subjects of intergenerational learning and agency at home/pasture and in school*. The main research question was *What strands of postcoloniality and forms of sociocultural learnings emerge in the investigation of cattle as a medium of cultural expression?* And associated with this, is the sub-question on *how hybrid third spaces can potentially be opened up in ways that resonate with, or construct a curriculum that builds a learning bridge that connects home and school learnings*.

In this synthesising chapter, I need to give an account of the extent to which my claims for having remained true to the question I set off to answer through the field data, was achieved. I have already maintained in the paragraph above that as far as the nature, intent and design of my study is concerned, there is sufficient proof that the study was structured within a postcolonial framework. Drawing from the evidence presented in Chapters 5 and 6, I will interact with current debates on curricula and attempt to distil what bearing they may have on my chosen South African case study. The second process, which will also be another engagement with literature, is with a

purpose to unveil the layers, directions, depths, processes and the nature of sociocultural intergenerational learning that were at play within the study. As the agent of change I consider myself to be in this study, I am obligated to filter from all my significant findings, potential answers to my research curiosities to enable the construction of very necessary knowledge and learning bridges.

I am a foot soldier to the pedagogy of hope as articulated by Paulo Freire (2000). Further to that, my task is not to conclude a South African conversation that continues gaining ground precipitated by loud calls from students of higher education institutions through movements such as Rhodes Must Fall (#RFM) and Fees Must Fall (#FMF). Counterhegemonic insights and responses that emerged out of postcolonial theory and the decolonial turn have also hastened this processes by affording those making such calls, the language and fluency to force shackled doors open. Conclusions are nowhere in sight, hence my stand-point that I am simply adding a voice to the larger debate. As context specific as my recommendations may be, they should be understood as open-ended, porous as well as permitting others to take forward to fashion more illuminatory and enabling directions that could potentially blight these curricular colonialities. To craft such recommendations, I reached into the works of postcolonial theorists and those identified as decolonialists to make sense of my field findings.

7.1 LEARNINGS FROM WITHIN POSTCOLONIAL THEORY: FOR DECOLONISING THE CURRICULUM AT THE FOUNDATION PHASE

The tenets of thought from most postcolonial theorists have applicability in classroom pedagogical processes as well as community-related ones as much as they do not speak from disciplines within pedagogics or were intended to. One has therefore to isolate carefully as well as pull to view the tentacles within those tenets to have bearing into classroom and community educational processes, drawing thought and examples from within Africa, weaving relevant indigenous and local with modernist thought congruent to curriculum processes within southern Africa.

Within the debate of who is a postcolonial theorist and a/or decolonialist, Spivak, who is categorised by decolonialists as a postcolonialist, paid particular attention to the teaching and learning about works of art and decolonising processes within such disciplines. Spivak is said by Andreotti (2011) to advocate that education be transformed from within institutions of dominance,

alongside teaching and learning methods, promoting responsibility to the OTHER, rather than FOR the other. She is clear that the FOR she is referring to does not suggest a relationship of parenthood but one of accountability.

I found the work of Vanessa Andreotti (2011), a postcolonial educationist, illuminatory and relevant to some aspects of my study. She is considered by Paraskeva (2012, p. 5) as one that, “engages with the gifts and limitations of [a particular] theory in an attempt to imagine dialogue, relationships and education ‘otherwise’ beyond the confines of dominance, ethnocentrism and coercion that have characterised institutionalized processes of modern schooling and education in general”. Paraskeva (2012) further considered Andreotti’s 2011 *Actionable Postcolonial Theory in Education* where these ideas are articulated to go beyond simply illuminating the conflicts and contradictions in postcolonial sites. She proposed techniques for engaging postcolonial theory in educational research in the context of its applicability in educational practice while challenging hegemonic epistemologies, as well as those that might be deemed as counterhegemonic. The work of Paraskeva (2011) himself, an educationist born in Mozambique, carefully charted the way into the terrain of curriculum transformation and decolonisation, centring the dismantling of the colonial and postcolonial politics that confine and stunt relevancy in curriculum work. Throughout his pedagogical work, Paulo Freire (1929-1997) offered valuable insights into the practice of teaching and learning, especially for contexts similar to the one my research focused upon, rural poverty-stricken sites of learning where people lived within oppressive conditions such as economic, social, political and climatic related ones, etc. Despite the fact that the work of the theorists I have mentioned have a global reach, they provide useful commentary on the kind of pedagogical thought and work in Africa. There are a number of African theorists who are products of African education and whose commentaries and recommendations provide experiential insights that I will share. My statement may sound as if all these theorists are representational of African issues.

In some of their work, sagacious thought and foresight is evident on realistic processes for the decolonisation of curricula in contexts. Taking into consideration a cautious disclaimer from Mignolo (2000, p. 20) that:

Indigenous intellectuals do not represent all the indigenous people in the same way that white intellectuals do not all represent all whites and women intellectuals do not all represent all women, as queer intellectuals do not represent all queers.

The intercultural discussions that took place between Paulo Freire and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania (see Mayo, 2013) are examples of the convergence of thought and process over pedagogical issues that transgress physical geographical and political boundaries which still have relevance in some contexts in South Africa. Nyerere's marriage of the communal values of *ujamaa* (familyhood) which are closely aligned to the philosophy of *ubuntu* (a person is a person through other people) with formal education is one of the most unique programmes to have been driven at a national level by a head of state that, as much as it had its challenges, reflects Bhabha's concept of hybridity in motion. Mayo (2013, p. 109) cited his declaration that "children must be made part of the community by having responsibilities to the community and having the community involved in school activities". The school was stripped of the colonial thought of it being the home of formally trained teachers. The whole community was regarded as a learning resource, Mayo (2013, p. 109) said.

Sociologist, Grosfoguel (2011, p. 1) raised four questions which are central to the debate on the decolonisation of education and knowledge production generally. I pondered on their relevancy within my educational research work. These questions expose the dichotomies that characterise and usually define debates on knowledge decolonisation processes and are as follows:

- Can we produce knowledges beyond Third World and Eurocentric fundamentalisms?
- Can we overcome the traditional dichotomy between political-economy and cultural studies?
- Can we move beyond economic reductionism and culturalism?
- Can we overcome the Eurocentric modernity without throwing away the best of modernity as many third world fundamentalists do?

My answer to his first question on the production of knowledge beyond the two dichotomies is: yes, we can produce within and beyond those fundamentalisms. On the second question of whether we can overcome the traditional dichotomy between political-economy and cultural studies. My answer is neither a yes or a no. My study also tried to deal with the very same dichotomy with an intent of possibly identifying and proposing strategies for the minimisation of the colonialities that may be embedded in either of the two. It is rather a matter of investigating what the dichotomies seek to silence or/and privilege and who the beneficiaries of either actions are. Outcomes Based Education (OBE) in South Africa, which swung heavily on a political-economy

frame, was mistakenly conceived capable of addressing disparities inherited from the post-1994 political dispensation (Fataar, 2016). Governmental curriculum crafters had been blinded and seduced by OBE's romantic possibilities that had no reality congruence for South Africa's context, without considering teachers' abilities and parental support for learners. The answer to Grosfoguel's question in South Africa would entail the creation of something new within the cleavages of political-economy and culturalism for the common good rather than a swing in either direction. On the question of economic reductionism and culturalism which is another important aspect of my study, I can only say that aspects of culturalism are very prevalent in the study where most interviewees' definitions of their relationships with cattle display aspects of culturalism. However, the importance of economics to sustain subsistence cattle farming was important. Conversely, as that may be the case, forces within the context, such as the weather, demonstrated that the statuses of such relationships are forced into a natural constant flux. The issue of economic reductionism surfaces on the basis that principles of economics are an integral part that fuels the value of cattle as they are economic as well as cultural goods.

Yes, we can and should, is my response to the last and fourth question, "Can we overcome the Eurocentric modernity without throwing away the best of modernity as many third world fundamentalists do?" Bhabha pointed out that in terms of the hybrid third space, we should be less obsessed with 'difference', which is what the colonialists emphasised and illuminated in the relationship between the coloniser and colonised and indirectly perpetuated its obsession and critique. Such a focus ignores the sameness he claims. The sameness between home/pasture and school learning processes are usually ignored and silenced but emphasis is heaped on difference and hierarchical superiorities of one over the other. To a large extent, my study brought out these and this was the case when livestock owners made choices on the types of medication to dispense to their cattle in times of ill-health. The nature of my probing in interviews may also have brought up the differences of contexts (home/pasture vs school, the amnesia of the past and the unfolding current). Rather than dwell on the differences in knowledge creation processes, I have, in various ways, also tried to submerge and exhibit the processes and triggers for agentic interventions that facilitate the creation of negative and healthy tensions that germinate new knowledges.

This was demonstrated by a number of examples such as the curative role of coca cola and cooking oil in the absence of means to purchase modern medicines to deal with a medical problem that

traditional medicine could not address (the eating and ingesting of plastic and wire which comes about with modernist lifestyles and the environmental crisis). The coloniser (in the vet) with new developments and research in natural science and the colonised (ethno-veterinarian and/or elderly livestock owner) on the other hand, reach out for modernist solutions. Ghandi (1998, p. 11) called these “the ambivalent and symbiotic relationship between the coloniser and colonised”.

Community livestock owners do not only reach back to the past and/or consult oral libraries in wise elders to modify what they know to address a current problem, but their solutions are triggered by an avoidance of their heritage because of the inconveniences that characterise some of them.

Rather than venture into the discomfort of morning dew and a dark moist forest to get herbs, they visit vets. Convenience and choice are very important aspects and the fact that people are rural area dwellers does not mean that they need to dwell in past practices. We need to be careful not to play to the performative dictates of exoticism that essentialises the behaviour of subaltern people that crafts cultures as static.

Citing Menni, Ghandi (1998, p. 11) explained it as a condition that “chained the coloniser and the colonised into an impeccable dependence, moulded their respective characters and dictated their conduct”. Such dependency between the outsider and the insider can be found in the story of nagana as told by O’Donoghue (1996, pp. 99-120) which showed the need by the coloniser to understand the relationship between cattle and wildlife based on their lived wisdom. O’Donoghue related how the local Zulu people had the knowledge of not allowing their cattle to graze where wildlife had grazed, forbidding their cattle from ‘eating the saliva’ of wild animals to make sure they were not infected with nagana. Scientists traced trypanosome in the blood of infected animals which was a parasite that the tsetse passed to healthier animals from having listened to the story of separating game from wildlife because of cross infections. Smith (1999, p. 44) confirmed this when she said that:

Some scholars have argued that the key tenets of what is now seen as Western civilisation are based on black experiences and black tradition of scholarship, and have simply been appropriated by Western philosophy and redefined as Western epistemology.

In an examination of our relationship with the West, with regard to epistemological decolonisation processes, Grosfoguel (2011, p. 02) drew our attention to the role of the “four horses of the apocalypse – Foucault, Derrida, Gramsci, and Guha” in research he was involved in. These, he said, were privileged by some scholars he worked with to the point that they undermined and decentred

the subaltern issues they were working on. Guha is considered positively within this grouping of the horses because he is of the South. Grosfoguel's reference to this episode serves as a caution that we become careful not to (re)produce work that is simply 'about' the subaltern, but rather work with them and from a subaltern perspective. I am of the view that my work, as an intergenerational learner with maternal Zulu roots, is about, with and from a perspective which I am partly part of. It goes both ways as well. We Africans should also be careful not to be led by the four horses of the apocalypse within postcolonial theory and the decolonial turn and become uncritical generators of Eastern-Latino-centric thought. Their voices and those of diasporic thinkers, such as Fanon, are becoming more and more dominant within our decolonisation movements to the point of drowning emergent African voices as we become more and more reliant on the languages they use to describe our contexts. We may betray our goal to produce knowledge that speaks to our decolonisation past and journey into the future and must give space for the subaltern within our locales to be heard as well.

Despite the fact that the writings of postcolonialists Edward Said (1935-2003), Homi Bhabha (1949-) and decolonialist Walter Mignolo (1941-) do not address education issues and processes (Andreotti, 2011), there is value in their work. I had indicated in my research proposal my curiosity to explore the potential hybrid third spaces, as articulated by Bhabha and theorists such as Mignolo, for unblocking issues related to the transformation of educational issues I deal with in my research. I have decided to trial out the concept of hybridity and third space as a tool for penetrating the crevices of binaries, dichotomies, contradictions, questions of internalisations and localisations, home and school/pasture, the genderisation of the curriculum, CAPS prescriptions and school realities, the crossing and building of bridges to educational territories imagined and unimagined (Paraskeva, 2011) etc. in my study.

7.2 COUNTERHEGEMONIC VIEWS ON EDUCATION OF/ABOUT/FOR RELEVANCE

Magama Fuze (1982, p. v), the first Zulu man to write and privately publish a book in 1922, which gave an account of Black people and where they came from, must have sagaciously anticipated that such an account might not be sourced from and written within. Lalu's *The Deaths of Hintsa* (2009) also took issues with historical accounts that carry colonial voices and are not taken from within. In a melancholic tone Fuze stated his intent for it as:

I think that there will be many of us desirous of having the book *Abantu Abamnyama* in our schools, in order that our children may get to know where they originally came from, because at present they don't know.

It is sad that Magma Fuze and others such as Credo Mutwa never featured in my history lessons nor in my training as a teacher of history. I only stumbled upon Fuze accidentally in 1996 at the Natal Parks Board library in Pietermaritzburg. To address such historical silences, theorists such as Mignolo (2000, pp. 18-19) explained that to place himself and his lot in the story of colonisation, one needs to engage with colonisation from the sixteenth century instead of the eighteenth century "since my feelings, education, and thinking are anchored on the colonial legacies of the Spanish and Portuguese ..." An exposure of the archaeological layers of a history he is implicated in, with an absencing of the colonised view, is important to putting us back in the game. Magma aimed to do this for future generations. I was keen to learn where we came from, from one of us. I bring Fuze to this, what Paraskeva (2011) called "complicated conversation", to centre earlier counterhegemonic responses to the silencing of our histories and perspectives that fore-fathered events such as the 1976 students' uprising that rejected Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in all public schools.

'Complicated conversations' are not always literally a face-to-face chatter and discussion. Equally, 'intergenerational learning' is not either. Such learning may take place within an intellectual engagement between a text of a writer of times gone by and a reader of current times. I had one such conversation with Fuze and so did those who translated, published and commented on his work. As much as postcolonial theorists and proponents of the decolonial turn share a common history of being colonial subjects, with us southern Africans, the colonial and neo-colonial periods impacts were/are different, hence my proposal that we critically engage with ideas from the proponents of the decolonial turn, before adopting them. An adoption of the wholesale package of their thought would be an appropriated re-colonisation that may cloud our judgement on how we should conceive of our own language and processes countering the current epistemicide which cannot only be labelled as Western (South Africa as a country was historically inhabited by the Khoi and San, Nguni, British, Afrikaner, Sotho-Tswana and indentured labourers of Indian and Chinese origin etc.). I acknowledge the role that theorists of the decolonial turn have played and the relevance of most of the ideas they have penned; if engaged with and implicated with equivalence,

these ideas would bear fruits that the likes of Magma Fuze and many others would not have encountered.

Besides Bhabha there are two other theorists whose work I use a bit more generously here and that is Paraskeva (2011) and Andreotti (2011). Paraskeva's (2011) *Conflicts in Curriculum Theory* as a postcolonial theoretical project, problematises conventional thought and processes related to curriculum broadly. His further rethinking of curricula for context congruence challenges the mimicry that defines dominant curricula and its role in the reproduction of universalised forms of knowledge. Andreotti (2011) in *Actionable Postcolonial Theory in Education* paid specific attention to the work of postcolonial theorists and their perceptions on education as well as her own. She proposed strategies on how their thought could be used in teaching and learning processes. I am giving attention to the views of postcolonialists and proponents of the decolonial turn to highlight their influence on my thinking as an environmental educationist. I have described Homi Bhabha's concept of the hybrid third space in Chapter 3. He conceded that the world should be characterised as human instead of the categories that define it in terms of the coloniser and the colonised, the other etc. According to him, such views are not only reductionist but are over simplifications that mainly project differences of the other. Andreotti (2001) pointed out that even though Bhabha holds such views, both of them examine processes that present such inverses, categories and divisions.

Further sections that follow begin to highlight some of the conflicts in South Africa's curriculum theory. I borrow from these theorists to explore how the ideas of all these theories can be actionable within the Southern African context. In the areas where I was faced with "grim polarities of the colonial encounter" (Gandhi, 1998, pp. 130-131), Bhabha (1994, p. 25) advised that such polarities should be:

bridged by a 'third- space' of communication, negotiation and, by implication translation. It is in this indeterminate zone, or 'place of hybridity', where anti-colonial politics first begins to articulate its agenda and where, in his words, 'the construction of a political object that is new, neither the one nor the other, properly alienates our political expectations, and changes, as it must, the very forms of our recognition of the moment of politics there are hybrid third spaces. How do we and how can postcolonial theory be actioned in?

7.3 HYBRID THIRD SPACE WITHIN LEARNING PROCESSES IN THE STUDY

In coining the concept of the hybrid third space, Bhabha was not making reference to what does not exist, is novel or elusive but rather to what the postcolonialists before him had not surfaced in their discussion of the colonial difference – the in-betweeness. The importance of Bhabha's hybrid third space discussion is to alert practitioners to the existence of these spaces and to the knowledge-making processes between the coloniser and the colonised as well as to transform the anxieties created by the overemphasis on difference and for generating new or unrealised forms of knowledge. He discussed this concept alongside terms such as Mimicry, Ambivalence, Stereotypes, Otherness which all talk to and are relevant for discussing processes that are counterhegemonic towards colonial education. Bhabha further explained that the 'difference', which at times is illusionary or an act of asserting difference creates tensions which creates anxieties. True to the pre-1994 epoch, South Africa's education system had been constructed on difference and remnants of the colonial curriculum had dissolved into the well-intentioned counterhegemonic post-apartheid curricula. I guess my study was also motivated by the envisaged and real difference that was asserted to erase apartheid intents and policy inscribed in South Africa's curriculum that still exist and are perpetuated in current curricula. An uneasiness and anxiety with the current curricula does motivate one to venture to know better as well as explore ways that those anxieties may be flushed down the drain of negative histories in an attempt to avoid repeats.

In essence, in my enquiries I encountered scenes where differences had created anxieties and people sought to occupy and transform the spaces that caused these. Bhabha said that "it is not the colonialist Self or the colonized Other, but the disturbing distance in-between that constitutes the figure of colonial otherness" (1994, p. 45). The in-betweenness is, in fact, the bubbling hybrid third space. In essence, knowledge creation processes are always in flux and anxieties of whether positive or negative processes necessitate the occupation and transformation of that third space should concern all educationists. Kayira (2013, p. 208) cited Glasson (2010) as suggesting that:

the local indigenous cultures provides meaning and identity to community members in a "first space," while Western ideas (e.g. Eurocentric science) provide a "second space" for learning in schools often in non-indigenous languages. However the authors suggest that students and community members must function in a third space to negotiate meanings and understandings of the intersections of knowledge, practices and languages from merging cultures.

Often people are not aware of the ambivalence and contradictions that they are part of and the circumstances when one is operating at neither a first space or second space. People may unruffle the first and second space where they may be functioning and thus create something that creates comfort and is problem-solving. For instance, most guardians and grandparents of the children interviewed kept insisting that children no longer take their home responsibilities seriously because they watch too much television. In reality, the children sit with them and even watch programmes that are not for their viewing or which warrant parental guidance. Most homes in the community where I conducted my research, had television sets. If there are first, second and third spaces, people may function at one or within all, depending on circumstance.

As much as cattle were considered as a medium of cultural expression by most community members, this is not necessarily a bottled and preserved culture but one that is constantly morphing. One elderly widowed lady I interviewed, lamented the death of her cattle which stood in the way for her daughter to get married. I cannot generalise what she said, but according to Zulu culture, she needed to give two cows as presents to the bride-to-be daughter and her future husband which they could sell if they wanted to buy goods such as furniture to start a home. In the past, women in her regiment made grass mats for her to take to her new home. The tension I want to highlight here is that of the occupation of the third space as a pleasurable and enticing space. Gandhi (1998, pp. 6-7) said that “One therefore is looking for the visible apparatus of freedom and the concealed persistence of unfreedom” and maintains that we are caught up in a voyeuristic gaze at our colonial masters whom we love and hate. We are caught up in the dependence and the independence of such a relationship.

What I found at play in my study was the self-imposed forbiddings and yearnings for freedoms that are possible and within reach with the Mpembeni community, an ambivalence of aspirations. Some community members insisted that the growing of trees which they so badly needed as fodder within their homesteads was not done because trees attract death. Yet, they came to gogo Mtshali's homestead and asked if they could pick some fruit from her yard. This was very puzzling and gogo Mtshali said that she also found it puzzling. These forbiddings are, at times, remnants of cultural practices. Having earlier (prior to this research) arrived to witness the slaughter of a donkey in the Kalahari and being invited to eat it, an invitation I did not honour because of views I harbour that donkeys are not to be eaten, was interesting. Donkeys are the animals that survived the

drought in Mpembeni and were used widely for tilling the soil. They have come to replace the extra human labour and role of cattle in tilling the soil. Yet cattle are still valued over donkeys. The survival of donkey foals is also much higher and with the San in the Kalahari, they had entered the third space and in their desperation and lack of access to hunting areas, the San people have come to accept that donkey meat can be eaten. Not in Mpembeni. I am not advocating that they eat donkey meat either as my cultural upbringing which dictated that donkey meat is meat for the dogs still prevailed when I was invited to a donkey meat barbecue. Hard questions such as the one I had about donkey meat are questions that we need to surface as climate change and its associated challenges keep on piling upon us.

Bhabha conceived of the subject as wedged between complexities of identities through a responsive engagement of copying the habits of the coloniser in repetition. This results in what is referred to as disturbing mimicry. This creates 'not quite' a copy of identity transformation that the coloniser intended (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 2007, p. 125) but exposes the slipperiness of identities, the absence of predictability, the elusiveness of civilising and the absence of fixity necessary for the creation of Otherness. An encounter that talks to this scenario was at one homestead where a teenager who had dropped out of school because of ill health expressed that his sister's children who lived in the homestead refused to carry household tasks because they have a computer. I could not have imagined such a scenario when I started my research. This disturbing mimicry has resulted in the chores that the young could do, such as herding the goats, also fall on their uncle. The sister had bought her children a computer. She was however, also worried that the children were not learning the skills that she wanted them to, such as livestock care, by letting them live with their grandparents. A computer meant to aid schooling had silenced the potentiality for intergenerational learning about livestock from their uncle.

Because cattle were/are considered as a source of income, they were not slaughtered at will; however, the drought meant that cattle died or were finished off. As a researcher, there are instances when in your recognition of anxieties necessitated by disasters such as climate change, that warrant that you wedge yourself into the third space. Concepts such as climate change that a community had come to know through the experience of loss and confusion about the change of weather patterns, had to inhabit that third space. Community members retreated into what I have coined in the absence of theorising about it as the 'abstract spiritual hybrid third space' where they

considered natural events such as these, as punishments from ancestors. Searches for solutions and coping mechanisms are developed; some work and others don't. When cattle die or are finished off, many were financially ill-prepared for such happenings and to avert a total loss, the third space retreat was the purchase of deep freezers.

Another retreat could be blamed on current social practices. One elderly lady said that the drought was punishment from the ancestors because of inhumane practices such as abortions. When one cow after another dies or is finished off, people become anxious, desperate and unhappy as the flies start swarming into the homestead. Pension fees are then diverted from their primary uses for the purchase of other deep freezers or money-lending schemes are approached to purchase these. I functioned and volunteered my knowledge into that space by sharing some meat preservation techniques such as washing meat with vinegar, boiling with lots of salt and letting the broth drip off, cooling and storing. I assisted with the purchase of a fridge and suggested I was paid with a goat. I was paid with a pregnant goat. I decided that the goat would be slaughtered on my return to the community after the PhD has been conferred to celebrate it, to thank my ancestors and my host. There is need for new forms of knowledge to look beyond coping but teaching people ways of conserving grain for livestock, planting trees that are fodder as well as teaching people skills such as smoking meat and making biltong. Third space interventionist strategies are necessary.

When one considers the hybrid third space, it should not only be considered as new knowledges and a matter of negotiated knowledge; common wisdom dictates that 'need is the mother of invention'. The third space that Bhabha refers to can also be considered as triggered by such needs. One can therefore fluctuate between that space of invention or unsilencing silences that have been created by plentiness. In instances of desperate need, people resort to going back to the forest to harvest plants to make medicines they know work. I am reminded of another incident where I had a casual chat on the benefits of spices and related the curative nature of turmeric. One of the interviewees elected to wash a sore which she later sprayed with a curative liquid; she later reported that the wound was cleaner and healing. I realised that even within the community, people trial ideas and experiment and successes are shared and practiced. One such story is the cooking oil and coca cola one related in previous chapters.

With scarcities, the tendency is to create something new that may solve more than one problem. The scarcity of rain water and the absence of water from the water taps meant that one lady I knew encouraged children to bring two-litre cold drink bottles that littered the area. These were filled up with the dirty water that came out of the tap on the day it was available. These were rested under the shade of a tree and later used for gardening or feeding the livestock in the homestead. Grey water was collected and used to water furrows dug before planting. Gogo Mtshali said that the water killed snails and insects that fed on plant roots before in preparation for planting. Cow dung was later sprinkled into the furrows and the worms that live in the dung would be killed by the contents of the grey water or fed to the chickens when found.

Bhabha (1994, pp. 113-114) argued that “hybridity is not a third term that resolves the tension between two cultures in ... a dialectic play of recognition” but it is constant recognition whereby the colonised subject is rather free to negotiate and translate their cultural identities (Bhabha, 1994, p. 38). This statement is true to the key finding of my study which is that part of the problem of dropping out of school by boys and many of the failings they suffer from arriving late at school was a result of a practice that the current livestock inspectors had inherited from colonial livestock managers and inspectors; two worked from Monday to Friday and therefore expected all livestock to be dipped and inspected on a week day. There was tension on the use of a week day which I have already been alluded to in Chapter 5. In the struggle for an identity and culture that livestock owners wanted to perpetuate, that of making their children participate in livestock care activities such as dipping resorted to dipping their cattle on the weekend. Negotiations took place among community members and they made a decision of reverting to dipping on a working day only if the inspector was coming to inspect their livestock. This was an arrangement that allowed for the livestock members to express their cultural needs and expectations for their children.

The ambitions of the children bubble between the expectations that school and home have of them. The parents somehow want to see a valuing of cattle and all associated with it, a romancing of the freedom where boys became men with cattle, involved in forcing bulls to fight and partaking in stick fights and heroic acts of protecting herds from predators from the neighbouring national wildlife park. Their (parents’) perceptions of challenges in the current are diluted and exacerbated by the drought and to use Gandhi’s words (1998, p. 11) “at least partly, shaped and troubled by the compulsion to return a voyeuristic gaze upon Europe”. What I witnessed in my study was a

romantic flutter with a pre-colonial past and a fondness of the colonial one which also displays a suppression of colonial memories as a way of coping with the present. The livestock inspector in the employ of government celebrated the present and the opportunities that have been afforded to him. Witnessing the devastating impacts of the drought, at least three of the elders celebrated the relationship they had with the apartheid government and their role in cattle health. The children occupied the crevice between school and home-making choices influenced and streamed in their homes from television sets. They saw their futures as established in the cities, not as livestock inspectors or as heads of rural homesteads but in occupations and spaces that allowed a combination of the rural life they currently lived as well as owning livestock that they would employ others to tend. One child wanted to be a 'white man', meaning owning a farm as big as those of white large-scale farmers. Their choices are a reflection of what Gandhi (1998:6-7) saw as being caught up in voyeuristic gaze at our colonial masters whom we love and hate and being caught up in the dependence and the independence of such a relationship. The city lifestyles scaffolded by an education that in its poor status makes agriculture a theory subject and thus not attractive or a sustainable livelihood of choice and a rural lifestyle that has afforded fair but not the best of skills to look after livestock. The children therefore attain a fraction of what a quality education can offer and half of what a good home education can offer as most of the time is spent in school. One which leads them to the cities where they may end up adding to the statistics of the unemployed. The flashbacks into the past by the elders displayed a silencing of the confrontations, resistance and struggles of colonialisms from memory. This could be attributed to colonialism being more than a result of forced occupation but a continuous reach where its mutations manifest in preferences of a past when the present political administrators do not deliver the results the populace considered would characterise freedom. The other extreme is one where the immoral practices that people were critical of in the past and hated are tolerated. The past, present, current and potential futures need to be discussed in earnest and not be romanticised by the elders, teachers and children. The elders and teachers have a responsibility of not romanticising these for/to the children. The third spaces that the young ones slide into, those hybrid third spaces, must be ones that the teachings at home and schools channel them in imagining, defining and creating futures that feed the parched land, sustain faunal and floral biodiversity, its people, and create environmental harmonies and harmonious relationships between people and the planet and between people and people, as the surfacing of issues around children's safety reveals as necessary.

One of the ways to achieve the complexities outlined in this section is creating strategies and mechanisms that can slide between the spaces of home and school, letting the groupings of parents and teachers converse in meetings not only called up by the school, where agendas are not only informed by the school and a reversal of relations defined only by the school. Most parents, excluding those who were also teachers that I interviewed said that their role is to listen and understand what the teachers say as teachers speak the law and if the law is not observed, they risk being locked up and theirs is not to question but do as they are told because they want their children to be educated.

7.4 IN-BETWEEN NOTHINGNESSES

The idea and state of 'nothingness' as expressed by two Foundation Phase teachers from different schools left me puzzled. A teacher I interviewed told me that, "You can't be a person if you don't own cattle and goats". One parent in an interview told me when his son had arrived late at school his female teacher had said: "We are trying to give you bread for tomorrow, but your fathers are sending you to the dipping tank. They don't want you to learn but rather to be like them and be uneducated like them because they had to look after cattle. Today they are nothing."

These statements, in Bhabhaian terms, suggest that wedged in between the assumed nothingnesses exists something. In the context of these statement we are confronted by a state of ambivalence. Of course, in mathematical terms nothing exists between two nothings. The summarising of the collective of a male cattle owner into nothingness does not only peripherise and demasculate him and the basis of authority within the homestead context which is represented by the father, but questions and ridicules too. It further suggests that education may dehumanise those who have been 'held back' by tradition, while the other teacher's statement suggests that having cattle humanises and earns one respect and 'manliness' within Zulu communities. Culturally, men own the cattle and women the milk. The statements further suggest that instead of giving attention to the building of the whole child by enhancing the values of respect and integration within the community, some frown on and insult cultural practices. It further breaks down the critical bond in community contexts of respect for elders while also displaying the superiority complexes and violence exerted on cultural practices. The toil for the common good of the family, a value the father is trying to educate and instil in his child, is considered as nothing.

Kayira's (2013) study on re-learning roots by the youth through agriculture pointed out the tendency for the privileging of non-indigenous knowledge over indigenous knowledge. Her study (2013, p. 215) further troubled the positionality of the concept of '*ubuntu*' within modernising and universalising processes of colonial education and 'third space'. Her study revealed that ubuntu is about "respect and nurturing relationships between people and between people and nature" (also see Magadla, 2014). The elders in her study recommended that ubuntu be taught in schools. Masuku Van Damme and Neluvhalani (2004, p. 356) suggested that the lack of nurturing of such relationships cannot only be blamed on colonially imposed educational curricula particularly in South Africa, pointing out that:

We now seem to have (paradoxically and ironically) become participants in the subjugation of our own local ways of knowing as we participate in 'transformative' post-colonial/post-apartheid processes of educational and social reform in broader modernizing and globalising contexts.

The emergence of new curricula considered of relevance was regarded by the likes of me as the birth of the beautiful ones, Ayi Kwei Armah had told had not been, in her classic *The Beautiful ones are not yet born* (1968). The trainers of teachers, livestock inspectors and all those who engage in educational processes cannot afford to be the midwives of unsightly babies. Children who are rooted in the best of their cultures and the best that modernity can offer, combined with what the communities need and Africa needs, as articulated by Nyerere in Mayo (2013) can be the beautiful ones that Armah has promised would be born. Teachers and parents can sow the seeds that can produce such children.

Ubuntu/buntfu/umunthu/hunhu is an inclusive African philosophy that promotes and centres human relations by teaching one that *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* 'a person is a person through other people'. Excluding others, especially in a school context, is contrary to indigenous ways of relating to each other. Processes of dehumanising others robs the one performing such acts of being humane. In essence, the hybridity within the erasure of others is self-erasure. Ubuntu can be used with other concepts, for example, in recognising the social nature of inclusivity that surfaces from concepts such as 'funds of knowledge'. The use of funds of knowledge would according to Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti (2005, p. 43) mean that "teachers can use the communities' funds of knowledge in proactive and life affirming ways, not just as a source of differences that are compared with mainstream practices". In these ways we would experience education and the culturally inherited practices as a processes of re-instilling ubuntu.

Going back to the teacher's statements, the first one specifically (without cattle you are nothing) could be looked at within the values that if you have not tended and sustained the life of another, you are nothing. It is in synch with Kayira's statement on Ubuntu, as an act of nurturing the human-nature relationship. The values associated with caring for cattle that children learn presents a wealth of knowledge and a teacher who makes such a statement is likely to recognise the critical links between such values and the indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing and doing when relating with children who are cattle herders. We need therefore to consider our engagements in teacher training within the academy as a "protest against the representational violence of colonial discourse" as the one by which teachers commit to the "onerous task of consciousness raising" (Gandhi, 1989, p. 77). When practices of elders associated with values such as looking after animals are enveloped and branded with reductionist terms such as 'nothinging' we see the play of knowledge/power processes alongside modernist colonialist educational processes which assume overall licence to perpetuate the classification of knowledge forms into superior and inferior.

Wa Thiong'o (1986, p. 3) considered the nothinging of others as a by-product of colonial education which makes one frown upon one's heritages, capacities and oneself. He said that people begin to "see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland" and "imperialism presents itself as the cure". Such imperialism is referred to by Gordon (2014, p. 86) as 'disciplinary decadence' who says that "it takes the form of one discipline assessing all other disciplines from its supposedly complete standpoint". The assumption that herding cattle creates stupidity has its seed in forcing formal education on the children of the colonised. One of the elders I interviewed related his father's resistance to enrolling him at school and how he eventually had to give in. Education as a civilising process was considered as critical for erasing the perceived toil of servitude to nothingness of the encountered, as alluded to by colonialist Lord Hailey (1938). The resilience of colonial education (see Nyamnjoh, 2012) manifests in the transferral and meting out of its violence by the colonised on the colonised. The lament of De Sousa Santos (2005, p. xviii) on the role of colonial science has relevance. He said that: "in the name of modern science, many alternative knowledges and sciences have been destroyed, and the social groups that used these systems to support their own autonomous paths of development have been humiliated" as was the case with the father of the child.

Lest we forget, De Sousa Santos (2009, p. 119) reminded us that any scholarly knowledge that has no relevance for practical life and experience is irrelevant. Dipping cattle makes sure that cattle stay healthy so that when they are traded they bring money home so that parents can buy shoes that their children wear to school. This makes the livestock owning father and his cattle relevant in the child's education. De Sousa Santos further highlighted that "the priority given to practices brings about fundamental change regarding ways of knowing in presence" which for me as an educationist and environmentalist is something I think we should constantly struggle towards. This is eloquently represented by the work of O'Donoghue, Shava and Zazu (2014) in its ways of looking back, bringing out African practices, bringing in current thinking, bringing and working together to bring about positive change. This is a way of subverting what Nyamnjoh (2012, p. 4) called an education that subjects one to cultural violence, self-hate and mimicry. De Sousa Santos (2009, p.118) exemplified the complexes and power/knowledge dynamics and relations within community contexts and the Western academy by relating Nicholas Cusa's 2002 dialogue between the Idiot who is poor, illiterate and a maker of wooden spoons and the Orator:

The Orator provokes the Idiot: 'How presumptuous of you, poor Idiot, to thus diminish the study of letters, without which no one progresses!' ... The Idiot replies: 'It is not presumption, great Orator, that prevents me from remaining silent, but charity. Indeed, I see you devoted to the quest for wisdom with much futile toil ... The opinion of authority turned you, a free man by nature, into something rather like a horse tied to the manger by a tether and eating only what is served to him. Your knowledge feeds on the authority of those who write, it is limited to an alien, not natural pasture ... But I tell you that wisdom cries out in the markets and its clamour resounds in the squares.'

The hybrid spaces between the views held by these Foundation Phase teachers that looking after cattle begets nothingness and that not having cattle reduces one to nothingness are not only about cattle but comment on the role of the academy and the need to unsilence the continuing silencing and privileging of other ways of knowing. The statement of the teacher who belittles the boy's father raises the need to embark on processes of engaging with teachers so that they may unlearn ways of knowing that cast others into inferior roles. The legally imposed artificial engagements such as the school meetings with those cast in such roles by administrators of education activities such as parent-teacher meetings are superficial. They explain why school meeting agendas are set by the school and result in unidirectional chatter. If the transformation of school boards does not consider

giving parents an authentic voice, the subaltern view will continue to be silenced. As the Idiot, who is not a nothing, said: “it is not presumption that prevents me from remaining silent but charity”. Those engaged in the promotion of erudite knowledge are only teaching children mimicry (see Nyamnjoh, 2012) and what is needed is dialogues with others by tapping into the sources of knowledge and practices that the children bring to school (see p’Bitek 1984).

7.5 CURRICULUM PRIVILEGING AND EXCLUSIONS

In light of the above discussion, I open this section with sentiments I identify with echoed by the late South African educationist, Es’kia Mphahlele, in 1990 (2002, p. 51): “I don’t know who in particular draws up curricula and syllabi in this country. Very few people will tell you”. This seems like a question on the lips of many African scholars such as Nyamnjoh (2012) and Dei (2012, p. 109). Dei raised four questions which are:

- Who makes educational policies?
- What are the particular experiences they bring to their work?
- What theoretical perspectives shape their ideas?
- And whose interest do these policies serve?

Mphahlele said that “a school should no longer be content to be like a light flickering in the dark. The school’s curriculum should make it imperative for pupils to contribute to their environment, which is also its human setting” (2002, p. 44).

Mphahlele’s statement further serves as commentary to the situation I encountered in my research site, where schools are the flickering light in the distance to which children cross via a rickety bridge in the morning and back home in the afternoon. A plethora of diverse issues that the community struggled with included environmental issues such as disposable napkins floating in areas where cattle drank, water scarcity, soil erosion, a devastating drought and deaths of livestock, the absence of fodder alternatives and total reliance and dependence on rain water for subsistence for drinking water for livestock, farming and grazing. The story of climate change, as a complex yet explainable sad tale, is difficult to fathom by those who inherited reminders of seasonality from their forebears captured in the name of each month (see, for instance, names of the months in isiZulu). There is hardly any correlation between the indigenous names for months with current seasonal events. Within the Foundation Phase where seasonality is one of the curricular topics, forging an

understanding on seasonality based on indigenous historical names of months would explain and trouble climate changes for adults and the young. Mphahlele's enquiry on who these people are who craft and dispense these curricula and the points I listed above posed by Dei's are relevant and need practical answers if hybrid spaces such as the one I have given an example of through the names of seasons are to be realised. Without an exhaustive venture into the debates around curriculum and curriculum theory, I thought it worthwhile to peruse some of the thinking that informs curriculum from within South Africa and without. Heubner (1966) in Paraskeva (2011, p. 172) advocated a serious rethinking and reform of curriculum theory.

I was encouraged by a study by Amanti (2005), a teacher who was teaching a topic on horses which resonated with my subject of cattle and how she went about it. Amanti's involvement included visiting children's homes and as a result she found out that they knew a lot about horses. This enabled her to approach the topic broadly, integrating her learners' knowledges and experiences with horses. Amanti (2005, p. 135) revealed that:

Once it had become clear to me that a substantial portion of my class had background knowledge and experiences related to horses, and once I decided to implement a module on this topic, I began collecting resources such as books and videos, and contacting guest speakers, including my students' parents.

My argument that the word 'curriculum' can be used as a gatekeeping state-sponsored concept to privilege certain forms of knowledge above others is not an original one. The P and S in South Africa's CAPS stand for Policy Statements. Policy is law and prescriptive and the whole assessment criteria that accompanies these statements are prescribed to be implemented even though one may argue that they allow creativity. Having said that, it does not mean that first teachers do not apply their creativity in teaching, but may either do so in the absence of the learning resources that are supposed to aid the learning, or they may despair and those with the said resources may meet the stipulated objectives. Secondly, when the state contracts its responsibilities it does not necessarily mean that it has abandoned its agenda, it actually monitors that its purpose is secure and well enunciated. For some South African educators who witnessed the disservice of an apartheid education policy, post-1994 meant optimism and a view that all new pedagogical processes would decolonise the inherited apartheid education politics and systems. Mignolo (2008, p. 18) cautioned thus:

Decolonization of knowledge, however does not mean that the state is no longer in question, but that the state, as controller of authority, depends on the enactment of the conception of knowledge (political theory).

Gardener (2008, p. 7) reminded us that the Constitution, various education acts and policies coherently echo the view that “all learners must have access to the same quality of learning and teaching, similar facilities and equal educational opportunities”. The incident of a child drowning in faecal excrement in one of the rural schools in 2014 (Ryan, 2017) is proof that such legal dictates are a faraway dream. The reality in South Africa is that the terms such as rural, urban and poverty are fluid. Schools in different areas have suffered different forms of neglect and it is not easy to box them into rural or/and urban labels as some are in informal settlements in urban areas, are farm schools, or/and mud schools and may be found within the rural, peri-urban or/and rural areas (Mandela Foundation Report, 2005). Gardener (2008) cited KwaZulu-Natal as one of the provinces that has received considerable neglect.

In South Africa, CAPS represents one quarter of the curriculum and the rest is made up of teachers, the schools and the environments they exist within, learning support materials and context and the subject area content. Distilling my argument from the data presented in Chapters 5 and 6, I am left with the view that the reality which one teacher articulated of CAPS (being specific to my research context) for agriculture electives at the FET level as a ‘curriculum of imaginations’ is a truthful possibility. The teacher basically meant that in the absence of certain aspects, the curriculum referred to as supportive to prescribed content, which the learners had never been exposed to, had to be imagined through descriptions, either from the teacher or from textbooks. The teachers were ill-prepared or untrained to cope with such challenges. Secondly, the school teaching context with the absence of water and other resources such as compost, fences etc. made it impossible for the teachers to teach a subject that by its nature is practical as a theoretical subject. Thirdly, the content to be dealt with as prescribed in CAPS as well as that which is in the textbooks was disconnected from the realities of teachers, context and those of the learners.

Debates on curriculum theory are very much alive in South Africa. Young and Muller’s (2016), definition of curricula and its purpose is not only interesting but also a cause for concern. Muller is an influential professor of education in South Africa whose work influenced the revision of OBE to RNCS and CAPS. According to these curriculum experts, “the curriculum is a form of specialised

knowledge, optimally designed to enable students to gain access to the best knowledge available in the field” (Young and Muller, 2016, unnumbered book opening page). Specialised knowledge which is powerful and privileged exists within a particular field of study and such knowledge would not exist anywhere else. Young and Muller’s (2016) further statement promotes disciplinary decadence (Gordon, 2014) which Gordon explained as a process “of one discipline assessing all other disciplines from its supposedly complete standpoint”. Formal education they argued, “is to ensure that as many as possible of each cohort or age group are able to acquire the knowledge that takes them beyond their experience and which they would be unlikely to have access to at home, at work or in the community” (p. 56). This statement is embedded with many assumptions as well, such as that the place where this curriculum is enacted is in formal education. The second one is that the experiences within formal education are not likely to be had anywhere else. Another supposition is that all homes and communities are the same. The postulation does not envisage that homes can be sites of formal learning i.e. if we may visualise educational institutions and teachers out of the confines of formal education would that mean no formal education would happen? Another suggestion is that specialised knowledges do not exist in homes and community settings and therefore teachers would not allow learners to bring these into the classrooms but the focus would rather be on the collected package of the designed curriculum. This would render the classroom space as one that does not recognise home or community-based prior learning. Within the statement is a lack of recognition that within the home and community context, formal education, for instance, traditional healing, rites of passage, looking after cattle, are formalised even though the models and mediums of knowledge impartation or learning may be different from those employed in formal education settings and/or institutions. The fact that a curriculum is written out does not necessarily mean that those which are not written out are of an inferior status. The assessment within traditional healing may, for instance, be the proper identification of plants and administering of medicine accordingly or proper diagnosis of sicknesses. From formal learning one may walk backwards into community contexts and acquire knowledge that cannot be acquired within the walls of the classroom.

I give attention to the arguments by Young and Muller (2016) to point out that there is a tendency from curriculum developers to rely on so-called experts to ‘design’ curricula. The CAPS at Foundation Phase for Beginning Knowledge is an example of this, hence children’s prior learning within home and community contexts is hardly recognised. The knowledge learnt at home and in

community contexts gets relegated to the status of common-sense knowledge, if not ignored. In my case study, this is evidenced by the comment by one of the children that they mostly learn about brown cows at school when they herd cattle of a variety of colours at home (see Figure 7.1 that follows). Such categorisation then deprives the children the opportunity of learning from each other's home experiences, from elders and peers as well as from community contexts and experiences. An example given by Lotz-Sisitka (2009) of a child bringing homework locked in abstract terms such as 'commensalism and mutualism' was assisted by her to visualise these, with examples in the environment of a tick egret in the company of a cow and a lichen on a tree. Lotz-Sisitka's purpose with this example was not to show that she knew better but to point out that not all parents would have the means to tackle such homework. The example was meant to question the teaching practices within the very formal structures that are promoted by Young and Muller. The schools are failing to offer this perceived powerful knowledge as can be seen from one of the schools I visited where Agriculture had become a theoretical subject because of the unavailability of teaching resources. Another point that Lotz-Sisitka made is that (2009, p. 70) "knowledge structures do exist outside of our constructions of them, and that existent knowledge pre-exists new knowledge", writing away arguments that privilege so-called specialised knowledge as existing in school such as those of Young and Muller. These arguments are consistent with the views of Rogoff (2011), Rogoff, Matusov and White (1996).



Figure 7.1: Brown cows only in school books

To build bridges between the home and school it would be interesting to explore the concept of 'home work' and its links to school as home-based projects – that the teacher can visit and access such as gardens, as a way of applying what they have learnt in the places where they live, home. There needs to be a rethinking of what home work should be – in this way intergenerational learning is promoted, instead of it being a burdensome thing. It should not be constituted as internet research in the community library but hands-on research and products that benefit the community. In many instances homework enables a learner to do what could not be done at school owing to time constraints and this creates irritations from some parents, as alluded to in Chapter 6 and despair, especially when children have not received clear instructions (see Lotz-Sisitka, 2009). There are exceptions of course; some teachers use it as a way of inviting parents to play a role in the education of their children as displayed by the teacher in section 6.4.

To broaden the home and school and the home-school in-between space, as learning contexts, Gonzalez (2005, p. 430) clarified the importance of transcending the boundaries of classroom-defined curricula by pointing out that:

The purpose of drawing on students' experience with household knowledge is not merely to reproduce household knowledge in the classroom. ... Instead by drawing on household knowledge, student experience is legitimated as valid, and classroom practice can build on familiar knowledge bases that students can manipulate to enhance learning in mathematics, social studies, language arts and other content areas.

Gordon (2014, p. 87) argued that "disciplines should simply work alongside each other like ships passing in the night. A more hopeful route is *transdisciplinarity* where disciplines work *through* each other". Drawing on the homework example that Lotz-Sisitka (2009) referred to, to discuss the Mpembeni context of the chickens that hunt for ticks that fall off when the cows rub themselves against the kraal structures, the terms from school, 'mutualism and commensualism', could have been explained better. Also, in my data collection phase, I felt an immersion into curricula of varied sorts. For instance, there was some order and structure at the homestead where I lived which formed the collective of actions related to how the cattle were attended to. I gathered from the interviews with elders that this collective of 'thought and how-to experience', though not written had been inherited not as master methods, but constantly underwent context and reality congruent adaptations. The adaptations were not only through the hands of people but were also shaped by environmental situations, such as droughts, floods and wind conditions. The

intergenerational learning that I encountered was therefore a result and response to the fluidity and convoluted processes that are at play within these contexts.

An assembly of our foremost curriculum thinkers in education in South Africa was published by Pinar (2012). Even though it was written at a time before the students' movements for decolonising tertiary education spaces, such as the Rhodes Must Fall Movement and the demand for access to tertiary education through the Fees Must Fall movements, it remains very relevant as a representation of views on curricula at that time and currently in some quarters. Pinar (2012, back cover page) said that

Curriculum is the scholarly effort – inspired by theory in the humanities, arts, and interpretive social sciences – to understand the curriculum defined here as “complicated conversation”. Rather than the formulation of objectives to be evaluated by (standardised) tests, curriculum is communication informed by academic knowledge, and it is characterised by educational experience.

I agree with Pinar to a certain extent, most particularly that a curriculum is a complicated conversation. What I don't agree with is his narrowing, privileging and simplification of curriculum to a scholarly effort, fed by academic knowledge and characterised by academic experience. I am still to learn what that academic experience is. Even if curricula may currently be recognised as scholarly efforts, we need to imagine a curriculum that is not arrested by a universalised colonial definition and recipes of curriculum designs and objectives. Such a universalised definition privileges particular voices and excludes others. If the calls of university students for curriculum review can be heard so should the voices of community members and parents on the aspects that should inform the Basic Education curriculum in South Africa. In the context of the Rhodes Must Fall, Fees Must Fall movements, the third space, an in-betweenness between the academic curriculum which (a) students considered as a continued imposition of colonialities, and (b) lecturers regarded as authorities on what should constitute the collective of knowledge that the students must have, coupled with an experience and 'I know what's good for you' approach, had stretched the contours between (a) and (b) to exploding proportions (see Heleta, 2016 and Maserumule, 2015). The students' seizure of this in-betweenness with their discontent has facilitated something new – new debates – and forced a careful engagement with curricula in the broadest sense into unimagined terrains (Maserumule, 2015). Mignolo (2013, p. 133) referred to processes such as these and the significance of the engagement of border thinking by pointing out that “decoloniality focuses on changing the terms of the conversation and not only its content”. My

view is that as long as the fountain source of formal education remains a mimicry of empiricist pedagogy, the gates of higher education will continue to be battlefields for curriculum transformation. There is an in-betweenness that is being ignored between these levels of education and training. The Department of Basic Education has maintained a deafening silence while these debates have been going on at a safe distance. In my study there was only one parent from those I interviewed whose child had pursued a tertiary degree as a veterinary doctor and the father, who is a traditional livestock herbalist, took credit for his son's career choice.

The situation within basic education and training has challenges which may differ from one school to another. There is an evident discord that warrants an intermediation between the triangular connect meeting points of the school resources (availability or unavailability) – teachers – and CAPS. The hybrid third spaces between these three (school resources, teachers, CAPS) have come about from the absencing of views of learners by curriculum developers, who in the tertiary institutions have found and asserted their voices. Learners at the Foundation Phase cannot invade these spaces which should rather be sagaciously inhabited by parents and guardians who may potentially have the agency (though denied and likely not realised) and who command the language that articulates their expectations and demands for curricula of relevance. The views of parents of children at the Basic Education level have been subalternarised by an education system that singlehandedly, alongside its education stakeholders, claims to be well equipped and informed on how to unleash the country's children's full potential. If CAPS is a legislated process, why were public consultation processes not conducted with the critical stakeholders – parents – as is the case with similar legislated processes in government departments? Different from the general consultations, these should have gone as deep as the critical stakeholders who are parents. We also need to begin to define what a curriculum should be beyond the confines and dictates of a Constitution as constitutions are also taken over by events and are not immortal prescripts. I propose that we imagine an inclusive education.

In my view, South Africa's curriculum should result from engaged conversations, with earth, people, contexts and times (the past, present and future) which would characterise a complicated curriculum conversation which Paraskeva (2011) also made reference to. Paraskeva (2011, p. 172) who offered transformative views of perceiving and working with curricula drew his inspiration from Deleuze who, according to him, allows us to see curriculum as "(a) a way of

deterritorialization, (b) as an act of becoming, and (c) as a simulacrum". He further raised a number of questions which are critical in curriculum development processes which should be (have been) considered in future curriculum revisions in South Africa. More so, because the current education system was constructed on an inherited education practice that was structured on exclusions. Such exclusions are still evident between schools in rural and urban areas, townships, farms, informal settlements and those that are funded by parents and alumni called former model C schools and private schools, despite the Education Act's prescription that all children should have equal education opportunities (South African Schools Act, 1996). Paraskeva's concerns related back to the assertions made by Young and Muller (2016) on powerful knowledge and are articulated in the questions that he says are worth considering for complicated curriculum conversation processes. The questions are as follows (2011, p. 144):

Who is part of the conversation and why? Who is not part of the conversation and why not? What kinds of issues are at the core of the conversation? Where are the voices of real teachers and real students? What is the impact of the conversation on classroom practices? Who benefits from that "complicated" conversation? In which language(s) will this conversation occur?

Fataar (2016) deliberated on how this should be implemented. He proposed an interaction between students' knowledge and school knowledge that would establish credibility of their ideas and perspectives. Much work has been done as a backdrop to his proposals and trialling of his work (see Masuku, 1999; Sinyama, 2011; Zazu, 2012; Maqwelane, 2011).

If the agendas of the curriculum conversations around office tables are occupied and dominated by those who claim to hold specialised powerful knowledge, the continued dispensing of colonial metanarratives disguised as powerful knowledge will continuously creep into classrooms where teachers are little trained to hasten their progress and understand their complexities. As long as curricula are not considered as complex curriculum conversations and ignore the realities and natural disasters such as climate change that the learners experience on a daily basis, education will not benefit from the wider spaces that the learners inhabit.

A different point, yet curricula-related, made by Paraskeva (2011) is on 'internationalisation'. He said that for many outside the West, internationalisation happened decades ago; however, the question to be asked is whether such internationalisations have allowed conversations that

challenge epistemicides to surface or are drowned. The debate in South Africa's higher education is gaining ground but not at levels beneath that. Gardener's (2008, p. 19) question is an answer to a question that Paraskeva later asks in 2011. Gardener's response articulated possibilities while posing questions about the obstacles that stand in the way for this curricula of possibilities. He said:

... what about a school that deliberately combines local knowledge with the internationally accepted knowledge which schools usually impart? These two forms of knowledge might be woven together in the curriculum so as to enable rural learners to fulfil themselves in individual and collective ways, to live productively in the twenty-first century, to participate in a democratic society and live according to the values of the Constitution. There are strong arguments both for and against such an idea.

Gardener's response plays to the hybrid third space that Bhabha advances except that he overlooks the backward walk of enabling urban learners to understand that their upstream garbage has negative impacts for downstream dwellers, that milk comes from cows and that cattle in the veld are beef on the table. His statement is however caught in the sentiments echoed by the basic education curriculum which fails to recognise that there are other forms of knowledge beyond Western knowledges that might be congruent to the African world as one that has gone through the pangs of colonialism that Africa has experienced. Instead of privileging one form of knowledge above another, we need to look at the possibility of surfacing new ways that can fulfil the yearnings of many learners and involve them in realising these rather than leaving it in the hands of teachers, parents or CAPS.

An interesting parallel too is how the compartmentalisation of knowledge into higher and lower order hierarchies (localised or internationalised, formal and informal education, knowledgeable others and serviced others) does not acknowledge that research is not a neutral process but a disciplinary informed and epistemic discipline. Research needs to be implicated in real complicated conversations to open up the flow of knowledge into areas it has been restricted from. It was for that reason that I shared back my findings in shareable conversations between the research respondents and participated in the unpuzzling of conflictual issues. In my case study, for example, the issue of who pays for cattle dipping chemicals kept on reappearing in conversations. A number of elderly community members held the view that the cattle dipping chemicals were too watery and weak to kill the many ticks that their cattle had. First, the health status of the cattle had been compromised by the drought and this meant that they attracted more ticks. They associated the

increase of the ticks with the weakness of the dipping tank water. They said they felt they were being poorly serviced by the livestock inspectors because they believed that the contributions they made were for buying dipping chemicals. Therein lay a wedge between the respected livestock inspectors who serviced the community and the serviced community members who felt dependent on the service of the educated livestock inspectors.

I was privileged to be within the wedge of these misunderstandings. Technically, I temporarily occupied the bubbling hybrid third space. I elected to have a complicated conversation with one of the livestock inspectors. The response from him was that the money that community members contributed was used for the maintenance of the dipping tank structures. First, the purchase of dipping tank chemicals was carried out by government as well as all the service support they received from the livestock inspectors. Secondly, community members did not understand that chemicals for dipping have to be changed as the ticks become resistant to them over time. This conversation led to the livestock inspector scheduling a meeting to address these matters with community members. This would not have happened had I not stretched my research role beyond my research interest and traditional research role. This was not the only matter in which I oscillated between with different community groupings. Other conversations were (a) between schools and NGOs, (b) between community elders and subject teachers on their potential roles as subject resource supporters, (c) between the community livestock owners and the livestock inspector on the advantages of moving dipping days from working days to Saturdays. Critical in all this is the extent to which the bounds of my research as a curricula enterprise were stretched and also how my engagement of these different community groupings contributed to my learning. My university education and the insights gained in the research field, like a plumber's plunger, assisted in unblocking the flow of relations. My actions spoke to Mphahlele's (2002, p. 48) view of "education as community development *for* community development".

Pinar added further relevant questions to the ones that Paraskeva had raised. For Pinar (2012, p. 210), "the central curriculum question – *what knowledge is of most worth?* – invokes in its answering subjectivity, society, and the historical moment as it directs us to ideas and Knowledge (such as the Cold war) that encourage us to articulate what is at stake not only for us teachers and students, but as persons struggling to understand what we experience." Pinar's question does not only talk to my study but serves as commentary, especially on the existing conflicts between the

school, home/pasture. Young and Muller (2016) have already, in universalised tones, defined the knowledge that they consider worthy and defined it for all others. The centrality of the questions Paraskeva and Pinar raise are the bedrock on which curricula in South Africa should be built, considering the exclusions that an educational strategy of separate development imposed on education. As much as we may lay emphasis on curricula that are context defined we should also not fall into the trap of privileging local knowledge above what Young and Miller referred to as powerful knowledge, because this will simply be an exercise of replacing one knowledge with the other. Bhabha (1994) referred to such actions as reductionist oversimplifications.

In discussing values that define curriculum matters at school, Gardener (2008, p. 19) expressed the view that ... “the school curriculum as well as the image of teachers and parents are said by some to be based on Western middle-class culture, promoting what is probably a very different set of values from those that many children observe at home.” This means that parents expect the interaction of their children with the curriculum and with their teachers to result in catapulting children from the values they have at home to Western middle-class values. These may be aspirations that could have been promoted by media such as television and lifestyles that the children are far from being exposed to in real life. Hybridity by its nature can be disruptive and contentious, resulting in what is regarded within postcolonial theory as catalysis, a process that paves the way to new forms of identity and experiencing. This may relate to languages as well, where parents elect that their children are not taught in local languages. Some of these parents may derive pleasure in experiencing them speaking in languages that they don’t understand themselves but, in their views, have potential in buying them status and fill a void of deprivation that they have suffered. The question that rings true amongst many parents could be ‘why invest in what you already know, when you can invest in what you don’t know?’; the question can be extended to ‘why not invest in what you know so that you can know it better alongside what you don’t know?’

Spivak’s response to education (in Andreotti, 2011, p. 45) is an interesting one where education FOR is not a paternalistic relationship but one of answerability where the so-called expert can be called to answer on curriculum intent. This is an education that should aim to “build the habit of democratic civility through the activation of an ethical imperative conceptualized as a responsibility to the Other (as answerability or accountability and not “for” the Other (as a burden of the fittest).” I identify with Spivak’s concept of FOR and its intents on answerability within the South African

context as critical and that all members of society beyond the Department of Basic Education should constantly be asked to respond to all the complexities that are prevalent in the curriculum.

A number of master's and PhD studies dating as far back as 1995 in formal education and community settings have been conducted at Rhodes University, in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa (see appended abstracts in appendixes 7 & 8). There are a few that have specifically dealt with the Foundation Phase. These are:

- Mtshali (1994) conducted an investigation of environmental knowledge of two rural communities in KwaZulu-Natal;
- Masuku (1999) sought to understand what the role of indigenous knowledge in environmental education processes was;
- Asafo-Adjei (2004) undertook a study that foregrounded agricultural knowledge in school-based curriculum development;
- Kachilonda (2005) investigated local community contributions to a fisheries management curriculum for a college in Malawi;
- Hanisi (2007) uses Nguni fermented food as a launch pad to explore working with indigenous knowledge in the life sciences;
- Jolly (2007) looked at amaXhosa women's narratives on traditional foods to explore co-engaged learning;
- Kota (2007) explored local food choices and nutrition for a consumer studies curriculum;
- Mandikonza (2007) related indigenous knowledge practices and science concepts in a secondary teacher-training programme;
- Mdlungu (2007) investigated how environmental learning and teaching support materials can influence team planning, teaching and learning activities at the Foundation Phase;
- Ncula (2007) explored food gardens, environmental lesson planning and active learning in the life orientation area at the Foundation Phase;
- Shava (2008) looked at indigenous knowledge and its application using wild food plants in Zimbabwe;
- Zazu (2008) explored the opportunities and challenges for achieving the integration of indigenous knowledge systems into environmental education processes in Zimbabwe;
- Shonhai (2009) explored social learning processes of HIV/AIDS women caregivers on their use of traditional foods and medicinal plants;

- Sinyama's (2011) study focused on the enabling of social learning as a response to environmental issues through teaching a localised curriculum in Zambian schools; and
- Maqwelane (2011) examined how curriculum contextualisation contributes to environmental learning and relevance.

Studies at the PhD level include a study by Mokuku (2001) which explored environmental literacy using participatory research in Lesotho. Mokuku concluded that environmental literacy should draw strongly on local knowledge and understandings into the Science curriculum. Shava (2008) explored indigenous knowledge with a focus on a genealogy of representations in environmental education and developments in Southern Africa. He suggested that indigenous knowledge processes be foregrounded as processes of knowledge decolonisation. Belay's (2012) study used mapping to explore learning and change in a context of biocultural diversity and learning in Ethiopia. The study shows how participatory mapping can mobilise knowledge related to biocultural diversity and facilitate the acquisition of knowledge that can be used to negotiate identities and meaningful activities. All these works display a keen interest in the transformation of education within all these contexts with indigenous/local or and endogenous knowledge playing a significant role. (For detail on these studies see Appendices 7 and 8).

Mazrui's (2005, p. 77) views on education are also worth considering. The anthropological views he referred to are first those of '*romantic primitivism*' which is a celebration of what is simple about Africa. The example he gave was the salutation of the cattle-herder rather than the castle builder. He also made reference to '*...romantic gloriana*', which he said celebrates Africa's more complex achievements and salutes the pyramids of Egypt, the towering structures of Aksum. I wondered about these in the context of this study and chose a view where the concept of 'simple' must be considered as relative i.e. that the cattle herder and the castle builder are equally important and their knowledges are different and have their own complexities. The complex achievements should not be romanticised but must be considered as Africa's diverse yet related contribution to scientific, philosophical, mathematical and technological excellence in the world as a mark of Africa's genius. They should serve as a reminder of the stalling of Africa's progress and excellence as a result of slavery and the colonisation of Africa. What he termed '*romantic gloriana*' challenges the concept of '*romantic primitivism*'. Here the historicity and impacts of the global invasions of Africa must constitute a large part of the body of knowledge that explain the thwarting of Africa's development as explained by, for example, Fanon (1963) and Rodney (1983) etc.

Fataar's (2016) work in South Africa which is based on social justice with its aims at humanising pedagogy gives hope and excitement in its adventure to unearth issues that remain at the cleavages of educations of difference (i.e. home/pasture and formal schooling). He said that this pedagogy should include (2016, p. 10):

1) the question of knowledge redistribution, 2) recognition of the knowledges, literacies, and identities of students, and 3) an emphasis on participation that brings process pedagogical orientations back into view to counter the rigid pedagogical orientation that informs South Africa's curriculum approach.

7.5.1 Recommendations

Even though my concerns in the study were not so much about the formal school curriculum, the significance of my discussion above is to expose the mechanics at play and the agendas that inform the 'design' of one.

7.5.1.1 Education as community development for community development

Drawing from my case study findings and looking at ways that the curriculum development process can be an inclusive one, I want to privilege a recommendation made in 1990 by Es'kia Mphahlele (2002, p. 48) which still has relevance to this day. He proposed that:

What pupils and students learn and study should ideally be a way of *perceiving* one's community and developing awareness of its nature, its environment and needs. Community Development should imply 'in the interests of...' The curriculum must be seen to fit into the cultural, political and economic goals of the community, the local and national. Education *as* community development can take place from pre-school, through high school and later in a community dominated by adults.

Mphahlele's proposal I offer with great caution and add that care must be taken that it does not carry overloaded ambitions and expectations as Outcomes Based Education (OBE) did. Jansen (1998, p. 324) had cautioned that OBE was not what South Africa needed at that time amidst excitement of its inclusivity (see also Cross, 2002; Botha, 2002). Jansen (1998, p. 324) indicated that:

OBE as a curriculum is implicated in problematic claims and assumptions about the relationship between curriculum and society. Among advocates, OBE policy claims in South Africa are either associated with, stated as prerequisite for or sometimes offered as a solution to economic growth.

A similar interrogative analysis of Mphahlele's suggestion is necessary, despite the many benefits that a curriculum such as the one he proposes, may beget. Jansen's careful analysis of OBE which included some concerns which are still relevant for today's curriculum such as compromised teacher training and poor resources in schools. I am confident that Jansen would offer the same caution for Mphahlele's proposal. I am also doubtful that elders of the community and parents would welcome Mphahlele's proposal as an innovative idea because they have historically been regarded as incapable of participating in formal education initiatives by educationists in general. One teacher in my study even indicated that involving adults would raise challenges while another said that their role would be good in Creative Arts. This means that our determinations for the decolonisation of the curriculum must also take into consideration issues beyond the economy and include issues such as the impacts of diseases like HIV and AIDS and the role of grandparents in education, as well as global concerns such as climate change, as my study has shown. These have impacted home/pasture relations with those of school demanding that a variety of stakeholders beyond parents but also NGOs, play more and more of a role in school curriculum-related matters. Teachers are compelled to monitor and support children who are taking ARV's and must ensure that they are well fed through the school feeding scheme programmes to absorb the heavy side effects as was the case in my case study. I had the luck of listening and seeing examples of the work of Paul Gerdes (2011) from Mozambique whose work, like that of Robert O'Donoghue (see O'Donoghue, Shava and Zazu 2014), struck these cross-disciplinary conversations between his work in mathematics and the geometry of the local people which is illustrated in their basketry (see Nyamnjoh, 2012). Examples of their work are the closest examples I can think of that resonate with Mphahlele's proposal of education as community development for community development.

The following processes may be followed (not necessarily in the same order) as an attempt to action education as community development for community development.

- The partnering by curriculum developers with specific schools in each province: a farm school, an informal settlement school, a school in a deeply rural area, a school in the township, basically each category of school in its diversity. Trials of developing curriculum in consultation with parents and community leaders could be made. This process could also be considered as a research study to understand the contexts within which curriculums are imposed to gather views for teaching and learning as well as content. This is substantiated by Khupe and Keane (2017) who took guidance from those before them:

Goduka, Madolo, Rozani, Notsi, and Talen (2013) argued that for research to be relevant to, and improve the quality of life of indigenous participants, it needs to be rooted in indigenous worldviews, cultural values, and languages.

Findings emerging from the processes these scholars relate would guide curriculum development initiatives.

- There needs to be a careful analysis of community food security activities such as livestock husbandry and gardening, for instance, and agriculture in its broadest sense. Teachers would have to be trained to make in-roads into the communal areas next to schools and source products from them such as kraal manure to strengthen the realisation of curriculum objectives, specifically for those subjects such as agriculture.
- There must be a marrying or/and implementation of the concept of education *as* community development *for* community development alongside the so-called 'powerful knowledge' so that learners' potentials are unleashed in ways that they can contribute significantly locally and also influence debates in their subject areas internationally. It would enhance a process of 'think local and global, understand what is happening locally and globally and develop skills to address issues locally to promote intergenerational learning locally and globally'.
- Teachers could play a critical role based on their classroom experience on the resources within the community (involving the relevant resource people, dipping tanks, gardens) that could be utilised for curriculum support, such as model cattle farmers who students could visit to learn more about on animal husbandry.
- Awards for community contributors within the school environment should be given at the school prizegiving ceremony to recognise and promote community involvement and contributions.
- Learning from programmes, projects and examples that extend disciplines into communities (referred by Nyamnjoh as cross-disciplinary conversations) such as that of South Africa's environmental educationist Robert O'Donoghue and Mozambique's Paul Gerdes (2011). In addition, Kayira's (2013) study and others that I have listed which are detailed in Appendices 7 and 8 would go a long way in recognising homes in the community as potential sites of learning if practitioners in the sector would implement the recommendations that they make.

The involvement of teachers in community issues is important and working with schools to use resources in their vicinities, such as the local rivers to measure and study water quantity and quality in the late 1990s, should have continued (see Masuku, 1999). This was a project spearheaded by the Department of Water Affairs called the 20/20 Vision for Water which collaborated with programmes such as Share-Net in Howick and other educational NGOs. Water education resource materials were distributed to schools and learners for studying water quality and quantity at homes and the saving of water. These even included rain gauges to monitor rainfall at home. These results were also shared back at school. Educational initiatives of a national scale such as these should be re-introduced. In this particular study, some elderly community members complained about the way children's disposable napkins are disposed. These get eaten by livestock, especially pigs, and are also found in some of the water sources. The Mpembeni NGO Unyezi plays an important role in enabling social learning and assisting the local schools to address issues such as HIV and AIDS. Other NGOs such as this one should be encouraged to work with local schools.

Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti (2005, p. 84) even suggested that teachers could partner with researchers and function as co-researchers by "using qualitative methods to study household knowledge and drawing on this knowledge to develop a participatory pedagogy" as evidenced by Lotz (1996), Mokuku (2001), Sinyama (2011) and O'Donoghue, Shava and Zazu (2014). The involvement of elders in formal education settings would expose parents to what happens at school as evidenced. Their participation within formal and community settings must also be guided to make sure that there are synergies with what is learnt at school. This approach and model of course would begin to build confidence on the role elderly resource people could play. The study has also evidenced that parents would need to be conscientised on the benefits of being involved in school projects, particularly those who see the school teaching as the exclusive role of the teacher (see section 6.4). Some parents understand or/and forge paths to participate, the example of this is gogo Mtshali's role in initiating a garden at a school where she was a member of the governing committee to address issues of hunger (see section 6.7.2). Interventions such as those outlined by Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti (2005) and others are consistent with proposals surfacing from decolonial thought proponents such as Mignolo (2002b) and Grosfoguel (2008) on the Zapatistas' movements. Mignolo pointed out the overreliance on Western informed epistemologies and recommended a shift in the geography of reason from Western philosophers. The example of a process which is similar to the proposal I am making is the 'walking while asking questions' which is

what community education with the involvement of curriculum developers would entail. The difference in my proposal from what Grosfoguel suggested is that Western knowledge would sit side by side with local and traditional knowledge, in consistence with Homi Bhabha's hybrid third space. The 'walking while talking' and 'commanding while obeying' approach would have to be employed by both the curriculum developers and the local elders. With Grosfoguel (2008, p. 1), the centre of the walk would be managed by the grassroots players. In his words:

I propose that an epistemic perspective from the subaltern side of the colonial difference has a lot to contribute to this debate.

The aim for Grosfoguel (2011, unpagued) would be to destabilise "a spatial hierarchy that privileges the urban over the rural with the consequent destruction of rural communities, peasants and agrarian production at the world scale".

The other issue is that education as a means for rediscovering our identities, that the teachers who are older experiencers of, are held back by the restrictions of the curriculum as shown in this study. According to Khupe and Keane (2011, p. 35), "A teacher said in conversation at the end of the project of finding relevant science curriculum: 'Children will benefit because it is them who chose what they thought would help them'". Maqwelane (2011, iii) in the abstract of her master's thesis pointed out that:

Curriculum contextualisation in an integrated Foundation Phase programme can contribute to environmental learning with enhanced relevance and literacy skills. The evidence from working with learner knowledge and experience in a community context appears to be a key to meaningful curriculum contextualization in an integrated Foundation Phase programme producing enhanced literacy and relevance.

7.5.1.2 An itinerant curriculum theory

My analysis of the Foundation Phase CAPS convinced me of the existence of dominant systems that inform the thought and processes that structure it (see section 6.3). Such convincing was resultant from unearthed evidence, some of which I isolated for discussion here. One piece of evidence was the promotion of religion as well as the omission and othering of other belief systems. The second was the exclusion of agriculture at the same Phase and thirdly, the slant towards the commercialisation of the agriculture electives at the FET level vis-a-vis subsistence farming. Paraskeva is one of a number of theorists that offered strategies for the abandonment of such

systems. He suggested that “we need to fight for a curriculum theory and practice that departs from areas governed by the dominant systems of meaning that keep us confined within certain frameworks, but without neglecting or diminishing them. In a word we need to deterritorialize curriculum theory” (Paraskeva, 2011, p. 73). When the state contracts its responsibilities, it does not necessarily mean that it has abandoned its agenda; it actually monitors that its purpose is secure and well enunciated. The result of the kind of intervention that Paraskeva proposed is in consistence with Bhabha’s conception of the creation of new forms of knowledge. Paraskeva’s carefully conceptualised proposal is opposed to ‘throwing the baby out with the water’ but recommends something that “should be read as “an act of becoming, as something that seeks to produce difference and thus articulate new wor(l)ds” (p. 173). Bhabha emphasised, however, that the concern in instances such as those proposed by Paraskeva should not be that of looking at opposites and/or binaries but for the creation of new wor(l)ds by penetrating dominant systems that exist side by side with peripherised or unrecognised ones.

From my analysis it is evident that there are areas where members of the community talk past each other. This was the case with livestock inspectors and livestock owners; parents and teachers; and teachers and the resident NGO Unyezi. If according to Paraskeva (2011, p. 174), “education is a set of relationships in which the personal plays a leading role”, I would suggest that the school as a more formalised institution facilitates the stitching together of community relations by involving the community in some of its official programmes such as teaching children the songs and dances that are prescribed in the Creative Arts programme (see section 6.8.4). At the beginning of the term each should define a role it will play in the context of community issues and school curricula issues as part of a partnership. The chief as a community leader could call and chair the meeting. These players need to find each other for the sake of our children’s future (Lotz-Sisitka, 2014). To broaden the concept, neighbours such as the commercial farmers and the neighbouring Hluhluwe Umfolozi Park could be invited as potential supporters and resource sites and persons. If this would be the common approach, each community would respond to matters they are dealing with differently and also contribute to the proposal that Es’kia Mphahlele makes of education *as* community development *for* community development. Community players coming together for a common course to advance education, as proposed by Paraskeva, was also echoed by one of South Africa’s earliest Zulu authors Magama Fuze in his privately published (1922) *Abantu Abamnyama* (1982) book where he said:

For a long time I have been urging our people to come together and produce a book about the black people and whence they came from.

The consequence of not many initiatives doing just that and reliance on secondary text and colonially scribed accounts and archival records is articulated in Lalu (2009) as very problematic and a big contributor to the production of the concept of people without a history.

7.5.1.3 Critical Border Thinking and Action for curriculum decolonisation processes

The theory of border thinking is a marriage of what Mudimbe (1988, p. ix) refers to as gnosis which he considers as related to methods of seeking to know, higher ways of knowing out of the tangible realm of knowing, as well as a way of knowing one. When Mignolo refers to border thinking, he is referring to (Local Histories/Global Designs (2000, p.11);

Border gnosis as knowledge from a subaltern perspective is knowledge conceived from the exterior borders of the modern /colonial world system and border gnoseology as a discourse about colonial knowledge is conceived at the conflictive intersection of the knowledge produced from the perspective of modern colonialisms (rhetoric, philosophy, science) and knowledges produced from the perspectives of the colonial modernities of Asia, Africa and the Americas/Caribbean. Border gnoseology is a critical reflection on knowledge production from both the interior borders of the modern/colonial world system (imperial conflicts, hegemonic languages, directionality of translations etc.) and its exterior borders (imperial conflicts with cultures being colonized, as well as the subsequent states of independence or decolonization).

From this definition, critical border thinking is presented as critical of all knowledge production processes from the perspective of the subaltern as well as that of the colliding of knowledges and reproductions as such with the colonial worlds and at the spaces of their interaction which are at the periphery. These perspectives are informed by a critical subaltern perspective of being in/with the world he is part and not part of. Critical border thinking is therefore an epistemic intervention from diverse subaltern locations. It is a perspective that is of resonance within my study which is concerned with how parents and cattle herding children are perceived of in the schooling system and subalternarised. What is missing within the Mpembeni people and most likely other communities, is the agency, this is either self-denied or avenues remain shut from them to negotiate their identities and futures. Views from Mpembeni do not always subscribe to the definition of views that characterise critical border thinking. This could be because they are

shadowed and diluted by colonialist views that dull their perceptions of core and peripheral interactions between the coloniser and the colonised. This is evidenced by the views of the two teachers on what can be labelled as 'nothing' of those of them in the context of the colonising other. The nothinging of those of them by the one teacher based on his social practices is indicative of interactions with othering views of the coloniser.

Grosfoguel (2011, p. 3) proposed an embrace of critical border thinking as a counterhegemonic response which I consider as compatible with strategies for curriculum transformation. I have stretched Grosfoguel's proposal beyond thinking to that of action. Border thinking is with the hybrid third space concept, notion and actions for the creation of new knowledges and new truths. Border thinking is opposed to the extremes that are embedded in "Eurocentric and Third world fundamentalisms, colonialism and nationalism" (Grosfoguel, 2011, p. 13) that claim to profess universal truths. In South Africa currently, there is evidence that some of the apartheid structures in education have remained intact. Well-resourced schools were in the more urban and affluent areas, while the poorly resourced ones were in the township residential areas for Non-whites or rural areas. The Mpembeni schools, as far as learning support resources are concerned and staffing, cannot be compared to the schools in the affluent suburbs of areas like Sandton in Johannesburg, where the salaries of teachers are subsidised by parents. These extremes result in determinations and assumptions on subject streams; for instance that certain areas qualify to offer particular subjects i.e. Agriculture will flourish in schools in rural areas. These are made without proper feasibility assessments, ignoring the in-between that divides the assumptions and realities of the third space that electronic media occupies which reshapes wants and ambitions as evidenced by the children with laptops on my study site (see section 7.3).

Secondly, Albert Luthuli (2006, p. 23) counselled that in our plight and desperation for freedom as Africans, "we have an intense wish to preserve what is valuable in our heritage while discarding the inappropriate and outmoded". The way to go about decolonising the knowledge that we regularly dispense uncritically as part of the colonial heritage especially in schools by teachers and in communities by livestock inspectors, would warrant, as advised by Grosfoguel (2011, p. 3) that we "take seriously the epistemic perspective/cosmologies/insights of critical thinkers from the Global South thinking from and with subalternized racial/ethnic/sexual spaces and bodies" if our aims are epistemic disobedience or suppressing disciplinary decadence (Gordon, 2014). This would further

demand that the perspectives from subaltern locations are given space to shape the national dialogues. In the context of this study, that would be the curriculum. In the current South Africa, the dominant views that shape curriculum are centred in Pretoria and not informed by grassroots views and ambitions. Pretoria the seat of power, the centre of the country, determines and dispenses what each locale needs from a curriculum point of view.

According to Mignolo (2000, p. 19),

Border gnosis or border thinking is in dialogue with the debate on the universal/particular, on the one hand and with Michel Foucault's notion of "insurrection of subjugated knowledges," on the other. Furthermore, border thinking/gnosis could serve as a mediator between the two interrelated issues I am introducing here; subjugated knowledges and the universal/particular dilemma. A link between Foucault's notion of subjugated knowledge and Darcy Ribeiro's subaltern knowledges allows me to reframe the dilemma of the universal particular through the colonial difference.

Debates on decolonisation usually throw up dichotomies and Mignolo (2000, p. 19) said that in such situations, dialogic processes based on border thinking play an important role by troubling such dichotomies and hybridities and working in between them. As much as he recognises that Foucault was not thinking of processes with the geographies of the South, his work serves as commentary of the processes that were unfolding in the South and have a catalytic role to play in highlighting and awakening our thoughts to channelling our gaze to what concerns us as Africans.

7.5.1.4 An ecology of knowledges

Another proposition that has counterhegemonic intents for troubling the universalising objectives of colonising curricula comes from De Sousa Santos (2007). He advocated that we forge ahead with reinventing social emancipation strategies and actions which should be premised on (2007, p. xx):

replacing the "monoculture of scientific knowledge" by an "ecology of knowledges" "... the ecology of knowledges is an invitation to the promotion of non-relativistic dialogues amongst knowledges granting "equality of opportunities" to the different kinds of knowledges engaged in ever broader epistemological disputes aimed at both maximizing their respective contributions to build a more democratic and just society and at decolonising knowledge and power.

I have seen harmonious intents between 'ecologies of knowledge' and what Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti (2005) have termed 'funds of knowledge'; however the concept of funds of knowledge is

discussed with pedagogical contexts with an intent of fostering respectful relations between communities and schools.

What De Sousa Santos argued for here is not an easy path and may require a sophistication that our current teachers at Foundation Phase can little manage because of the training they were exposed to and continue to receive to respond to the continued curricula transformations that incessantly take place in South Africa. Most are people that were brought up through the 'learning by observing and pitching-in' process that Rogoff diagrammatically presented in Figure 4.1 (see Correa-Chavez, Mejia-Arauz & Rogoff, 2015) and it would take training to bring out what is described in the O'Donoghue diagram (Chapter 3, Figure 3.2). Some of the studies in Appendices 7 and 8 show that this can be done. The Maqwelane (2011) and Sinyama (2011) studies show that such practices are possible if teachers are given space and support to develop their ideas and practice. There is evidence that the De Sousa Santos proposal would require from teachers and even from community developers, such as NGOs and livestock inspectors, careful listening, sensitivity and patience while working with small groups of learners and elders whose voices must all be heard such as in the Belay (2012) study. Gonzalez (2005, p. 44) shared some views where the concept of funds of knowledge can aid De Sousa Santos's proposal. According to Gonzalez, it is worth using the funds of knowledge concept as:

a heuristic device provides teachers with a pragmatic avenue to engage with their students' lives. It allows the possibility of seeing beyond the classroom and glimpsing the circulating discourse and shifting fields of power that shape students' lives. Most importantly we are able to conceptualise the hybridity that emerges from the intersection of diverse funds of knowledge,

De Sousa Santos and Gonzalez' views go beyond investigations within binaries but acknowledge the hybridity within these contexts and demand the rejection of relativistic positions as indicated by O'Donoghue, Shava and Zazu (2014) and Figure 3.2. His proposal challenges stances of uncritical peace making tolerance in contexts which warrant epistemic disobedience which should go hand in hand with questioning the meaning of multiculturalism within these tolerances. In my view, tolerances may close off debates and disable the potential dialogic processes which would usher in understandings between the contexts in multi-dimensional ways. The # Fees Must Fall and # Rhodes Must Fall movements are examples of disruptive processes that leverage some rapid change by forcing closed doors open. Respectful and sensitive disobedience also challenges essentialist positions that have marginalising intents and trample over the rights and values of

others. The views of De Sousa Santos and Gonzalez promote and favour positions where teachers can teach children by exposing them to diverse ways of thinking and doing without necessarily being prescriptive. It would, for instance, using my study as an example, involve and expose the advantages, disadvantages, the neutrality and the tensions of looking after cattle by elders/children/learners and also explore the advantages, disadvantages, the neutrality and tensions of tending vegetables. This would be a departure from moralistic positions but an attempt at teaching to deliberate and learn to develop a multidimensional perspective of understanding issues. In relativistic positions there is a tendency to teach children to accept things unquestioningly as givens. This may rob them from experiencing or force them to tolerate whatever because they have to exercise tolerance when in actual fact, it may be hiding from sight the webbed nature of the ecologies of knowledges i.e. the relationships that exist between the Masai Mara people and their cattle, the sacred cow in India, the bull fighter and the bull in Spain and the significance of the colours of the cattle by Nguni people, what the values of halaal meat are, etc.

I am reminded of an incident that one of the Foundation Phase teachers in my study related. Her indigenous knowledge lesson was about the many uses of cow horns, such as in music and medicine. She spoke about the administering of medicine anally into the colon and stomach through the use of a hollowed cow's horn and how this has been modernised into a rubber instrument that is filled with liquid. She did not anticipate one of the responses she got. The lesson surfaced the potential for such a practice to be accepted and for young ones to mistake rape as a way of sending medicine into the stomach. One child was able to express her frustrations with what she thought was another way of administering medicine by her uncle which she said was vaginal and painful. This was the teacher who had told me that "we become everything. Mother, teacher and in a way social workers". What that meant for me was that teachers have to be more than the conventional teacher and combine their traditional roles of being a mother or a father, rather than simply focus on the colonially defined roles of what a teacher is. They are to be the embodiment of ecologies of knowledge. Between these contours of knowledge and the discomforts, she taught the children a poem which enabled them to know how to find help in circumstances such as these. The weaving together of ecologies of knowledge must be informed by the ecologies of knowledges that teachers are an embodiment of. They first are community members with special roles which they are capable of also extending within the school context.

Instead of classrooms and schools being the sites of ecologies of knowledge, one finds one dimensional and universalised curricula. Essentialising curricula aims at cementing or promoting total or urban anthropologically based cultures and ethnicities which may overlook that even within the layers of such cultures, exist a blend of diverse conceptions of knowledge. Such a situation is explained by De Sousa Santos (2007, p. xxi) as “conceptions of knowledge, of what it means to know, of what counts as knowledge, and how that knowledge is produced are as diverse...”. That diversity is important. South Africa, which is multi-lingual and diverse, offers many opportunities for pluriversality, unlike countries such as Swaziland, Botswana and Lesotho which have one local language as a common denominator and English as a colonially imposed one. I learnt this from gogo Mtshali in my training as a sangoma even though it was training that was (a) a handover yourself to your mentor, (b) trust your mentor, (c) don’t question the path to learning that she has laid out for you, which is supplemented by guidance and knowledge that is ancestrally derived, which was transmitted through me as an apprentice learner. The abstract voice of the ancestors also outlined the process and area of specialisation I would follow. These messages came from trances, and abstract journeys in night and day dreams which echoed De Sousa Santos’ argument on the production of knowledges from sources diverse. Nyamnjoh (2012, p. 4) said that though such intangible knowledge may not be observable, it remains real and that which makes cognitive sense can be invisible, intuitive, emotional and also inexplicable. An example of such knowledge from my study on the protection of cattle for one of the grandfathers of the young boy interviewees which I have reported on in Chapter 5. It was expressed in a daily ritual of sprinkling of a faunal and herbal mix called *intelési*. The ritual gave the grandfather comfort as he knew that such a ritual would keep the thieves, witches and all other not well-intentioned people, visitors and spirits away from his homestead and the harm of his livestock.

7.6 LOCAL KNOWLEDGE ON LIVESTOCK AMONGST COMMUNITY MEMBERS IN MPEMBENI

In 1992, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) paved the way for the prioritisation of indigenous knowledge which formed part of the principles for equitable and sustainable societies that were adopted by the NGO Forum of the Earth Summit in 1992. It paved the way for the focus later given to culture, indigenous knowledge and development. We (Masuku van Damme & Neluvhalani 2004) traced the role and approaches used for the integration of indigenous knowledge into environmental education processes in Southern Africa. We cautioned

on the nationalisms and fundamentalisms embedded in some of the uncritical approaches which could be equated to the resuscitation of a past lost and gone for essentialist purposes. We reflected on the uncritical romancing of the past and how some cultures undermined and compromised some individual freedoms which Mazrui (2005) also alluded to as '*romantic primitivism*' and '*romantic gloriana*' referred to above.

There are numerous studies that have looked into environmental concerns linked to Education in different learning contexts in South Africa. O'Donoghue, Shava and Zazu (2014) looked at 'Heritage Learning' in social contexts, Schudel (2012) at 'Active Learning' in the Foundation Phase, Maqwelane (2011) at curriculum contextualisation and Shava (2008) at Indigenous Knowledge and education. My interest in Mahlo's (2011) study is its focus on inclusive education at the Foundation Phase. The Schudel, Mahlo and Maqwelane studies focused mainly on the Foundation Phase level. Khupe and Keane's article (2017) reported on a study by Khupe which explored culturally relevant education and research methods in KwaZulu-Natal. The context specificity of the studies I have just listed, except Schudel's, paid particular attention to indigenous ways of knowing in impoverished areas where there was still a wealth of indigenous knowledge. The few that I have listed here display the constant growth in interest from scholars in the country on the contextualising and the relevancy of education while curricula at different phases continue to change.

Mtshali (1994) investigated environmental knowledge within communities in the rural areas of KwaZulu Natal. Prior to this current study, in 1999 I explored the role of indigenous knowledge in environmental processes (Masuku, 1999). This shows how far back issues related to indigenous knowledge in educational processes have been dealt with. The environmental knowledge that Mtshali's study brought to the fore indicated the necessity for the inclusion of environmental education in environmental education processes. I (Masuku, 1999, p. 105) had indicated that:

Working with indigenous knowledge issues in a pedagogical context the (abstract) theoretical and practical dimensions should be illuminated as dynamic and process orientated so that the facets that had been submerged within the school curriculum such as myths, fables, folklore, stories etc., receive attention in ways that are more relevant to the learner.

It is apparent even now (Khupe & Keane, 2017, p.34) that:

IK in a broad sense (as opposed to perhaps specific content knowledge of fauna and flora in science, for example), is often tacit, intangible, disappearing, or contentious. Thus indirect and negotiated ways of coming-to-know are needed.

Negotiating ways in my understanding is a means of bringing to the fore ecologies of knowledge inclusive of subjugated knowledges or colonially imposed knowledges. The second sentence of the Khupe and Keane citation 'negotiated ways of coming-to-know' hits the nail on its head and explained that the continued concern that scholars still have lies in the fact that we have not delved deep enough into the subject. I am tempted to say that the problem could be that we have not explored the intergenerational dynamics, relations (in-betweenness) as well as methods and techniques that are employed for learning in community contexts adequately. Here, I refer to learning methods that are used in the development and community sector such as the one conducted by Million Belay (2012) on participatory mapping in rural Ethiopia which focuses on biocultural diversity, intergenerational educational processes, learning and agency (also see Lotz, 1996 and O'Donoghue, Shava and Zazu, 2014). We have explored the distances between learning at home and school and noted how it reduces children to citizens of two worlds (home and school) (Masuku-Van Damme, 1997; Masuku, 1999; Mokuku, 2001; Masuku Van Damme & Neluvhalalani, 2004; Shava, 2000, 2008). What we have not done in depth is explore how some of the learning methods that naturally unfold at home can be applied at school. We have to a great extent looked at what happens at home and talk of wanting or attempting to replicate it at school while ignoring the intergenerational methods that define them. Guidance and commentary through Mphahlele (2002, p. 109) is that "your education should also promote a synthesis between your Western heritage and African values that are both humanistic and accessible". To do what he advises would demand that we understand the methods and processes that take place in home intergenerational processes. Even though we may do what Mphahlele says we need to do, if we undermine the learning values, techniques and practices that define dealing with certain home-learnt content, we will struggle to come to 'real' knowing.

A testimony of the potential for breaking down the barriers between home and school as learning contexts is an education that cultivates the concept of an ecology of knowledges such as one that develops from an array of possibilities provided by a variety of contexts. According to Barua (2009, p. 58) what is needed can be "understood here in the broadest sense as learners and community members engaged in education through various avenues including formal, non-formal and informal

processes". An example of this is given in a study undertaken by Hogan (2008, p. 53) in Tanzania. Hogan shared what transpired when she tried to break the barriers between teachers and learners, learners and elders, community members and teachers:

Head teacher: Are those local names and does anyone else understand them?

Male elder from the village: These are the names we use and even the loggers' agents understand these names, but they sometimes have other names as well.

Head teacher: I suppose it is good to know the local and the scientific names so that we can all understand each other.

Hogan argued that the mixing of epistemologies necessitates the reappropriation of knowledge which is complementary to the Western frame. The collapsing of the artificial boundaries in the example Hogan gives, exposes knowledges from the loggers, teachers, community members as well as scientific names to create a better understanding that is inclusive for all. A commentary from Gonzalez (2005, p. 43) which recognises the hybridity and potential third space is that in the "ultimate value of going beyond culture is that it opens up spaces for the construction of new fields wherein students are not locked into an assumed unilineal heritage. It allows for variability within populations rather than only between populations".

The Hogan discussion between the teacher and the elder further illuminates and defines what De Sousa Santos meant by ecologies of knowledge. As shown in this study, in the Zulu context, the Nguni colours of cattle are based on the patterns on the skins, their horns or tails and the drawings of cattle in the children's text book (see Chapter 5 and Figure 6.1) silences the rich knowledge associated with Nguni cattle and the way their skins can be read, their characters which I have come to term 'cowalities'. Hogan (2008, p. 53) maintained that:

For such a mix of epistemologies, teachers need to recognise the value of school-home-community relationships and community members need to appreciate that their knowledge has value. Such dynamics were witnessed at Nyamakurukuru.

Another example is that of washing hands. The washing of hands in the company of others was a communal activity which now includes the use of soap. One held the container and the receiver of the water stood with cupped hands. A few drops of water would be poured and a little soap rubbed. The hands would be rubbed endlessly and the nails would also be cleaned thoroughly. Hands would be cupped again and the water gourd holder would pour little water again rinsing off

the soap and the dirt and the process would be repeated two or more times. The last wash would be with generous water. This method ensured that hands were washed thoroughly under watchful eyes. This was done before milking the cow to avoid the transferral of germs from one's hands to the cow's udders, milk and to the nursed calf. All meals were eaten after this method of washing hands had been done. If studies on hygiene and water use at school ignore methods such as the one I have given an example of, even if they teach methods of saving water at school and protect a water well, if the water well is not constructed using the values, ethics, methods, that are used at home or in the community, all that the children would have been taught will be "disconnected" content. The worship, in this study, and respect that was given to the seven-headed snake and the belief that he looked after the well for the people meant that care was given to keep the well clean and cattle are kept away from drinking from it. I must caution that not all indigenous practices and ways of learning and teaching should be observed, but it is in trying to understand them that we can learn which ones are relevant to be used in the synthesis of Western heritage and African values that Mphaphele refers to, that we need to trial. The respect and values that are attached to water at home could be extended to that of water use in school without compromising on health and hygiene issues (Mandikonza, Musindo & Taylor, 2011; O'Donoghue, 2005).

7.6.1 Ethnobotany, local livestock medicine and health knowledge

Khuphe and Keane (2017) also pointed out that Indigenous Knowledge is disappearing and contentious, a fact that was proven true in the site which was the focus of my study. Masika, Van Averbekke and Sonandi (2000), Tshisikhawe (2002), Okoli, Tamboura and Houzangbe (2010), Luseba and Tshisikhawe (2012) and Beinart and Brown (2013) are some of the researchers that have looked at ethnobotany, local livestock and health knowledge, mainly in Africa and more specifically, Southern Africa. I draw attention to these studies first to show that research on ethnobotany does take place in South Africa. The studies by Luseba and Tshisikhawe (2012) as well as Beinart and Brown (2013) give details on the plants that are used for treatment of livestock. Therefore, there is a growing number of knowledgeable researchers on this subject. In my study area, many of the livestock owners struggled to tell me the names of plants used for livestock health. The children had no idea of what the plants were. There was an isolated case of a traditional healer who was regarded as an expert on traditional medicine who shared knowledge on indigenous medicines and practices for livestock health. He indicated that one of his sons who was between 12 and 15 years old was able to identify and harvest, prepare and administer medicine to a sick cow. When I

questioned the livestock inspectors about their knowledge of traditional medicine, they both indicated that they had very little knowledge about it and also did not encourage livestock owners to use it.

What is interesting is that livestock inspectors are becoming less knowledgeable about indigenous knowledge while ethnobotany researchers are becoming more and more knowledgeable about traditional livestock healing herbs, practices, methods, from research they have conducted with livestock inspectors and owners with help from livestock inspectors. However, this knowledge is not shared back to livestock owners, livestock owners and the children, as revealed in this study. The livestock inspectors are not taught about indigenous flora, fauna and other methods of dealing with livestock health as part of their training at college, despite the fact that the community is reliant on them for advice and knowledge on how to deal with their livestock. They have also not been trained about alternative local plants and trees that can be used for fodder. If they have been, they did not advise the local people of these or the young ones who have never experienced a drought with devastating consequences such as the ones observed at the time of my study.

A Zulu authored and published book by Alcock, De Villiers, Dugmore, Gumede, Hornby, Letty, Perret and Rowe (2007), printed and distributed by the Department of KwaZulu-Natal Agriculture and Environmental Affairs which gives particular attention to the health of cattle, goats, chickens and horses is a useful, yet biased text. It specifically says that its intended audience are livestock owners. Texts that are usually written in the local language camouflage the colonialities embedded in them. A publication such as this one may be received by the intended recipients with gratefulness and adopted. Community members who cannot read would assign books like these to their children who may read them out in the event livestock are ill. The book excludes everything and anything that may be considered as indigenous knowledge. The causes, medications, practitioners that are recommended are all as defined within the veterinary science field. There is no mention of ethnomedicines. English research reports by the research community on livestock health, written in English such as that of Luseba and Tshisikhawe (2012), Beinart and Brown (2013) are inclusive of indigenous knowledge of livestock health and their main readers are people like me in the academy. The Alcock, De Villiers, Dugmore, Gumede, Hornby, Letty, Perret and Rowe (2007) book is the one that is widely used by livestock inspectors and its contents are shared widely with

livestock owners, though it is thin and written prescriptively with colonial universalising undertones.

The children have home and school as learning contexts. The livestock owners have members of the community to learn from and livestock inspectors are their equivalent to formal learning that the children get from school. The livestock inspectors' knowledges and that of the school teachers are divorced from learnings that are home-grown. It also means that the livestock inspectors do not learn anything from the livestock owners. The learning that happens is one-way; it is rather from the livestock inspector to the livestock owners. The fact that the livestock inspectors discourage livestock owners from using traditional methods for treating their livestock is accompanied by reasons that the community livestock owners have come to believe and live by. The reasons that many livestock owners gave was that it was not easy to decide on the consistencies and the amounts of medicines to treat a sick cow. Most even used the word 'dosage' which they must have learnt from vets and livestock inspectors. When I asked one of the livestock inspectors if he knew any of the traditional methods for treating and managing cattle, he told me that he had been told about some but they were not good practices and he had dismissed them. What is interesting is that these livestock inspectors (especially the male who is about 45 years of age) grew up looking after cattle and indicated that his father used traditional methods of caring for his cattle. His response was either convenient forgetting or a clinical way of dealing with cattle "uncluttered" from the traditional complexities associated with looking after cattle that he was exposed to when he was growing up. I found this convenient forgetting puzzling.

Luseba and Tshisikhawe (2012), whose study was conducted in the Limpopo region on ethno-veterinary medicines (EVM), had this to say:

In the light of global warming and degeneration of the natural habitats, a full picture on the use of plants should not exclude EVM practices as they are fundamentally based on nature. Indigenous knowledge and subsequent technology should be considered as part of our modern existence considering the mutual impact. Young people do not accept the old ways of living including EVM. It is therefore a matter of restoring not only the ecology which has been destroyed but also address the acculturation that characterise our modern society.

Beinart and Brown (2013, p. 154) were confronted by a different reality with a focus on African local knowledge on livestock health where the livestock owners were reliant on both biomedicines and ethnomedicines and methods. They found that:

Even some of those who used biomedicines often stated that traditional plant extracts were just as effective but they no longer used them because they were not modern, they were more inconvenient to prepare, or they were becoming difficult to obtain due to growing local scarcities.

In the context of Mpembeni, livestock owners used traditional medicines in times of serious financial problems and the reasons cited by Beinart and Brown (2013) for avoiding ethnomedicines were also taken into consideration. Their use thus varied from one area to the next.

Within these different geographical sites, livestock owners experienced similar environmental challenges which were also common to Mpembeni such as unsightly litter, used disposable baby napkins, plastic shopping bags and rusty wire from broken fences which cattle during drought times were desperately compelled to eat or accidentally ate. At times, livestock consumed plants such as sisal which they would naturally not eat in times of plenty palatable varied grasses and plants. I referred to the use of homegrown solutions such as the use of coca cola and cooking oil in Mpembeni by livestock owners to give cattle diarrhoea so they could defecate what they had eaten. My findings are coherent with Beinart and Brown (2013, p. 154) who said that, “minerals such as salt, as well as detergents, motor oil, paraffin, copper wire, tar, coca cola, millipedes and animal dung all formed part of the medical repertoire”.

To answer the question on whether there was a decline or increase in the use of traditional medicine, in the Beinart and Brown (2013, p. 162) study area, the reality was that:

transmission is often restricted, the range of remedies probably declining, and some informants who wished to know more, could not easily gain access to this knowledge. One of the many reasons why many respondents claimed they would always have to rely partly on traditional medicines was because of witchcraft and stock theft.

With reference to my study, one boy indicated that his grandfather always sprinkled herb-based medicine around the kraal and at the main homestead gate to ward off misfortunes and witchcraft to protect the family and livestock. Another community member travelled very far to see a traditional healer for medicine to help improve the fertility of her cattle and prevent sicknesses and death.

The scenario I painted here evidently indicates that first, indigenous and local knowledge differs and so do ways of teaching and learning about them from one context to the other. Secondly, modernist challenges have forced livestock owners to come up with new and innovative methods of addressing livestock health problems. Paraskeva (2011, pp. 186-7) advocated that we further: “fight for a pedagogy of indigenous knowledge that is seen as a struggle for a global onto-episteme one that understands the interplay between the ontological and the epistemological, and that sees indigenous knowledge forms as local knowledge that is significant within the global scenario”. In a nutshell, such an approach advocates that we do not abandon our indigenous practices which layer the ones sponsored by nationally-driven curricula; as such an abandonment would drive them to obscurity. Another issue that Paraskeva raised which serves as commentary to my study relates to the use of traditional herbs for curing livestock ailments. The growing trend in the global north by some of the affluent for naturally grown products creates an interesting contradiction that develops an interest in beef and agricultural products from the South, while livestock owners in the South are performing an act of belated mimicry (see also Nyamnjoh, 2012) of trying to catch up on practices that the North has come to recognise not only as unsustainable but unhealthy. In some way, the methods of growing livestock indigenously is understood in the global north and a return to it is advocated yet our livestock inspectors teach against it and schools don’t recognise such knowledges. We need to fight for the reintroduction of these knowledges rather than facilitate for their relegation to ridicule.

Beinart and Brown (2013) and Luseba and Tshisikhawe (2012) are in agreement that there is a loss of knowledge on traditional medicine and other healing methods, a scenario similar to the one I was confronted with. My concern with these studies, however, is a lack of energetic effort for shared understanding, the blurring of boundaries by researchers to share knowledge they have documented on livestock health with livestock owners broadly. The agriculture electives hardly showed this growing knowledge for addressing cattle health within the learning outcomes, sifting out the contentiousness, complexities of knowledges on livestock. Livestock management in CAPS is presented in a neat and clinical manner.

The KZN farming systems research team study of cattle and goat owners at Msinga in KwaZulu-Natal (Letty & Alcock, 2002, p. 18) reported that:

Many men reminisce about the times when they were growing up and herded the cattle. They will tell you that now young boys are disinterested and undisciplined, and have to go to school so now there is no herding of cattle nor socialising of boys, hunting birds, making clay models, playing with sticks that happens during the herding of cattle.

Despite the eroding away of the depth and sophistication within the body of traditional knowledge associated with cattle, the participation and observation by children of practices such as the post-mortems that are conducted by elders when cattle were finished off, died of poor health, natural causes or slaughtered are skinned is still very valuable. There is an array of reasons given to the decline in knowledge amongst the young ones as reflected throughout this study.

7.6.2 Recommendations

Looking back at 1990 when I learnt about HIV and AIDS and the fact that there was no cure for it, many that I encountered dismissed it and a blame game enflamed that was accompanied by distress, confusion and desperation and denial. I translated a comic education strip into Siswati explaining what HIV and AIDS is (see Masuku & Mazibuko, 1996). By the mid-90s, there was a growing movement to understand what HIV and AIDS was. There was increased NGO activity to raise awareness about HIV and AIDS. The Hlabisa Hospital, 14 km from Mpembeni, was a hub of activity to research and deal with HIV and AIDS issues. As some may know, awareness does not necessarily mean that people will change their behaviour. It took non-conventional methods and collaborations, educational methods and numerous innovations in handling infected patients that had contracted the virus. Issues and concerns related to climate change, food security, animal health and vegetation warrant the urgency and desperation that was unleashed in the mid-1990s as a response to HIV infections. The collaborations that were witnessed between unlikely bed-fellows fuelled research and some lifestyle changes amongst others.

First, I strongly recommend that we explore other ways of coming-to-know as proposed by Khupe and Keane (2017). The crossing of bridges that the HIV and AIDS scourge facilitated was enforced to address a crisis that modern medicine had not envisaged. Isolated technicist interventions fuelled by continuing colonisations are blinding our governments from launching programmes of departmental introspections that are aimed at addressing a looming environmental disaster of alarming proportions which is climate change. As South Africa experiences more challenges of the drought in heavily inhabited areas such as the Western Cape, proposals and plans are being made for desalination plants. These are short-term solutions that have no reach into community spaces.

Diverse water harvesting methods such as indigenous pits need to be reinvestigated, taught about and learnt as solutions before they are out of reach of the memory of our society, such as having been revealed in my study with the number of livestock that died. The shortage of water, owing to the drought, has also made it impossible for Agriculture to be taught in the Mpembeni area (see section 6.8.3). Looking mainly and only into the future can be problematic and I equate it to what Grosfoguel (2011, p. 23) called the

ascribed superiority of European knowledge ... where subaltern knowledges are excluded, omitted, silenced and/ignored ... Subaltern knowledges are those knowledges at the intersection of the traditional and the modern. They are hybrid, transcultural forms of knowledge, not merely in the traditional sense of syncretism or mestizaje ... what I have called 'subversive complicity'.

Secondly, I propose that we become less obsessed with the West and technicist interventions. We have become expert critics of the West. It is interesting that postcolonial theory has given us the language to recognise, smell out and strategise on challenging the colonialities that seep into all areas of our day lives. What we have not done is explore strategies that countries like India have explored to deal with livestock management, education and climate change. South Africa's current built environment is not aligned to the climate change challenges that are unfolding. The hybrid third spaces that we constantly explore are those between the West and Africa. I propose that we look to the East and other global south spaces with new and determined vigour.

Thirdly, Kayira (2013) made a number of recommendations for educational policy makers as well as others for future researchers in her study on indigenous knowledge, sustainability and agriculture. I fully subscribe to her recommendations and her study is closely related to mine in its focus on agriculture. Her policy recommendations related to the inclusion of curriculum topics of an environmental nature such as knowledge related to weather foretelling. Though the level focus of her study is at a phase higher than the Foundation Phase, she pointed out that the curriculum at the general primary school level warrants a change and the inclusion of indigenous knowledge content. This recommendation would be a challenge as schools exist within different communities where cultural practices are very different. Therefore, she recommended that "the curricula should be flexible enough for teachers to include relevant IK from the local communities" (p. 218). Languages are windows to other cultures and ways of doing things. Considering that South Africa is made up of different languages, it would be worth bringing in the richness of the diversity of

practices, especially of communities and languages that are vulnerable and facing extinction such as the San.

In South Africa, consideration for prior learning takes place at tertiary school level or in the workplace through assessments and provision of proof that it exists. It would be an interesting prospect to:

- a) Set up a national project to explore what indigenous knowledge children have learnt and know when they start school at the Foundation phase as a way to understand their prior learning in all the provinces in the country. This would unveil to the teachers the array and ecologies of knowledge that exist in the country. These could be documented and shared and would then inform Foundation Phase curriculum statements alongside what currently exists in the curriculum. This would promote what Kayira described as “and-both views of learning. Or in other words, hybrid third spaces”. This would address issues such as those revealed in my study, that the rich knowledge that children had learnt at home was not valued and when they had an opportunity to learn about cattle, these were only brown cattle, as one child said.
- b) Every teacher would start a topic on a particular topic i.e. on farm/home animals to find out what children know about these. This would dismantle the barriers that exist for other knowledges within the classroom where teachers are the knowledge holders and transmitters of what the books as curriculum resource support and CAPS prescribe. This would also make children value their knowledge which has been cultivated from their home environments. It would promote skills such as story-telling as well (see Amanti 2005, pp. 131-141). In my study such valuing was evidenced when one of the children interviewees told me a story about *Pheshe and Khalulu* in which a cannibal slaughtered a cow that belonged to Khalulu, the hare.
- c) Another national project could be to survey teacher’s indigenous knowledge on the CAPS prescribed topics. Teachers may be restricted by the CAPS prescripts and therefore not value their indigenous knowledge of topics they have to teach. Historically, the teachers entered an educational field where their prior knowledge and indigenous knowledge was not considered when they were trained and had to be left out. This was also evident with the livestock inspectors. It should not only be an issue of telling children to go and investigate such stories from within the community only, when some of the teachers are

members of the very same community. They richly embody identities associated with home values and school values and like the children, are citizens of both sites. In my study one of the teachers taught about the uses of tools and used the cow horn as an example (see section 7.5.1.4). The sad consequences though was it's surfacing of the rape of one child. Practices that take place and are encouraged in schools such as virginity testing (see sections 6.8.4 and 6.10), as was happening in Mpembeni, may surface and interventions for 'unlearning' could be explored.

- d) In the spirit of social cohesion, indigenous knowledge practices from different language communities should be shared across the curriculum. This would enable multiculturalism and allow the emergence of Bhabhaian new cultural forms e.g. the Afrikaner way of prospecting water and San people's way of looking for plants and tubers known to store large amounts of water. (See O'Donoghue, Shava and Zazu, 2014 for examples). In the context of the schools in Mpembeni, there were missed opportunities for the children who were studying agriculture to learn from the commercial stock farmers in the region.
- e) Intergenerational learning processes could be encouraged more to foster better relations between the young and old. Spannrig (2008, p. 51) who observed a number of intergenerational programmes that were work and school-based, arrived at the conclusion that:

Intergenerational activities can actively demonstrate that the older and younger generations have a great deal to offer each other in terms of knowledge and experience. It can also demonstrate that most young people are in fact knowledgeable, respectful and well behaved when engaged with older generations, contrary to depictions in the media.

7.7 SOCIOCULTURAL INTERGENERATIONAL LEARNING

The O'Donoghue, Shava and Zazu (2014, p. 3) publication opens with a fitting citation from Elias's *The Symbol Theory*, a preamble I could not ignore and share below:

We are entirely ignorant of the conditions under which a species of living beings emerged from an evolutionary process, equipped not only for learning from their elders, but also for storing and potentially for turning to their advantage ancestral experiences made and transmitted in course of time through a continuous sequence of generations. The mode of intergenerational transmission is no mystery. Ancestral experiences can be deposited in the concepts of language and can thus be handed on through a line of generations of considerable length. The sequential order of generational

experiences itself can have considerable significance for the pattern of experience transmitted from generation to generation.

Elias's statement ties comfortably with the concept of funds of knowledge coined by Gonzalenz, Moll and Amanti (2005) which suggested that people's life experiences, which are sophisticated through daily practices, provide the bulk of knowledge which they competently share across generations. Such knowledges are the funds that are inherited and further invested in by those who inherit them. The hybridity and the gaping spaces and gaps in knowledges between generations, according to Gonzalez, point to the fact that the "funds of knowledge of a community occupy that space between structure and agency, between the received historical circumstances of a group, and the infinite variations that social agents are able to negotiate between structure". This view is in synch with Bhabha (1994, p. 25) as that generational gap is "bridged by a 'third-space' of communication, negotiation".

This study provides evidence of some of the long-term intergenerational learning social processes (O'Donoghue, 1999) and the storing and sharing of survival strategies and experiences through earlier and colonial times to the present as alluded to by Elias. Intergenerational content, indigenous and local ways of knowing and doing, across-peers, across-disciplines, across-genders, from bottom-up, top-down etc. were exposed in my study. Within these processes in the study, the chasms between situations of contradiction, ambivalence and difference were accounted for. Chasms that had widened over times as a result of, for instance, children arriving late for school and falling behind curricular activities which concerned teachers and on the other hand, the concern by parents for the lack of opportunities for intergenerational learning between the young and elder relatives were resolved in some of the areas in Mpembeni by shifting dipping to a Saturday. This would be, according to Gonzalez (2005, p. 40), "one way in which the context for respectful relationships between schools and communities is fostered".

The greater part of intergenerational learning that took place in this study was at the homestead level and this was situated knowledge. The learning that characteristically took place within the school context was much more structured and policed rather than fluid. These are referred to by Rogoff (2015) as 'learning by observing and pitching-in' and that which takes place within the school context as 'assembly-line instruction'. Learning within the community context was informed

by more than spatial issues; accidental and unanticipated forces such as the weather or/and cultural beliefs played a role, for example, observations of the elders by the young on how to channel the devastating anger of the seven-headed snake and to stop it from lifting up the roofs of houses and causing havoc through what is conventionally known as a tornado. The learning which took place in some of the schools I worked with (where the ratio of students to teachers was at times that of 60+- to 1 teacher) gave learners limited opportunities to build on the process of learning by observation as well as learning from each other. Spanning (2008, p. 26) said that all learning is relational and three elements that particularly aid learning are a closer relationship between the teacher and learner, reciprocal relations, and authentic work. The results of such work improves the learner's self-esteem, while reciprocation allows for sharing across generations, and a closer relation creates trust and the older one may identify learning challenges if she/he is the one that is the more knowledgeable other.

In light of the above, we should not overlook the fact that generational gaps, particularly within cultural contexts (such as that of my study) create boundaries which influence the kind of relations that can be forged between schools and community. These boundaries are also prevalent between teachers and parents. There are in-betweenesses within these boundaries which are much more complex, of disciplinarity, age and ways of knowing and doing. I found an article by Sterrett (2015) interesting in that Sterrett explores Bhabhaian thought within the discipline of health and the practice of students dealing with the health of patients. First of all, her work exhibits the cross-disciplinarity that Namnjoh (2012) and De Sousa Santos (2009), to name only a couple of theorists, encourage. What I am interested in and hope that we as educationist strive towards is that creative heterogeneity advocated by Bhabha (2007). There would be challenges in bridging the gap between ages and therefore we must be cautious in our call for this as certain activities would lose meaning and significance when they are conducted by those who are younger. Some hybrid spaces must remain hybrid so that they may stretch the imagination of young ones, knowing that at a certain age or/and phase, they would enter those third spaces. An example of this would be the rites of passage learnings and the 'allowed' and 'forbiddens' that characterise such rites. These competing constituencies between the differences arise out of narratives that have been evolving over time. Circumcision schools, even though they are not without problems, are examples with very hybrid third spaces that warrant constructive interventionist strategies that are acceptable by society (Chikunda, 2013).

What the Sterrett's article (2015) also presents which is worth exploring within the educational sector are the methods for teaching within the medical field where there is synchronisation between theory, observation, the practical and the use of the senses, what I will refer to as ecologies of knowing and doing. What one finds within such processes of intergenerational learning are examples of the 'experienced hand of the surgeon' that sets the bar and where learning happens within a community of practice. What happens with inter-professional experience (IP), according to Sterrett (2015, p. 656), is that:

When health profession students enculturated into their profession discuss patient care in an IP group their unilateral view is challenged. The majority of pre-licensure students have no clinical background to draw upon in IP experiences. In an IP learning environment where students from many programs are asked how they would care for a patient, the differences in approach to care are noted by the students.

One can draw parallels between Sterrett's study and how children learn from elders when a cow is slaughtered and the discussions that ensue on the post-mortem diagnosis. They also watch the hand of the expert as he opens up the cow. Rogoff (2003, pp. 69-68) confirmed this by saying that children "learn the skills and practices of their community by engaging with others who may contribute to structuring the process to be learned, provide guidance during joint activity, and help adjust participation according to proficiency ... children everywhere learn skills in the context of their use and with the aid of those around them". This view is accentuated by a comment of Lotz-Sisitka (2014, p. 58) that we need to "produce meaningful knowledge for co-learning and action that will make a difference in the lives of our children" as the more knowledgeable other as agents of intergenerational learning.

7.7.1 Recommendations

Based on the Sterrett (2015) example, I would recommend that we cross our disciplinary boundaries and meaningfully appropriate some of the methods of teaching and learning to promote the varied forms of 'interlearnings'. The methods described by Sterrett of interprofessional learning are synergistic to those which should characterise some intergenerational learning processes and would benefit learner teachers in learning co-learning from common community issues and deliberating on them. They would also co-learn by collectively zoning into issues that learners are struggling with in more engaged and involved ways. This also

redefines the notion of ZPD as used in schooling (which potentially misconstrues Vygotsky's initial meaning), particularly in the Mpembeni study.

Gonzalez (2005, p. 43) recommended that particular borders be crossed if knowledge is to be decolonised: "... the ultimate border – the border between knowledge and power – can be crossed only when educational institutions no longer reify culture, when lived experiences become validated as sources of knowledge, and when the process of how knowledge is constructed and translated between groups located within nonsymmetrical relations of power is questioned".

The recommendation made by Shava (2008) for the interface between communities and development agents is critical for fostering intergenerational and interdisciplinarity and intercontext learning processes. Shava (2008, p. 258) said that such agents should realise that knowledge is negotiated and generated and that such a process of negotiation should continue. This is because, as Shava said, the development discourse is still, to a large degree, very Western orientated as was the case with the NGO that I encountered within the context of my study which, instead of aiding the situation of HIV and AIDS issues in the schools and homes, marginalised those who were already infected. Shava insisted that knowledge co-engagement must be upheld and foregrounded.

Osano and Adam (2014, p. 161) explored intergenerational perspectives in sub-Saharan Africa in relation to the role of youth in agriculture. They argued for a "need to adopt an intergenerational approach in initiatives targeting young people in agriculture" and recommended that youths are given in-service learning opportunities and entrepreneurship opportunities in farming ventures. These are the kind of opportunities that may enhance and enrich the prior learning of youth before enrolling in formal agriculture training.

The recommendation made by Schudel (2014, p. 247) based on her study in South Africa looking at learning at the Foundation Phase, is critical for this study as well. She argued that a critical perspective is necessary in the use of local knowledge in teaching and learning and for fostering intergenerational learning. She was of the view that if local knowledge is considered in this manner, "the intergenerational transfer of knowledge can contribute to teaching and learning processes in ways that deepen the understanding of socio-ecological complexities and which raise critical

questions about human rights and social justice”. A recommendation that is apt in a South Africa that still suffers increasing curriculum injustices, exemplified by, for instance, an incident of a Foundation Phase child drowning at school in pit latrine excrement in a country which also boasts some of the best and well-resourced public schools on the continent (Ryan, 2017), and by the experience of gogo Mtshali’s grandson, who had vast cattle knowledge but failed Grade 1. As explained earlier, this epistemic injustice provided the impetus for this study

7.8 RECOMMENDATIONS TO GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

The recommendations listed here are made with an understanding that South Africa had to take major leaps to address the injustices inherited from an apartheid system of governance. This is not to say that no strides that have been made; however, much still needs to be done. I am well aware that the main tasks of National Departments are those of policy development and monitoring. The state has legislated institutions that it mandated with the tasks of implementing national legislation and policy directives such as CAPS.

The findings of my study point to the fact that there are limited synergistic relationships between government departments in South Africa when it comes to the issue of education. My application for funding in the Department of Agriculture for funding this study was neither acknowledged nor was any interest shown in it. This could have been attributed to the fact that they saw it leaning more towards the education sector than agriculture. Such a lack of attention to education processes that are related to education means that they saw their role at the curriculum design level as that of content provision and not further than that. Their role in content provision should be followed up with monitoring and evaluation of what happens in all sectors of the Department of Basic Education.

Secondly, there is a disconnection between the Department of Environmental Affairs, the Department of Agriculture and Department of Basic Education when it comes to issues of climatic change and education at the Basic Education level. If the long term impact of climate change is the wearing away of food security, then urgent interventions should have already taken place to revise curriculum in very involved ways. If one considers that Agriculture is only introduced to learners in Grade 10 and is also an elective up to Grade 12, this is an issue of serious need for concern, in

consideration of the involved learning some children are exposed to (such as livestock management before formal enrolment to school) as revealed in this study and as reported in other studies on cattle e.g. Letty and Alcock (2002), Salomon (2011) and all who commented on the role of children on livestock management and household care. I recommend that Agriculture and agricultural related activities are introduced at Foundation Phase. Not introducing these goes against the grain of the tactile nature of children and the foundations of their experiential knowledge and community-based learning experiences which constitute their prior knowledge which is foundational to epistemological access (Lotz-Sisitka, 2009). Values for nurturing, love and observation of the growth of animals and plants are important and need to be instilled at this young age (Lotz, 1996). Fernandez (2015, p. 66) pointed out that “the dynamic of tacit collaboration established between the caring child and the object of his care or her care also serves to stimulate ‘extensive’ or ‘generative learning’, a kind of fertile learning which leads in the long run to new and diverse forms of participation, to assuming more and more complex responsibilities” (see also Lotz, 1996 and Rogoff, 2011). The pride of the young ones in seeing what they have grown and being rewarded for their efforts would grow an interest in skills and careers that are of an agricultural and environmental nature. Worth (2002) also recommended that the content of agricultural education programmes at all levels should be adapted to the practical needs of the country and training should be adjusted to suit the requirements of a dynamic agricultural development.

The Department of Science and Technology also has a role alongside the Departments I have mentioned in ensuring that the issue of indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing alongside indigenous technology form part of the agriculture and Basic Education curriculum. The methods for teaching agriculture which are critical when it comes to the teaching of local and indigenous knowledge are to be exposed to teachers and others involved in pedagogical processes within schools and communities as partly illuminated in studies by Maqwelane (2011), Asafo-Adjei (2004) and Sinyama (2011). While the Department of Social Development, under which NGOs work, needs to stay vigilant and work hand-in-hand to support the initiatives that NGOs take on at grassroots level and enhance their deliverables in ways that are congruent with community needs on the ground.

Recommendations to the Departments of Education are endless. Creative Arts should not genderise the education system and careful scrutiny of practices which have ethical questions such as vaginal

testing must not be sponsored through national resources. Public debates on these should stay critical, vibrant and move towards more societally accepted ways of discouraging pre-maturity sex to avert associated health and pregnancy risks. Those issues specifically related to the Department of Basic Education can be gleaned at throughout the study. The main one for me lies in the divisions between Higher Education and Basic Education and seemingly evident lack of engagements between the two. The fact that calls for curriculum transformation are not as loud as those of higher education does not mean that curriculum transformation at the Basic Education level is not critical. As long as issues of curriculum transformation are not addressed at the Basic Education level, Higher Education will continue facing challenges of curriculum relevance and curriculum transformation backlogs.

7.9 RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE RESEARCH COMMUNITY AND RESEARCH SUPERVISORS

There are lessons I learnt as a result of my engagement in research at the PhD level and I am grateful for the support I received from all involved. The pre-proposal research proposal writing scoping was very important for me, despite the restrictions imposed by my university. It provided insights that provided the richness I would not have been aware of without it. This was most particularly the issue of climate change and the perceptions of the research participants. I was able to make comparisons of the area with my pre-university enrolment scoping visits when the area was lush and green compared to my research and data collection time when the area was brown, eroded and smelled of livestock death. As clear as the intent of a clause that limits pre-research before one's proposal is approved, creative ways must be sought to enable pre-proposal scoping because of its value to the research process itself. This is especially important for contemporary ethics approval procedures (see Rhodes University Research Ethics, 2014) which should allow for pre-research ethics applications for contextual profile understanding.

I also had deliberations with myself on what I have come to term 'strategic research detours'. When I was faced with a constant emergence of issues concerning HIV and AIDs, rape and virginity testing, I made a conscious decision to listen and look for ways to give them space within my research report. I tried to carefully navigate the subject so that it did not take attention away from my research interest. It is important that we take strategic research detours. If we do not, it means that we constantly undermine and refuse to listen to issues that are urgent and paramount to the sites

and people in whose areas we conduct research. By not doing this, it means that we are the definers of community research priorities and consider ourselves as experts and determiners of community research needs. We therefore can be implicated in the silencing and censorship of what does not fit our agenda. I recommend that the supervisor and student researcher carefully negotiate emergent community research priorities as I was able to do in this study and as reflected across the pages of this thesis.

7.10 RESEARCH AS A JOURNEY OF SELF-DISCOVERY IN RESEARCH DELIBERATING PROCRASTINATIONS

Within the study and processes of procrastination as I tended my vegetables in the garden which had become a chore for reflection on my study, I discovered that one can learn from resistance. My father, an ardent gardener, had always tended plants and might have tended cattle with the same enthusiasm had he had any. I observed as he tended the garden without a touch of interest. I resisted having anything to do with his garden except to harvest some vegetables for cooking the evening meals. In the course of the study I realised that I had learnt the art and skill of gardening from my father as well as having learnt from careless tasks of my grandmother such as throwing the ash on the dumping heap and all vegetable waste. The rewards from the waste dump were always surprising. The arts and skills of gardening I applied in my car tyre garden absentmindedly. Recently, I had realised that I had learnt from resistance and internalised all I saw that my father did, despite my show of no interest. I learnt that some of what we have learnt and the experiences of that learning may lie fallow within the folds of memory. I was encouraged by this discovery for it taught me that there is a lot that we have taught learners that will not surface during the curriculum prescribed testing, but will survive in trying and interesting times such as thesis writing times, as was the case with me. I recommend to fellow researchers that they observe and share what they have learnt about research and learning related to themselves.

7.11 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The fact that this study had Mpembeni as its main focus makes the findings derived limiting as much as they may serve as commentary of and inspiration for research set in other research sites. The focus on the Foundation Phase limited paying involved attention to the FET agriculture electives at the FET level. The study could have benefitted from insights from Foundation Phase

curriculum developers, however the limit of financial resources at my disposal did not enable such a broadening of my study.

Secondly, to understand the impact of colonialism and how to slide out of its tight grip, we need to engage in sharpening the theoretical tools that are in circulation and let them have bearing on the issues we are grappling with in relation to education and more specifically, to environmental education processes in South Africa.

As alluded to in this study, but not fully explored, third spaces can also be located within the different frames of west, south and east. Studies as involved as Andreotti's *Actionable Postcolonial Theory in Education* (2014) with a focus on countries that have recently become independent from a colonising grip are necessary, with few such studies evident in Africa as yet, as reported in Chapter 3. The breadth of research by scholars such as Correa-Chavez, Mejia-Arauz and Rogoff (2015), Rogoff (2011), Rogoff, Matusov and White (1996) on child development in cultural contexts are scarce in Africa and elsewhere. Examples of learning processes in these contexts is desperately needed and I struggled to locate studies similar to these analysing child development and learning in Africa specifically, but also more widely. The theoretical work which theorised learning processes with schools and homes with decolonising lenses such as that of Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti (2005) that focus specifically on Africa, are virtually non-existent nor readily available, at least in the public literature for this study. African perspectives would have made the study much richer. All the areas and questions that my research sought answers for such as intergenerational learning as well as neglected subjects such as ways of learning in contexts of rural concern related to areas that community values such as cattle, clearly need more research. The last and amongst the most important, is improving teachers' practice on most of the issues that they constantly struggle with in education of the youngest members of our education system (see Lotz Sisitka, 2009; Lotz-Sisitka 2014; Schudel 2014; Maqwelane, 2011; Sinyama, 2011).

7.12 CONCLUSION

This concluding chapter functions as a synthesis of the whole study and makes some recommendations and suggestions on why and how some of the issues that have been surfaced could be addressed. The recommendations are not absolutes, but may function as 'seeders' and

prompts for better ideas and solutions as more studies get done on the subject of sociocultural intergenerational learning. The study also raised a number of pertinent questions, which I sincerely hope are pursued by other scholars.

The contribution to new knowledge that has been made in this study first was its attempt at unravelling what decolonising a curriculum would entail, especially at the Foundation Phase of the South African basic education level. Some of the recommendations I made would be applicable in areas with contexts similar to Mpembeni in other parts of the country and in Africa. Considering the struggles I had in locating studies that paid particular focus to understanding sociocultural intergenerational learning dynamics, relations, methods and techniques in the English-speaking parts of Africa, I think this study would answer for a number of educators' questions similar to the ones that raised my curiosity. The study went beyond looking at the tensions that exist between schools and homes as areas of learning but penetrated the in-betweenness of these contexts, showing *how* some of the learning methods that naturally unfold at home can be applied in school. In the ruffling of a number of in-betweennesses, the study displayed that there needs to be an unsilencing of a variety of knowledges that uncomfortably reside in the cleavages of home and school as sites of learning and through them and what we have come to know, stronger bridges that connect home and school can be built. These knowledges and *ways of knowing* can be used to create new knowledges through a synthesis of what we have appropriated that is humanistic and relevant of Western heritage, which has come to define us, as well as African values, so that we can work towards creating an existence that is harmonious with our environment. The path that was paved for this study to make the contribution it has made was based on insights from other scholars which showed a need to respect and use our relevant indigenous and local knowledges with a recognition that we cannot ever live the way we did before colonialism. By recognising the learnings that children bring to school as a foundation and anchor of what the classroom can offer will build stronger bridges between learning at home and school. It is in the interrogation of these many in-betweennesses that this study has made its major contribution. The choice of cattle as a springboard to examine sociocultural intergenerational learning has also displayed how vulnerable we and our flora and fauna are to environmental forces such as climatic change and the desperate times we live in, displaying the urgent need to look into the in-betweens of our lives on our planet.

I end this study with words from Nelson Mandela “We must start with our own children”, cited from Lotz-Sisitka’s (2014, p. 43) paper to lay emphasis on the fact that sustainable futures may come about if we promote intergenerational learning and teach our children to be the leaders that this planet deserves. This counsel in my interpretation is very important in the current times where debates and plans on transforming institutions of higher learning and their curricula are advancing with very limited dialogues, if any, with institutions of basic education in South Africa. If we don’t start where we should, we would need to go back and do this.

The water spirit, umndzawe had been seeking residence in me for sometime, when I decided to answer his call in 2013. I was not sure of what was in store for me as I joined the home where other initiates were answering their calls. As the sound of the drums hollowed into my core and my feet and body responded to the beat I drifted deep into trance space an inbetweenness between consciousness and dream space, inbetween presence and absence, somewhere within and outside my body. My spiritual mentor/teacher asked what the name of the spirit that was emerging out of me was and I said it was Makhatha. She asked again and again and I repeated the name. It was a meaningless name to me. My water spirit then came to be known as Makhatha. A few months later I asked my father what the word ‘Makhatha’ meant. My father was taken aback by this question. He explained that it was the name of a cousin of his that passed on when he was still a young boy. Makhatha was an expert cattle herder, that was a feared stick fighter who commanded respect in his area for his knowledge of cattle. One day he asked the people he herded cattle for, for leave and his pay to visit his home. He never arrived home. Instead his employer sent word that he had been killed by baboons in the maize meal fields. When my father and other members of the family went to fetch his remains they found that he had already been buried. According to my father his spirit has been roaming around for years amongst the cattle he loved and strangers. He had thus found refuge in me with trust that I will tell the story of his favourite subject, cattle for there are no coincidences in the spiritual world, he had told me. In concluding this study, I hope to have put to an end to the unhappy roamings of Makhatha’s soul and finally secured his eternal peace in telling a story that connects with his favourite beasts.

I am also reminded of my conversation with Bandlalenkosi about cattle which seems to have taken place just yesterday. It had led me on a long journey of discovery about cattle and Foundation Phase education. On this Robert Frost journey, on the Road not Taken, I met a number of other brave travellers who were all determined to arrive at their intended destinations. Some parts of my journey were not physical, but happened in my sleep. I dreamt I was in a car driven by a friend on one of Cape Town's windy windy roads. All of a sudden the car's engine stalled. I proposed that we pick up the car and get it over the road barricades to safety. We did just that. The friend then left and I continued up the hill, which became all green and telly tubby-like. At the edge of the hill, a ghost-like childish creature surfaced and threw me a bundle of something, followed by his sister, his mother and his father, who also threw me a parcel. I woke up.

I took another dream journey to a conference that was held at a hotel. In the course of the conference proceedings, I walked out and got lost in the maze of the hotel gardens to realise that I could not find my way back. I asked every person I met to give me directions back to the hotel. They all sent me on directions that got me further and further away from the hotel. Eventually a young boy came running towards me and told me that the hotel manager had sent him to come and find me as it was check-out time. He held a note in his hand with the bank manager's numbers scribbled on. With great relief I asked the child if I could follow him back to the hotel. Instead of leading me to the hotel, the child led me to a small room in a house. At the centre of the room sat an elderly woman dressed in a powder blue dress. Next to her was a gourd full of whey. She picked up the gourd and drank from it. The boy re-entered the room with a calabash and refilled the gourd. I fell on my knees in a spiritual greeting acknowledging the presence of the ancestor that lived within her. I then asked her to read me her divination bones. She did not throw the bones on a mat as is usually done. She shook the contents of the bag that held the bones and pulled out a carved piece that look like a monkey and said to me, "you shall fly". When she was about to fish out the next one, I thought to myself that she was wasting my time as I needed to set off to the hotel. I got up and hurried off on a path I believed was leading me to the hotel. I heard steps behind me. When I looked back I saw the boy running after me and I stopped and waited for him. He gave me a bouquet of big feathers and said that the elderly lady has sent him to give them to me. I thanked him and asked that he thank the elderly lady for me. I continued on my walk and before I could reach the hotel, I woke up.

In between these journeys, I got George. George, is the name I gave to the pregnant goat that gogo Mtshali gave me as a refund for the purchase of a deep freezer I made so she could store the meat

from her cow that had to be finished off after entangling itself on the logs of the kraal. Ntombiyebhayi. George is now a proud mother of two goatlets. I know they are called kids! I am also a proud owner of lobola that was paid in exchange for the hand of my daughter in marriage. One of the cows has already blessed me with a calf.

As I headed for the purple-headed mountains, crossing rivers and drinking from fountains, feeling exhausted just thinking about the distance to my final destination, a message came to me that I would not be walking the last bit of the journey alone. Choco and Latte were born at Kariega Farm, the home of my supervisor, Heila Lotz-Sisitka. I knew with their births that the end was near. I knew that the last steps would not be easy but that I would arrive at my destination. I have indeed arrived. Taking that Road Not Taken has, indeed, made all the difference.



Figure 7.2: Calves Latte and Choco are born at the end of my research journey

Qoyi Qoyi, seyiphelile!

I sincerely hope no one grew horns or fell asleep while I was telling the story.

Those of you with sticks still nicely pinned into your hair, you may now remove them.

We shall regroup again for another story, one day. Now off to your tasks.

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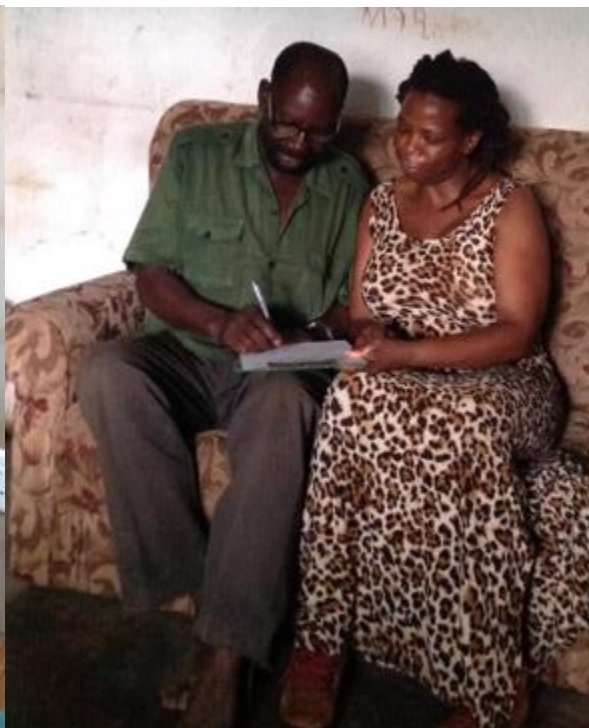
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: PHOTOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE OF CONSENT



APPENDIX 2: ETHICAL APPROVAL APPLICATION

RU FACULTY OF EDUCATION: ETHICAL APPROVAL APPLICATION

GENERAL PARTICULARS

RESEARCHER:	LYNETTE SIBONGILE MASUKU
STUDENT NUMBER:	G9710053
DEGREE:	PhD in EDUCATION (full thesis)
Provisional Title	A postcolonial exploration of socio-cultural intergenerational learning through cattle as a medium of cultural expression in Mpembeni, KwaZulu Natal
DEPARTMENT/INSTITUTE:	Department of Education
SUPERVISOR/S:	Prof. H Lotz-Sisitka
DATE:	August 2015

ETHICS

Respect and dignity

The integrity of the respondents will be honoured first by seeking permission from the Chief of Hlabisa, iNkosi Hlabisa, to interview and observe research participants, their homes and livestock. It will further be honoured by obtaining the necessary permission from the government of South Africa for interviewing minors who are under 18 years of age. Permission will also be sought to interview minors from their parents. Even when permission has been granted and minors decline to be interviewed, their wishes will be respected. Their respect and dignity will be observed by explaining the aims and processes of the research. Accessible and respectful language will be used. Consent will be sought and where consent forms cannot be filled in, consent will be recorded through audio equipment. Clarifications on issues of anonymity and privacy data protection will be made. Where requests are made by respondents to use original names, such will be granted on the basis, that where an individual is viewed negatively, such use will be avoided. With granted consent of the interviewees, the use of equipment to record audio, video or photography will be used to document and gather data.

Transparency and honesty

I will to my utmost best strive to be honest and transparent. The data will be reflected back to interviewees in means that are understood by them, such as summative paraphrasing. Records of data will be kept for the length of period as required by Rhodes University for future scrutiny, should the need arise. I will at times strive to interpret the data with honesty. My field research assistant will assist in ensuring honesty as I will share the data and findings back to her. My supervisor and peers will also assist in keeping to high levels of integrity, when it comes to transparency and honesty in the interpretation and presentation of my data and findings.

APPENDIX 3: ETHICAL APPROVAL

CONSENT FORM FOR THOSE ABOVE TEN YEARS OF AGE



RHODES UNIVERSITY

Grahamstown • 6140 • South Africa

EDUCATION FACULTY • PO Box 94, Grahamstown, 6140
Tel: (046) 603 8385 / (046) 603 8393 • Fax: (046) 622 8028 • e-mail: d.wilmot@ru.ac.za

09 November 2015

To Whom It May Concern

Re: Proposal and Ethics approval for Lynette Sibongile Masuku van Damme (9710053)

The minutes of the EHDC meeting of 17 September 2015 reflect the following:

CLASS A RESTRICTED MATTERS

2015.10.3 DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY RESEARCH PROPOSALS

Lynette Sibongile Masuku 9710053

Topic: A postcolonial exploration of socio-cultural intergenerational learning through cattle as a medium of cultural expression in Mpembeni

Appointment of supervisor: Prof Heila Lotz-Sisitka

Decision: Approved

This letter confirms the approval of the above proposal at a meeting of the Faculty of Education Higher Degrees' Committee on 17 September 2015.

In the event that the proposal demonstrates an awareness of ethical responsibilities and a commitment to ethical research processes, the approval of the proposal by the committee constitutes ethical clearance. This was the case with this proposal and the committee thus approved ethical clearance.

Yours truly

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Mellony Graven'.

Prof. Mellony Graven
Chair of the EHDC, Rhodes University

CONSENT FORM FOR THOSE ABOVE 10 YEARS OF AGE

Uncwaningo olwenziwa uSibongile Masuku Van Damme elekelelwa uSenamile Mtshali

Umlando: Inhloso yokuqala yalolucwaningo ukuthola ulwazi kubantu ngezindlela izingane ezisemnyakeni ewu6-10 ezifunda ngayo ukunakekela izinkomo. Eyesibili inhloso eyokuhlola ukuthi kuyikho yini ukuthi izinkomo ziyinsika yama siko akwaZulu. Umcwaningi uzothi uma esekhanyiselwe ngalemibuzo uzo bese ubheka uhla lwokufundiswa kwezingane ezisePrimary ngoba efuna ukwazi ukuthi uhla lolu luwasimamisa kanjani amasiko ezingane ezifika nawo esikolweni. Lokhu kuzosiza ukuthi uhulumeni aphinde ahlole indlela izingane zifundiswa ngayo ezikoleni.

Sicela ukuxoxisana nawe ukuphendula imibuzwana ezosisiza ukuphundela lemibuzo ebekiwe. Sicela usigcwalisele lemininingwane ebekiwe uma uvuma ukuxoxisana nathi.

1. Igama nesibongo
2. Usuku lwakho lokuzalwa
3. Ubulili
4. Igama lendawo ohlala kuyo
5. Usuku emnyakeni
6. Uyavuma yini ukuthi uxoxe nathi a) yebo –sayina.....
b) chabo- sayina.....
7. Uyavuma yini ukuthi siyithwebule ingxoxo yethu a) yebo- sayina.....
b) chabo - sayina.....
8. Uyavuma yini ukuthi sithathe izithombe a) yebo – sayina.....
b) chabo – sayina.....
9. Uyafuna yini ukuthi igama lakho langempela lisetshenziswe ekubhalweni kwereport a)yebo- sayina.....
b) Chabo – sayina.....
c) siyini isizathu sokuvuma
d) siyini isizathu sokwala

APPENDIX 4: CONSENT FORM FOR THOSE BELOW TEN YEARS OF AGE

CONSENT FORM FOR AGES BELOW 10 YEARS

Uncwaningo olwenziwa uSibongile Masuku Van Damme elekelelwa uSenamile Mtshali

Umlando: Inhloso yokuqala yalolucwaningo ukuthola ulwazi kubantu ngezindlela izingane ezisemnyakeni ewu6-10 ezifunda ngayo ukunakekela izinkomo. Eyesibili inhloso eyokuhlola ukuthi kuyikho yini ukuthi izinkomo ziyinsika yama siko akwaZulu. Umcwaningi uzothi uma esekhanyiselwe ngalemibuzo uzo bese ubheka uhla lwokufundiswa kwezingane ezisePrimary ngoba efuna ukwazi ukuthi uhla lolu luwasimamisa kanjani amasiko ezingane ezifika nawo esikolweni. Lokhu kuzosiza ukuthi uhulumeni aphinde ahlole indlela izingane zifundiswa ngayo ezikoleni.

Sicela ukuxoxisana nengane ukuphendula imibuzwana ezosisiza ukuphundela lemibuzo ebekiwe. Sicela usigcwalisele lemininingwane ebekiwe uma uvuma ukuthi ingane ixoxisane nathi.

Igama lengane

Usuku lwayo lokuzalwa

Ubulili bayo

Indawo esuka kuyona

Usuku emnyakeni

Siyavunyelwa yini ukuthi ingane siyithathe izithombe

Siyavunyelwa yini ukuthi silithwebule izwi nengxoxo yathi nengane

Mina

Umzali/umbheki nguyavuma ukuthi ingane ixoxiswe kulolucwaningo.

APPENDIX 5: INTERVIEWS IN ISIZULU

ZULU VERSION

Inkulumo ebiphakathi kuka **SIBONGILE** Masuku no **MRS Sophie Ngidi**.

SIBONGILE: sawubona ke **MRS NGIDI**

MRS NGIDI: yebo.

SIBONGILE: eee mina ngingu **SIBONGILE** igama laminingowakwa Masuku ngifunda le eRhodes University senza ucwaningo, lona engihamba naye ngu**SENAMILE** wakwa**Mtshali** yilona sekela lami. sizocela ukthi njengoba sizoxoxa nawe ukuthi singakaxoxi sikuchazele ukuthi lolucwaningo lungani bese ke siphethe nansi ifomu lefomu ke uzoyisayina ukukhombisa ukuthi kunesivumelwano phakathi kwami nawe sokuthi sixoxisane nawe. singakenzi njalo ngizocela isekela lami **U**SENAMILE**** akufundele leli phepha ndaba leli elichazayo ukuthi ucwaningo lungani, sizocela ukuba sithathe isithombe sakho uma ususayina kuze kube ubufakazi bokuthi cha umama uvumile ukthi sikhulume naye.

SENAMILE: umlando; inhloso yokuqala yalolucwaningo ukuthola ulwazi kubantu ngezindlela izingane eziseminyakeni ewu6-10 ezifunda ngayo ukunakekela izinkomo. eyesibili inhloso eyokuhlola ukuthi kuyikho yini ukuthi izinkomo ziyinsika yama siko akwaZulu. umcwaningi uzothi uma esekhanyiselwe ngelemibuzo uzo bese ubheka uhla lokufundiswa kwezingane ezisePrimary ngoba efuna ukwazi ukuthi uhla lolu luwasimamisa kanjani amasiko ezingane ezifika nawo esikoleni. lokhu kuzosiza ukuthi uhulumeni aphinde ahlole indlela izingane zifundiswa ngayo esikoleni.

Sicela ukuxoxisana nawe ukuphendula imibuzo ezosisiza ukuphendula lemibuzo ebakiwe. sicela usigcwalisele lemininingwane ebekiwe uma uvuma ukuxox nathi.

SIBONGILE: ngizocela ke lemininingwane igama nesibongo kuka gogo.

MRS NGIDI: mina ngingu Sophie Ngidi

SIBONGILE: usuku lwakho lokuzalwa ke?

MRS NGIDI: angazi kodwa ngino 65

SIBONGILE: wazalwa ngamuphi unyaka?

MRS NGIDI: awuuu angazi ke mntanami.

SIBONGILE: indawo kusezi Donini?

MRS NGIDI: yebo kusezi Donini.

SIBONGILE: namuhla ziwu 29 January 2016.

MRS NGIDI: yebo.

SIBONGILE: sizocela usisayinele lapha nje.

MRS NGIDI: cha mina angikwazi ukusayina ngizo shaya isiphambano

SIBONGILE: yebo lesosiphambano silungile usayine nje ufake isiphambano

MRS NGIDI: kunjani ulande ingane izongisayinela?

SIBONGILE: cha kulungile bhala isiphambano esizosazi ukuthi nguwe osayine lapha.

MRS NGIDI: naso ke isiphambano.

SBONGILE: ayiii siyabonga ke ,sesizo qala ke manje sikubuze imibuzo.ee MRS NGIDI ukufuya inkomo kuyini empilweni yakho nomundeni wakho?

MRS NGIDI: kuyimpilo yomdabu,yendalo yakwa Zulu.impilo yomdabu wakwaZulu.inkomo insila yomuntu ngoba ngeke uphile emhlabeni ngaphandle kwenkomo.inkomo insila yakho.

SIBONGILE: ubani ke owakufundisa ukubheka inkomo?

MRS NGIDI: umkhulu nobaba.

SIBONGILE: wafunda nini ukubheka inkomo sinike nje umlando?

MRS NGIDI: kukuthi nje ngikhule vele ngibheke inkomo angifundanga ngangelusa inkomo nezimbongolo isikole nje angisazi,bengisebenza amabhunu ngiphume ebhunwinini ngiye ekhayangizokwelusa inkomo ,isikole nje angisazi.

SIBONGILE: uqale nini ukulusa inkomo?

MRS NGIDI: awuungangino 6 years.

SIBONGILE: bebengekho abafana ekhaya?

MRS NGIDI: awuuu babeseba ncane kakhulu.

SIBONGILE: ungowokuqala emantombazaneni?

MRS NGIDI: yebo,kodwa wayengokuqalq umfana wathathwa abelungu walusa inkukhu kwase kulokhuzwa mina ke ntombazane.

SIBONGILE: awuuuu....bakhone wena oke wabafundisa ukulusa nje inkomo?

MRS NGIDI: yebo ngangibafundisa abafana bami ababengomakhelwane ,vele sithi masiya edibheni ngiba vuse ngenduku ngithi vukani sambe siye edibheni,idibha lakithi lalikudesasivuka ngomnyama siye edibheni.

SIBONGILE: ngabo bani ikhathi?

MRS NGIDI: kwakuba zikhathi zabo 4.

SIBONGILE: babefunda laba abanye?

MRS NGIDI: yebo babefunda ngijahe ukuthi babuye bezoya esikoleni,bona babenabazali ababafundisayo.cha mina bekangangifundisibowami.

SIBONGILE: wawubavusa

MRS NGIDI: ngelusa impela ngoba njalo ngangazi ukuthi makuphela u6 months kumele ngiye ebhunwinini ngisebenze ebhunwinin ngibuye ngize ekhaya.

SIBONGILE: bewulishaya ikhwela lezinkomo?

MRS NGIDI: yebo

SIBONGILE: manje asabafundisa yini abatwana namanje ukwelusa inkomo ?

MRS NGIDI: wooowuuu yebo nakhu nje okuka Machube nansi izanca yakhe mayengibona ngivimba inkomo laphaya uyeza naye.

SBONGILE: bangaki nje ongathi cha laba bafundiswa yimi ebatwaneni bakho?

MRS NGIDI: awuuu baningi bonke nje abami laba.

SIBONGILE: awubabale nje uthi yilo nalo.

MRS NGIDI: owokuqala nje uMduduzi umfana obehlala layikhaya kwazoba umfana wakaGama,uSyabonga kwazoba omunye umfana wakwa Gama babebabili abafana bakwa Gama ababe hala layikhaya.abagcinile oBongani noLindo.

SIBONGILE: awekho amantombazane oke wawafundisa ukulusa?

MRS NGIDI: ukulusa?layikhaya akekho umuntu ongalusanga uyambona nje umama kaMachube inkuzi malanga noMachube ngoba lona omdala uDudu akazi lutho ngenkomo.

SIBONGILE: uDudu akazazi inkomo?

MRS NGIDI: cha akazazi

SIBONGILE: akengibuze ukuthi ungaphila yini ngaphandle kwenkomo?

MRS NGIDI: cha angiphili zifa kangaka nje ngondiswe yizo.

SBONGILE: zingaki esezifile nje?

MRS NGIDI: awuuu awuuu kuleliviki leliya indliwe impisi endanyi ifike yabhajwa bayikhipha bayishiya ngaphandle yahluleka ukuvuka yafika impisi yadla.

SIBONGILE: enye?

MRS NGIDI: ziningi nje ziphelela edanyini min phela layikhaya angisena nkomo.

SIBONGILE: uma ungazibala nje ungathi sezingaki ?

MRS NGIDI: wuuuuuuuu ngeke ngazi angisakwazi ukubala.

SIBONGILE: ziyafika ku5?

MRS NGIDI: mina phela bengino 35 ngathi u5 kuyiwo engisele nawo.

SIBONGILE: kusele u5.5.5..5

MRS NGIDI: engani ngiyakutshela ubaba esethuneni u5 osele.

SIBONGILE: awu kodwa nkulunkulu wami!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

MRS NGIDI: ekuseni nje kade sibamba okuphucuka uboya sithi sizama ukukujova angazi noma kuyobuya yini ehlathini mm.

SIBONGILE: kufe u30 wonke?

MRS NGIDI: kusho ukuthi kufe lowo 30 ke nje ngoba ezinye ezimbili senza ngazo umsebenzi kamkhulu ,angithi uyabo.

SIBONGILE: emanje nje njengoba kubonakal ukuthi isomise nje sikuphethe kanjani?

MRS NGIDI: kabi kakhulu,kakhulu kabi.

SIBONGILE: uzizwa unjani nje ngaso?

MRS NGIDI: ngizizwa ngilula kakhulu sithelwe kanzima impela nokugula kuyazi ndlela nje ngoba sekuthathe lula.

SIBONGILE: yini ephazamisa impilo yakho ngalokhu kufa kwezinkomo ?

MRS NGIDI: ngiyocwantshwa ngani mina nazi ingane ziyalotsholwa ngizo kwenza njani ngizozikhipha ngani ngoba phela impilo.inkomo kumele ukiphe ngazo abatwana awuphili ngaphandle kwenkomo .

SBONGILE: engifuna ukukwazi ukuthi njengoba isomiso nakhu sibelesele ,asengibekise nje mhlawumbe kuthiwa sizothatha imiyaka emithathu ,amaphi amasu okumele niwenze kuze inkomo ziphile?

MRS NGIDI: Lapho ke impela angifuni ukuqamba amanga bake bakhulume ukuthi nje bazoletsha amabhele ,njengoba mina nje ngingumkhokhoba ngiyathathaphi imali yebhele kuhluleka ngisho abanamabhele nangu nje u**Smelane** eyakhe inkomo ibihlinzwa izolo umosa imali yakhe uwathenga nsuku zonke amabhele.ubuya nje kwa**Hlabisa** kade elande amabhele.....awu okokuqala nje ngibona ukuthi sekuzohamba thina.

SBONGILE: nizishiye kuphi inkomo?

MRS NGIDI: cha phela zona ziyobe seziphelile njengoba zifa,kuzolandela thina ngempela.

SBONGILE: ake sixoxe nje mama ukuthi uma ubheka umuntu ukuthi uyazazi inkomo, yiziphi impawu ezikhombayo ukuthi cha uyabonake cha lo uyakwazi ukubheka inkomo?

MRS NGIDI: cha ukhona mina owami umfana lona osengilusela manje hhayi goal ungu first class.

SBONGILE: ushongani ukuthi ungu first class?

MRS NGIDI: akakhethi bala ukuthi lenkomo ngiyifice ibhabhalele ekabani usiza wonke umuntu emphakathini,u**MAYIHLWAYELE** goal ngane yami.

SBONGILE: akengithi ke

MRS NGIDI: izolo kade kuhlinzwa lapha kwa**BUTHELEZI** ,nalapha.....mangikhuluma kuthathe kulumele umzimba nkosi yami izolo nje bahlinze 4 wezinkomo izolo.

SBONGILE: manje **GAMENI** iziphi impawu ezithi lomfana unguprofesa ezinkomeni? zibale nje zibe ngu5 izimpawu.

MRS NGIDI: uyangitshela athi wegogo uyayibonake lenkomo le ayiphilile ifuna umjovo othile,kukuthi ungumntwana owakhulela ngaphansi kwesandla somuntu owayekhonzela kakhulu imfuyo u**MBOKAZI**.olwesibili uphawu ubethi gogo kufunakala kutholakale umjovo othile,mina ke ngizozabalaza ngifune lomjovo ayijove lenkomo isinde kodwa ke azisasindi njengoba kunje.

SBONGILE: olwesithathu ke uphawu olukhombisa ukuthi lomfana uyakwazi ukwelusa akusiyo into ayibukela kumuntu,wenzanjani uma esezinkomeni?

MRS NGIDI: akayishiyi inkomo yomunye umuntu endle ubuya nazo zonke inkomo uyaye akhuphuke nazo phansi ezilanda edanyini ezifake ngononina emakhaya,izolo nje ingane zami zimuthengele itshwaqane ngoba ubuye nenkunzi esingasayazi ukuthi isekhona yini.

SBONGILE: ibisinyamalale isikhathi esingakanani?

MRS NGIDI: awu thina besesithi yadliwakodwa nakhu ibuyile iyaphila nje.

SBONGILE: manje awungitshele **GAMA** ukuthi uma ingane usuyifundisile ukwelusa inkomo ,asike sithi nje uyifundisile wena umake usuyifundile wena angithi ayigcini layikhaya iyaphuma nangaphandle,ilekelelwa ngubani,ifundiswa ngubani?

MRS NGIDI: kumele izazele lapha enqondweni yayo ukuthi njengoba sengihlukana nesandla salapha engifundiswe khona ngizothatha siphilisi isinyathelo.izifundela yona.

SBONGILE: akengithi ubona nansi ingane ngaphandle iyelusa uzokwazi yini ukuyitshela ukuthi ayenze lokhu nalokhu?

MRS NGIDI: yebo ngiyayitshela.

SBONGILE: nezabantu uyazitshela,nabantu bayazitshela yini ezakho?

MRS NGIDI: yebo,mangabe konakala.....uyabona loluphawu olubekayo nangunje uSIBYA mina besingakhulumisani kodwa sihlalane ngalo uphawu lwezinkomo sesizwana kabi,ungiphe umjovo ekuseni.

SBONGILE: kusho ukuthi seniya lekelelana manje?

MRS NGIDI: yebo sisi ngoba besingatholani nhlobo.

SBONGILE: manje ingane ifundiswa ngumzali noma ifundiswa ngunoma ngubani m.....

MRS NGIDI: ngunoma ngabe ngubani,ngoba nawe mawuhlangana nengane yami yenza okungalingile uyayikhuza uthi wengane yenza ukuthi musa ukukwenza ukuthi ,izolalela ithi umama othize uthe.

SBONGILE: uma ingakwenzi kumele uyenze njani?

MRS NGIDI: uyifaka induku asazike ngoba ingane manje sezashayana iyovele iphenduke ikushaye ithi nangu lomama okuxakayo.angithi uyabona nje iyovele ikushaye ngempela.

SBONGILE: angithi mina GAMA uyangibona angazi ukuthi inkomo iphathwa kanjani ekhaya bekungekho nkomo,nakhuke sengithenge izinkomo yiziphi izinto okumele ngibe nazo?

MRS NGIDI: akukho lutho nje ngaphandle kotshani namanzi.

SBONGILE: okunye,ngifuna ungibalele kuze kube ngu7.

MRS NGIDI: impatho nje ukuthi iphetheke kanjani .ukuziqoqa uthi uziphethe kodwa kubekhona umuntu oziqoqayo .

SBONGILE: isibaya sona?

SENAMILE: asike sithi nginenxiwa ngiza kuwe angazi lutho ngizothi ngithanda ukufuya yini okumele ngibe nayo egcekeni njengoba ngizofuya nokumele ngibenayo engizoyisebenzisa ezinkomeni nokumele ngibe nayo engizoyisebenzisa ngaphandle uma ngikhipha inkomo yami iyangaphandle.

MRS NGIDI: usebenzisa umqondo wokwelusa ngoba nakhu ingane asinazo.

SBONGILE: amathuluzi ke okumele ubenawo yimaphi?

MRS NGIDI: angiwaboni mina mina yiwo umjovo nje kuphela engiwubonayo.

SENAMILE: isiswebhu sona?

MRS NGIDI: naso isiswebhu sakho nomzaca wakho

SBONGILE: ngibalele nko ke ngaba mina ngiyafika angazi lutho ngenkomo.

MRS NGIDI: isibaya sakho, isiswebhu, isagila sakho nanokwelusa Kanye nedlelo kuze uzokwazi ukuthi ntambama uzibuyise zingene esibayeni.

SBONGILE: akengibuze ukuthi yini enyenza abantu baqhelelane nokufuya kakhulu laba abasebasha balokhu bekhwesha ngasekufuyeni?

MRS NGIDI: imfundo abazi lutho ngemfuyo ngisho abangenakho ubuchwephesha ubezwa behamba beqhosha bethi “ngiyafunda mina” ngeke nje uthi kuye awungilandele nansi inkomo .

SBONGILE: mama ngicela ungichazela umuntu ofundile umuntu onjani uma nje wena umchaza ungathi umuntu onjani?

MRS NGIDI: angazi phela mina ngoba ubona umuntu ehamba enzenza uchwephesha.

SBONGILE: ngingasasho okwesikole nje sengisho ukuthi uma uthi lomuntu lo hhayi ufundisiwe usho ukuthini. chaza kabanzi.

MRS NGIDI: umqondo wakhe, ufundisiwe ngomqondo wakhe.

SBONGILE: wenza?

MRS NGIDI: uyasebenza njeba wena ulapha ufundisiwe ngomqondo.

SBONGILE: ngicela ukubuza yini umahluku phakathi kwemfundo yasesikoleni nemfundo yasekhaya>

MRS NGIDI: ayi angiboni ngoba osesikoleni uzibona ehlakaniphe kakhulu wena uyisithuthuthu nje ngeke yena ayenze lento oyenzayo wena, angithi nje wena njengoba ulapha uzofundisa mina uvusa mina.

SBONGILE: kodwa mina ngibona sengathi ngizofundiswa nguwe.

MRS NGIDI: cha wena uzofundisa mina ngoba mina sengiyisithuthuthu. angithi ngoba ulapha uzotshela mina ukuthi imfuyo iphathwa kanjani angithi manje kulele umqondo wobudala lapha kithi. kudala sasinomqondo wobungane kushaya intambama sesiqoqile inkomo.

SBONGILE: asibeke kanjena ke mama uyabona mina ayikaze ibekhona inkomo ekhaya angikwazi ukubhekana nenkomo, ubani ke ofundile ngenkomo phakathi kwami nawe?

MRS NGIDI: ofundile?

SBONGILE: yebo oqeqeshiwe ngokulusa inkomo ubani ?

MRS NGIDI: cha lapho mina ngifunde impela ukulusa inkomo.

SBONGILE: ngamanye amazwi kusho ukuthi nguwe ofundile ukulusa inkomo kunami mina angifundanga.

MRS NGIDI: hhayi cha mina ngifunde impela ukubheka inkomo ukuyelusa nje inkomo ngiyakwazi kakhulu. ngoba nas4kuseni ngivuka ngomnyama ngibheke lokhu okubili okusele.

SBONGILE: manjeke **GAMENI** makungafika othisha bethi “we**GAMA** sinenkinga lapha ngabatwana abazi lutho ngokubheka inkomo siyakucela ukuba ufike esikoleni uzofundisa iviki lonke ngokubheka inkomo ungavuma?

MRS NGIDI: cha lapho ngeke ,angeke impele.

SBONGILE: ngobayini?

MRS NGIDI: angeke kulunge mina nginemisebenzi yami. ngeke ngifundise oclever laba abangihlula layikhaya bese ngithi ngizofundisa esikoleni cha ngeke.

SBONGILE: asike sithi bathi usuku olulodwa?

MRS NGIDI: cha ngeke ngilunge ngiyofundisa ochwephesha abazojike bangishaye kusasa.

SENAMILE: bayadinga nje ulwazi khona bezokubona ukubaluleka kwemfuyo ngoba nani nikhuliswe nakubona nakugcina ngekathi nikhombiswa abazali,angithi nani kumele nikundlulisele ezinganeni kuze nabo bezokwazi ukuthi bakubone ukuthi kubalulekile?

MRS NGIDI: uyambona u**KHUMALO** lo ubefaka ibheshu sifika thina kulelizwe besihamba naye siye edibheni phezulu kodwa unjani mamuhla usephethe amakhansela,uphethe yonke into kodwa imfuyo akayishiyile uhamba phambili ngemfuyo futhi akafuni imfuyo ihlukumezeke .

SBONGILE: akengibuze GAMA ukuthi ngokubheka kwakho lezizinto ozishoyo kusazo qhubeka yini abatwana bafuye izinkomo .

MRS NGIDI: angazi njengoba isomiso sibhoke kangaka.

SBONGILE: ngaphandle kwesomiso indlela nje obheka ngayo njengoba bengasafuni ukwelusa,mawucabanga nje wenakusazoqhubeka?

MRS NGIDI: cha angiboni.

SBONGILE: manje wena mawungaboni usakufisa yini njengoba uthe inkomo ziyinsila yesiko lakwaZulu mawubheka lisazofa lelosiko?

MRS NGIDI: usiko ngeke lufe kufe abantu nezingane asinazo angifuni ngane yami ukuqamba amanga.

SBONGILE: bafe kanjani abantu?

MRS NGIDI: usababona nje wena abantu nabanumzane.

SBONGILE: sengisho ukuthi kufe abantu abalusa inkomo noma usho abantu nje?

MRS NGIDI : ngisho abantu okuyibona abanohlonze lwezinkomo

SBONGILE: uhlonze lokunaka inkomo?

MRS NGIDI: yebo bayafa

SBONGILE: ukukhula kwakho ubheka impahla bebekubheka kanjani abantu emphakathini?

MRS NGIDI: awuuu cha bebengabheki babazi ukuthi vele impahla impahla ,mina ngifike lapha kwayimi u**MANDLOVU** sathenga inkomo laphaya phesheya ku**SOVEYAMUVA** nga2 nga2 sizelusela .

SBONGILE:bebethini abantu?

MRS NGIDI: bebangasho lutho kunalokho bahawukela bazithenga nabo.

SBONGILE: okusho ukuthi bahawukela?

MRS NGIDI: bahawukela nje.

SBONGILE: bathinike ngani benigcona noma benincoma?

MRS NGIDI: ayiii angikaze ngibezwe bekhuluma nje ngabe nginamanga ezweni mhlawumbe basihleba ngoba umuntu uyahletshwa.

SBONGILE: bebehleba bethini?

MRS NGIDI: bethi nampa abafazi besindlula singamadoda.

SBONGILE: nani enye?

MRS NGIDI: nomona nje bethi anibabuke abafazi engabe bathi benzani,kodwa nabo bathenga bafuya bebonela kithi.

SBONGILE: bavumelekile yini ukuthi abantu besifazane bafuye inkomo ngokwesiko?

MRS NGIDI: yebo bavumelekile kusothandweni lwakho,ungazingaba uthini inkomo uma ingane yakho ilotsholwa.

SBONGILE: zikusiza ngani lezi nkomo?

MRS NGIDI: inkomo impilo yomuntu.

SBONGILE: sengisho izinto ezikusiza ngazo inkomo mawungangibalela nje ungathi iziphi?

MRS NGIDI: uma uxakekile uyayidayisa inkomo,ngiyakwazi ukwenza umsebenzi ekhaya kuningi nje.

SBONGILE: yikuphi lokho okuningi ngifuna ungibalele khona?

MRS NGIDI: inkom iyalima ukhipha ngayo intombazane iyakukhuphula ngisho esimweni obucwile kuso.

SBONGILE: uyaya yini wena ebhange?

MRS NGIDI : cha ngibuka esibayeni kubesemqondweni wami ukuthi ngalelithole lami zizokwenza ukuthi ngalo.

SENAMILE: kahlekahle yilona bhange lakho?

MRS NGIDI: yebo inkomo.

SBONGILE: njengoba mama uthi isikole isona esibhidliza ukuthi ingane zibheke imfuyo yikuphi okubona ukuthi kufale yenzeke kuze kungapheli ezinganeni ukuthanda nokunakekela impahla,ungasixwayisa ngani wena?

MRS NGIDI: uma uhluleke wena mzali ekhaya ingane mawunayo isikole ngeke sikusize ngalutho ,wena mayibuya ingane yithi ezimpahleni wengane.

SBONGILE: esikoleni mabengathi siyezwa gogo uthi ukwelusa nokubhekwa kwezinkomo kulahleka ngesikole ake usixwayise thina bothisha senzenjani kuze sibambisane nomphakathi singothisha?

SBONGILE: kobambisana ngokuthi ngithi wena awuzwa ekhaya kodwa nabo othisha mabaxwayise izingane okukakhulukazi 'awungitshela ngane yami ufike usebenze ini ekhaya uma ufika 'ukuxwayisa ingane lokho cha ngiye ngifike ngiyolusa inkomo isho iqamba amanga,ithatha ibhola ingane ihambe iziyele egroundin ayilaleli.

SBONGILE: zithini ingane mazibuya esikoleni kukhona yini ezikushoyo ukuthi othisha bathi ngokwelusa?

MRS NGIDI: awu ngabe nginamanga angikaze ngizizwe ingane zitshele mina cha !!!.

SBONGILE: yini ezikutshela yona ngesikole noma ebezikwenza esikoleni?

MRS NGIDI: ukuthi uthisha ubesishaya kuphelile zidonsa icwanjana ziyazibhalela zithule phansi

SBONGILE: uma kade ingane sisedibheni zafika lethi esikoleni bazenza njani?

MRS NGIDI: zifika zichaze ukuthi kade zisedibheni

SBONGILE: uthisha athini lapho?

MRS NGIDI: imfuyo phela leyo uthisha wazi kahle.

SBONGILE: abazishayi othisha?

MRS NGIDI: cha cha azilokothwa ngisho sisadibha phezulu bebetshelwa kahle othisha ukuthi njalo ngomsombuluko ingane azishawa zisuke zisedibheni zibuyise inkomo zizifake ekanjini.

SBONGILE: isiphi lesosinkole ?

MRS NGIDI: ESOMFULA nase NQUBEKO.

SBONGILE: bonke othisha abazishayi?

MRS NGIDI: bonke abashayi angithi nabo banazo inkomo.

SBONGILE: bonke labo thisha abendawo?

MRS NGIDI: cha bakhona nabokufika abahlala emiqashweni>

SBONGILE: isiphi isixwayiso ongathanda ukuthi usifake kothisha mayelana nokufundisa izingane ngokubheka imfuyo.

MRS NGIDI : cha mina lokho kuthanda ukungimpitsha ngoba bengabuza ukuthi sonke lesiskhathi sifundisa ubukuphi nophawu,usazosicebisela ziphi njengoba sezifa ziphela nje bazolusa ini.

SBONGILE: ngabe kukhona yini ongathanda ukungibuza khona mina?

MRS NGIDI: cha akukho ngane yami ngoba wena awusiye unkulunkulu awuphethe izulu ngoba into esikhala ngayo isomiso kakhulu ayikho imvula.

SBONGILE: mawungachaza nje GAMA yini eqeda imvula ngokubona kwakho?

MRS NBATHA: angazi ngoba kuqali kwakuthiwa yibhanoyi,babuye baletha izindlu lezi zompheme bathi ngeke line kuyoze kuphele zona kodwa nakhu ziphelile nayi imvula ayini.

SBONGILE: SBONGILE kakhulu mama **NGIDI** ukuxoxa naw siyabonga.

MRS NGIDI: ngibongile nami ukunibona.

APPENDIX 6: INTERVIEWS IN ENGLISH

Interview between SIBONGILE Masuku and MRS Sophie Ngidi.

SIBONGILE: Good afternoon **MRS NGIDI**

MRS NGIDI: Afternoon.

SIBONGILE: My name is **SIBONGILE** Masuku. I am studying at Rhodes University towards my PhD degree. With me is **SENAMILE Mtshali** who is my research assistant. As we will chat with you we will first inform you of what the research is about. We have this form with us which you will sign which indicates that there is an agreement between us for the interview. Before the interview I will request my assistant Senamile to read out to you the purpose of the research. We will request that we take a picture of you as you sign as further evidence of your agreement.

SENAMILE: Our first intention on this research is to get information from local people on how children of the age between 6-10 learn to look after cattle. The second intent is to establish whether it is the case that cattle are the core of the culture of the Zulu people. When the researcher has responses to these questions she will then look into the curriculum matters for Primary school children to establish how such curriculum frameworks scaffold cultures that children bring with to school. This will assist in encouraging govt to revisit the manner in which children are educated.

We request that we converse with you to answer this big question to assist in answering the smaller questions as well. Please answer the following set questions if you agree to converse with us.

SIBONGILE: What is gogo's name?

MRS NGIDI: I am Sophie Ngidi

SIBONGILE: Your date of birth please?

MRS NGIDI: I don't know but I am 65

SIBONGILE: when were you born?

MRS NGIDI: awuuu I don't know my child..

SIBONGILE: Place? Its at EziDonini?

MRS NGIDI: yes its eziDonini.

SIBONGILE: today it 29 January 2016.

MRS NGIDI: yes.

SIBONGILE: We will request that you sign here

MRS NGIDI: I don't know how to sign I will just make a cross

SIBONGILE: Yes that cross is fine. Sign with a cross

MRS NGIDI: What if I fetch a child and ask it to sign for me?

SIBONGILE: Its OK you can make a cross in any way that you will know is yours

MRS NGIDI: There is my cross.

SBONGILE: Thanks so much. We will now start asking questions. What is the meaning of keeping cattle to you and your family Mrs Ngidi? ke ,sesizo qala ke manje sikubuze imibuzo.

MRS NGIDI: It is the traditional and life of the Zulu people. A cow is the core of Zulu traditional life. You cannot live on earth without cattle. Cattle are your backbone.

SIBONGILE: Who taught you to look after cattle?

MRS NGIDI: my grandfather and my father.

SIBONGILE: when did you learn to look after cattle, give us the history?

MRS NGIDI: Forever I grew up looking after cattle. I never went to school. I grew up looking after cattle and donkeys. I don't know school. I worked for Afrikaaner families. I would work for them and after work go and mind the cattle. I don't know school.

SIBONGILE: when did you start looking after cattle?

MRS NGIDI: Hey, I was six years old.

SIBONGILE: Were there no boys at home?

MRS NGIDI: awuuu they were too young

SIBONGILE: Are you the first of girls at home?

MRS NGIDI: Yes, the first boy a brother was taken by the white people to herd chickens, then I was made to look after cattle.

SIBONGILE:Are there young ones that you have taught to look after cattle?

MRS NGIDI: Yes I taught my boys who were neighbours. Of course us when we went to the dipping tank I would wake them up with a hiding and say – wake up lets go to the dip. Our dip was far and would wake up while its dark for the dip.

SIBONGILE: Around what time?

MRS NGIDI: It was around 4 in the morning

SIBONGILE: were the others school going?

MRS NGIDI: Yes they were attending school, I wanted to make sure that they are back in time to go to school. They had parents who wanted them to be at school. My parents did not let me go to school.

SIBONGILE: You used to wake them up?

MRS NGIDI: I really herded cattle, because I knew that after 6 months I would go and work for the Boer and work at the Boers and then come home.

SIBONGILE: You know and can whistle for cattle?

MRS NGIDI: Yes

SIBONGILE: Do you still teach children how to herd cattle?

MRS NGIDI: woowuuu yes here is this one of Machunge. Here are his sticks, when he sees me herding cattle he comes along.

SBONGILE: How many can you say, ahhh these were taught by me amongst your kids?

MRS NGIDI: awuuu there are many, all these are mine..

SIBONGILE: Can you count and say its this one and that one

MRS NGIDI: the first one was Mduduzi a boy that used to live in this home. Then there was the boy of the Gamas, named Siyabonga, then there was a Gama boy, there were two boys from the Gamasthat lived in this my home. The last ones were Bongani and Lindo.

SIBONGILE: Are there no girls that you taught to herd cattle?

MRS NGIDI: to herd cattle?In this home there is no one that did not herd cattle. You see Machube's mother is a pro as her elder sister Dudu knows nothing about cattle

SIBONGILE: Dudu does not know much about cattle?

MRS NGIDI: Yes she does not

SIBONGILE: let me ask if you can survive without cattle?

MRS NGIDI: I don't survive. I have lost weight because of them.

SBONGILE: How many have died this far?

MRS NGIDI: awuuu awuuu That other week it was eaten by a hyaena. It got stuck in the dam and was pulled out and left it. It was too weak to get up and the hyaena came and ate it.

SIBONGILE: Another one?

MRS NGIDI: Lots of them get stuck at the dam. In this home I no longer have cattle.

SIBONGILE: If you would count them how many would you say?

MRS NGIDI: wuuuuuuuu I would not know I have lost count. n

SIBONGILE: Do they add up to 5?

MRS NGIDI: I used to have 35. I am now left with 5.

SIBONGILE: You are left with 5? 5? 5?

MRS NGIDI: Of course, I am telling you, I swear on my father's grave. 5 are left.

SIBONGILE: Oh my Lord!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

MRS NGIDI: In the morning we were trying to catch one that had hair falling off na dtrying to give it medicine. I don't know whether it will make it back from the grazing field.

SIBONGILE: You have lost 30 in all?

MRS NGIDI: It means 30 have died. The other two we used for a ceremony for my husband. You see.

SIBONGILE: As you can see the misfortunes How is the drought treating you?

MRS NGIDI: very bad, bad in a big way..

SIBONGILE: How do you feel because of the drought?

MRS NGIDI: I feel very weak. We are carrying heavy loads. It is very bad. Sickness just ravages through us as we are weakened.

SIBONGILE: What disturbs your life about the death of the cattle?

MRS NGIDI: How am I going to be buried. Here are children who need to get married how am I going to provide for them as a cow needs to accompany them to where they will wed. You are supposed to release your child to marriage with a cow. You can't live without cattle.

SBONGILE: What I would like to ask is that since the drought is stubbornly still here, for example it would take three years, what solutions should be applied so that cattle can survive?

MRS NGIDI: On that one I don't want to lie, they sometimes talk and say that they will bring cattle feed in bales, As I am bent by age where would I get money to buy bales. Even those with bales struggle. There is Simelane his cow was skinned yesterday. He wasted his money buying bales day after day, he has just been back from Hlabisa to buy bales. The first thing I can say is that we are the ones who will die.

SBONGILE: Where would you leave the cattle?

MRS NBATHA: They would all be finished by then, as we die they will all die after our deaths.

SBONGILE: Let us chat dear mother, if someone say that they are experts in looking after cattle what are the skills and signs that would support such an assertion?

MRS NGIDI: cha I have a boy that currently looks after my cattle. He is first class.

SBONGILE: Why do you say he is first class?

MRS NGIDI: if he finds a cow in need, he will not discriminate, he assists all cattle and helps all people in the community. His name is **MAYIHLWAYELE** my daughter.

SBONGILE: Let me say

MRS NGIDI: yesterday they were skinning a cow at the **BUTHELEZIs** , and here as I talk my body was itching and still is. They skinned 4 cows yesterday.

SBONGILE: Give me 5 signs that would tell that a boy is good with cattle.

RS NGIDI: He says to me – gogo, you see that cow is not well in health and needs a particular medicine, It means it is a child that was guided by a person that was dedicated to cattle **MBOKAZI**. The second sign is that he would say that we need a particular medicine. He would administer the medicine and I would try and go out of my way to find the medicine. He would administer the medicine and it would get better. But these days they don't get better as things are.

SBONGILE: The third indicator that shows the boys skills what does he do at the place of grazing.

MRS NGIDI: He never leaves anybody's cattle in the veld. He brings them all home. He walks them up this way all the way from the dam and delivers them in their homes. Yesterday some of the kids gave him a present as he brought back a bull that we did not even know was still alive.

SBONGILE: How long had it been missing?

MRS NGIDI: We thought I had been eaten but now it is back, he brought it back.

SBONGILE: Now please tell me mama Gama that once you have taught a child on how to look after cattle. Is it n't the case that its not only at home, who helps it, who teaches it?

MRS NGIDI: It must know it in its head that since my hand is no longer held where I was taught what steps will I take? He must learn on his own.

SBONGILE: Let us say here is a child herding cattle would you be able to tell what an dwhat not to do?

MRS NGIDI: Yes I would tell it.

SBONGILE: Would you tell other people's children ad would people tell yours?

MRS NGIDI: Yes when things go wrong. You see the point you are putting across, here is Sibiya me and her never used to talk, but we were brought together because of cattle. She gave me medicine this morning.

SBONGILE: It means you are helping each other now?

MRS NGIDI: Yes, even though we did not get along at all previously.

SBONGILE: Now is a child taught by its parents or its also taught by everyone

MRS NGIDI: Everybody teaches, even you when you meet a child of mine doing something that is wrong , you must tell it off and say you child do this do not do that. It will listen and say a particular mother said this and that.

SBONGILE: If it does not take your instruction what should you do??

MRS NGIDI: You give it a hiding. I don't know now as these days children beat up adults. It will turn round and beat you up and say that, that mother that is a trouble causer. You see he will really beat you up.

SBONGILE: As you can see Gama I have no idea on how to care for cattle. At my home there were no cattle. Now I buy cattle what are the things that I should have to provide for them?

MRS NGIDI: There is nothing besides grass and water

SBONGILE: what else? Please give me at least 7.

MRS NGIDI: Its being looked after, Its all about how you look after it. Its also gathering them together while taking good care of them. Someone must help collect and fetch them.

SBONGILE: a kraal?

SENAMILE: Let us say I have a new spot for starting a home. Then I want to own cattle an di have no idea on how to care for cattle. I come to you for advice. What am I supposed to have in my yard that I will use for looking after my cattle before even taking them out?

MRS NGIDI: You use your brain and experience as we do not have children.

SBONGILE: implements for looking after cattle?

MRS NGIDI: I cant tell, the only thing that is important is medicine.

SENAMILE: a leather thong?

MRS NGIDI: and your leather thong and your hard stick

SBONGILE: just advise me as I don't know how to look after cattle.

MRS NGIDI: your kraal, the leather thong, a knobkerrie, herding them out of the homestead, an area to graze them, so that in the evening they can come home and be kraaled.

SBONGILE: May I ask, what is it that creates the distance from owning and caring for cattle. Especially young people as they move further and further away?

MRS NGIDI: Its education. They know nothing about cattle. Even those who are not qualified in anything you hear them boasting saying – “I am studying”. You can’t say please fetch me that cow.

SBONGILE: Mama please tell me. What is a learned person? If you would explain what would you say?

MRS NGIDI: I don’t know I just see people walking around and acting big

SBONGILE: I am not meaning educated in terms of school education. If one would say that a person that a person has been educated what is meant. Please explain.

MRS NGIDI: it’s the brain, his brain has been educated.

SBONGILE: What does one do?

MRS NGIDI: they work, like you are here your brain is educated.

SBONGILE: May I ask what is the difference between home education and school education?

MRS NGIDI: Hey I don’t know, the ones at school think consider themselves very clever and see a fool in you and they won’t do the things you do. As you are here you are educating me, to wake me up.

SBONGILE: But I think I will be educated by you.

MRS NGIDI: No, you will educate me because I am dull. As you are here you will tell me how I should look after my livestock. With me I am also old fashioned and backward. In the past we were youthful and by evening we would have collected the cattle and brought them home.

SBONGILE: Let me be frank and tell you that there were no cattle in my home. I have no clue on how cattle are looked after. Now who is the learned about cattle between me and you?

MRS NGIDI: learned?

SBONGILE: Yes and expert in looking after cattle?

MRS NGIDI: No doubt I am an expert in herding cattle

SBONGILE: In other words you are educated about looking after cattle and I am not.

MRS NGIDI: hhayi, I am an expert in looking after cattle. I know how to herd cattle. I even wake up early at the crack of dawn to watcha dn inspect the two (cattle) that are left.

SBONGILE: now **GAMENI** if teachers would come and say “**GAMA** we have problems with childen who have no clue on how cattle are looked after. We are requesting you to come to school for a week and teach about cattle. Would you agree?

MRS NGIDI: (nods to say NO)

SBONGILE: why?

MRS NGIDI: It wont work. I have my daily duties. I can’t teach those so called cleaver people that I can’t even deal with here at home and then think I can teach at home. No.

SBONGILE: Let’s say one day.

MRS NGIDI: No I would not be suitable to teach those arrogant ones who will end up beating me up the next day.

SENAMILE: they need knowledge so that they recognise the importance of livestock as you were brought up and saw it and held on to it when parents showed and told you what to do. Are you not supposed to pass it on to the children so that they can realise the importance.

MRS NGIDI: You remember u**KHUMALO** the one who was wearing the man's leather cover. When we arrived in this area we used to go to the dipping tank with him. What is he today? He is in charge of councillors. He is in charge of everything. He has not abandoned looking after cattle and owning them. He is a leader. He also does not want cattle to be ill-treated.

SBONGILE: May I ask Gama for your opinion – based on what you have said, will children continue to look after cattle?

MRS NGIDI: I don't know as the drought is so extreme

SBONGILE: Besides the drought as you say they don't want to herd cattle. Do you think they will continue to herd?

MRS NGIDI: No, I don't think so.

SBONGILE: Now that you don't think so, is it your wish that it does as you said that cattle are the core of the culture of the Zulu people. You think this culture will die?

MRS NGIDI: The culture won't die. People have died and we have no children. I don't want it to die my child. I can't lie.

SBONGILE: How did the people die?

MRS NGIDI: Do you see people? Do you see male heads of families?

SBONGILE: Do you mean people that look after cattle or just ordinary people?

MRS NGIDI : I mean people who have love, wisdom and experience for looking after cattle

SBONGILE: for looking after cattle?

MRS NGIDI: yes they die

SBONGILE: Growing up looking after cattle what were the views of the community?

MRS NGIDI: awuuu They had no views they knew that cattle were cattle. When I arrived in this area, it was me and u**MANDLOVU** we bought a cow from across there from Soveyavuma 2 after 2 and herded them.

SBONGILE: what were the views of people?

MRS NGIDI: Nothing, they were jealous and also started buying them also.

SBONGILE: which means they were jealous?

MRS NGIDI: yes they wished and were jealous.

SBONGILE: Were they negative or positive in what they said?

MRS NGIDI: ayiii I have never heard the talk, I would be telling lies. Maybe they gossiped about us because people are gossiped about.

SBONGILE: what was the gossip were saying here are women doing better than them when they are man?

MRS NGIDI: Yes, saying here are women doing better than men.

SBONGILE: what else?

MRS NGIDI: Just pure jealousy saying look at these women what do they think they are doing? While they were also buying and keeping them and copying from us.

SBONGILE: Does the culture allow women to own cattle?

MRS NGIDI: Yes they are allowed. Its dependent on their love, how can you decline cattle when dowry is paid for your daughter?

SBONGILE: What re the benefits of having these cattle?

MRS NGIDI: cattle are one's life.

SBONGILE: I mean things that you benefit from by having cattle?

MRS NGIDI: when you are in trouble you sell one, I can have ceremonies at home. Many things.

SBONGILE: What are those many things please tell me?

MRS NGIDI: You till the soil and grow food with cattle, you need cattle for your departing daughter who is getting married. It pulls you out of problems that had consumed you.

SBONGILE: Do you ever go to the bank?

MRS NGIDI : No look into my kraal. It is then up to me that with this or that calf what am I going to do.

SENAMILE: really what is your bank?

MRS NGIDI: It is cattle.

SBONGILE: As you say that it is cattle that destroys the looking after cattle by children, what are your suggestions to remedy such a situation so that this knowledge ceases to exist amongst the young? What advice can you give?

MRS NGIDI: If you have failed as a parent at home, if you have a child school is not going to help you with anything. When the child comes home from school you must tell it to go mind cattle.

SBONGILE: If they would say at school, gogo you say that the love fpr keeping and looking after cattle is dying because of school please give us advice as teachers. What can we do to support the community as teachers??

MRS MTSHALI: WE would assist each other by me saying you child are naughty. Teachers must alos warn children mainly by asking – tell me child of mine what do what do you do at home. That is guiding a child The childs response – I go out and herd cattle – whilst telling pure lies. He takes a ball and goes to the football ground, they don't listen or take instructions.

SBONGILE: what do the children say when they come home from school? Is there anything that they say that the teacher said this and that about herding cattle?

MRS NGIDI: awu I would be telling lies. I have never heard them saying anything. Telling me? No!

SBONGILE: What do they tell you about school, even something that they are doing at school?

MRS NGIDI: Its that the teacher was giving them a hiding that is all. Then they pull out a book and start writing and that is it.

SBONGILE: If children were at the dipping tank and arrive late at school what does the teacher do?

MRS NGIDI: They explain that they were dipping cattle

SBONGILE: what does the teacher say?

MRS NGIDI: that s livestock that teacher knows better.

SBONGILE: he teachers don't administer corporal punishment?

MRS NGIDI: No No they don't do that. Even when we were dipping further away teachers were told that on all Mondays the children must not be given corporal punishment they take cattle to the dip and come back and kraal them.

SBONGILE: Which school is that?

MRS NGIDI: ESOMFULA and NQUBEKO.

SBONGILE: All teachers don't give them corporal punishment?

MRS NGIDI: All of them don't. They also have cattle.

SBONGILE: Are these teachers from around this area?

MRS NGIDI: no, there ae also those that come from other areas that rent accommodation here.

SBONGILE: what advice would you like to give to teachers in relation to teaching about looking after livestock?

MRS NGIDI : No that compromises me because they would ask that – while thye were teaching children all these times where were you with advice. You are now guiding us. Where are they, as they are dying one by one. What are they going to herd?

SBONGILE: Is there anything you would like to ask me?

MRS NGIDI: No there is nothing my child because you are not God you are not responsible for rain because our pain is caused by the absence of rain.

SBONGILE: If your opinion what causes the drought maGama?

MRS NBATHA: I don't know because in the past it was said that it was an aeroplane, then they built us RDP houses and said that it will not rain until they have finished building them. They have finished building them and its still not raining.

SBONGILE: Thanks Mama Ngidit for chatting with us.

MRS NGIDI: I am thanking you for chatting with me.

(she was asked to say how she would like to be presented in the report. She wanted her name used and insisted). We asked her to sign confirming that and she placed her cross across.

APPENDIX 7: MASTERS THESIS ABSTRACTS

Mtshali, Cynthia Sibongiseni(1995)

An investigation of environmental knowledge among two rural black communities in Natal

Abstract

This study elicits and documents knowledge of the natural environment amongst two rural Black communities in Natal namely, the districts of Maphumulo and Ingwavuma. Twenty members of these communities who are older than 60 years of age were interviewed, as older people are considered by the researcher to be important repositories of environmental knowledge. This study records a variety of animals hunted in these communities and discusses various activities associated with this activity. It examines the gathering and the use of wild edible plants like fruits and spinach, and of wild plants alleged to have medicinal value. It reviews indigenous knowledge related to custom beliefs and prohibitions as well as traditional laws associated with animals and trees. It also considers how this knowledge can contribute towards the development of Environmental Education in South Africa. The data was deduced from the responses elicited from semi-structured interviews. The data was analyzed qualitatively.

Asafo-Adjei, Robert Tetteh (2004)

From *Imifino* to *Umfuno*: a case study foregrounding indigenous agricultural knowledge in school-based curriculum development.

Abstract

This work is a school-based case study conducted amongst learners of a rural High School and the immediate community in Whittlesea in the Eastern Cape where I teach. The research was conducted by using different research methods such as worksheets, questionnaires, interviews, practical activities and observations as well as photographs to investigate three indigenous wild local vegetable food plants (*imifino*). The fundamental assumption of the research is that, *imifino* can be looked after and cared for, to become valuable vegetable food plants which can be used as supplements to the cultivated vegetable food plants (*umfuno*). The question was: How could this concept be brought into the curriculum? It had also been assumed that bringing knowledge of *imifino* into curriculum contexts could be of benefit to South African learners. The study produced a variety of findings: • There is a general feeling that those who eat *imifino* are the poor. • There is a lack of interest among women interviewed in the preparation process, for example going to pick the food plants from the fields, washing them and preparing the leaves as food. • AmaXhosa males look upon eating *imifino* with contempt. • Some males among the younger generation are beginning to overlook tradition and are eating *imifino*. • Inclusion of indigenous agricultural knowledge in the curriculum was supported by learners and community members. Learners have interest in knowing about indigenous food plants. • Learners feel as Africans that they must learn about the indigenous food plants in school in order not to lose knowledge of these plants completely. • The study also identified that interpretation of learning outcomes with an indigenous knowledge focus, requires careful attention to socio-cultural factors, and not just technical/ practical factors. Previous knowledge of learners and community members about *imifino* was mobilized to develop a sample OBE learning programme unit (LPU /Lesson plan) for the Grade 10 FET of Agricultural Science curriculum. The case study illustrates that Learning outcome 3 of the Agricultural Science subject can be achieved if educators involve learners and community members in developing learning programmes.

Kachilonda, Dick Daffu Kachanga* (2005)

Investigating local community contributions to the existing Fisheries Management curriculum for the Malawi College of Fisheries: A case study focusing on the Chambo Fishery.

Abstract

The aim of the study was to investigate local community contributions to the existing Malawi College of Fisheries curriculum with a focus on Chambo fishery. Chambo fish (*Oreochromis* species) is the most favoured fish in Lake Malawi. Chambo catches have declined over the years. Responding to the declining catches, the Fisheries Department is engaged in a number of management options to address the issues. Most of these management options are governed by scientific recommendations and do not consider the socio-economic situation of the people who are dependent on fishery. This approach to fishery has influenced the Malawi College of Fisheries curriculum. The existing curriculum is product-centred, developed by a consultant. During the development of the curriculum, there was little consultation with the lecturers and no consultation with the local communities who are using the resource. The fishing communities have been fishing for a long time and have acquired knowledge, skills and experience worth investigating for its potential role in improving the existing curriculum. Through the use of interviews, focus group discussions and workshops with local communities local knowledge was identified for inclusion into the curriculum. A review of the existing curriculum revealed that it has primarily technical focus, grounded in the protection, control and management of the fish stocks, while the local knowledge has a practical focus based on existing practices and requiring an understanding of the sources of the issues. There is also more emphasis on a historical perspective and the context in which fishing practices take place at the moment. It was evident from the study that local communities have much of knowledge, skills and experience gained over the years of fishing, and if properly utilised, it can improve the MCF curriculum. I therefore recommend in this study that the curriculum be reviewed in order to integrate and draw on the local knowledge through a deliberative and participatory process between the local communities and the government so that it addresses the needs of the local communities and improves the training of the extension workers.

Hanisi, Nosipho (2007)

Nguni fermented foods: Working with indigenous knowledge in the Life sciences - a case study.

Abstract

This study examines learning interactions around indigenous ways of knowing associated with fermented grain foods (the making of umqombothi) and the concept of alcoholic fermentation in the Grade 11 Life Sciences curriculum. As an environmental education study it also investigates the cultural significances of the fermented grain food and how learners might make better lifestyle choices. The inclusion of indigenous ways of knowing in the Life Sciences curriculum (FET band) created spaces and opportunities for the use of both knowledge's in sociocultural context and the structured propositions of the learning area in order to construct knowledge. This stimulated learners' understanding of fermentation and also led to a valuing of social context as well as the cultural capital embedded in the indigenous ways of knowing. The study suggests that parental involvement contributed to this valuing of intergenerational ways of knowing. Learners also deliberated how colonial interpretations of Nguni culture and the religious beliefs of Christians had served to marginalise and foster a widening urban rejection of isiXhosa cultural practices related to fermented foods. In their learning and discussion, learners developed new insights and respect for isiXhosa fermentation practices (ukudidiyela) that bring out the food value and nutrition in the grain. The data illustrates that lesson activity that drew on relevant Learning Outcomes and Assessment

Standards to integrate Indigenous Knowledge practices in a Life Sciences learning programme, served to enhance learner understanding of alcoholic fermentation. They also document a revaluing of cultural heritage and learners bringing up the problem of alcohol abuse in the community. Curriculum work with Indigenous Knowledge thus not only assisted learners to grasp the science but to use this alongside a valued cultural knowledge capital to deliberate and act on a local concern.

Jolly, Rachel (2007)

Co-engaged learning: *amaXhosa* women's narratives on traditional foods

Abstract

This interpretive case study examines Grahamstown East Xhosa women's narratives on the nutritional value of traditional foods. It reviews reflexive learning interactions apparent in the co-engaged narratives of food preparation practices. The research design incorporates methods of reflective co-engagement through which a small team of women were approached as 'co-researchers' in order to work together on shared, local knowledge capital and nutrition concerns. It draws on findings generated using a combination of semi-structured interviews, cooking demonstrations, videography, photographs and field observations as methods of data collection. Data were member-checked and reviewed in a rural context before the emerging evidence was analyzed using Bassey's (1999) analytical statements. Contextual factors influencing the study are high poverty, unemployment and HIV/AIDS prevalence where nutrition levels have been found to be low. The women making up the study have spent the majority of their lives in the peri-urban area of Grahamstown and in some cases, are more than one generation removed from rural living and its associated knowledge. The accompanying shift to modernization was found to influence the interplay between their narratives and practice. Indigenous Knowledge is often characterized by being situated in practice with the knowledge-holders often not 'knowing that they know.' This study concludes that it is not possible to assume that knowledge can always be consciously expressed, especially when that knowledge is embedded in practice. Related to this, co-engagement and diversity among the group gave rise to greater disequilibrium as well as making the knowledge more explicit and hence, available for reflection. The study suggests that through the process of co-engagement and deliberation around indigenous ways of knowing, agency and cultural identity appears to be enabled and strengthened.

Kota, Lutho Siyabulela (2007)

Local food choices and nutrition. A case study of *amarhewu* in the FET consumer studies curriculum.

Abstract

This case study examines the introduction of Indigenous Knowledge (IK) in the Consumer Studies curriculum of Further Education and Training (FET). The research is centred on the use of enquiry methodologies involving learners observing parent demonstrations of the making of 'amarewu' and other activities centred on the propositional knowledge dealing with fermentation in the Consumer Studies curriculum. The research involved a review of curriculum documents, participant observation of a demonstration of local food practices related to 'amarewu' and learner research activities and interviews to review the developing learning interactions. The learning activities were focused on the learners' researching the cultural and nutritional value of 'amarewu' and included an audit of food consumed in the community. What transpired from this study was that working with IK in the curriculum is possible. The inclusion of IK is not only possible but desirable and has exciting

possibilities for relevance in contemporary education. The active involvement in parent demonstration engaged the learners in IK in their mother tongue, therefore indigenous knowledge has relevance. The curriculum concepts also enhanced the engagement by giving rise to more relevant knowledge and a respect for cultural matters. Intergenerational capital and subject concepts also enabled learners to engage with local nutritional problems and to come up with practical solutions. This study demonstrates how IK intergenerational capital in combination in combination with curriculum concepts (subject knowledge capital) can enhance relevance and the learners' real engagement with local health and nutritional problems. Not only did the learners have culturally valued knowledge, but also knowledge that has a practical grasp of the problem and that they could use to engage relevant issues. These two views of knowledge join in learning and can be used to address health issues. I therefore recommend connection of cultural knowledge and conceptual knowledge to strengthen the revitalisation of cultural heritage, thus equalising it to the modern patterns of life and enhancing meaningful curriculum orientation.

Mandikonza, Caleb (2007)

Relating indigenous knowledge practices and science concepts: an exploratory case study in a secondary school teacher-training programme

Abstract

This study reports research on how student teachers in Science at Mutare Teachers' College in Zimbabwe worked with indigenous knowledge practices in relation to science concepts in the secondary school syllabus. The study was conducted among first-year science students and involved them in developing science learning activities for a peer-teaching process that was part of their course. The research was undertaken during a review of the college syllabus and as a study to inform the Secondary Teacher Training Environmental Education Programme (ST²EED). The research design involved the researcher in participant observations and interviews with rural people to document indigenous knowledge practices and to develop materials for the students to work with in the lessons design part of the study. The student teachers used the documented practices to generate learning activities and lesson plans to teach the science concepts they had identified. A peer review session and focus group interviews followed the lesson presentations. Findings from the research point to the rural community being a repository of diverse indigenous knowledge practices. Student teachers showed that they had prior knowledge of both indigenous knowledge practices and science concepts when they come to class. Student teachers were able to relate indigenous knowledge practices and science concepts in ways that have the potential to enhance the learning of science in rural school contexts that lack laboratories and science equipment. The scope of the study does not allow for anything beyond tentative conclusions that point to the need for further work to be undertaken with student teachers and for the research to be extended to teaching and learning interactions in schools. Recommendations are also made for further resource-based work to be undertaken within the forthcoming St²eep implementation phase in 2007.

Mdlungu, Nozuko Gloria (2007)

An investigation of how environmental learning and teaching support materials (LTSM) can influence team planning and teaching and learning activities in the Foundation phase.

Abstract

South Africa has experienced significant curriculum transformation over the past ten years. Environment was introduced into C2005 as a phase organiser. Following the streamlining and strengthening of the curriculum, the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) has a more explicit

environmental focus in all of the Learning Areas. This has created opportunities for teachers to address environmental health issues in a community context. I work in a rural school and the community around the school experience a number of environmental health issues. In my previous observations I noticed that teachers were not using Learning Teaching Support Materials (LTSM) effectively. In this study I wanted to investigate how LTSM can be used to address environmental health issues in the Foundation Phase. As Life Orientation Learning Outcome1 is a 'backbone' of the Life Skills Learning Programme in the Foundation Phase, I decided to focus on this Learning Outcome as it is the Health Promotion outcome in the NCS (R-9). It was my interest to investigate how LTSM are used in team planning and how this planning influences the use of LTSM in classrooms. In the research I observed the link between the activities and LTSM that were discussed in the planning session and those that were done in the classroom. To do this I documented the planning workshop, and I also observed three lessons undertaken in two classrooms, a grade 2 and a grade 3 classroom in my school, where I serve as a principal. I conducted this research as an interpretive case study, and I used workshop, interviews, focus group interviews and classroom observation as methods in the study. The study found that LTSM used in planning influences activities done in the classroom. It also found that use of LTSM helps to achieve the Learning Outcomes and Assessment Standards, and to improve the participation of learners in the learning process. Use of LTSM in planning also improves teachers' Learning Area knowledge and their knowledge of curriculum development issues. Planning sessions also assisted teachers to address problems such as language used in LTSM and availability of LTSM. The study also found that teachers did not address formal assessment in the planning or in the way they used LTSM. The study concluded that use of LTSM in planning can strengthen classroom practice, and recommendations were made to take this work forward in the context of our school, as it addresses the gap between policy and practice.

Ncula, N.S. (2007)

Food gardens, environmental lesson planning and active learning in the Life orientation learning area - foundation phase: a case study at Lungeloethu Lower and Higher Primary School.

Abstract

This study was conducted at Lungeloethu Lower/Higher Primary School in Keiskammahoek at a time when I was struggling to understand and implement the new South African curriculum policy, particularly in the Foundation Phase Life Skills Learning Programme. The research focused on my developing an understanding of key Learning Outcomes and linking them with the National Curriculum Statement principle of social justice, human rights, a healthy environment and inclusivity. During this time I was the key 4-H Programme educator in my school, responsible for school food garden activities. I used the school food garden for this study to explore the opportunities the garden might provide to develop the new curriculum using active learning approaches to teaching and learning; as well as to respond to environmental issues such as poverty. This research was an interpretive case study which supported my reflections within a practical action research framework. This framework suited my intention to change my classroom practice. I undertook three action research cycles with the first cycle aimed at gaining insights from the 4-H Programme teachers which informed 2 lesson plans for cycles 2 and 3 respectively. I generated data through focus group interviews, observations, document analysis, video and tape recording, and my research journal entries. The data indicated the value of school food gardens in meeting curriculum requirements, particularly in relation to learner centred ideologies and the first principle of the national curriculum. As both researcher and mediator of learning, I developed skills and knowledge that helped me to understand working in the Foundation Phase. The study also revealed a need for meaningful

integration within and across Learning Areas when planning lessons in the Life Skills Learning Programme. The study indicated that there is a need to develop assessment practices beyond a technical exercise to a more interpretive approach. Lastly this study offers some recommendations for further research into the use of school food gardens through taking the context of learners into account and by encouraging school community relationships that will also contribute in poverty alleviation.

Zazu, Cryton (2008)

Exploring opportunities and challenges for achieving the integration of indigenous knowledge systems into environmental education processes: A case study of Sabakwe Environmental Education Programme

Abstract

The role and value of indigenous knowledge systems in enhancing and contextualizing education has long been recognized (UNESCO, 1978). Against this background a lot of research focusing on the documentation and study of the world's indigenous knowledge systems, including those of Southern African countries was done. However, within the Southern African context much of this research did not translate into practical curriculum processes leaving educational processes de-contextualized (O'Donoghue, 2002; Mokuku, 2004; Shava, 2005). The linkages between the school, the home and the wider community remained weak (Taylor & Mulhall, 2001). The net effect of the limited integration of indigenous knowledge systems into mainstream environmental education processes has been that indigenous learners (such as those within the Sebakwe rural community) continued to get exposed to two different world views, the western scientific world view and the everyday life world views. The integration of indigenous knowledge systems into mainstream education such as the Sebakwe Environmental Education programme (SEEP) is one way of contextualizing education and improving its relevance to learners' socio-cultural backgrounds. This research was conceptualized against such a context and seeks to explore the opportunities and challenges for the integration of indigenous knowledge systems into the Sebakwe Environmental Education programme. The ultimate purpose of this research is to contextualize SEEP both in its epistemology, and pedagogy. The research was designed and conducted within a qualitative interpretive case study methodology. The methodology involved a three-phased data collection method namely document analysis, focus group interviews and an inquiry-based workshop. The data was then analyzed and interpreted in relation to a set of theoretical perspectives. This research concluded that there is a possibility of integrating indigenous knowledge systems into the Sebakwe Environmental Education programme. Based on the findings the research came up with a list of recommendations to guide the process of working with indigenous knowledge within the Sebakwe Environmental Education programme.

Shonhai, Venencia Fortunate (2009)

Social learning processes of HIV/AIDS women care givers on their use of traditional foods and medicinal plants: A case study of Raphael centre and Keiskamma Art and health centre communities of practice, Eastern Cape Province, South Africa.

Abstract

The scale of people being infected by HIV/AIDS (Human Immunodeficiency Virus /Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) has meant that the family and the community have had to become involved in caring for the sick (Van Dyk, 2005). This has inevitably led to the emergence of informal

caregivers in the form of family members caring for their relatives (Kipp, Nkosi, Laing & Jhangri, 2006). The research investigated the social learning of women caregivers looking after people living with HIV/AIDS, with emphasis on caregiving practices related to how they use traditional foods and medicinal plants. The research was undertaken in Grahamstown at the Raphael Centre and in Hamburg at Keiskamma Health Centre and Art Project, Eastern Cape, South Africa. Data was collected using interviews, focus group discussions and diaries written by participants. The data was analyzed in two phases: the first phase involved reading the interview transcripts and collating the responses into analytical memos that were captured into broad categories, while the second phase made use of the community of practice analytical framework to further analyze the data to get better understanding of the social learning processes. This study reveals that participating in a community of practice like Raphael Centre and Keiskamma Health Centre enables caregivers to learn about caregiving. It also reveals that within these communities of practice there are varied learning processes that take place, such as observational and collaborative learning. The research also revealed that caregivers learn from the communities from which they come, for example caregivers learn about traditional food and medicinal plants which they use from their family members, friends, other caregivers as well as non governmental organizations. The research found that caregivers are influenced in their learning and practices by a number of factors which include their own experiences, ambivalent messages from different stakeholders concerned with fighting HIV/AIDS and exposure to new information. The research recommends that diverse learning processes in a community of practice and outside a community of practice should be encouraged and strengthened. It also recommends that HIV/AIDS caregiving options should be strengthened by drawing on experience and knowledge of caregivers. Caregivers should be encouraged to be self-sustaining to improve their caregiving practices. Stakeholders in the field of HIV/AIDS should be alert to and address ambivalence on use of medicinal plants. Existing programmes that enable women to learn about new information on HIV/AIDS should be strengthened.

Maqwelane, Nonkoliso Sheilla (2012)

An exploratory case study of a Foundation Phase programme to examine how curriculum contextualisation contributes to environmental learning and relevance.

Abstract

This study is an exploration of contextual environmental learning through integrated life skills and literacy in a Foundation Phase classroom. It attempts to document, explore and clarify some of the challenges of situated environmental learning in a Foundation Phase classroom through an integrated program of life skills learning and literacy acquisition. The research draws on a rich but often overlooked cultural historical context of embodied intergenerational healthy living practices in a rural Eastern Cape context to construct a learning platform for a more carefully situated and potentially relevant education. The integrated life skills and literacy acquisition program thus unfolded as a contextual process of situated learning within a developing blend of listening, writing and reading to learn in a Grade 3 program of additive bilingualism. The data generated in the study and represented in Chapter 4 suggests curriculum contextualisation in an integrated Foundation Phase program can contribute to environmental learning with enhanced relevance and literacy skills. The evidence from working with learner knowledge and experience in a community context appears to be a key to meaningful curriculum contextualization in an integrated Foundation Phase programme producing enhanced literacy and relevance. It was noted that engaging elders (gogos) enabled the process of opening up local knowledge to link with learner experience and school knowledge to foster relevance, appeared to contribute to more meaningful learning across other learning areas. There is evidence that acquiring literacy skills is a lengthy process that is supported by learner interest and the relevance of what they are learning especially when it is acknowledged

by the teacher and the community. The findings of an exploratory study such as this cannot be conclusive beyond the experience that I had of working with learners who were engaged in learning as well as acquiring literacy skills literacy skills. My personal enthusiasm and work with the Gogos and with a community focus were key factors that strengthened environmental learning across school, home and community. The experience has convinced me that this is the way we must work to enhance relevance and literacy in our Foundation Phase teaching.

APPENDIX 8: PHD THESIS ABSTRACTS

Mokuku, Tsepo (2001)

Education for environmental literacy: towards participatory action research in the secondary school science curriculum in Lesotho

Abstract

The dependency of educators in Lesotho on externally developed curriculum theories and concepts is fundamental to issues of relevance of the school curricula. This study set out to develop the meaning of environmental literacy in the context of three secondary schools and to explore appropriate teaching methods for the development of this concept in the science curriculum. The participatory action research process involved a team of four science teachers, including the researcher, in partnership with an environmental centre. We progressively developed the meaning of environmental literacy by monitoring teaching innovations in the classroom, holding meetings and workshops and attending conferences where we shared classroom findings and reflected on our emerging understandings based on classroom experiences. Data collection involved: audio-recording of classroom lessons, interviews with teachers and students, audio-visual recording, classroom observations and students' questionnaires. The research process made apparent the complex nature of the process of clarifying and developing environmental literacy in this context. Classroom activities planned to inform the team's understanding of the meaning of environmental literacy and develop appropriate teaching methods encountered constraints associated with the education system and the legacy of colonialism. These contextual constraints crystallised the need for the education system to be transformed in order to make schools more conducive environments for the development of students' environmental literacy. While initially teachers were reluctant to engage in critical reflection, the research process did encourage the team to revise and expand their understandings of both environmental literacy in the science classroom, and the action research itself. The emerging meaning of environmental literacy in this context and how it may be developed among students does not involve a definition with prescriptive, effective teaching methods, but provides insights and understandings gained by the participants in their engagement with a reflective process of reconstructing meaning. I have come to understand environmental literacy during the study to be a process that should draw strongly on the local knowledge and understandings into the science curriculum, through participatory process-based curriculum development models.

Shava Soul (2009)

Indigenous knowledges: A genealogy of representations and applications in developing contexts of environmental education sand development in southern Africa

Abstract

This study was developed around concerns about how indigenous knowledges have been represented and applied in environment and development education. The first phase of the study is a genealogical analysis after Michel Foucault. This probes representations and applications of plant-based indigenous knowledge in selected anthropological, botanical and environmental education texts in southern Africa. The emerging insights were deepened using a Social (Critical) Realism vantage point after Margaret Archer to shed light on agential issues in environmental education and development contexts. Here her morphogenetic/morphostatic analysis of social transformation or reproduction is used to trace changes in indigenous knowledge representations and applications over time (from the pre-colonial into the post-colonial era). The second phase uses the same perspectives and tools to extend the analysis of power/knowledge relationships into the interface of indigenous communities and modern institutions in two case study settings in the Eastern Cape of

South Africa. This study reveals colonially-derived hegemonic processes of modern/Western scientific institutional representations/interpretations of the knowledges of indigenous communities. It also tracks a continuing trajectory of their dominating and prescriptive mediating control over local knowledges from the pre-colonial context through into the post-colonial period in southern Africa. The analysis reveals how this hegemony is sustained through the deployment of institutional strategies of representation that transform local knowledges into the disciplinary knowledge discourses of modern scientific institutions. These representational strategies therefore generate/reproduce and validate disciplinary discourses about the other, constructing disciplinary 'regimes of truth'. In this way modern institutions appropriate and displace indigenous/local knowledges, silence the voices of local communities and regulate individual and community agency within a continuing subjugation of indigenous knowledges. This study reveals how working within modern institutions and disciplinary knowledges in participative education and development interactions can serve to implicate indigenous researchers in these institutional hegemonic processes. The study also notes evidence of a continued resistance to hegemonic Western knowledge discourses as indigenous communities have sustained many knowledge practices alongside Western knowledge discourses. There is also evidence of a recent emergence of counter-hegemonic indigenous knowledge discourses in environmental education and development practices in southern Africa. It is noted that these have been contingent upon the changing political terrain in southern Africa as this has opened the way for alternative discourses to the dominant conventional Western knowledges in formal education and development contexts. The counterhegemonic discourses invert power/knowledge relations, decentre hegemonic discourses and reposition indigenous knowledges in formal education and development contexts. This study suggests the need to foreground indigenous knowledges as a process of knowledge decolonisation that gives contextual and epistemic relevance to environmental education and development processes. This calls for a need for new strategies to transform existing institutions by creating enabling spaces for the representational inclusion of indigenous knowledges in formal/conventional knowledge discourses and their application in social contexts. This opens up possibilities for plural knowledge representations and for their integrative and reciprocal co-engagement in situated contexts of environmental education and development in southern Africa.

Belay, Million (2012)

Participatory mapping, learning and change in the context of biocultural diversity and resilience.

Abstract

This study set out to investigate the learning and change that emerged in and through participatory mapping in the context of biocultural diversity and resilience in rural Ethiopia. It did this through examining the learning and agency emerging from three participatory mapping practices (Participatory 3 Dimensional Modelling, sketch mapping and eco-cultural calendars) using two case study sites, located in the Bale Mountains and the Foata Mountains in Ethiopia, and honing in on in-depth reflective processes in two community contexts located within the broader case study sites, namely Horo Soba, Dinsho wereda in Bale; and Telecho, in Wolmera wereda, in the Foata Mountain complex. This study tried to answer three research questions related to participatory mapping: its role in mobilizing knowledge related to biocultural landscape, its role in learning and change, and its value in building resilience. The study used qualitative case study research methodology underpinned by critical realist philosophy, and used photographic 'cues' to structure the reporting on the cases. It used four categories of analysis: biocultural diversity, educational processes, learning and agency, in the first instance to report on the interactions associated with the participatory mapping practices as they emerged in the two case study sites. This was followed by in-depth analysis and interpretation of participatory mapping and biocultural diversity, as well as participatory mapping and learning, with an emphasis on acquisition, meaning making and identity formation processes. The in-depth analysis drew on social and learning theory, and theory of biocultural diversity and social-ecological resilience. The study also included analysis of broader change processes that were related to and emerged from the social interactions in the mapping activities, and the resultant morphogenesis (change), showing that morphogenesis, while broadly temporal, is not linear, and involves 'little iterative morphogenic cycles'. These insights were then used to interpret how participatory mapping may contribute to resilience building in a context where social-ecological resilience is increasingly required, such as the two case study sites, where social-ecological degradation is highly visible and is occurring rapidly. The study's contribution to new knowledge lies in relation to the role of

participatory mapping in facilitating learning, agency and change which, to date, appears to be under-theorised and under-developed in the participatory mapping and environmental education literature. As such, the study findings provide in-depth insight into how participatory mapping methodologies may 'work in the world', in contexts such as those presented in the two cases under study. It has tried to demonstrate how participatory mapping has managed to mobilize knowledge related to biocultural diversity, facilitated the acquisition of knowledge and helped members of the community to engage in meaning making activities relevant to their biocultural landscape and renegotiate their identity within the wider community context. It has also shown that dissonance is an important dynamic in the learning process; and that morphogenesis (or change) occurs over time, but also in smaller cycles that interact at different levels; and that participatory mapping cannot, by itself mobilise significant structural change, at least in the short term. It has also shown, however, that learning and the desire for change can emerge from participatory mapping processes, and that this can be utilized to adapt to the changing socio-ecological environments, potentially contributing to longer term resilience of social-ecological systems.

Zazu, Cryton (2012)

Representation and use of indigenous heritage constructs: Implications for the quality and relevance of heritage education in post colonial southern Africa.

Abstract

This study explores representation and use of indigenous heritage constructs with a view to identifying implications thereof for the quality and relevance of heritage education practices in postcolonial southern Africa. Framed within a critical hermeneutic research paradigm under-laboured by critical realist ontology, the study was conducted using a multiple case study research design. The data collection protocol was three-phased, starting with a process of contextual profiling, within which insights were gained into discourses shaping the constitution and orientation of heritage education practices at the Albany Museum in South Africa, the Great Zimbabwe Monument in Zimbabwe and the Supa Ngwao Museum in Botswana. The second phase of data collection entailed modelling workshops in which educators engaged in discussion around the status of heritage education in post apartheid South Africa. This highlighted, through modelled lessons, some of the tensions, challenges and implications for working with notions of social transformation and inclusivity in heritage education. The third phase of data collection involved in-depth interviews. Twelve purposively selected research participants were interviewed between 2010 and 2011. Data generated across the study was processed and subjected to different levels of critical discourse analysis. Besides noting how heritage education in postcolonial southern Africa is poorly framed and under-researched, this study revealed that current forms of representing indigenous heritage constructs are influenced more by socio-political discourses than the need to protect and conserve local heritage resources. The study also noted that the observed heritage education practices are oriented more towards addressing issues related to marginalisation and alienation of indigenous cultures and practices, than enhancing learners' agency to manage and utilise local heritage resources in a more sustainable ways. Based on these findings the study recommends re-positioning heritage education within the framework of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD). ESD acknowledges both issues of social justice and the dialectical interplay between nature and culture; as such, it may allow for representation and use of indigenous heritage constructs in ways that expand current political orientations to include sustainability as an additional objective of heritage education. Given that little research focusing on heritage education has been undertaken within southern Africa, the findings of this study provide a basis upon which future research may emerge.