I want them to be confident, to build an argument: An exploration of the structure of knowledge and knowers in Political Studies

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Of

RHODES UNIVERSITY

By

Mlamuli Nkosingphile Hlatshwayo

December 2018

Girl Balancing Knowledge III (2017), with special permission from Yinka Shonibare MBE (see Appendix E and F).

Abstract

The 2015-2016 student movements in South African higher education sharply critique what was perceived to be the slow pace of institutional transformation and decolonisation in institutions of higher learning (see Badat, 2016; Heleta, 2016b; Mbembe, 2016). One of the academic fields that has come under scrutiny is Political Studies, which has been accused of being un-transformed, irrelevant and not reflecting local, indigenous scholarship in curricula or pedagogy (see for example Matthews, 2018; Mngomezulu & Hadebe, 2018; Tselapedi, 2016). Although this literature critiques neo-colonial predominance of western thought within the field, and the need to re-centre non-Western modes of being, thinking and intellectualising, I argue that this literature actually considers *epistemologies* without necessarily making a razor sharp critique at the underlying mechanisms and processes of Political Studies *knowledge*, and the extent to which it can be decolonised and transformed. It is on this gap that I make a contribution to the field.

This study is positioned in the field of higher education decolonisation, with a specific focus on exploring knowledge and knower structures in Political Studies. I explore the various ways in which knowledge is valued and legitimated in the field of Political Studies by asking the "how" question – that is, how is knowledge legitimated in Political Studies? This includes a consideration of how the Postgraduate Diploma in International Studies (PDIS) programme, designed to promote and enable an "expert in African International Studies", legitimates a certain kind of knower in the field. I employ Basil Bernstein's pedagogic device as a theoretical foundation for exploring 1) what the field of Political Studies knowledge production looks like, 2) how knowledge is recontextualised from the field of production and into the PDIS curriculum, and 3), how that knowledge is legitimated and evaluated through the programnme's assessment documents, and what they revel as valued and legitimate curriculum knowledge in the field. Karl Maton's Legitimation Code theory (LCT), specifically Specialisation, is called upon to offer sharp analytical tools for investigating the underlying mechanisms and processes of the knower and knowledge structures that the programme legitimates. It particularly sheds some insight on the kinds of gazes that are valued in the field of Political Studies in general, and in the PDIS programme in particular.

The case study for this research is Rhodes University, a historically white university which offered insight and contested history into the kinds of being, knowledges and knowers that were historically legitimated and valued in the institution, as well as the current institutional landscape, and challenges that the institution is grappling with. The data generation included the formally planned curriculum as contained in the programme's curriculum documents. These included course outlines, seminar critiques, presentations, class participation; class discussions; essay questions and exams/exam portfolio. The data generation also included semi-structured interviews with the lecturers who were regarded as the "recontextualising agents", who taught in the programme and who offered key insights on some of the curriculum choices regarding selection, pacing, sequencing and evaluation of the curriculum knowledge in the PDIS programme.

This study revealed that that the PDIS programmes values and legitimates curriculum knowledge by ensuring that students have a critical understanding of African political economy, war and conflict on the African continent, as well as the challenges of peacekeeping and peace building in new and fragile African states. This was also seen in how the attributes and dispositions of knowers were also valued in how students needed to have social and cultural gazes in order to access the curriculum and to successfully participate as knowers in the field. This suggested that access to both curriculum knowledge and to being a valued knower in the field, could be said to be relatively open and unrestrictive.

In this study, I first argue that looking critically at how Political Studies knowledge is recontextualised from the field of production and into the PDIS curriculum can be seen as a decolonising process as it enables us to see the underlying mechanisms and processes of how Political studies knowledge and knowers are valued and legitimated in the field. This offers us an insightful space to see to what extent the fields of production, recontextualisation, as well as reproduction of Political Studies in general, and the PDIS programme in particular, could be said to have a colonising gaze. It also offers insight on how we can go about exploring, transforming and decolonising Political Studies and the PDIS programme. Secondly, exploring the knowledge and knower structures of the PDIS programme can help curriculum designers, lecturers and students identify the knowledge and knower codes of the curriculum, and to critically reflect on their curriculum codes and how to enable epistemological access to students. Furthermore, this study can help lecturers and curriculum designers construct their curriculum in ways that are inclusive, open, and socially just, by being critically aware of the kind of knowledge that they choose to legitimate, and those they choose to disregard in their knowledge recontextualisation and its evaluation.

Isifingqo

Unyaka wezi 2015-2016 wombhikisho wabafundi eningizimu afrika zemfundo ephakeme umcwaningi nokungabikhona kakhulu ukuthi kube kancane awuhambi zesikhungo kanye decolonisation ezikhungweni of higher learning (bheka badat, nowezi-2016; Heleta, 2016b; Mbembe, nowezi-2016). Enye yenkambu yezemfundo ephakeme ethe yaba ngaphansi kokuhlolisiswa kabanzi izifundo zezombusazwe, ebhekene nezingqinamba zokungashinsthi, ukungabi lusizo endaweni, ukungabi yisithombe somphakathi, nokukungangeneleli isifundo somdabu kwezemfundo noma i-pedagogy (bheka isibonelo Matthews, 2018; Mngomezulu & Hadebe, 2018; Tselapedi, nowezi-2016). Nakuba lo mbhalo ugxeka ineo-kholoni ikakhulukazi imicabango yasentshonalanga, nokudinga ukubuyekezwa indlela yokucabanga nobuhlakani okungasibo baseNtshonalanga. Ngiyaphikisana nokuthi lo mbhalo ubuyekeza i-epistomology ngempela ngaphandle kokucwaninga kabanzi ukusetsenziswa kobuhlakani nolwazi lwezemfundo yombusazwe, kanye nokwandisa izinguquko noshintsho. Ngizophonsa esivivaneni kulolu gebe olulapho.

Lolu cwaningo lusesimeni sokwenza izinguquko kwinkundlazwelo yemfundo ephakeme, ikakhulu ukuhlola ulwazi kanye nezakhiwo ze-knower kwezemfundo yombusazwe. Ngibheka izindlela ezahlukene ngolwazi kanye nokuba semthethweni kwinkundlazwelo yezemfundo zombusazwe ngokubuza umbuzo “kanjani”- ngokuthi, ulwazi lubekwa kanjani ngokomthethwo wezemfundo yombusazwe? Lokhu kubandakanya inkokhelo yombuzo wokuthi kwenzakala kanjani ukuthi ipostgraduate Diploma in International Studies (pdis), yenzelwe ukukhuthaza kanye nokuba wumpetha kwi African International studies”, ukwenza semthethweni eminye yenkundlazwelo yama-knower. Ngisebenzisa ithiyori ya Basil Bernstein ukuhlola 1) Ibukeka kanjani inkundla yokuhkiqiza yezemfundo zezombusazwe, 2) ngolwazi lobuhlakani enkundleni lapho nasesikhathini uhlelo lwezemfundo PDIS yenza umkhiqizo kanye 3), futhi ukwazi ukuthi khona lusemthethweni uhlelo nokuhlola, nokuthi yini abayiveza ukuthi isemthethweni kwizifundo zolwazi. Ithiyori ka Karl matonâ legitimation code theory (lct), ikakhulu Specialisation, yiyona enganikeza kafuphi izinsiza zokuphenya indlela kanye nenqubo ye-knower kanye nolwazi lwesakhiwo esisemthethweni. Iveza kabanzi izindlela zokubheka ezisemqoka nezisematheni kwinkundla yezemfundo zombusazwe kanye nohlelo lwe PDIS ikakhulukazi

Indawo lapho ngizoqhuba khona lolu cwaningo iNyuvesi yaseRhodes, ngokomlando iNyuvesi yabamhlophe enikezana ukuqonda nokuncintana komlando kokungena kwezinhlobo, ubuhlakani kanye nama-knower omlando osemthethweni kanye nokhethekile kulesi sikhungo, kanjalo ne-Landscape yesikhungo samanje, kanye nezinselelo lesi sikhungo sikahulumeni esibheke nazo. Idatha equkethwe ifaka izifundo ezihleliwe ngokomthetho njengokuba zitholakala ezifundweni ezihleliwe kumbhalo. Lokhu, kubandakanya isifundo esinye, amasemina abuyekeziwe, izethulo, nokubamba iqhaza ekilasini; izingxoxo zekilasi; imibuzo yendaba kanye nezivivinyo / nokuhlolwa kwezivivinyo. Idatha yesizukulwane iphinde ibandakanye izingxoxo ezihleliwe kanye nabafundisi abathathwa njengabantu abayizingcithabuchopho, abafundisiwe kulo mkhakha

kanye naba neso ekukhethweni kwamanye amakharikhulamu abhekelele ukuhlunga, i-pacing, ukulandelela kanye nokuhlolwa kwekharikhulamu kulwazi lohlelo i-PDIS

Lolu cwaningo ludalule ukuthi izinhlelo ze-PDIS zikubeka emqoka kanye nokubeka emthethweni ubuhlakani bekhurikhulamu ngokucophelela ukuthi abafundi bakuqonda ukubaluleka okulunzulu ngezomnotho wombusazwe wase Afrika, yimpi nokungqubuzana ezwenikazi lase-Afrika, ukugcina ukuthula kanye nezinkinga ekwakheni uxolo kanye nobuthakathaka / nophukayo kwezwekazi i-Afrika. Lokhu futhi kubonakele ngendlela yokubambisana kanye nokuziqhathulula kwama-knower aabalulekile ekufundiseni abafundi ngokudinga kokuba nezenhlalo kanye nesiko ukuze bakwazi ukuthola ikhurikhulamu kanye nokubamba iqhaza ngempumelelo njengama-knower kule nkundla. Lokhu kuchaze ukuthi ukufinyelela kuhlelo lokufunda kanye nokuba yilunga lama-knower, kungaba ukuba babonisane ngendlela evulelekile kanye nengenamkhawulo.

Kulolu cwaningo, ngaqala ngabheka kabanzi ngokubalulekile ukuthi izifundo zezombusazwe ngolwazi lobuhlakani kwinkundlazwelo yokukhiqiza kanye nePDIS kungabonwa njengenguquko eyenza ukuba sikwazi ukubona ezinye izindlela zokusebenza kwezemfundo zombusazwe kanye nokubeka phambili ama-knower. Lokhu kusenza sibone ukubaluleka komkhiqizo wale nkundla, ukubuyekezwa kwezobuhlakani, kanye nomkhiqizo wezemfundo zombusazwe, kanye nohlelo lwe PDIS ikakhulukazi, kungathiwa ingaba nokubanjwa kokubheka. Iphinde isambulele kabanzi ukuthi singahlola, sense izinguquko kanye noshintsho kwezemfundo zombusazwe kanye nohlelo lwe PDIS. Okwesibili, ukuhlola ulwazi kanye nezakhiwo ze-knower ze-PDIS kungasiza abaklami bekhurikhulamu, abafundisi kanye nabafunsi ukukwazi ukuhlonza ulwazi nekhurikhulamu yekhodi ye-knower, kanye nokwazi ukubuyekeza kabanzi amakhodi ekhurikhulami yabo kanye nokwazi ukwenza i-epistemology ukuba abafundi bafinyelele kuyo. Ngaphezu kwalokhu, lolu cwaningo lungasiza abafundisi kanye nabaklamu bekhurikhulamu ukuba bakwazi ukwakha ikhurikhulamu yabo ngendlela ekhethekile, evulelekile, ngokwenhlalo nje, okubalulekile ukuthi uhlobo lophi lolwazi abakhetha lube semthethweni, kanye nalabo abakhetha ukungayilandeli inqubomgomo yolwazi kanye nokuhlola.

Acknowledgments

- To Professor Sioux Mckenna. Your guidance and support throughout this journey has been nothing short of amazing. Thank you so much for your understanding, compassion and care. This thesis would not have been possible without you.
- To Dr Amanda Hlengwa, usis' omdala. Your ability to balance both academic and emotional support during this journey has made all the difference. All the calls, WhatsApp text messages and urgent emails of me panicking and not sure what to do with this thesis. I really appreciate them. And I really appreciate you.
- To Mendi "Magriza" Mbuli. Ugogo wam. Like everything else I do in life, this is for you.
- To Mam'Khulu Khinki, Mam'Khulu Nunu, Fr. Melusi Hlatshwayo, Msizi Hlatshwayo and oh the apple of my eye Qolisile Hlatshwayo, despite everything we have been going through as a family, we have always stayed together and supported one another. This thesis is a testament of our love and life as a family.
- Special acknowledgement to my colleagues at the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Higher Education Studies and Curriculum and Education Studies for the support. To my line manager, Professor Carol Bertram for the teaching relief and support in giving me the needed space to write up and finalise this research project.
- This thesis would not have been possible without Rhodes University's Political and International Studies Department. The academic staff members, especially those teaching in the Postgraduate Diploma in International Studies programme, sacrificed their time, moved their busy schedules around and even opened up their curriculum to scrutiny and analysis. Without their understanding and wiliness to take part in this study, this journey would not have been possible. My deepest gratitude to them.
- Special acknowledgement to the University Capacity Development Programme (UCDP), South African Higher Education and Training Department-funded project between Rhodes University, the University of Fort Hare and the University of Connecticut for a three months visiting scholar fellowship in Mansfield, Connecticut. This programme gave me the much needed space to focus on writing, teaching international postgraduate students as well as seminar presentations and the often heated debates that followed. I am really appreciative to Professors Pedro Tabensky and Fiona Vernal for this opportunity which gave me some insight into the international field of higher education in general, and curriculum studies/human rights/higher education, in particular.
- This thesis was written at three universities - Rhodes University, the University of KwaZulu-Natal and the University of Connecticut. In all these universities, I met great and influential people who all have shaped, guided and even challenged my thinking in ways that I could not imagine. I am eternally grateful to all of them.

- The financial assistance of the National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, in collaboration with the South African Humanities Deans Association towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the NIHSS and SAHUDA.
- Special acknowledgement to British-Nigerian artist Yinka Shonibare MBE and his team, for giving me permission to use his art piece, Girl Balancing Knowledge III as a cover of my thesis. This piece sparked great conversations between my supervisors and I regarding what it means for us. The picture is beautiful and complex in the sense that; one the one hand, it shows the girl is simply struggling to balance all the books on her back. On a deeper analytical level, it shows the challenges of balancing colonial knowledge on our backs, and the struggle to internalise, understand and even challenge it. Some of the books seem to be falling, but she also appears to balance them in the picture. Does this symbolise that we cannot “discard” all colonial and global knowledge from these “dead white men”? (Pett, 2015). Her head is the world, and her clothes are from the Netherlands, showing the challenges of what it means to decolonise, not only knowledge and the production of knowledge itself, but also ourselves within global theory. Simply put, how can we decolonise and Africanise when already whiteness and coloniality is within us, our scholarship, our cultures, tastes, music, perceptions and how we look at the world. It is therefore, possible perhaps to heed the clarion calls from Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2018a), Mignolo (2011), Maldonado-Torres (2007), and others to epistemologically “disregard” western knowledge and begin to think “pre-colonially” or even outside of coloniality in conceptualising alternative modes of being, thinking and conducting research? (see also Makgoba, 1997a, 1997b, 1998). Is this all possible, and why can we not balance all forms of knowledge on our backs and decide which to disregard and which to cumulatively-build on without legitimating a colonising gaze? These and other questions lingered with me as I made sense of the field of transformation and decolonisation.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the memories of Bhuti Hlatshwayo (1965-1976), Nokubekezela "Beke" Theodora Hlatshwayo (1969-2009), Dumisani "Bhlaza" Josiah Luvuno (1967-2011), Thembeni Lucretia Hlatshwayo (1972-2010) and Jabulile Msimang (1952-2015).

I come as one but stand as 10 000 – Maya Angelou.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

African National Congress	ANC
“Independent homelands” within apartheid South Africa	Bantustans
Black Student Movement	BSM
Council on Higher Education	CHE
Epistemic relations	ER
Eastern Cape	EC
The intellectual and epistemological alliances between those who are categorized as “oppressed” and marginalized in intellectual community. This includes those who have been colonised at the level of being and knowledge.	Global South
Higher education	HE
Historically Black Universities	HBUs
Higher Education Qualifications Sub-Framework	HEQSF
Historically White Universities	HWUs
Inkatha Freedom Party	IFP
International Relations	IR
KwaZulu-Natal	KZN
Legitimation Code Theory	LCT
National Student Financial Aid Scheme	NSFAS
New Partnership for Africa’s Development	NEPAD
National Union of South African Students	NUSAS
National Qualifications Framework	NQF
Outcomes Based Education	OBE
Pedagogic device	PD
Postgraduate Diploma in International Studies	PDIS
Politics Department/Department	Political and International Studies Department
Reconstruction and Development Programme	RDP
Rhodes Must Fall	RMF
South African Qualifications Authority	SAQA
South African Students Organization	SASO
Social relations	SR
Student Representative Council	SRC
Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics	STEM
Student Christian Association	SCA
The South African Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions (2008).	Soudien Report
University of Cape Town	UCT
Vice Chancellor/ University President	VC
South African White Paper 3: A Programme for the Transformation of Higher Education (1997)	White Paper 3

Table of Contents

Abstract i

Isifingqo iii

Acknowledgments v

Dedication vii

Abbreviations and Acronyms viii

Chapter One Introducing the research journey 1

1.1 Into the journey 1

1.2 The 2015-2016 Student movement moment: Imperialism, alienation, difference 1

1.3 Political Studies: Relevance, colonial archive, dis-location 5

1.4 Site of the study: Introducing Rhodes University and the PDIS programme 8

1.5 Focus and contribution of the study 10

1.6 The structure of the thesis 11

Chapter Two Mapping the field, or making sense of the field 14

2.1 Introduction 14

2.2 Higher education 14

2.3 Access and knowledge 18

2.3 Policy tensions and contestations 24

2.4 Academic disciplines and the "disciplining" of knowledge 26

2.5 Decolonisation, transformation 30

2.6 Conclusion 36

Chapter Three Theoretical framings and the lens they give 1

3.1 Introduction 1

3.2 Social Realism 1

3.3 Realist ontology 3

3.4 Bernstein: Pedagogic device; classification and framing 5

3.5 Introducing LCT: Specialisation and Gaze(s) 11

3.6 Conclusion 16

Chapter Four Research Tools 18

4.1 Introduction 18
4.2 Qualitative research 18
4.3 My Positionality 25
4.4 Data analysis 31
4.5 Ethical considerations 38
4.6 Conclusion 38
Chapter Five Curriculum and Knowledge: International, Local, Institutional Perspectives 40
5.1 Introduction 40
5.2 Conceptualising curriculum 40
5.3 Curriculum discourses: international influences 42
5.4 Curriculum discourses: Local influences 43
5.5 The Eastern Cape as a (historical) site for research 52
5.6 Rhodes University: Apartheid, resistance, conformity 55
5.7 Conclusion 57
Chapter Six New Wars, African Political Economy, Peacekeeping: An analysis of the knowledge-knower Structures in the PDIS curriculum 58
6.1 Introduction 58
6.2 The PDIS Programme: History, tensions, funding shortage 59
6.3 Making sense of the field of production 62
6.4 Constructing the course(s) 70
6.5 Conclusion 77
Chapter Seven Pedagogising knowledge: Inside the PDIS seminar room 79
7.1 Introduction 79
7.2 PDIS Seminar Room 80
7.3 The *ideal* PDIS student 92
7.4 Conclusion 95
Chapter Eight Valuing knowledge, Legitimating social dispositions: An analysis of the PDIS assessment documents 96
8.1 Introduction 96

8.2 Exploring assessment methods in curriculum documents 96
8.3 Conclusion 114
Chapter Nine Reflections, Conclusions, Recommendations: The So What Moment 116
9.1 Introducing the conclusion 116
9.2 Reflecting on the research journey 116
9.3 Contributions of the study: On the newness of this research **........ 117**
9.4 On recommendations and limitations: (future) potential research 120
9.5 Concluding remarks 121
Appendix A: Ethical Clearance 124
Appendix B: Consent Letters 126
Appendix C: Curriculum document codes 129
Appendix D: Academic interview codes 132
Appendix E: Girl Balancing Knowledge III, by Yinka Shonibare MBE 134
Appendix F: Permission for the use of Girl Balancing Knowledge III 135
Appendix G: Top Critique for Week 5 136
References 139

Chapter One

Introducing the research journey

1.1 Into the journey

In this study, I was interested in exploring how knowledge and knowers are valued and legitimated in the field of Political Studies. I discuss in detail in this chapter, how the research idea came about, foregrounding Political Studies as a field of practice, and its knowers, in particular as it relates to the 2015-2016 student movement in South African higher education, which re-centred the need for transformation and decolonisation (Alasow, 2015; Naicker, 2016; Ngcobozi, 2015). In this chapter, I begin by offering a broad and general overview of the 2015-2016 student movement and their struggles for higher education transformation and decolonisation, particularly in historically white universities, which is the central setting of my study. I then move to foregrounding Political Studies, one of the most scrutinised academic fields of practice, that has been deemed untransformed, archaic and teaching “dead white men” (see Mngomezulu & Hadebe, 2018; Napier & Labuschagne, 2018; Tselapedi, 2016). I show how exploring the field offered an illuminating research gap in the field, which is addressed in my study. I end the brief chapter with an overview of the structure of the thesis, and a consideration of the cumulative knowledge-building that the thesis offers.

1.2 The 2015-2016 Student movement moment: Imperialism, alienation, difference

In the beginning of 2015, the then unknown #RhodesMustFall activist Chumani Maxwele, and a small group of students from the University of Cape Town (UCT), poured faeces at the statue of the arch imperialist Cecil John Rhodes; calling for institutional transformation and decolonisation at UCT (Maxwele, 2016). In an effort at defying what they deemed as the snail pace of transformation and decolonisation at UCT, the students symbolically began to challenge the colonial statues and artefacts at the university. Maxwele (2016) comments that

> The life of a black person in SA is contaminated with a nervous condition. This is true for all black people at the University of Cape Town (UCT) — from a high-profile and prolific professor to a first-year student who is accepted to study, but is on a waiting list for accommodation and financial aid. The condition drives me and many others to either go mad or commit suicide…. In October 2014, UCT vice-chancellor Max Price called for a public symposium on Transformation in Higher Education in SA, with a particular focus on UCT. Other university leaders, such as Prof Jonathan Jansen and Prof Mamokgethi Phakeng, were on the panel. During this talk, I realised something needed to be done, and that there was no form of meaningful debate in lecture halls and symposium rooms that would ever change the status quo at UCT without a radical and revolutionary act that would criticise the university and call to account, its institutional racism (Maxwele, 2016).

Provoked by the actions of Maxwele and others at UCT, widespread protest emerged in institutions of higher learning across South Africa, regarding the need for transformation, cultural alienation that Black[1] students experienced, particularly in historically white universities (HWUs), the unaffordability of fees for the so called "missing middle" students,[2] an unresponsive curriculum, institutional culture(s), the often forgotten experiences of students, particularly in historically Black universities who often feel marginalised by the media discourse[3] and government, among others (Badat, 2016; Naicker, 2016; Valela, 2015). In particular, two student movements emerged in historically white universities at Stellenbosch University, and Rhodes University (the focus of this study), followed under the organised student banner of #OpenStellenbosch and Black Student Movement (BSM) respectively. It should be noted that for historically Black universities in South African higher education, protest action never stopped post the apartheid period (Badat, 2017b). The periphery of some of these institutions, historically relegated to the rural areas of the country, ensured lack of media attention, government response, and public discourse (Badat, 2016; Keet, Sattarzadeh, & Munene, 2017).

The aforementioned student movements foregrounded as their organising principle, cultural alienation, curriculum transformation, and the socio-linguistic challenges that come with language. For example, the #OpenStellenbosch student movement foregrounded language, arguing that Afrikaans[4] at Stellenbosch University was often used as a linguistic tool of oppression, marginality and difference, in which those who did not speak the language were institutionally, socially and academically excluded from the university community, and were reminded that they did not belong;

> Although our institution claims that "continuous transformation is part of the core being of the University", this could not be further from our everyday reality at Stellenbosch. We are tired of empty promises and goals that are perpetually postponed. We have been having these conversations for over a decade now, and it is clear that the management at Stellenbosch has been operating in bad faith. Many promises, little action… Every day students and staff who do not understand Afrikaans are excluded from learning and participating at Stellenbosch University. As black students we are frequently asked, "Why do you come here if you can't speak Afrikaans?" This question highlights the pervasive and problematic sense of ownership that some have over this University. Stellenbosch – like all universities – is a public institution. This

---

[1] Throughout this research, the term "black" is operationalised to refer to Black/African or Black South Africans. These terms are a result of racial categories established under apartheid regime and continue to be significant social markers in contemporary South Africa. Although I note recent scholarship that has argued that race does not exist biologically (see Sarich, 2018), I argue that racial classification still continues to have real and material consequences in our lives nonetheless (Gordon, 2015a, 2015b; Heleta, 2016b).

[2] In South African higher education, the "missing middle" refers to students whose parents/guardians did not qualify for the state support of fees in terms of the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) because they earn a higher income while at the same time they cannot afford the cost of higher education (see for example Badat, 2016; Heleta, 2016b; Le Grange, 2016).

[3] In this study, "discourse" refers to Foucault's notion of "ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations that are inherent in such knowledge's and relations between them" (see Pinkus, 1996). In other words, discourses is understood as the organised ways of constituting and structuring knowledge, subjectivities, agents, power relations and others that are involved in that process.

[4] Afrikaans is one of the eleven official languages in South Africa. During the apartheid regime, the language was institutionalised across the country and became a lingua franca of oppression, marginality and exclusion. The language underpinned the influence of Afrikaner nationalism, in which knowing, speaking and understanding the language was central to Afrikaner national identity (see for example Biggs, 2015; Steyn, 2016; Suriano & Lewis, 2015).

> is not an Afrikaans university. It is a South African university which offers instruction in Afrikaans and (to a lesser extent) English. We have personally experienced countless instances of this institutional racism, including being forced to ask our Afrikaans-speaking peers to interpret what "Huiskomitee" members are saying in residence meetings. When we are allocated rooms, we are intentionally paired with other black students. Initiation at our residences involves explicit racism, homophobia and intimidation. It's telling that we actively discourage our black school-leaving friends from considering Stellenbosch as a place to study. This is in an attempt to spare them the pain and humiliation of being silently subjugated by a passively hostile culture of white Afrikanerdom (Open Stellenbosch Collective, 2015).

In the above quotation, the #OpenStellenbosch student movement comments on their cultural and linguistic exclusion at Stellenbosch University and the challenges experienced by Black students. Subsequent calls for higher education transformation shed a spotlight on a range of issues which included, but were not limited to, the funding crisis facing higher education institutions; academic staff diversity; the marginalised experiences of Black female academic staff in higher education; the plight of workers and outsourcing; the often forgotten experiences of disabled students; the experiences of first-generation Black working class students who are the first in their family to come to university; the role of language as a symbolic representation of hegemonic cultures of epistemic racism and cultural alienation; as well as the deeply contested notions of higher education curricula as an "institution", one that embodies Eurocentric and alienating values, and beliefs, and others (see Bosch, 2017; Bozalek & Boughey, 2012; Ngcobozi, 2015). Part of this critique has been levelled at the role that colonisation and apartheid has played, in centering western knowledge systems through the displacement of local and indigenous knowledge systems. Heleta (2016b) argues that

> In the old colonial fashion, [Blacks] are the "other" in their country of birth, not recognised and valued unless they conform. Through education, they are expected to learn to "speak well", gain skills and Eurocentric knowledge that will allow them to enter the marketplace but not allow them to make fundamental changes to the status quo in the society and the economy... [Instead] The curriculum must be free from the Western epistemological domination, Eurocentrism, epistemic violence and worldviews that were designed to degrade, exploit and subjugate people in Africa and other parts of the formerly colonised world.

The calls for decolonisation focus explicitly on the rejection of the western epistemic tradition of detachment of the known from the knower (Mbembe, 2015). In other words, scholars argue that the western epistemic traditions rest upon the separation of the body and mind, reason and nature, in an attempt at ensuring that the ontological subject (that is, the socialised political subject) is rationally separated from "objective" knowledge that is separate from time, space and context (Badat, 2016, 2017a, 2017b; Torres, 2007). This means that, in western epistemologies, the knower is able to know and understand the known without being of the social world, resulting in what is supposed to be the production of knowledge that is de-contextualised and universal. This has led to creation of a "hegemonic notion of knowledge production" (Mbembe, 2015, p. 33) as scientific, positivist and universal, at the expense of the knower, knowing and the political processes of how this knowledge is constructed, legitimated and transmitted. This European epistemology has resulted in an "epistemicide" (see Badat, 2017b) of local knowledge systems which are seen as an antithesis to legitimate knowledge, colonial modernity and the supposed development of society (Badat, 2010, 2016, 2017b).

Badat (2017b) locates the students' demand for higher education transformation and decolonisation, within a critical focus on the "politics of curriculum", arguing that; what is taught, how it is taught, and who teaches it is implicitly about social reproduction, preservation and the legitimation of knowledge. This is seen in how curriculum "preserves and disseminates knowledge, and in the process confers legitimacy to knowledge…Often, this is not the knowledge of all groups but of particular social groups" (Badat, 2017b, p. 10) which speaks to the manner in which curriculum raises questions of differentiated power of different social groups, along the lines of powerful/subordinate, privileged/disadvantaged, race, gender and other forms of marginality. These raise questions of what counts as knowledge, how knowledge is selected, sequenced, paced and organised, who counts as a legitimate knower of this legitimate knowledge (Gordon, 2015a; Keet et al., 2017). Gordon (2015a) questions whether it is possible to begin to change the intellectual geography of reason away from the singular western epistemologies, with Mbembe calling for a pluriversity of thoughts (Mbembe, 2015, 2016). Although Mbembe does not mention what this "pluriversity" will look like, and to what extent it will allow the diversity of thought and multiple epistemologies, the notion nonetheless moves us beyond the acceptance of a singular mode of being, as suggested by the idea of a "university".

The Black Student Movement at Rhodes University, inspired by the struggles for transformation at UCT and Stellenbosch University, emerged as students at the university considered the name of the institution, the history of the institution, together with the curriculum, to make a broader critique that the institution itself had been an alienating and marginalising space for the majority of the students (Naicker, 2016; Ngcobozi, 2015; Valela, 2015). Alasow (2015) argues that

> The concerns of staff and students at UCT and Rhodes are very clear: the colonial celebration of Rhodes must go and both institutions must move very quickly towards becoming useful and meaningful in the South Africa of today. Two themes are prevalent in these protests. Firstly, the legacy of Cecil John Rhodes; and secondly, the issue of meaningful transformation. Although the first theme began to be debated in Cape Town, it is even more pertinent here in Grahamstown, where the university is named after Rhodes. Rhodes University has hardly transformed from the institution it was in 1994. Rather, a version of aesthetic transformation – that is widely supported, not just at Rhodes, but by the elite public sphere in South Africa more generally – has been propagated. … From the curriculum to casual socialising, Rhodes has a culture of exclusion. … Many students do not speak English as a first, second or even a third language. These students are expected to submit work for which they have to read numerous academic texts in English before writing up their submission in English (Alasow, 2015).

In the above quotation, Alasow (2015) comments on the inter-relationship between the colonial history of Rhodes University as an imperial extension of English colonial values against what was seen as the then encroaching influences of Afrikaner conservatism (Maylam, 2005, 2016, 2017) and the need for meaningful transformation that the students argued, had been frustrated at the institution. Although what is meant by curriculum is not explained by Alasow in terms of transforming curricula at the institution, the theme of cultural alienation becomes common within the historically white universities. Perhaps the most insightful analysis and critique of the university came from Ngcobozi (2015)'s existential reflections regarding what it means to be both Black and a student at the university, reflecting the pain, trauma and challenges of constantly negotiating one's voice and identity as a Black person in the sea of whiteness in the institution. Ngcobozi (2015) argues about the attempts at transcending race, racisms and racialism through the social invention of the "purple blood" as an attempt at uniting students beyond racial classifications and towards what is seen as the broader and more "inclusive" university identity;

> The trope "Our Blood Is Purple" is used by the SRC to create the illusion of homogeneity of the student body. The danger of using unifying symbolism is that they are an invitation to outside groups to assimilate into a normative culture that creates the illusion of inclusivity. This idea was cemented further at the emergency student body meeting held on March 19 with vice chancellor, Dr Sizwe Mabizela. Although the VC [Vice Chancellor] was sympathetic to personal experiences expressed by students on how they have been affected by racism, the burden of the colonial legacy of Cecil John Rhodes, and the lack of transformation of the institution, Mabizela went on to depoliticise and balance the debate by assuring the students that the colonial legacy of Rhodes the man was no longer attached to the brand of Rhodes University as the institution has distinguished itself as a bastion of "academic excellence". These responses from the SRC and the VC should not be read in isolation. Although they speak to a particular context, when understood in relation to the national discourse on race and the "rainbow nation", these unifying symbols are used as homogenising agents to avoid the race issue. It should not come as a shock that this has been the dominant response of students at Rhodes and members of staff to the campaign. It is endemic of a citizenry that is non-reflexive, reductionist and invested in the depoliticisation of transformation and redress, thus making it unnecessary (Ngcobozi, 2015).

One of the academic fields that came under intensive scrutiny as a result of the student movement has been the field of Political Studies which been accused of being untransformed, irrelevant and not responding to social reality and its local context (Gouws, Kotze, & Van Wyk, 2013; Mngomezulu & Hadebe, 2018; Tselapedi, 2016).

1.3 Political Studies: Relevance, colonial archive, dis-location

As mentioned above, one of the disciplines that has come under massive critique for supposedly teaching "dead white men" and having an untransformed curriculum, is the field of Political Studies (Mngomezulu &

Hadebe, 2018; Tselapedi, 2016). Mngomezulu and Hadebe (2018) argues that the discipline refuses to draw from African lived experience and continues to center European and American thought and lives as central;

> *We argue that Political Science could have been taught differently, drawing from African experiences instead of drawing examples from Europe and America. Given that Africa has now been liberated from the yoke of colonial oppression, our contention is that it is possible to decolonise and Africanise this discipline without compromising the much revered academic standards*. We argue that this goal could be achieved without *weakening the discipline's stature* – after all, African and *Africanist scholars are the authors of some of the Political Science books used at tertiary institutions. ...Not surprisingly, the University Colleges which were established during the colonial period tended to privilege a foreign curriculum for reasons outlined below*. Consequently, African students were taught things that did not resonate with their immediate environment (emphasis added) (Mngomezulu & Hadebe, 2018, p. 67).

In the above quotation, Mngomezulu and Hadebe (2018) argue that Political Studies in South African higher education transformations draws from western lived experiences and ignores the liberation ethic of de-linking from the west in re-centering African lived experiences and their knowledge. Balancing what could be an interesting tension, Mngomezulu and Hadebe (2018) argue that it is possible to transform the field without necessarily "weakening the discipline's stature". What this stature looks like or its underlying mechanisms and principals is not interrogated and explained. For Mngomezulu and Hadebe (2018), the colonial history of universities in South African is that of byproducts of imperial and colonial contact which tended to privilege western thought in curriculum, which continues to manifest itself in contemporary times. This ought to be changed through the inclusion of African knowledge systems in curriculum. In other words, Mngomezulu and Hadebe (2018)'s argument for transforming and decolonising the field of Political Studies is the inclusion in curricula, of African knowledge systems and re-centering indigenous knowledge that responds to local contexts.

Unlike Mngomezulu and Hadebe (2018)'s argument for the inclusion of African knowledge systems within higher education curricula as a decolonial ethic, Matthews (2018) adopting Mudimbe (1988)'s notion of the "colonial archive",[5] argues that we first need to locate the colonial and epistemological heritage of knowledge in our curriculum, before we can begin to decolonise Political Studies as suggested by the students. Put differently, Matthews calls us to critically reflect upon, and problematise colonial texts, knowledge, assumptions, and values that have developed as part of the "colonial encounter and how it is rooted in an attempt by the colonial powers to assert themselves through delineating an 'other' which can be unfavourably contrasted with the coloniser" (Matthews, 2018, pp. 2-3). Matthews (2018) argues that:

---

[5] The "colonial archive/colonial library", often used interchangeably (see for example Matthews, 2018), is not an actual physical library. It refers to the organised body of work that has been historically written by the colonial and imperial powers to write about and for Africans in particular, our cultural practices/knowledge(s)/lived experiences/religious beliefs/languages and others in the social construction of what Said (1978) referred to as the Other in the archive, public imagination and historical discourse (Matthews, 2018; Mudimbe, 1988).

> What would this mean for contemporary attempts to decolonise the curriculum? One possible way to respond…to the discussion is *to recognise that decolonising the curriculum is also about re-looking at existing disciplines, rather than just rejecting them. It is about recognising the contestation that was there in the creation of the colonial library and bringing that contestation to the fore.* And it is also about *acknowledging the contribution made by scholars from colonised parts of the world to the colonial library, rather than seeing the colonial library as some kind of purely Western product which was imposed upon Africa….* This means that *we ought to recognise the contributions of non-Westerners (including Africans) to the colonial library and the possibility of appropriating aspects of it in ways that ultimately undermine the colonial library's designation of Africa as deviant.* …a process of disrupting European narratives through 'conscious effort to enter into the discourse of Europe and the West, to mix with it, transform it, to make it acknowledge marginalized or suppressed or forgotten histories'. Doing this involves reading a text 'contrapuntally' which is, *to read in such a way as to take into account the perspectives of both the coloniser and the colonised, and to recognise the ways in which their histories are interwoven and their discourses tangled up with each other* (Said 1994, 51). Rather than trying to purify our approaches from contamination by colonial discourses, *we might begin by recognising the entanglement that results from the long reach of the colonial library and working from this tangled up position in ways that can subvert the values and intentions behind the colonial library* (emphasis added) (Matthews, 2018, pp. 19-20).

In the above quotation, Matthews makes a sound argument suggesting that, rather than proposing the inclusion of Africa indigenous knowledge system within an untransformed curriculum, as suggested by Mngomezulu and Hadebe (2018), we need to recognise the epistemological entanglement in the colonial library, and how advancing a decolonial project in Political Studies would demand drawing *both* from the colonial library and local intellectual contributions, in fashioning a different intellectual trajectory, rather than committing to an Africana essentialist conception of knowledge. In this argument, Matthews responds to the critique offered by Makgoba (1997a), Msila and Gumbo (2016), and others who proposed Africanisation as an alternative framework to decolonisation, in the processes, appealing to the precolonial stereotype of an African individual who is outside of globalisation and multinational/multicultural contact (see Samuel, 2017). In this study, I echo Matthews' concerns and draw deliberately and intentionally from the theoretical and conceptual tools offered by Bernstein (1975a) and Maton (2013a), to argue that looking at how knowledge and knowers are valued and legitimated in Political Studies, could be seen as a decolonising process.

Perhaps the most scathing in their critique of the slow pace of transformation in the field of Political Studies in South African higher education, Gouws et al. (2013) argue that the field is confronted with two challenges: firstly; the need for more transformation within the field itself, and secondly; the need to generate what they deem as "relevant knowledge."

> Previous assessments of Political Science as a discipline have found that the discipline is '*elusive in taking up the challenge to be at the intellectual forefront of politics in South Africa. There is a persistent sense to make sense of the past, rather than with asserting future directions through innovative academic work'* (Booysen and van Nieuwkerk 1998, 5). This particular characteristic seems inherent to the discipline in that, previous surveys have also revealed an unwillingness to deal with more substantive issues, although the discipline has been well-established since the 1970s (1998, 5)…. The problems with the inherent character of Political Science in South Africa is a strong theme that emerged from the 2012 assessment. The 2012 assessment revealed two themes within the transformation project for the discipline of Political Science: *(1) the need for transformation within the discipline, and (2) the need to generate relevant knowledge. The question that emerges when dealing with transformation of the discipline is, what exactly is meant by transformation?* Generally, *transformation is often directly associated with Affirmative Action programmes geared towards creating a more equal society and attempting to deal with the vestiges of the past. Yet, the 2012 assessment reveals that the transformation agenda for Political Science is related to the inherent nature of its pedagogy* (emphasis added) (Gouws et al., 2013, p. 416).

In the above quotation, Gouws et al. (2013) suggest that the field of Political Studies has been reluctant to be at the forefront of South African politics in responding to the challenges that plague the post-apartheid state. For Gouws et al. (2013), the field is still grappling with; 1) how to transform in terms of curriculum knowledge the academic professional, students who register for the field, as well as the under-representation of Black scholars within the doctoral and professoriate level, and 2) the need to generate more context specific knowledge that responds to the challenges that the country is grappling with. In this study, I contribute to this emerging body of work that looks at the extent to which we can decolonise Political Studies. In other words, I specifically explore how knowledge and knowers are valuated and legitimated in the field.

The site of the study, as mentioned earlier, is Rhodes University, a historically white university in South Africa, with a contested history of conformity, resistance and complexity, with the apartheid regime. The richness of this history enables me to use the institution as a broader case study to explore how knowledge and knowers are legitimated in the field of Political Studies in general and in the Postgraduate Diploma in Political Studies in particular. I now outline a brief history of the institution, as well as introduce the case study of this programme.

1.4 Site of the study: Introducing Rhodes University and the PDIS programme

The PDIS programme is offered at Rhodes University, a historically white university based in the Eastern Cape Province. Rhodes was founded in 1904 as Rhodes University College, a colonial institution that was established with the primary function of extending British imperial education (Greyling, 2007; Maylam, 2016, 2017). Founded as an institution to promote colonial "Englishness", and to extend British imperialism, Rhodes University operated within, and was consistent with, the pre-apartheid and apartheid social order (Maylam, 2005, 2016, 2017). The institution historically promoted certain kind of knowledge(s) and knowers at the expense of marginalisd others.[6] The history of the institution offers rich lenses on the site of the investigation to look at the kind of knowledge(s) and knowers that the institution legitimates in its curriculum. Rhodes University and its history is covered in detail in Chapter Five.

The Postgraduate Diploma in International Studies (hereafter referred to as the PDIS programme) is presented as the only such programme offered in South African higher education. Students may register for the one year programme having obtained an undergraduate degree in any field, with a "good. This programme can be used to gain access into the Masters programme in Political and International Studies, provided the student obtains an aggregate mark of 70% or above. Students registered for the PDIS are required to take five courses, and four courses are compulsory for the students, as indicated in Table 1 below.

Semester 1	**Semester 2**
Africa: Changing International Relations	African Political Economy
Africa and the New Wars	Peace and Conflict in Africa

Table 1.1: Compulsory courses constructed from the available data of the courses offered in the Programme, from the Department's website: https://www.ru.ac.za/politicalinternationalstudies/

The programme website indicates that it attempts to give students a solid grounding in African International Studies, and some of the theoretical and practical challenges confronting the continent. As can be seen from the compulsory courses, the programme is Africa-centred and the website indicates that it intends to produce a particular kind of student, who is well orientated with the African continent, and the challenges that confront it. A fifth course to complete the programme is an elective for the students, and must be selected from the Honours/Master's options offered by the Department, or from optional courses from outside the Department. Students who choose to select a course outside of the Department are requested to obtain permission from the Head of the Political and International Studies Department before pursuing that course. The optional courses offered to students within the Department are indicated below, in Table 1.2

Semester 1	**Semester 2**
Brazilian CFP / Foreign Policy	Community, Justice and Freedom
The Politics of Capital in South Africa	African Women and African Politics
The Politics of Energy	Disability Politics
Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods	South Africa's Contested New Order
Africa since 1945	The Politics of Social Policy & Labour

Table 1.2: Electives constructed from the available data of the courses offered in the Programme, from the Department's website: https://www.ru.ac.za/politicalinternationalstudies/

---

[6] For instance, this is demonstrated how in 1939, the university introduced a university curriculum entitled "Administration of Child Races, with special reference to South Africa"

To be awarded the PDIS, students must pass at least four of the five courses, and must achieve an overall aggregate pass of at least 50%.

1.5 Focus and contribution of the study

The British sociologist, Bernstein (2000) argues that within the sociology of education, there is a range of dominant approaches that, despite surface differences in scope and focus, share a common blind spot. While they share a common focus on analysing the "ways in which discourses work to reproduce external relations of power, such as class, race and gender" (Bernstein, 2000), they neglect "the very discourse which is subject of their analysis". Bernstein has conceptualised the pedagogic device as an attempt at analysing this knowledge blind spot. He argues that educational researchers have taken the pedagogic discourse, that is, the subject of their investigation, for granted, in looking at voices that are silenced by the pedagogic discourse instead of also shedding a spotlight on the voice of the discourse itself. For Bernstein, in the process of selecting (choosing what to include and exclude in the curriculum), transmitting (the teaching of the curriculum) and evaluating (ensuring that the curriculum has been received and reproduced) curriculum, the pedagogic device silences students who lack access to the particular forms of economic, cultural and social capital needed to negotiate the terrain of higher education (Bernstein, 1999, 2000, 2003).

Bernstein insists that this "invisible" pedagogic discourse be recovered through this pedagogic device, in arguing for a particular relationship between the empirical and the theoretical (Bernstein, 1996, pp. 133-134). Bernstein suggests that the empirical descriptions of phenomena "should be redescribed so as to conceptualise their underlying principles in a non-tautological manner" and the theories should be generative so as to be able to offer descriptions of "empirical realisations of these underlying principles". A competent, critical and thorough analysis would need to include an "empirical language of description; a theoretical language of description and a conceptual means of translating between these two in a non-arbitrary and non-tautological way" (Bernstein, 1990a, p. 80).

In this study, I aimed to contribute to this kind of analysis by shedding a spotlight on the field of Political Studies knowledge, specifically the PDIS programme, looking at how knowledge is taken from the field where it is produced, and re-located into the PDIS curriculum. The programme prides itself on being the only one of its kind in South African higher education, which aims to produce graduates who will be experts in African Political Studies. The programme was used as a case study to look at how knowledge is constructed, transmitted and evaluated in the field (that is, the recontextualisation of knowledge) of Political Studies. Using Bernstein's pedagogic device, the study focused on the intended curriculum as manifest in formal documents produced by the programme (that is, course outlines; seminar critiques; presentations; class participation; class discussions; essay questions and exams/exam portfolio). The study also employed in-depth interviews with the lecturers in an attempt at gaining critical insight on the implicit assumptions and reasons around the selection, sequencing, transmission and evaluation choices that they make in the PDIS curriculum. Using

Maton (2013a)'s Legitimation Code Theory as an analytical "toolkit", in particular Specialisation, this study interrogated how, in the field of Political Studies, knowledge is legitimated, and what kind of "pedagogic subjects",[7] that is, the knowers are legitimated by such a programme.

The main research question was:

- What kind of knowledge is legitimated in the PDIS programme?

As explained above, together the knowledge and knower structures comprise the particular form of knowledge legitimated and valued in the programme. The sub-questions were:

- What kind of knowledge structures does the postgraduate Diploma in International Studies legitimate?
- What kind of knower structures does the postgraduate Diploma in International Studies legitimate?

I now turn to outlining the structure of the thesis;

1.6 The structure of the thesis

In **Chapter One**, I outlined the research journey in this study. I was interested in understanding and exploring how knowledge and knowers are valued and legitimated in the field of Political Studies in general, and in the PDIS programme in particular. I took this to refer specifically to the recontextualisation of Political Studies knowledge from the field of knowledge production into the PDIS curriculum. This meant looking at the knowledge and knower structures, and their underlying mechanisms and processes.

In **Chapter Two**, I critically explore the field of higher education (both international and national), looking at the debates around knowledge production, its legitimation and who counts as a legitimate knower in the field. I then provide a description of the (broader) emergence of the 2015-2016 student movement protests in the South African higher education landscape which have placed the issues of transformation and decolonisation back on the national agenda – foregrounding issues of access to higher education (both formal and epistemological), which are central to the student movements call for transformation. I then critically reflect on, and discuss academic disciplines, or what Morrow (2009) terms "academic practices" and how they, not only organise and structure knowledge, but also impart in their own agents - prestige, power, sanctions, rewards, identities and others. In this chapter, I argue that the current emerging South African higher education transformation discourses conflate epistemologies with knowledge, and discuss how this study sought to fill that gap in re-centering knowledge in the field of Political Studies in general, and in the PDIS programme in particular.

---

[7] This is a Bernsteinian term (see Bernstein, 2000), and as my study shows, it does not mean that PDIS students are passive consumers of curriculum knowledge. Rather, PDIS students in my study played a critical role in the construction, transmitting and evaluation of the curriculum (see Chapter Six).

In **Chapter Three**, I introduce the theoretical lenses of the study and the frames that they give me in this research project. I outline how Social Realism was adopted as a theoretical foundation, together with the theoretical and conceptual framework from Bernstein's pedagogic device and Maton's LCT tool of Specialisation (and within it, Gazes). These were called upon to offer "clearer" frames to see the underlying mechanisms and processes of the knowledge and knower structures of the PDIS curriculum. Bernstein's pedagogic device (see Bernstein, 1975a, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2006) was particularly useful in enabling me to see how Political Studies knowledge was legitimated through the three epistemic fields – that is, the field of production, the recotextualising field, as well as the field of reproduction. This enabled me (and I discussed this extensively in the recommendation section of this chapter) to argue that the three fields offered the South African higher education landscape three epistemic arenas in which the struggle for transformation and decolonisation could take place, Thus, thinking through and conceptualising transformation of curriculum across these three fields allowed for a broader and closer analysis of how knowledge and owners are valued and legitimated in academic fields of practice.

In **Chapter Four**, I outline the research tools that I relied on and used in my research. I start by firstly outlining the broad research approach that I adopted, looking at and exploring Social Realist qualitative research, the complexities of insider/outsider positionality, and how they have influenced and shaped my research. I make a critical discussion of the already summarised research tools that were adopted to generate and make sense of the data. Although briefly, I comment on Holmes (2014)'s critical reflection on the importance of positionality in qualitative research, to conceptualise my own positionality as a) indicating my insider/outsider positionality in the Department that I am researching, and b) how I also took positionality to refer to my intellectual and epistemological positioning in my own study, being a proponent of the need for decolonisation of South African higher education curriculum in general, and transforming of Political Studies in particular, and the (potential) implications this has on my research.

In **Chapter Five**, I rely on Bernstein's (2000) and Hugo (2010)'s work in arguing that curriculum should be seen as what counts as valid knowledge. I rely on Hugo to argue that hierarchy is at the very heart of curriculum in how curriculum attempts to move students from one level to a higher level within an organised knowledge structure. I then trace the influential curriculum discourses that have shaped and influenced curriculum thinking and its policies. I begin by tracing this literature internationally, looking at the global massification and the emergence of the "knowledge society" in the era of the "knowledge economy" that we are living in. I then move closer to looking at the South African context, that is, nationally and institutionally, in exploring the policy tensions, curriculum discourses, and others that continue to affect the way we think about curricula in higher education. I argue that the history of the Eastern Cape as a fragmented and differentiated Bantustan that incorporated both the Transkei and the Ciskei, is important to understanding the setting and locality of Rhodes University. Rhodes University and its white institutional history of conformity, contestation and resistance to apartheid made it an interesting site to make sense of, and explore how, particular kinds of knowledge and knowers are valued and legitimated in the institution in general, and in the PDIS programme in particular.

Chapters Six, Seven and Eight present the findings of the study. In **Chapter Six,** I argue that the Political Studies in general, and the PDIS programme in particular, appear to have a horizontal knowledge structure regarding the extent of the powers of the agents within the field, to shape and structure for themselves, what counts as Political Studies curriculum knowledge and what does not. As a result of the horizontal nature of the knowledge in the field, a significant amount of what counts as valid and legitimate knowledge in the field operates at the level of the "discursive gap" in how the academics themselves often infuse their philosophical and ideological orientation to draw particular kinds of knowledge from the field of production and recontextualise it to their curriculum.

In **Chapter Seven,** I argue that the seminars in the programme are an interesting pedagogical site for the PDIS curriculum in how academics often experiment with different teaching and learning methods that are designed to, not only ensure that curriculum knowledge is understood by the students, but also to enable students to position themselves in the broader debates and have a voice. I especially emphasise in this chapter, that although curriculum knowledge is key in the programme, the attributes and dispositions of the knowers in being "inquisitive", "open" minded and "willing to grow" – that is the *ideal* PDIS student – can be said to be relatively more important in being a knower in the field.

In **Chapter Eight,** I move closer to see to what extent the PDIS assessment documents could reveal what is valued and legitimate knowledge and knowers took like. I argue that the assessment documents communicate both to the field as well as to students regarding what they need to know and understand in the programme - revealing the underlying mechanisms and processes regarding valued knowledge and knowers in the programme look like. I argue that PDIS Assessment methods offer a critical insight on how the valued and legitimate Political Studies knowledge is received and reproduced by both the academic themselves, as well as the curriculum documents.

Chapter Nine is dedicated to offering the "so what moment" of the thesis; that is, reflections, conclusions, recommendations, as well as possible future research going forward.

In the following chapter, I map out and make sense of the field of higher education both internationally and locally, foregrounding in the process, knowledge production, policy contexts and transformation debates as they relate to my research focus.

Chapter Two

Mapping the field, or making sense of the field

2.1 Introduction

In this study, I focused on how knowledge is legitimated and valued in the field of Political Studies, as seen through the PDIS programme. In order to look at the knowers and knowledges that are legitimated, I needed to firstly map and make sense of the field of higher education, looking at the debates around knowledge production, its legitimation and who counts as a legitimate knower in the field. I begin with the (broader) emergence of the 2015-2016 student movement protests in the South African higher education landscape which have placed the issues of transformation and decolonisation back on the national agenda. I then turn to critically discuss how notions of access to higher education (both formal and epistemological), central to the student movements call for transformation, signify the inequality of knowledge production and who has access to it, why, and most importantly, how. I then offer a detailed discussion on academic disciplines, and argue that higher education knowledge cannot be explored properly without looking at how knowledge is organised and formalised in "disciplines". Then finally, I conclude with critical debates on decolonisation and knowledge production, in particular; focusing on how the scholars, in both the South African higher education student movement literature and also in the decolonial school of thought, collapse the distinction between "knowledge" and "epistemology"; and how resolving this distinction will allow the field of decolonisation in general, and higher education knowledge in particular, to move forward in conceptually clearing and foregrounding knowledge as an object of study for transformation. Making sense of the above fragmented and often confusing literature will show the gap in the decolonisation field, in the relations between knowledge (that is, how knowledge relates to class, race, gender and others) and not on the relations within knowledge itself (that is, how knowledge is selected, organised sequenced, paced and evaluated).

In this chapter, I purposefully exclude discussions on the intricate and complex relationship between higher education curriculum and knowledge. This relationship is extensively discussed in Chapter Five where I look at the influential discourses and thinking that have helped shape curriculum thinking internationally, nationally as well as institutionally at Rhodes University. Curriculum theories (both implicit and explicit) together with the ever changing socio-economic forces that continue to affect and help influence curriculum, are discussed in depth.

2.2 Higher education

Higher education is fundamentally constituted by knowledge and its practices (Fenwick & Edwards, 2014). This means that the operational functioning of higher education as institution or as a sector - whether it be teaching and learning, curriculum design, assessment, institutional culture(s), ceremonies and traditions, senate/council meetings and others –are all constituted by and influenced by knowledge and the production of knowledge. Thus, I (briefly) give an overview of the international field of higher education regarding the debates around knowledge, the production of knowledge and how it is legitimated, before moving to the South African context, to help provide a global frame from which to make sense of local experiences (see Bastedo, Altbach, & Gumport, 2018; Bowman & Filar, 2017; Fenwick & Edwards, 2014).

2.2.1 International higher education

Internationally, the field of higher education appears largely focused on the rate of massification brought about by the international movements and college choices of Asian students; the rise of technological advancement and its role in research productivity, in general and in the sciences, technology, engineering, and mathematics (hereafter referred to as STEM) in particular; academic freedom and its role in contemporary American higher education systems; the funding crisis and how to enable private-public partnerships; the "harsh realities" of the professoriate community in 21st century academia; the intersecting authorities and powers of the university boards, presidents and faculty and the implications for university governance; teaching and learning; masculinity and gender challenges; curriculum and others (see Bashir, 2007; Bastedo et al., 2018; Bowman & Filar, 2017). Focusing on the "commodification of knowledge" in global higher education knowledge production, Altbach (2015, p. 2) argues that higher education has ceased to be considered a public good, and now can be "commodified" and "packaged" to produce a "skill set" for students.

> Education is becoming an internationally traded commodity. No longer is it seen primarily as a set of skills, attitudes, and values required for citizenship and effective participation in modern society—a key contribution to the common good of any society. Rather, it is increasingly seen as a commodity to be purchased by a consumer in order to build a "skill set" to be used in the marketplace or a product to be bought and sold by multinational corporations, academic institutions that have transmogrified themselves into businesses, and other providers…The commodification of education will have major implications for how we think about schooling and the university, the ownership and transmission of knowledge, and indeed the role of citizenship in modern society. The implications are immense, both for nations and for the globalization and internationalization of education.

In the above quotation, Altbach comments on the challenges of globalisation and internationalisation of higher education, in how democratic notions of public good and social justice that ought to underpin higher education regarding democratising access to the "knowledge goods", have been replaced by the neoliberal logic that sees institutions of higher learning as "knowledge economies" that will assist in equipping students with workforce skills. In other words, democratic notions of higher education as a public good have been replaced by the pressing demands of the market, employment, skills shortage and others, that are necessary for economic growth and industrialisation. Commenting on the implication of the commodification of both higher education and higher education knowledge, Guzman and Trivelato (2011) argue for the introduction of and application of managerialism;

> [The] commodification of higher education encompasses the application of managerialism logic to learning and teaching activities. As such, knowledge is routinized and transformed into a codified product, which enables both the use of the economies of scale principles and the appropriation of academic and teaching knowledge (Willmott 1995). Thus, learning is approached as a rational-cognitive systematic acquisition of knowledge through mechanistic processes, where the curriculum is standardized, centrally developed, and students are approached as customers, facilitating both managerial surveillance and separation of conception from delivery (White 2007; Buchbinder 1993; Hayrinen-Alestalo and Peltola 2006). This low cost operation is achieved by: focusing on teaching at the expense of research activities; reliance on part-time faculty members, who teach for lower wages; and minimum academic governance (Guzman & Trivelato, 2011, p. 452).

Thus, the commodification of higher education includes the re-conceptualisation of teaching and learning through the managerial logic of cutting costs, notions of conceptualising and perceiving students as “customers” who have “purchased” and are “entitled” to higher education. What are the implications of this on knowledge itself and its commodification? In other words, what are the effects of the commodification of higher education on knowledge itself in higher education curricula? Guzman and Trivelato (2011), building upon Altbach (2015), suggest that;

> Knowledge commodification means the conversion of knowledge into a product (course outlines) that can be stored, distributed and marketed (Willmott 1995). As a consequence, course offerings and learning outcomes become standard modular objects that can be assembled, ‘acquired’, stored (credit accumulation), or exchanged (credit exchange) through different mechanisms (Trowler 2001). Knowledge production and diffusion, therefore, parallel the manufacturing industries, where mechanistic processes can be designed, processed, and delivered, independent of the context (Guzman & Trivelato, 2011, p. 452)

Having very briefly outlined a few trends in international higher education and some of the challenges regarding knowledge production, knowledge economies and the seeming adoption of neoliberal logic in university management and governance, I now turn to exploring higher education debates, foregrounding the South African experience;

2.2.3 South African higher education

There has been an increase in the calls for higher education institutions in South Africa to transform into democratic and inclusive spaces that promote belonging, acceptance and social justice at the level of knowledge (see Badat, 2016; CHE, 2016; de Oliveira Andreotti, Stein, Ahenakew, & Hunt, 2015). These calls were especially sparked in 2015 by the higher education students through #FeesMustFall, #RhodesMustFall,

#RhodesSoWhite, #OpenStellenbosch[8] and other student movements which rejected the "Eurocentric epistemic" canon that attributes truth, knowledge and legitimation to western ways of knowledge production. In other words, the students were arguing against curriculum that they felt was untransformed; privileged scholarship from the Western Europe and North America; and disregarded intellectual contributions from those at the margins of global thought. This call was based on the argument that higher education students were being taught a curriculum that promotes a "version of Bantu education … a curriculum which presumes that Africa begins at the Limpopo[9], and that this Africa has no intelligentsia worth reading" (see Heleta, 2016a). Part of this critique has been levelled at the role that colonisation and apartheid has played, in centring western knowledge systems in education and the displacement of local and indigenous knowledge systems to the margins of higher education.

Knowledge and the production of knowledge in South African higher education is profoundly shaped by the history of apartheid, and the racist functions that were imposed on the sector in reproducing the regime's social order (see Akoojee & Nkomo, 2007; Badat, 2009, 2017b). Higher education institutions were seen as the "knowledge bank" that the regime relied upon in imposing racial differences, white supremacy and unequal knowledge production. Badat (2007, p. 6) argues that the differences in the allocated resources between the historically white universities (often referred to as the HWUs) and historically Black universities (often referred to as the HBUs) had a significant influence in the current challenges that South African higher education find itself. In other words, contemporary patterns of advantage and disadvantage between historically white universities and historically Black universities, however, are not simply historical. They continue to condition the current capacities of institutions to pursue excellence, to provide high quality learning and research experiences and equity of opportunity, and to contribute to economic and social development (see Heleta, 2016b; Leibowitz, Bozalek, van Schalkwyk, & Winberg, 2015; Valela, 2015).

This institutional differentiation, that is, the unequal resource allocations between the historically white universities and the historically Black universities, and a racial bifurcation of institutions of higher learning under apartheid, had a historical effect on the kinds of knowledge(s) and knowers that were legitimated by different institutions. For example, Naidoo (2004) argues that there were three different kinds of universities during the apartheid period – that is, the dominant tier, the intermediary tier and the subordinate tier. In the dominant tier, this is where we found the universities that were established during the British colonial period and whose primary function was the extension and legitimating of English values, ethics and beliefs into the colony. When the apartheid regime introduced the apartheid laws in 1959, these universities became exclusively for white students (Naidoo, 2004, p. 461). Rhodes University, the research site for the PDIS programme, belongs in this category. Commenting on the connection between Rhodes University College and the British imperial extension, Greyling (2007, p. 23) notes that;

---

[8] These are the different higher education student movements that emerged in the 2015-2016 period calling for the transformation of institutions of higher learning in South Africa (Badat, 2016; Heleta, 2016b; Luescher-Mamashela, 2015; Luescher & Klemencic, 2016).

[9] This is the Northern most province in South Africa.

> The establishment of a college of higher education in the Eastern Cape…would strengthen the British imperial connection. Thus the College was founded as a colonial institution. This was further reflected in the naming of the College after the foremost imperialist of the time, Cecil John Rhodes, recently deceased, even though he had hardly any association with the Eastern Cape during his lifetime. The decision to name the College after him was a lever to obtain funding from the Rhodes Trust to establish the College (Greyling, 2007, p. 23).

The intermediary universities were predominantly Afrikaans-speaking and were established in response to the Anglo-Boer war, and were set up for the benefit of the Afrikaans community (see for example, Badat, 1994; Naidoo, 2004). The primary function of these universities was to act as socio-economic and linguistic tool of legitimating Afrikaner nationalist identities, and help counter the hegemonic influences of the universities in the dominant tier. It was Afrikaans-speaking institutions that helped produce some of apartheid intellectuals, academics and political elites who helped legitimate and maintain the regime (Naidoo, 2004). In countering the predominant influence of the imperial values and British influence found in the universities in the dominant tier, these universities became instruments of producing the apartheid, nationalist values as espoused and promoted by the then National Party, through the production of competing knowledge and ideologies as required and supported by the apartheid regime (Naidoo, 2004).

In the third and final tier, were subordinated universities set up for the different Black South African ethnic groups. The primary function of these subordinated universities was the continued legitimation of tribal identities of the Black majority, and locating them within the needs of the apartheid state in producing workers, or supporting the "independent" homelands that the apartheid regime sought to promote. It should also be noted that historically Black universities were not only constrained financially in terms of being prevented from carrying over their financial resources from one financial year to another, but their academic appointments and curriculum were also deeply constrained and controlled by the apartheid regime (see Bunting, 2006; Davies, 1996; Kallaway, 2002).

In the following sections, I turn to complicating and historicising the notion of access, and how it relates to knowledge and knowers in the South African higher education landscape.

2.3 Access and knowledge

After the Second World War, there was an increase in the broad social, cultural, economic, and political changes brought about by "massification"[10] of education in the wealthy nations (see Hornsby & Osman, 2014;

---

[10] The notion of "massification" is placed in inverted commas to denote how problematic and deeply contested a term it is in higher education in general, and in the South African higher education landscape in particular (Hay & Fourie, 2002; Jansen, 2003; Teferra & Altbachl, 2004).

Mohamedbhai, 2014). This period was also characterised by a proliferation of technology, work and society, which resulted in the emergence of new sites of knowledge beyond the domains of the academy. This meant that the production of knowledge was, not only the sole preserve of the elite, but also "mystery of knowledge" was now open and public (Wheelahan, 2010, pp. 151-152). Over the past decades, there has been massive growth in the formal access to higher education, and while admission continues to be a South African phenomenon, the challenges of widening access remain international ones (Hornsby & Osman, 2014; Mohamedbhai, 2014).

In South Africa, the massification of higher education from 1995 onwards meant that a significant number of historically marginalised Black students were now admitted into historically white universities such as Rhodes University. Literature on formal access to higher education for the South Africa context can be divided into three generations of research that span from the 1970s to the 2000s, with varying but interrelated focus areas. These are: focus on the contestations and resistance to the apartheid barriers (1970s to 1990s); formal access to HE in terms of race, gender, and other identities (1990s- early 2000s); and the recent focus areas on throughput and retention challenges (2000s-2016) (Akoojee & Nkomo, 2007; CHE, 2010a). One should emphasise that these shifts in generational research on higher education access do not constitute separate "epistemic breaks" divorced from one another. The different generational shifts are interrelated and tend to inform and affect one another, with some literature even transcending these generational research boundaries. In addition, it should be noted that some research on access to higher education does not fall "neatly" and "cleanly" on the imposed categories and tends to transcend them. Thus, these categories which I have adopted from the CHE (2010b), should be looked at as constructed for the purposes of this study, and should not be seen as prescriptive.

2.3.1 First generation research: 1970s to mid-1980s – critique of apartheid higher education segregation

A large amount of the literature on this generation focuses on offering a critique of the apartheid regime's segregated access into higher education institutions as articulated in the student movement demands, and those of staff and civic organisations (see Kallaway, 1984; Nkomo, 1990). This literature includes the reformist wing of the then Botha government, which argued that lack of educational reform had a damaging effect on the economic growth (de Lange, 1981). Radical Marxist and neo-Marxist critiques, which brought the political economy perspective, argued that higher education reform necessitated a fundamental social and economic change of South Africans societies (see Cross, 1986, 1991; National Education Crisis Committee, 1986). A significant amount of this literature focuses on youth and student movements, with a specific focus on culture, politics and resistance to apartheid education (see Brooks & Brickhill, 1980; Bundy, 1986; Gwala, 1988). For this generation of research, access continued to be conceptualised as formal admissions to institutions of higher learning.

The 1970s to mid-1980s was characterised by the radical discourse that asserted that higher education could not be fully and completely achieved through liberal reform (CHE, 2010a, p. 34). This discourse demanded social and economic changes in South Africa (see Cross, 1986, 1991; National Education Crisis Committee, 1986). Nonetheless, the notion of access remained largely as reference to formal access to higher education. The debates amongst students raised various issues ranging from ethnic organisation of universities, the oppressive physical environment in higher education, student non-participation in university governance, curriculum transformation, to the meanings definitions and functions of a university education (CHE, 2010a). With the relative exception of certain studies that focused on student debates about access (see Khoapa & Gwala, 1973), the general emphasis of this period focused on physical or formal access to the university space.

2.3.2 Second generation research: 1980s to the late1990s – restructuring and massification

This period was characterised by a massive expansion of student enrolment. The new democratic dispensation was committed to an overhaul, restructuring and transformation of higher education in an attempt at redressing the injustices of the past. This was seen in what has been termed a "demographic revolution" in how, between 1993 and 2000, there was a sharp increase of Black South African students matriculating from secondary schooling and gaining access into South African universities from 40% to 60% of the total student population (Cooper & Subotzky, 2001). This demographic revolution resulted in a significant change in the student body between 1994 to 2000, and if Coloured and Indian students are included in the "Black" category, the Black student composition increased to 74% (see Cooper & Subotzky, 2001; Department of Education, 2004). This resulted in greater heterogeneity in the student population, with students displaying a diversity of skills, knowledge and resources (Peat, Dalziel, & Grant, 2000a, 2000b). It should be noted that the democratisation of access into higher education and the de-segregation, affected predominately the historically white universities, as a large number of students took advantage of these changes. However, historically Black universities largely remained the same, in terms of racial demographics.

In response to the above, a new generation of studies has emerged that places the idea of "educational disadvantage" on the higher education agenda (Badat, 1994). It was under the above mentioned background that Morrow coined the idea of "epistemological access", arguing that "mere formal access to institutions which distribute knowledge is different from, and is not sufficient condition for, epistemological access", which is concerned about the standards of practice or "learning how to become a participant in academic practice" (Morrow, 2001, pp. 40-41). For Morrow, this process that, though mediated by the instructor, largely depends on the students themselves accepting their part in the process. The challenge is for the campus environment to play a critical role in assisting students to achieve this epistemological access. In contrast, to Morrow who attributes a large degree of student responsibility for accessing academic practices and the intellectual environment, Jansen (2001, pp. 3-4) identifies institutions as key to facilitating epistemological access, arguing that the politics of knowledge is critical in this process, in terms of "how it is organised, its value basis, its politics, and its power". This period also saw a proliferation of academic development and support initiatives devising multiple strategies in attempting to meet the needs of the so-called "non-traditional students" (see Boughey, 2003, 2005, 2007).

During this period, there was also an attempt at revisiting earlier academic performance discourses and academic support strategies. For example, King (1993, p. 200) dismissed academic development programmes in universities as beginning to legitimate entitlement and claimed that such programmes, reinforced the thinking that "it is the lecturer, the curriculum and the university that need to change, not the student". Elaborating on the challenges in enabling epistemological access for this category of students, Slonimsky (1994) suggests that as a consequences of South Africa's learning histories and inequality, which are very different from the epistemological culture of teaching and learning in schools, some learners begin to experience what could be termed "educational alienation". In an attempt to explain the specialisation of an epistemological culture at university level, Craig (1996) examines the idea of "academic form". That is, looking at the way in which academic form specialises knowledge, and the implications of various permutations of this form and content relations for academic learning. Craig argues that students who have met the requirements for formal access to higher education, but are products of authoritarian schooling, may potentially have far steeper curves to climb for learning.

More recently, following the theoretical contributions of Bernstein (2000) and his ideas on knowledge structures, Muller (2006) examined the importance of sequence and progression for curriculum design, and the potential this has on the academic performance and research productivity. In other words, these scholars foreground knowledge itself as an object of study and look at how knowledge is taken from the field of production, such as academic conferences, textbooks, conferences, industry and others, and the politics behind the selection of that knowledge into higher education curriculum.

Taking this scholarship forward, various scholars have extended Bernstein's conceptual understanding of knowledge and knowledge structures, to argue that every knowledge structure has a knower structure as well. These scholars have looked at various disciplines like Cultural Studies (Maton, 2013a), History (Bertram, 2008, 2012), Graphic Design (Giloi, 2015b, 2017) and others.[11]

2.3.4 Third generation of research: the 2000s – throughput and retention

This literature continues to focus on the student enrolment's "demographic revolution" in higher education, relating the massification that characterises South African higher education institutions to global trends and patterns. This is seen in how between 2011-2016,[12] African student enrolment increased by 2%, and (from 640 442 to 701 482), Colored student enrolment increased by 1% (from 59 312 to 61 963) (CHE, 2018). Indian student enrollment and white student enrolment remained the same at 47% and 50% enrolment respectively over the period.

---

[11] For a sense of this emerging body of work that uses Maton's legitimation Code Theory to extend on the work of Bernstein to foreground knowers as an object of study, please see http://www.legitimationcodetheory.com/postgraduate-research.html

[12] These are the current and latest higher education statistics from the CHE (2018). They will be subject to change as soon as the 2017-2018 higher education statistics are publicly released.

Below is a graphical representation of the actual percentage of the student enrolment of the 2015 student racial demographics in South African higher education:

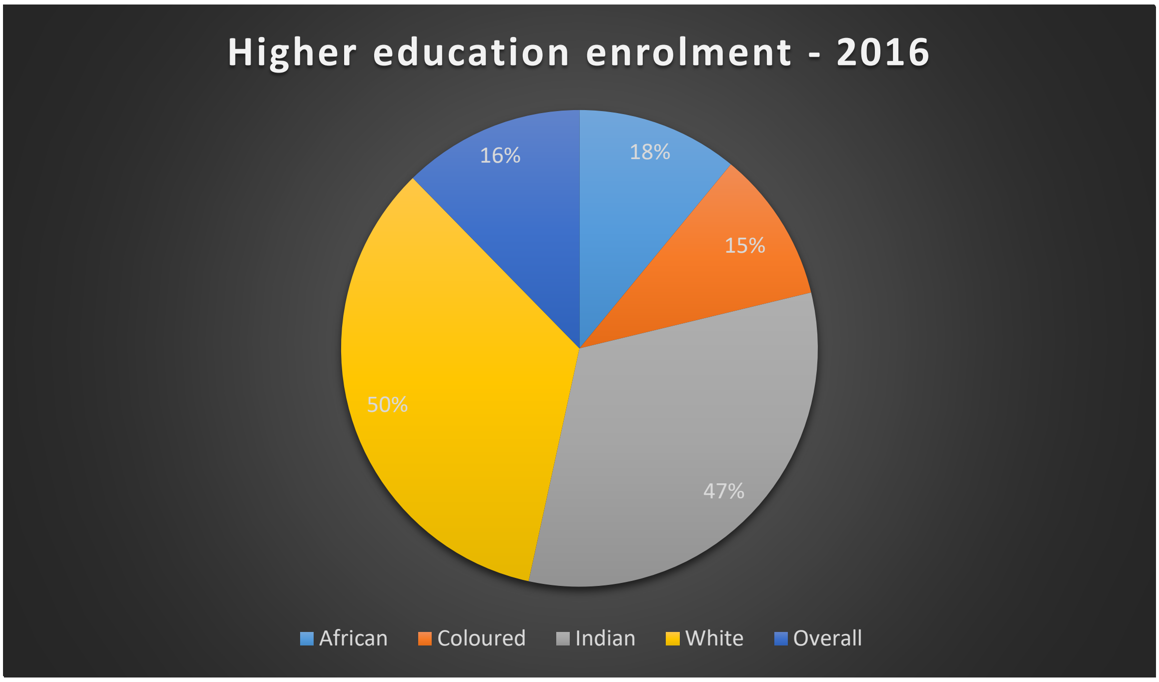


Figure 2.1: South African higher education student demographics by 2016. The table was constructed from the data provided by the CHE (2018).

Within this literature, there appears a stronger focus on issues of accountability and cost effectiveness in government policy which have caused a shift from a concern with "educational disadvantage" to questions around throughput and retention (CHE, 2010a). Depending on underlying approaches, several trends are identified within this generation of literature. The first trend attempts to measure students' success or failure based on input and output indicators. These include throughput rates, graduation rates, dropout rates, cohort analysis and others – with the aim of assessing them and using them as key variables with a bearing on academic performance, funding, programme profile and others (see CHE, 2010b; Dobson, 1999). The Department of Education (2001) National Plan sets the scene by viewing student performance in South African institutions of higher learning as systemic inefficiencies, which describes it in terms of mismatch between total number of graduates and the total number of enrolments in any one year; high failure rate, high dropout rate, a systemic "wastage" of financial and human resources. The second trend apparent within this generation of literature involves studies that attempt to trace back and locate the concept of epistemological access with the general normative paradigms of social justice regarding the values and principles of democracy, access equality, equity and human rights (Boughey, 2005, 2007; Setati, 2008), drawing largely on identity or culturalist perspectives. It is in this context that Morrow (1994) re-argued the idea of epistemological access, cautioning about the danger of promoting an "entitlement" culture as it may lead to students neglecting their learning responsibilities. The third trend seen within this generation includes an unprecedented proliferation of introspective research on students' academic performance, officially undertaken by the institutions, driven by their senate, Academic Planning Units or research centres. These include institutional environment and culture surveys on various aspects of institutional transformation (see Lewins, 2007; Louw & Finchilescu, 2003). Other scholars looking at access to higher education have sought to extend the notion of access to "access testing", arguing that a significant number of students come from predominantly poor backgrounds and are thus; "underprepared" for the academic demands of higher education (Ratangee, 2007). Ratangee (2007) argues that "good access testing" would help enable the admission policy of the higher education institution to facilitate placement in foundation programmes or other similar programmes. In other words, students would be given access to higher education, not only based on their academic performance in secondary school, but also numeracy, literacy and other measures in response to what was deemed as the structural challenges and "dysfunctionality" of the public schooling system in South Africa (see for example Maringe & Moletsane, 2015; Spaull, 2015; Wilkinson, 2015).

Looking at this literature, there is an implicit assumption that access testing methods will help ensure that higher education institutions move beyond the reliance on secondary schooling academic performance, which tends to disadvantage students who come from disadvantaged schools; and begin to look at other cognitive measures that will help ensure that students get some form of "fair" or "just" assessment admission policy. Scholars such as Dhunpath and Vithal (2014) and Boughey (2003) have argued against this understanding of access, suggesting that notions of representing and perceiving students as "underprepared" result in higher education institutions themselves not transforming and rather attempting to "fix" the students, who need to fit into the higher education context. This is seen in how proposed measures such as the Placement Test in English for Educational Purposes, an English language test which incorporates teaching, modelling and practice in attempting to predict future performance through language (Ratangee, 2007, p. 7).

The apparent shift in the literature is from conceptualising access to higher education as largely focusing on the "demographic revolution" that occurred through the higher education student enrolment in the early 1990s, to now focusing on the need to access the knowledge goods of the university. This shift is important in that it shows that access to higher education does not necessarily result in students accessing the intellectual, theoretical and knowledge goods that disseminated in the academy. Thus, this section looked at the contested notion of access to higher education and how it relates to knowledge production.

I now turn to the policy tension of post-apartheid South Africa and what this means for how knowledge and knowers are legitimated.

2.3 Policy tensions and contestations

The new democratic government introduced the Education White Paper 3: A Programme for the Transformation of Higher Education (1997) (hereafter referred to as White Paper 3) in an attempt to respond to the above outlined challenges that were facing higher education in South Africa. The country was confronted with particular kinds of tensions and challenges that had to be balanced (Cloete & Moja, 2005). These included the tensions brought about by how a democratised higher education system could become more equitable in terms of access for large numbers of Black students registered in what was deemed “cheap” courses (see Cloete & Moja, 2005), such as the then popular biblical studies and language majors. It was also foreseen that two problems could possibly emerge out of such a system. The first was a growth in enrolment figures and a massive increase in student-to-faculty ratios, with the likelihood of a drastic reduction in quality. The second problem was that these courses would not necessarily provide skills in critically needed areas meant to stimulate economic and industrial growth (Cloete & Moja, 2005). As a result, the transformed system of higher education could be more equitable, but contribute little to socioeconomic development. To address the development needs of society and provide manpower for the labour market, in a knowledge-driven and knowledge-dependent society, with the ever-changing high-level competencies and expertise necessary for the growth and prosperity of a modern economy; the White Paper 3 recommended that higher education teach and train people to: fulfil specialised social functions; enter the learned professions; or pursue vocations in administration, trade, industry, science and technology and the arts (Department of Education, 1997b, pp. 3-4).

Although the White Paper 3 does not mention what knowledge is and how it is organised, it nonetheless places great emphasis on the role of knowledge in serving what could be termed a “dual epistemic function”. Firstly, the Education White Paper 3 notes that knowledge and the possession of skills will help drive the South African economy to participate more globally and competitively as the population gains skills, and becomes employed and contributes productively to the development of the country. Secondly, the White Paper is infused with a social justice element in arguing that knowledge will help empower the needs of society. This results in Muller and Subotzky (2001) suggesting that in White Paper 3, the work of knowledge producers is central to the life of all citizens.

The report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions (2008) (hereafter referred to as the Soudien report),[13] identifies knowledge and the production of knowledge in curriculum as a key contested terrain yet to be transformed. Although quiet on what knowledge is, whose knowledge is privileged and how knowledge is legitimated in relation to the history of South Africa, the Soudien report does comment on the appropriateness of higher education curriculum in relation to the post-Apartheid context. The Committee found that the transformation of what is taught and learnt in institutions, constitutes one of the most difficult challenges this sector is facing. This, the Committee referred to as the “epistemological transformation”, that is, the concern with how knowledge is conceived, constructed and transmitted. In light of this, it was recommended that institutions initiate an overall macro review of their undergraduate and postgraduate curricula, so as to assess curricula’s appropriateness and relevance in terms of the social, ethical, political and technical skills and competencies embedded. In other words, does the curriculum prepare young people for their role in South Africa and the world in the context of the challenges peculiar to the 21st century? Given the decontextualised approaches to teaching and learning that are evident in virtually every institution (see Boughey & McKenna, 2016), it was recommended that institutions give consideration to the development of curriculum approaches that sensitise students to the place of, and the issues surrounding South Africa, on the African continent and in the world at large.

---

[13] This committee was chaired by the then Deputy Vice Chancellor at the University Cape Town, Professor Crain Soudien. Hence the Committee and its report came to be subsequently called the Soudien Report.

More recently, the CHE’s “Access and throughput in South African Higher Education: Three case studies” offers a critical comment on knowledge, its production and students’ experiences of what the report terms “official knowledge” (CHE, 2010b, p. 156), that is, curriculum that is shaped and informed by national imperatives regarding what counts as valid and legitimate knowledge and what should be excluded (see for example Apple, 1993, 2014). Apple’s (1993, 2014) argument is that, education is deeply political and infused with the politics of culture, privilege and power, in which the curriculum

> is never simply a neutral assemblage of knowledge, somehow appearing in the texts and classrooms of a nation. It is always part of a selective tradition, someone’s selection, some group’s vision of legitimate knowledge. It is produced out of the cultural, political, and economic conflicts, tensions, and compromises that organize and disorganize a-people…the decision to define some groups’ knowledge as the most legitimate, as official knowledge, while other groups’ knowledge hardly sees the light of day, says something extremely important about who has power in society (Apple, 1993, p. 222).

The CHE (2010b) draws from Apple’s ideas above, and links with Gururani’s (2002, p. 315) argument that knowledge is inherently a “culturally coded set of ideas and events that are imbricated in power and authority”, and notes how we ought to be careful in unpacking what gets to be defined as “knowledge” and how it is “circulated, transformed and transmitted.” The report comments on the student experiences of negotiating higher education knowledge in curriculum. It also comments on what one could refer to as the “epistemological mismatch” between lecturers and students; with students suggesting that if they are seen to be challenging what is “legitimate” or “official knowledge” in the classroom, they are marginalised and failed for not “understanding” the material. For instance, the report notes that:

> It became clear in the course of the research for this study that such ideological battles are often waged in the classroom, and often in the context of a serious mismatch

> between student and staff perceptions. *A few students felt that there was little space within the institution to contest what is currently viewed as 'legitimate' knowledge.* They contend that lecturers do not encourage them to push the boundaries of what they are learning and often dismiss their arguments by saying that they lack proof or that they are unscientific in their approach (emphasis added) (CHE, 2010a, p. 156).

This results in the construction of a perception of an intolerance of epistemological difference in higher education, together with the seemingly "absolute power lecturers are perceived to wield in determining a student's success", in ensuring that the "official knowledge" is reinforced and maintained, in order for students to negotiate higher education and pass (CHE, 2010a, p. 158). This study contributes to the body of work that focuses on how knowledge is constructed, transmitted and evaluated in higher education curriculum, mainly Political Studies, with a focus on the PDIS programme. While acknowledging the importance of pedagogic practices in teaching and learning, and in how knowledge is transmitted and disseminated (see for example Boud, Cohen, & Sampson, 2014; Bovill, Jordan, & Watters, 2015; Bryson, 2016), this study focused on knowledge itself in the PDIS programme, as a contested and at times opposing field of power and influence.

I now critically discuss academic disciplines and their implications for how they "discipline" and legitimate knowledge and the agents within them.

2.4 Academic disciplines and the "disciplining" of knowledge

Disciplines represent knowledge fields with their very own knowledge communities. Bernstein (2000, p. 52) conceptualises disciplines as "singulars" each with its own unique name and "specialised discrete discourse of intellectual texts, practices, and rules of entry". Becher and Trowler (2001) regard disciplines as "academic tribes", each with their own intellectual values, disciplinary practices and their own modes of inquiry.

Tracing the history of disciplines and their roles in society, Muller and Young (2014, p. 128) argue that disciplines have traditionally been associated with universities. This is seen in how disciplines have traditionally been thought of as liberal education of the elite. This was mostly expressed by, and seen through, the Humanities such as classics, philosophy, literature and language. In Europe, the Humanities had a very long and unchallenged dominance since the founding of the early universities in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Rooted in the legacy of religion, the Humanities disciplines became what was then the primary curriculum for elite education, and by late nineteenth century early twentieth century, became unquestioned as the best way of preparing and socialising men of the appropriate lineage to rise to positions of power both at home and abroad (Muller & Young, 2014, p. 128).

The German reforms of the early nineteenth century then led to the emergence of the idea of research-based universities, primarily scientific and technological bent (Turner, 1971, 1875). Since that period, universities, together with technological sciences, have been seen as the main sources of higher levels of knowledge workers for what is now globally regarded as the "knowledge economy" (Muller & Young, 2014, pp. 128-

129). As a consequence of this, Humanities been gradually and progressively displaced. Their claims at offering “powerful knowledge” now has competition in the emerging disciplines of Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) subjects that appear more attractive and are well funded. This is because of the subjects’ relation to technological applications, industrial development and inventions through fields such as Medicine that offer industrialised and developing states direct access to the capitalist demands of the market. Muller and Young (2014) argue that today’s disciplines can be understood as secularised forms of those established initially in mediaeval university in the form of the Trivium and Quadrivium. It is through this legacy that we get ideas such as knowledge and learning “for their own sake” and the notion of “academic freedom”.

Biglan (1973) differentiates between “hard” and “soft” disciplines, which tend to differ in the degree to which they do or do not operate within the paradigmatic consensus within the scientific community. For example, Becher (1981) argues that “soft” disciplines have loosely structured, very individualistic culture that is built around a solitary researcher with a low number of publications, without demand on the apparatus of students and support as support for the broader research project. Political Studies in this context is considered a “soft” discipline similar to other Humanities and Social Sciences disciplines, because of how the field is concerned with relations and use of power, citizenship, democratic governance, war, violence and others, and in not making expensive technological demands and applied research as demanded by the “hard” disciplines. It also tends to be more student-focused.

Becher (1989), building up on Biglan’s (1973) distinction between “hard” and “soft” disciplines, identified four kinds of categories of discipline, namely; “pure hard” and “pure soft”, and “applied hard” and “applied soft”, on the basis of cultural and epistemological differences. “Pure hard” knowledge can be described as cumulative in nature, in how teaching and learning is linear, uncontentious with the central student focus being the retention of facts in mass lectures and problem-based seminars. In disciplines that are “pure hard”, the focus is instilling in the students, the ability to solve logically structured problems (Lindblom-Ylännea, 2006, p. 287), separating the individual and their identity from their discipline.

“Pure soft” knowledge is more holistic and qualitative in nature, and is often seen in how teaching and learning methods include face-to-face meetings and tutorials include debates and discussions. Creativity of thought and fluency in one’s expression is emphasised in student learning. Fields such as Political Studies could relatively be seen as operating in, and belonging to, this domain. This is because of how the field places significant emphasis on students learning, having their critical voice, and participating in the construction of knowledge in the classroom.

I disagree with the simplistic categorisation of different disciplines as “hard”, “soft”, “pure” and “applied”, and support Mathieson's (2012, pp. 550-551) suggestion that the overemphasis on, what she terms as “disciplinary epistemologies”, constitutes an essentialist understanding of knowledge that seeks to present disciplines as overly structural in shaping and underestimating the agency of the academics. The epistemological imposing the notions of "hard"/"soft" and "applied" in disciplines de-emphasise the agency of the academic practitioners within the disciplines, to shape and play an active role in the cultures of the discipline themselves. The epistemological essentialism of disciplines, that is, the over-focus on the "character" of the disciplines, as purely facts-based and transmission orientated ("pure hard") or as holistic and enabling the critical voice of the students ("pure soft"), fails to balance structural forces impacting higher education which has moved away from the domains of the disciplines to the demands of the state and the pressures of the market forces (Becher & Trowler, 2001; Mathieson, 2012). Furthermore, the epistemological essentialism also fails to acknowledge the extent to which the nature of knowledge itself is constantly changing (Barnett, 2000). For instance, Lyotard (1984) argues that the foundational knowledge in the disciplines is constantly being replaced in the postmodern period by the new and grand narrative of performativity, in which knowledge itself is not judged by its very power, but through its use value.

Furthermore, disciplines are not only about "truth seeking". They are also about power, promotion, prestige and identity for the agents who belong in them, and who control what Bourdieu (2011) terms "symbolic capital". This is seen in how;

> Disciplines are not simply regarded as apparatuses for the organisation of knowledge. They are viewed as *the institutional mechanism for regulating the market relations between consumers and the producers of knowledge [...] disciplines are political structures that mediate crucially between the political economy and the production of knowledge" ...* Disciplines and paradigms are *constitutive of each other, but they are not the same*. Paradigm stands for the entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques and so on shared by the members of a given [scientific] community… it is the fundamental image of the subject matter within a science (emphasis added) (Keet, 2014b, p. 1).

In the above quotation, Keet (2014b) conceptualises academic disciplines beyond the confines of knowledge production and the organisation of formal thought. They are seen to embody within them, the market place of ideas between the producers and consumers, agents' identities, recognitions, sanctions, and others. That is disciplines permeate and inform the entire social life of the university;

> More so than any other social and intellectual arrangement, the disciplines permeate the life of the university. Academics and students are streamed; professional, academic and student identities are constructed; scientific authorities are established and maintained; social statuses are affirmed; social spaces are mapped out; recognitions, rewards and sanctions are distributed; and epistemic injustices legitimated. The disciplines and their authorities thus create lineages and streams by which certain groups are more speedily advanced within the disciplines and the academy, not simply on the basis of a fictitious conception of merit and excellence, but also on the basis of the self-perpetuation of the interest of groups who are already in power. It is thus, surprising, perhaps not, that universities often underestimate, or deliberately misrecognise the steering authority of power (symbolic, social, cultural and

> intellectual) and money as reproductive forces of stagnant practices (Keet, 2014a, p. 102).

In South Africa, Gibbons et al.'s (1994) argument that Mode 1[14] disciplinary knowledge is being replaced by Mode 2 knowledge, which is produced in the context of application, had a significant influence on the democratic government and its higher education policy. This policy greatly influenced the shift from disciplinary departments to new and emerging interdisciplinary schools and programmes across many universities, in particular the historically white universities, as an attempt at responding to the complexities and demands of a post-apartheid society (see for example Muller, 2015; Muller & Young, 2014; M. Young & Muller, 2016). However, research findings in South Africa (Ensor, 2004) mirror similar findings in Europe (Henkel, 2005) in showing that despite significant changes in the higher education landscape, disciplines continue to be powerful forces that structure and construct academic identities and practices. For South Africa, this focus on Mode 2 knowledge resulted in the emergence of the social constructionist approach to knowledge and curricula that underpinned the Outcomes Based Education policy (hereafter OBE). This was deeply contested by higher education scholars who argued that social constructionism and its progressive educational ideologies was seriously flawed in failing to account for the significance of disciplinary knowledge. The importance of foundational knowledge and others, was seen as critical before students could be expected to think in interdisciplinarity and cross-disciplinary ways.

Very much linked to the notion of academic disciplines and how they construct particular kinds of knowledges and identities, is the notion of “signature pedagogies”. Shulman (2005) suggests that any profession (and in this context, a field) has within it, particular kinds of pedagogical practices regarding its assumptions around teaching and learning. Signature pedagogies refer to the types of teaching that are employed to induct and socialise novice professionals[15] into the field. In signature pedagogies, the novices are instructed in three critical aspects of the fundamental aspects of professional work, that is, to think, to perform and to act with integrity (Shulman, 2005). First, signature pedagogies have a surface structure. This consists of concrete, operational practices of teaching and learning, of showing, demonstrating, questioning and answering, experiments, of approaching and withholding knowledge. In the PDIS programme, the surface structure of the field includes seminar critiques, presentations, class participation, class discussions, essay questions, and exams/exam portfolio that are designed to elicit some form of critical engagement and contribution from students.

---

[14] Mode 1 refers to the traditional conceptions of paradigms and disciplines as characterised by the hegemony of theoretical and disciplinary knowledge as found in universities, academic departments and others (see Gibbons, 2000; Gibbons et al., 1994; Huff, 2000). Mode 2 indicates a shift in the traditional production of knowledge, where the move speaks to the emerging globalization of knowledge through industry practitioners and application, and the move to transdisciplinary and others. Huff (2000, p. 288) does remind us that in order to move to Mode 2, Mode 1 and its understanding is critical.

[15] This term is employed by Shulman (2005) to refer to the students who are being inducted and trained into the profession that they are joining. I am aware of the pedagogical implication of employing this term in fields such as Education, where we believe that students do not come into our classrooms as “empty vessels” to be deposited legitimate knowledge (Freire, 2018). They are co-constructors of knowledge in our classrooms, and thus, this term is used carefully and in relation to the critical discussion on Shulman’s study on signature pedagogies.

Secondly, any signature pedagogy has a deep structure. This refers to a set of assumptions about how best to impart a certain body of knowledge in the field. In relation to the study, the discipline of Political Studies' basic assumptions around the field is that that there is no absolute "truth" or objective reality". This allows the field to be framed in an open and deeply contested manner; thus, allowing different voices to re-emerge in the field that all seek to influence, contest or re-position the "official knowledge" in the discipline. Finally, any signature pedagogy is characterised by what it is not. This is seen in how, although Political Studies may be similar in scope and focus with Sociology, Anthropology and other related disciplines; the central focus of the field, such as African security, war and conflict, gender politics, African trade and tariffs, and others; separate the field from others.

I should emphasise that academic practices are central to the existence and maintenance of disciplines. These practices comprise of the communities of critical enquirers collaboratively and often competitively to find out what is true. For Morrow (2009), academic practices depend on the community of practices to ensure their existence and maintenance. This is seen in how disciplinary cultures tend to impose their own particular kinds of research, teaching and learning (de Biel, 2016). Christie and Maton (2011, p. 1) bring to our attention the reality of living in an era where technical innovations, new information technologies and communication are "democratising the creation of knowledge" and undermining "traditional notions of scholarly authority." This has meant that there is a tendency towards the dissolution of boundaries between the academic disciplines as well as the world beyond the academy (de Bie, 2016).

Thus far in this chapter, I have critically explored the field of higher education (both international and national), looking at the debates around knowledge production, its legitimation and who counts as a legitimate knower in the field. I then provided a discussion of the (broader) emergence of the 2015-2016 student movement protests in the South African higher education landscape which have placed the issues of transformation and decolonisation back on the national agenda – foregrounding issues access to higher education (both formal and epistemological), central to the student movements call for transformation. I then critically reflected on, and discussed, academic disciplines and how they, not only organise and structure knowledge, but also impart in their own agents - prestige, power, sanctions, rewards, identities and others. I end this chapter with a close interrogation of the emergent South African higher education transformation discourses that appear to conflate epistemologies with knowledge, and how this study seeks to fill that gap in re-centering knowledge.

2.5 Decolonisation, transformation

In this study, I have purposively chosen to epistemically locate the broader debates within higher education transformation and decolonisation within the 2015 South African higher education student movements and their critique of Political Studies as needing to be more inclusive at the level of knowledge. This does not mean that I conceptualise the calls for transformation and decolonisation as a new phenomenon. This is seen in how these debates could be located as early as the 1950s to1960s with Nyerere’s (1974, 1987) African socialism; Nkrumah’s (1966) call for an end to imperialism in Africa; Said’s (1978) caution on the oriental Other and its colonial imaginations; Mudimbe’s (1988) clarion call for African intellectuals to confront what he termed the “colonial archive” in how Africans have historically been written about in Eurocentric thought and others. Thus, calls for transformation and decoloniality within Africa are not a new phenomenon emerging in 2015.

One of the critical consequences of colonialism that has not been sufficiently analysed has been the ways in which the formerly colonised people “acquire knowledge, understand their history, comprehend their world, and define themselves” (Bulhan, 2015, p. 241). This has resulted in Latin American scholars presenting a critical analysis on colonised ways of knowing, behaving, and being which has been seen with the introduction of key concepts such as “coloniality”, “coloniality of power” and “colonial difference” (see Badat, 2017b; Bulhan, 2015; Mignolo & Walsh, 2018). These concepts help illuminate the consequences of colonialism beyond the domain of the military occupation, and allows us to think through colonisation as a western epistemology, ontology and ideology that emanates from the hegemonic distortion of the colonised subjects. I unpack these terms much more closely in the following sections, and how they relate to the broader focus of the study.

If colonisation has meant the structural organisation and arrangement of the traditional African societies by the colonial powers through the use of brutal force (Mudimbe, 1988), then coloniality refers to the “enduring patterns of power [and] a way of thinking and behaving that emerged from colonialism but survived long after its seeming demise” (Bulhan, 2015). This refers to the manner in which coloniality draws attention to the Eurocentric ways of being, thinking and knowing that continue to privilege western scholarship and knowledge production, and push Africa in general and the global South[16] in particular, to the margins of global thought (see Bulhan, 2015, p. 241). What characterises western knowledge is the notion of an “epistemic monoculture”, that is premised on the social construction of a singular identity, one that legitimates whiteness and white identity as superior, rational and normal. This, in other words, refers to, and reminds us of the colonial introduction of western colonial modes of being - the conceptualising the world through the Manichean allegoric mode of binaries between White/Black, Good/Evil, knowledge/myths, Civilized/Uncivilized, Christian/Barbarians and other linear conceptions of social reality (Grosfoguel, 2007; Maldonado-Torres, 2016; Mignolo, 2012). This has resulted in what Mignolo (2012) has termed “bordergnosis” in reflecting our inability to escape thinking outside of the former coloniser’s world perspective. In other words, colonially imposed foreign borders, tend to symbolise the epistemic, epistemological and existential entrapment from which Africa has not been able to dismantle, and one which it has not been able to challenge or begin to look beyond western normative frameworks. Scholars from the global South have introduced the notion of “decoloniality” as an epistemic and existential response to the implications of coloniality in legitimating certain knowledges and particular kinds of knowers (Gordon, 1997, 2007; Mignolo, 2011).

---

[16] The term “Global South” is not necessarily used as a geographical area as Comaroff and Comaroff (2012) caution us, but rather to refer to the intellectual and epistemological alliances between those who are categorised as “oppressed” and marginalised in intellectual community. This includes, in particular, scholars such as Dussel (1993), Torres (2007) and Gordon (2015b) who critically interrogate what colonisation at the level of being, knowledge and knowing looks like. This is also extensively explained in Chapter Four, on Positionality.

Decoloniality is an important process as it is a critical inquiry in engaging the questions of knowledge and epistemology in attempting to understand others’ worldviews and the limits these impose on Western philosophy (Mignolo, 2011). Decoloniality, in common with agendas of other colonised and subjugated people of the world, asserts a “definitive rejection of being told…what we are, what our ranking is in relation to the ideal of humanitas and what we have to do to be recognised as such” (Mignolo, 2011, p. 161). Scholars such as Imbo (1998, p. 131) caution against this understanding of decolonising knowledge, suggesting that it would seek to reduce decoloniality as being a “rush toward that inviting community called ‘humanity’ [which] turns out to be no less than succumbing to a world defined by Europe”.

In an attempt at transcending some of the above conceptual challenges, Mignolo and Walsh (2018) have called for what they refer to as “epistemic disobedience” in “delinking” from western epistemological assumptions around knowledge production, and moving away from the “detached and neutral observation”, as demanded by western, enlightened thought. This means that both the geo-politics (that is, geographical location of knowledge production) and bio-politics (the ontological politics of being) necessitate the importance of disobedience in coming up with alternative ways of producing knowledge outside of western normative frameworks. Some scholars have drawn attention to the significant connection between biography, geography, social location and knowledge making.

One of the central critiques of western knowledge systems focuses on the argument that western or European epistemology is the presupposed irrelevance of the “persona of the scholar”, under the assumption that scholars function as “value-neutral analysts” (Wallerstein, 1997, p. 95). In other words, for western epistemology, there is a compartmentalised and clearly demarcated separation between the knower and the known, with the knower expected to separate their ontological being in producing this “value neutral” thought. This is especially seen in how, for both the knower and the knowledge to be legitimate, the distance between the knower and the known confers objectivity and legitimacy. This ontological and epistemological separation between the knowledge and the knower in western Eurocentric thinking is characterised by the “disembodied and un-located assumptions about knowing and knowledge making”, which tends to obfuscate the “hidden geo- and bio-graphical politics of knowledge of imperial epistemology” (Mignolo, 2011, p. 118).

The calls for decolonisation focus explicitly on the rejection of the western epistemic traditions that call upon the detachment of the known (colonial epistemology) from the knower (colonial ontology). This means that the western epistemic traditions rest upon the separation of the body and mind, reason and nature, in an attempt to ensure that the ontological subject (that is, the socialised political subject) is rationally separated from, and is in a position to produce, "objective" knowledge that is separate from time, space and context. In western epistemologies, the knower is able to know and understand the known without being of the social world. This results in what is supposed to be the production of knowledge that is de-contextualised and universal. This has led to creation of a "hegemonic notion of knowledge production" (Mbembe, 2016, p. 33) as scientific, positivist and universal, at the expense of the knower, knowing and the political processes of how this knowledge is constructed, legitimated and transmitted. For Badat (2017b) and others, this European epistemology has resulted in an "epistemicide" under colonialism of local knowledge systems, which are seen as an antithesis to legitimate knowledge, colonial modernity and the presupposed development of society (see de Sousa Santos et al., 2016; Mignolo & Walsh, 2018).

In order to help illuminate the colonial foundation and legitimation of knowledge, decolonial scholars ask us to focus on the knower rather than the known. This helps expose how the knower is "always implicated, geo- and body-politically in the known". Recent decolonisation scholarship seeks to re-position and re-look at the recent South African students' demand for higher education transformation and decolonisation, through a critical focus on the "politics of curriculum", arguing that *what is taught*, *how it is taught* and *who teaches it* is implicitly about social reproduction, preservation and the legitimation of knowledge. This is seen in how curriculum "preserves and disseminates knowledge, and in the process, confers legitimacy to knowledge…Often, this is not the knowledge of all groups but of particular social groups" (Badat, 2017, p. 10). This speaks to the manner in which curriculum raises questions of differentiated power of the different social groups, along the power/subordinate, privileged/disadvantaged, race, gender and other forms of marginality. These include questions of what counts as knowledge; how knowledge is selected, sequenced, paced and organised; who counts as a legitimate knower of this legitimate knowledge; and, for Gordon (2014); whether it is possible to begin to change the epistemological geography of reason away from the singular western epistemologies to possibly, what Mbembe (2017) refers to as a "pluriversity" of thoughts. Thus, Gordon's (2015a) and Mbembe's (2015) calls on us to focus on foregrounding knowledge as an object of study, in terms of how it is produced, selected, organised and evaluated. This could be seen as a decolonising process in looking at how knowledge and knowers are legitimated in the discipline of Political Studies.

Although the decolonial literature outlined above offers an illuminating and insightful gaze into scholars who are preoccupied with knowledge production, and the relationships between legitimate knowledge, knowing and knowers - the literature is limited in critically engaging with the structures of knowledge itself. This means that although the literature is insightful on the need to decolonise knowledge and the production of knowledge, the intrinsic processes involved in the structures of knowledge tend to be conflated and reduced to epistemologies, with only general discussions on “knowledge” itself (see for example Badat, 2017a; de Sousa Santos et al., 2016; Mignolo & Walsh, 2018). This is seen in how critical discussions on Eurocentric ways of knowledge and its operational functioning in marginalising knowledge from the global South, is not taken up to consider how particular kinds of knowledge are produced, organised, (re)focused and taken up from the field of production and into curriculum. This generative and underlying process is necessary to moving the scholarship of decolonisation beyond mere concern with epistemologies, but to critically interrogating and foregrounding knowledge.

In recent higher education decolonisation scholarship, some scholars have begun to foreground knowledge and how it is organised in different fields, drawing from the conceptual tools offered by LCT. I note in particular, recent works by Luckett (2018) and Giloi (2017) who have argued for the de-centering of western knowledge systems in higher education curriculum, teaching and learning practices, as well as in assessment using LCT to uncover the generative mechanisms and principles that legitimate knowledge claims in different fields (Giloi, 2017; Luckett, 2018; Metz, 2016). These works have looked at the fields of African Philosophy, Design education and Physics to see to what extent (exploring the different kinds of knowledge) knowers and valued gazes can be seen as a decolonisation process.

Commenting on the field of African Philosophy and the need to map out the different and often contradictory gaze(s) that are valued and legitimated, Luckett (2018) argues that;

> *The challenge currently facing the Humanities in post-colonial contexts is that Western thought is historically entangled in the inseparable processes of coloniality and modernity. The association of Western knowledge production with the colonial ‘civilization project’ and the effects of the geo-politics of knowledge production (its epistemic and distributive logics), mean that other forms of thought, especially those of colonized groups, have been negated and often destroyed.* Historically, in colonized societies, indigenous intellectual traditions tend to have been enunciated from outside the academy in less formalised contexts and forms; often from within anti-colonial political and social movements. The challenge for the ‘knower codes’ of the Humanities (where knower identities and subjectivities are strongly implicated in knowledge claims) is to denaturalize Western thought as universal and recover and recontextualize other intellectual traditions for teaching and learning in the academy. *How this is to be done is hotly contested – and nowhere more so than in the field of African philosophies where African intellectuals have struggled to counter the universal knowledge claims of Western thought and particularly Anglo-American analytic philosophy. As we will see, some African intellectuals argue for a place within the old knower hierarchies, while others want to overthrow it altogether, change the rules of the game and gain control of the field* (emphasis added) (Luckett, 2018, p. 2).

In the above quotation, Luckett (2018) critically engages with what could be seen as two competing challenges for African philosophy as a field of practice. Firstly, the field is committed to exploring and de-centering western knowledge and the re-introduction of African indigenous knowledge system back into the mainstream of African intellectual thought. This requires some form of historical disentanglement from the “shackles” of western thought and the need to challenge and produce counter hegemonic knowledge systems, rooted in Africa and in the global South. Secondly, the contradictory and often challenging discourses of African philosophy(ies) in which different scholars have conceptualised what this decolonisation would mean has resulted in arguments for global African inclusion in a new and reconstructed western thought (see Appiah, 2017; Appiah & Bhabha, 2018; Metz, 2016). Some have called for a total collapse of universal thought and re-construction of new and multiple epistemological systems (see Mbembe, 2015, 2016), while others have called for some form of de-centering of western thought and repositioning African philosophy from the global South as universal and much more inclusive, rooted in democratic thought, difference and social justice (see Gordon, 2011, 2013, 2015b).

In another work, Giloi (2017) shines a spotlight on a practice-based field of Graphic Design, calling for a critical exploration to make sense the kinds of knowers that are valued in the field. For academic fields such as Graphic Design, that do not have a body of knowledge that is highly codified (see Giloi, 2015b, 2017; Margolin, 2010) and well-defined and agreed upon, knowing and understanding the legitimacy claims as well as valued gazes regarding what is Graphic Design and what it is not, is important and is seen a decolonising process geared towards opening up the field to more knowers;

> Although calls to decolonise education can be seen as threats to replace existing curricula they can also be seen as an opportunity to scrutinise what is valued in design education and how this might be impacted by calls to decolonise. [I] makes use of Legitimation Code Theory (LCT) (Maton 2010a, 2014) to identify the underlying knowledge-knower structure of graphic design assessment, the significance of a specialist gaze for disciplines such as design is outlined. …As design education and the valued knowledge and knower are influenced by factors outside of academia, including technology, industry, practice and national education initiatives such as the internationalisation of curricula, design education is particularly vulnerable and open to change. This openness and the challenges of designing for complex problems in today's world, encourage the cultivation of multiple gazes that value different forms and sources of knowledge, knowing, doing and being. *This paper therefore presents the decolonised gaze as a gaze with the potential to strengthen the design knower in acquiring "multicentric ways of knowing/doing/being" (Dei 2013, p. 1) which better equip them to create designs that address complex real-world problems and contribute to positive social change* (emphasis added) (Giloi, 2017, p. 83).

In the above quotation, Giloi (2017) draws attention to the underlying mechanism and principles that inform what counts as valid knowledge claims and well as valuable gazes in Graphic Design. Positioned as a field that, although practice based, does not have organised body of work to draw from in terms of its foundational texts and theories – Giloi (2017) argues for a stronger emphasis on going beyond surface understanding of how epistemologies are formed within the field, but to look more closely at the organising patterns of knowledge so as to enable Graphic Design academics to construct their courses in ways that are socially just and inclusive. That for her, is part of the broader calls for decolonisation and enabling epistemological access, that is, access at the level of knowledge.

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have reflected upon the South African higher education transformation and decolonisation literature and how it tends to conflate epistemologies with knowledge. This opens a gap in the field in that there is a limited body of work that looks at how knowledge is produced, selected, organised and taken up in curriculum, as well as in assessment methods. In the next chapter, I explore the theoretical framings of the study, as well as specific theoretical tools that I drew from, and that enabled me to properly look at the valued knowledges, knowers and gazes that are legitimated in the field of Political Studies in general, and in the PDIS curriculum in particular.

Chapter Three

Theoretical framings and the lens they give

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I argued that the debates about decolonisation and transformation of knowledge have often failed to focus sufficiently on the nature of their target, knowledge itself. In this chapter, I outline the theoretical lens that I used in the research and look at how knowledge, knowers and gazes are valued and legitimated in Political Studies in general, and in the PDIS programme in particular. I begin with outlining the "theoretical underlabour" of the study, that is, Social Realism. It argues for "bringing knowledge back to the curriculum" (Young, 2007), in how it helped shape and inform the theoretical foundations of the study. I then move to discuss the theoretical and conceptual frames that were adopted in the study, that is, the Pedagogic Device and Maton's LCT tools, in particular Specialisation, and how they enabled me to have rich language of description of, not only how knowledge is organised, sequenced, paced and evaluated in PDIS curriculum, but also the different kinds of gaze(s) that are valued in the programme. All these frames are unpacked and explored in this chapter.

I now turn to the theoretical underlabour of this study, Social Realism, and how it helped inform this research.

3.2 Social Realism

I chose Social Realism for this study particularly because it provided an alternative to viewing knowledge beyond the binary domains of "positivist absolutism" (that is, knowledge as neutral, value free, objective and universal) and "constructivist relativism" (that is, knowledge as socially constructed, context-bound, and segmented). I come from a Humanities and Social Sciences background, in which the assumption about knowledge, the production of knowledge and its transmission is largely influenced by the social constructivist ways of thinking, in which reality is socially constructed and constantly negotiated with. Thus, my epistemological frustration with these two positions and the need to find "common ground", as recognised by Social Realism, was central to my use of Social Realism in this study;

> *Contra* positivism, the inescapable social character of knowledge but, contra constructivism, does not take this to inevitably entail relativism. In other words, rational objectivity in knowledge is acknowledged as itself, a fact (we do actually have knowledge) but it is also recognised as a *social* phenomenon (it is something that people do in socio-historical contexts) and is it is *fallible* rather than absolute or merely relative. This allows knowledge to be seen in itself, not merely as a reflection of either some essential truth or social power, but as something in its own right , whose different forms have effects for intellectual and educational practices (emphasis in original) (Maton & Moore, 2010, p. 2).

Maton and Moore (2010) suggest that by offering an alternative to the "epistemological dilemma" between positivism and constructivism, an analysis will no longer be limited to focusing on "either the formal and epistemological properties of knowledge or the play of power among actors in the social contexts of its production" (Maton & Moore, 2010, p. 5). In other words, Social Realism is important in that it allows us to go beyond binary modes of conceptualising between absolute positivism and relativist constructivist positions. This allows one to see and conceptualise reality as a complex interplay, of there being possible factual, knowledge established by the most probably claims and evidence, together with acknowledging individual experiences as people make sense of their own reality. This is called epistemological relativism, that is, the knowledge and understanding that our knowledge of the world is fallible, not absolute, and cannot be seen as essential truth (Maton, 2013a).

Social Realism draws heavily from the philosophical contributions of Critical Realist scholars such as Bhaskar (2008b) and Archer (1998). Critical Realist scholars contend that our knowledge of the world is not universal, absolute, invariant, trans-historical and essential Truth (Maton, 2013a, pp. 10-11). This means that we can never claim to know the world and our place in it fully - that is, our knowledge of the world is fallible or corrigible (Archer, 1995; Sayer, 1997). One of the significant reasons that we have this fallible epistemological understanding is that our knowledge of the world is concept dependent (Vorster, 2010). That is, our understanding of the world is reliant on the concepts that are known and available to us (Maton, 2013a; Sayer, 1999; Vorster, 2010). This requires constant attempts to "dig deeper" on the causal mechanisms that construct and influence our social reality.

Critical Realist scholars argue that "what we experience are sensations, the images of things in the real world, not the things directly", thus suggesting that there are two critical steps involved in experiencing the world (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2009, p. 7). Firstly, we experience the thing itself and the sensation that it conveys to us; and secondly we also experience the mental processing of it. This means that Critical Realism is located between empiricism (that is, we know the world through our experience of it through our senses or induction) and idealism (that is, we know the world through mental reasoning or deduction).

The central focus of this study is located within the generative mechanisms, which are hidden and whose interactions are complex, Bhaskar argues for what he refers to as "retroduction", which is the "theoretical reconstruction of a plausible explanation of the conditions and mechanisms necessary for a particular turn of events to occur" (Hodgkinson & Starkey, 2011, p. 362). Bhaskar also introduces the term "abduction", which enables a much more deeper conceptualisation of the phenomenon by "placing and interpreting the original ideas about the phenomena in the frame of a new set of ideas" (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 2002, p. 91). This means that abduction uses concepts and theories (in this study, LCT) to "reinterpret" or "recontextualise" the selected data about the phenomenon being looked at, thereby moving from the empirical (that is, moving from the domain of the social experiences itself) to deeper levels of reality.

It should be noted that epistemological relativism does not necessary support judgement relativism, that is, the notion that judgment amongst different kinds of knowledge and their claim to meaning making is not possible. This means that Critical Realism supports the notion that there are "intersubjective bases for determining the relative merits of competing claims to insight" (Maton, 2013a, p. 10). A significant number of disciplines in the Humanities and Social Science adopt the interpretivist and social constructivist paradigms suggests that our experiences of the world, and the manner in which we make sense of our lives, construct our own reality and constitute our own subjective truths (see for example Dean, 2018; Thanh & Thanh, 2015). This means that it is possible to argue that definitive truth has not been, and may never be obtained, and that there exists means of judging the different knowledge claims. Thus, critical preference over some knowledge claims does not necessarily entail trans-historical belief (Maton, 2013a, p. 10).

Unlike Critical Realism, Social Realist scholars are more concerned with substantive rather than philosophical issues in education, as suggested by Arbee (2012). This means that Social Realism's focus lies in the "properties of knowledge producing fields of social practice and its problematic concerns the structured principles and procedures developed in those fields that provide the basis for rational objectivity in knowledge" (Maton & Moore, 2010, p. 5). Social Realism's focus on the centrality of knowledge is linked with the pursuit of social justice in terms of both the creation of "epistemologically powerful forms of knowledge and establishing the means to enable them to be accessible to everyone" (Maton & Moore, 2010, p. 10). In relation to the study, looking at the organising patterns and principles of knowledge and knowers that are enabled and promoted by the PDIS curriculum will help ensure that curriculum construction is done in a more socially just manner, and will help students have access to powerful and official knowledge. This will also help the lecturers construct, transmit as well as evaluate the constructed curriculum in an open and socially just, inclusive manner.

As mentioned above, Social Realism draws heavily from Critical Realism in its argument for a "depth" or "layered ontology", allowing the researcher to dig deeper beneath the surface to explore the conditions of society, and in this context, the PDIS curriculum and its underlying mechanism. In the following sections, I provide a brief introduction into some of the key conceptual tools that I drew from, both Critical Realism and Social Realism, that the study drew heavily on.

3.3 Realist ontology

Critical Realists suggest that there is reality that is impossible to know, that is, there is a reality that is "out there", that exists independently of our knowledge or perception (see Maton & Moore, 2010). This means that knowledge is "about something other than itself" (Maton & Moore, 2010, p. 4). The real world comprises both the natural world and the social world. Although the social world is socially constructed through our theories, discourses and analysis about it, it is "pre-constructed for any human being" (Fairclough, 2005, p. 922). This means that society "pre-exists the individual" (Corson, 1991, p. 233). In other words, while we do not create society, we have the agency to reproduce and transform it (Bhaskar, 1998). While social actors have causal powers to act, these are conditioned upon “pre-structured properties of social life” (Fairclough, 2005, p. 922). For realists, ontology must be distinguished from epistemology in calling for us to avoid what is termed the “epistemic fallacy” (Fairclough, 2005, pp. 921-922), and in avoiding the conflation of nature of reality with our *fallible* knowledge of reality. This does not therefore, imply that reliable knowledge about reality is easy to come by, but it does mean that we must reject the “judgmental relativism” that is, the intellectual and subjective view that all representations of the world are equally valid. Critical Realists therefore, assume a “stratified ontology”, which sees processes/events/structures as different strata of social reality with their own different properties.

Bhaskar (2008) suggests that it is possible to differentiate between three levels of reality: the empirical, which focuses on that which we can understand; and the actual, which focuses on events that can be experienced and can occur whether we are aware of them or not. Fairclough et al. (2002: 3) suggest that the actual emerges out of the causal powers of the real which includes “objects, their structures or natures and their causal powers and liabilities” or when the generative mechanisms are activated. These mechanisms may not always be perceivable, but they are nonetheless real (Vorster, 2010). Bhaskar (2008: 13) graphically represents this through the table below:

	Real	**Actual**	**Empirical**
Experiences	✓		
Events	✓	✓	
Mechanisms	✓	✓	✓

Table 3.1: The three domains of reality (Bhaskar, 2008a, p. 13).

It should be noted that these domains are hierarchically arranged, with the real being the foundation that gives rise to, and enables the actual, which in turn gives rise to the empirical. This therefore, means that Critical Realists view reality as being more complex and “much deeper than what we can observe or what happens” (Giloi, 2015a, p. 59). Accordingly, a significant amount of emphasis is given to looking at the underlying mechanisms than the events or the experiences, in attempting to explain why things happen as they do (Giloi, 2015a). In line with Critical Realism, Social Realism foregrounds knowledge with the aims “to see through appearances to the real structures that lie behind them but acknowledge that that these structures are more than the play of social power and vested interests (Maton & Moore, 2010, p. 4).

In relation to this study, some of the structures and generative mechanisms at the level of the real includes the structures, mechanism and processes that allowed me to see how knowledge is legitimated and valued in the PDIS curriculum.

Critical Realism and Social Realism act as the theoretical foundations that underpinned the research. In order to “dig” deeper at what counts as knowledge and knowers in the field of Political Studies in general, and in

PDIS programme in particular, I needed sharper tools that would enable me to uncover them. I turned to Bernstein's pedagogic device and Maton's legitimation code theory, in particular, his concept of Specialisation (and within it, gazes) to help me understand the knowledge and knower structures that underpinned the PDIS curriculum. In the following sections, I go into detail on the specific tools from Bernstein and Maton that I drew on, and how they were understood and applied.

3.4 Bernstein: Pedagogic device; classification and framing

At the heart of Bernstein's theoretical work is the "code" theory (Bernstein, 2000, 2003, 2004). This is one of the key principles from Bernstein and it underpins a significant amount of this work, especially on knowledge structures and on pedagogy (Bernstein, 1975b). A code refers to an "orientation to meaning" (Maton & Muller, 2007, p. 16), that is, a "regulative principle, tacitly acquired, which selects and integrates [meaning, realisations and contexts]" (Bernstein, 1990b, p. 15). Bernstein further suggests that a code refers to the regulator of the "relationships between contexts, and through those relationships, a regulator of the relationships within contexts" (Bernstein, 1990b, p. 15). Two of Bernstein's most influential concepts are thereby brought together to create the educational knowledge codes, which are similarly present in Maton's LCT. These are classification and framing.

3.4.1 Classification and Framing

Classification focuses on the power which operates in the field and sustains the boundaries *between* contexts. This power of classification ensures that disciplines are separate from one another and control the manner in which they relate to each other (Bernstein, 2000, 2003, 2004). Classification can be *relatively* stronger (C+) or weaker (C-), with a relatively stronger classification symbolising clear and delineable boundaries *between* contexts, and a relatively weaker classification meaning that the boundaries are unclear and permeable. Classifications refers to the power of the discipline to differentiate itself from other disciplines. For example, the classification between Archaeology and History as disciplines could be said to be relatively weaker in terms of their conceptual understanding of terms such as "civilisation", "ecofacts" and "cultural landscapes".

Framing, however, focuses on the relations *within* contexts, and to the pedagogical practices between the teacher and the taught (Maton, 2000b, 2013a; Maton & Moore, 2010). A relatively strong framing (F+) implies that there are clear regulations, control and understanding of what is considered legitimate in the field; and a relatively weak framing (F-) implies that the boundary between what is considered legitimate and not legitimate is unclear and blurry in the field. In other words, framing is concerned with the control of meaning in pedagogic communication (see Maton, 2010) and acts as a regulator in the pedagogic communication and interaction between lecturers and students. This means that framing is concerned with the control over knowledge construction and its pedagogic transmission, through *selection* (what counts as legitimate knowledge), *sequencing* (how this knowledge is arranged in the curriculum), *pacing* (the expected or anticipated rate of acquisition for students in the curriculum), and *evaluation* (assessment and criteria of ensuring that this knowledge is received and reproduced). For example, a classroom with a relatively weaker framing will be seen in how the teacher has less control of the curriculum and the students control at least some of the selection, pacing, sequencing and evaluation of the curriculum. One such instance can be seen with the recent higher education introduction of new and innovative teaching and learning strategies such as “flipping the classroom” (see Abeysekera & Dawson, 2015; Hung, 2015; O'Flaherty & Phillips, 2015), a leaner-centred approach in with knowledge, curriculum content and assessment is often moved online and leaners are often tasked with facilitating the learning process. This intentional, deliberate and relative weakening of the pedagogical framing of the classroom is done under the assumption that it will enable social justice and a move beyond the traditional modes of teaching which have been argued to be outdated, archaic and un-transformative.

Framing and the pedagogical relations within the classroom is very much related to signature pedagogies (as extensively discussed in Chapter Two, under academic disciplines), in how disciplines have particular assumptions regarding ways of imparting knowledge and its pedagogical strategies. For instance, in the disciplines of Accounting and Pharmacy (Singh, 2015), knowledge is often characterised by a relatively strong classification and framing of how knowledge is often passed through transmission where the teacher, from the front of the class, transmits knowledge and the students are expected to learn, understand and apply the transmitted knowledge.

In both contexts, the teacher controls the selection, pacing, sequencing and evaluation of curriculum. While knowledge in the Social Science is often characterised by a relatively weaker framing on how knowledge itself, transmission, selection as well as the pacing of the curriculum are often student-centred and heavily influenced by them. Classification and framing was a significant aspect of my study in how I explored the extent to which the PDIS curriculum could be said to be characterised by a relatively strong or weak classification and framing, and the implication this has on the knower that is legitimated by such a curriculum in the field of Political Studies. I now turn to another theoretical aspect of Bernstein’s theoretical work, that is, the notion of knowledge structures and how they are related to my research.

3.4.2 Knowledge structures

Scholars in the sociology of education have argued that knowledge is differentiated (Muller, 2006, 2008, 2015). This means that there is a differences between common sense, non-specialised knowledge and scholarly knowledge. Bernstein (1999, pp. 159-163) differentiates between what he calls “horizontal discourse” and “vertical discourse”. Horizontal discourse comprises everyday common sense and non-specialised knowledge which tends to be directed at immediate goals of an acquirer’s social reality and context. This means that this knowledge tends to be mundane and culturally segmented, that is, only applicable and making sense within that specific community and its members. Examples of horizontal discourse would include mundane and general discussions on politics in South Africa, challenges that confront the government, the constant vote of no confidence that plagues the president and other seemingly mundane, non-specialised, non-scholarly, "common sense" discussions that are indicative of culturally segmented knowledges in the country.

Vertical discourse, however, are largely knowledges that are produced in universities and research institutes, which allow for the opening of alternative possibilities of thought. This knowledge is regarded as an enabler of social mobility because a higher education qualification can lead to better employment prospects and better social status in society. Vertical discourse is abstract, esoteric, theoretical or powerful knowledge, and is different from everyday common sense knowledge that is non-specialised. Vertical discourse allows for one to transcend the everyday and provide access to the "unthinkable", the "not yet thought", to consider other possibilities and to imagine other futures (Bernstein, 1990a, 1999, 2000). Wheelahan (2012, p. 37) pbservesthat such theoretical knowledge is the site where "society has a conversation with itself", where such knowledge has power, status and prestige, or what Bourdieu (2011) has termed "symbolic capital"[17] in gifting to those who possess it and have mastered it, rewards and sanctions in structuring and influencing the field in particular ways. It is at the domain of vertical discourse that scholars such as Bourdieu have looked at the relationship between higher education and inequality in society, in how education plays a significant role in ensuring that class divisions are maintained and reproduced structurally (Bourdieu, 1986, 1996, 1998; Naidoo, 2004). The focus of this study is not on the everyday mundane discussion around the politics in the country (that is, on the horizontal discourse), but rather on Political Studies as a Bernsteinian vertical discourse as a field of inquiry.

Within the vertical discourse, Bernstein (2000, p. 160) further differentiates between two forms of vertical discourses; hierarchical knowledge structures and horizontal knowledge structures. Hierarchical knowledge structures attempt to create general propositions and theories, cumulatively building upon agreed assumptions and theories, in the process demonstrating "underlying uniformities across an expanding range of apparently different phenomena" (Bernstein, 1999, p. 162). Disciplines and fields such as Chemistry, Biology, Pharmacy and other "hard sciences" tend to have a vertical knowledge structure in which scholars are cumulatively building knowledge on "testable" and "objective" uniformities that comply with general propositions and agreement in the field, on how knowledge is produced, and who counts as legitimate knower in such a field. For instance, the analysis of DNA in Biology, Criminology, Forensics and other fields is generally agreed upon by scholars who understand and agree on the procedures that must be followed when testing for DNA, the strands that must be broken as well as how to handle, interpret and store such DNA particles. This means that cumulative knowledge-building in such fields is premised on agreed upon propositions and methods that the field has accepted as "objective" and "factual" regarding what counts as legitimate knowledge, as well as the applicable procedures associated with legitimating knowledge. This hierarchical knowledge structure cumulatively builds on one another in the hierarchical community of scholarship.

---

[17] According to Bourdieu (2011, p. 56), symbolic capitals refers to the "capital-in whatever form-insofar as it is represented, i.e., apprehended symbolically, in a relationship of knowledge or, more precisely, of misrecognition and recognition, presupposes the intervention of the habitus". In other words, symbolic capitals refer to whatever agents symbolically see as valuable, recognisable and valuable in a setting, institution, school, institution, organisation etc.

In contrast to hierarchical knowledge structures discussed above, the horizontal knowledge structure consists of a series of specialised languages of legitimation[18] with their own specialised modes of critical interrogation and criteria (Bernstein, 1999, 2000, 2004). With horizontal knowledge structures, knowledge in this field tends to be segmented, with different scholars not cumulatively building knowledge atop one another, but rather introducing new theories, concepts, even competing with one another and replacing each other. This means that horizontal knowledge structures do not generally attempt to create general propositions and agree upon theoretical and conceptual tools that "conform" to "objective" or "testable" realities. For example, the field of Africanisation within the South African higher education could be seen as fragmented and characterised by what Bernstein terms "horizontal knowledge structures". This is seen in how some scholars have conceptually understood and interpreted Africanisation to mean Afrocentricity (that is, re-centering all knowledges from the perspectives of African people) (see Deardorff & Arasaratnam-Smith, 2017), and others have argued for a rejection of all western thought and intellectual contributions (see Horsthemke, 2004; Makgoba, 1997b, 1998), and more recently, yet other scholars have called for a return to "nativist" understanding of pre-colonial Black subjectivities and lived experiences (see Msila & Gumbo, 2016).

In his later work, Bernstein moved beyond looking at the hierarchical and horizontal knowledge structures, and began to also focus more closely on knowledge building within horizontal knowledge structures. That is, Bernstein (2000, p. 163) differentiates between horizontal knowledge structures with "strong grammars", that is, disciplines whose languages have an "explicit conceptual syntax capable of relatively precise empirical descriptions and/or of generating formal modelling of empirical relations", such as Economics, Linguistics, and those with weaker grammars such as Sociology, Anthropology and Cultural Studies. The purpose of higher education is therefore, to induct students into hierarchical or horizontal knowledge structures and bring them into "systems of meaning", that is, knowledge that can enable them to access the "curriculum goods" (Wheelahan, 2014). Knowing and understanding the different forms of knowledge allows lecturers, academics, and curriculum developers to construct curriculum in ways that are open, inclusive and enable and negotiate different kinds of knowers to be legitimated.

In helping us conceptualise knowledge structures, Bernstein focuses on the discursive and ideational formations of knowledge. This allows him to introduce classification and framing to foreground knowledge as an object of study, and its organising principles and patterns. But beyond that, Bernstein helps us to understand and see how knowledge is produced, transmitted and evaluated. He introduces the notion of the pedagogic device to see much closer how knowledge is organised, sequenced and paced, and the politics, ideology and thinking that influences that process.

---

[18] Languages of legitimation refers to the "claims made by actors for carving out and maintaining spaces within social fields of practice" (Maton, 2013a, p. 23). This is expanded more extensively in this chapter, on the section focusing on "LCT".

I now outline the pedagogic device, and how it was understood and applied in this research.

3.4.3 The pedagogic device

Bernstein (1975a) argues that educational knowledge is transmitted through three key messaging systems; curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation. The focus in this study was on what counts as legitimate knowledge in the PDIS curriculum. In order to account for this intrinsic process, Bernstein introduces the "pedagogic device" to help explain how knowledge is recontextualised into "official" legitimate knowledge in a field. The pedagogic device is made up of three interrelated yet hierarchical rules, that is; the distributive rules, recontextualising rules and evaluative rules. Each of these rules have, within them, specific fields that inform which knowledge is legitimated, and what happens to that knowledge when it is recontextualised into curriculum knowledge and transmitted through pedagogy and evaluation. These rules are not ideologically neutral or free, and are deeply influenced by context. The three rules of the pedagogic device are graphically represented below and discussed below.

Field of practice	Form of regulation	Symbolic structure	Typical sites
Production	Distributive rules	Knowledge structure	Research, laboratories, publications, conferences
Recontextualisation	Recontextualising rules	Curriculum	Curriculum policy documents, textbooks, course outlines
Reproduction	Evaluative rules	Pedagogic practices and evaluation	Lecture rooms/seminars, assessment

Table 3.2: The pedagogic device.

3.4.3.1 Field of Production

In the field of production, the distributive rules are there to help distinguish between two classes of knowledge; – the *thinkable* and the *unthinkable,* the *esoteric* and the *mundane, the knowledge of the other,* and *the otherness of knowledge* (Bernstein, 1996, pp. 28-29). Scholars in any field, such as Political Studies, act as agents responsible for the regulation of the field, and for determining what counts as Political Studies in the field. Various legitimation methods such as peer-reviewed articles, published academic books, conferences and others are employed to ensure that "this" and "not that" is what counts as legitimate knowledge.

3.4.3.2 Field of Recontextualising

In the field of recontextualisation, the recontextualising rules focus on the field of transmission of legitimate knowledge that has been constructed by the distributive rules (Bernstein, 1975a, 1999, 2000). This means that distributive rules mark and demarcate for us, *who may transmit what*, *to whom* and *under which conditions,* as they attempt to create legitimate discourse, or valid knowledge. In this study, the field is Political Studies, in the PDIS curriculum. The academics involved in the knowledge legitimation signify the recontextualising agents who are responsible for making the necessary selections about what counts as legitimate or "official" knowledge in the discipline. The enacted curriculum, seen within curriculum documents such as course outlines, seminar critiques, presentations, class participation, class discussions, essay questions and exams/exam portfolio, were seen as a representation of choices of *selection* (such as what constitutes legitimate "object" of Political Studies knowledge in the PDIS curriculum), *sequence* (what is the logical ordering of this knowledge and how is it structured in the curriculum) and the *evaluative* criteria (what counts as legitimate performance in this field and the kind of student that the curriculum promotes).

3.4.3.3 Field of Reproduction

In the field of reproduction, the evaluative rules focus on the pedagogic discourse itself in ensuring that the knowledge has been acquired, accepted and reproduced by the pedagogic subjects (Bernstein, 1975a, 1999, 2000). This is seen in how the *distributive rules* construct for us, what counts as legitimate knowledge in the PDIS curriculum, the *distributive rules* focus on the pedagogic practices themselves in the transmission of this legitimate knowledge by the recontextualising agents. The primary function of the *evaluative rules* is to ensure that this legitimated knowledge is received and reproduced by the pedagogic subjects. In my study, the creation of Bernstein's pedagogic discourse refers to the recontextualising agents (that is, the lecturers and anyone else responsible for knowledge legitimation in the PDIS curriculum) who are selecting from the discipline of Political Studies to create the curriculum.

Although Bernstein was greatly helpful for the study in foregrounding knowledge, and the critical understanding of knowledge structures and how they are organised through the pedagogic device, Bernstein restricts his analysis to knowledge and tends to ignore knowers, that is, the pedagogised subjects themselves who are deemed knowers in the field. Maton's (2013a) work was called upon in this study to help theorise the knower and knowledge codes that are constructed and legitimated in the discipline of Political Studies in general, and in the PDIS programme in particular. Simply put, looking at how knowledge is produced, transmitted and evaluated is not enough. I needed to see the underlying knower structures that the PDIS curriculum values and legitimates in its curriculum.

Thus, I now turn to Maton's LCT, and how the LCT "toolkit" of Specialisation, and within it, gazes, were understood and employed in this research in uncovering the underlying mechanisms and principles of knower identities and the gazes that were valued in the PDIS programme.

3.5 Introducing LCT: Specialisation and Gaze(s)

LCT is a toolkit that builds on the works of Bernstein's code theory, educational knowledge structures and the pedagogic device. LCT provides for us a language and tools to describe social phenomena within higher education. LCT offers five principles for analysis; Autonomy, Density, Specialisation, Semantics and Temporality. Maton (2013a) suggests that these principles contain "fractal application", that is, they can be applied at any level of higher education, such as the institution, classroom, curriculum or nationally, and in this context, in the PDIS programme. LCT is particularly useful as it offers an explanatory framework to help explore, not only educational knowledge, but also the knowledge that is found in social fields and practices. This means that for Maton (2013a, p. 23), social fields and their practices can be understood as "languages of legitimation [which constitute], claims made by actors for carving out and maintaining spaces within social fields of practice". These languages of legitimation indicate the requirements for participation in the field, and help establish achievement, recognition as well as legitimacy in how they are defined and measured (Maton, 2000a, p. 81). In other words, languages of legitimation are descriptions of how achievement would be established and defined in the field, as well as the method for considering how this is communicated through curriculum. The languages of legitimation in the field of Political Studies were important to the study in that they enabled me to explore the kinds of knowledges that are legitimated in the PDIS curriculum, as well as the language required by knowers in communicating the discipline of Political Studies.

Part of the rationale for using LCT as a conceptual and explanatory framework for the study, is drawn from the argument that asserts that

> [by] being anchored on the concepts of classification and framing, the *strong external language of LCT also enables both qualitative and quantitative analysis of the underlying principles structuring curriculum guidelines, teaching practices*…in a manner enabling systematic comparisons within and between these contexts (emphasis added) (Maton, 2007, p. 104).

My second rationale for using LCT is its ability to offer me, through its focus on codes and at the organising principles that underlie fields and practices, to provide powerful explanatory frameworks with a relative conceptual economy (Maton, 2007, 2009a, 2013a). It should be noted that LCT does not replace nor erase concepts from Bernstein. Rather, it subsumes them and extends them as the following sections will show.

The conceptual toolkit offered by LCT that was employed in this study enabled me develop an alternative framework for a deeper exploration of the organising principles and patterns of underlying knowledge and knower structures in the field of Political Studies. This especially helped me to move between the theoretical and empirical contexts in making meaningful connections and explanations (Maton, 2007, 2009a, 2013a).

Maton (2000b, p. 89) argues that the extent to which any of the characteristics of any of the legitimation tools in this study (such as Specialisation), actually applies within a disciplinary language of legitimation is "dependent upon the structuring conditions of power and control inherent within empirical contexts; these enabling and evoking conditions set the parameters within which these features may become voiced". In other words, because codes are realised differently in different contexts, working with empirical data is important when trying to see and make sense of the codes. Bernstein (2000), as discussed earlier in this chapter, similarly argues for the importance of bringing theory and context together in a dialectical relationship in order for the theory to make sense, that is, for the empirical to make sense and for the theory to grow and develop. This means that the selected theoretical and conceptual tools outlined were used as heuristic or illustrative; as the ideal and available tools to think through the organising patterns and structures of knowledge and knowers, and what this would mean for curriculum developers, teachers or curriculum constructors.

In the following sections, I outline the specific tool of Specialisation from LCT and within it, the notion of gazes that I drew on to theorise and analyse the data:

3.5.1 Specialisation

Specialisation is premised on the assumption that all beliefs and practices are about or towards something, that is an object, and by someone, that is the subject (Maton, 2013a, p. 29). This complements my use of Social Realism in this study in foregrounding knowledge as an object of study, looking at the organising patterns and structures in the PDIS curriculum, and the knowers are who are legitimated in this curriculum. This means that the specialised forms of knowledge that are valued and considered legitimate for the discipline can be considered as "privileged knowledge", and the "privileged knower" can be an individual or group of individuals having the ideal disciplinary insight and gaze to legitimately participate in the discipline (Maton, 2007, 2009a, 2013a).

Specialisation is a powerful tool that was used in this study to identify and describe some of the knowledge claims made in the PDIS curriculum. These claims related to the "theories, methods, actors' social categories, dispositions, etc" (Maton, 2013a, p. 31), as well as exploring the basis for the claims made in the field. Specialisation can be used to describe any discipline and its organising principles as they reflect on the three fields of production, recontextualisation and reproduction (Maton, 2013a, p. 51). The field of production refers to the construction of new knowledge in the field, recontextualisation refers to the reshaping of knowledge for use in pedagogy, and the field of reproduction refers to the selection, pacing and evaluation of this knowledge through pedagogical practices of teaching and learning. Thus, the Specialisation tool is important in helping us compare codes that are found in different points in the educational process or in different disciplines. This does not mean that the same codes will be found in each stage of the educational process, as knowledge may be "realised differently in curriculum, pedagogy , classrooms, subject areas, etc" (Maton, 2013a, p. 33).

Maton (2013a) extends Bernstein (1975a) argument that wherever there are knowledge structures, there are corresponding knower structures. This is seen in Maton's (2013a) observation that disciplines with horizontal knowledge structures may demonstrate two types of structures that build knowledge in different ways.

Hierarchical knower structure refers to the ideal knower or group of knowers would have a model disposition formed "through the integration of new knowers at lower levels and across an expanding range of different dispositions" (Maton, 2000b, p. 162). This may be found in the Humanities, Social Sciences and the Arts. The second kind of knower structure is the horizontal knower structure, where the discipline is characterised by a series of segmented knowers who all have different aptitudes, attributes and attitudes with little in common with one another. Fields such the Sciences are often characterised by such knowers where the hierarchical knowledge structures ensures that the agreed upon methods, and procedures for testing "truth" and "objective" knowledge in the field are agreed upon universally. Thus rending the habitus of the knower to a certain extent, irrelevant, as long as they possess and conform to the required methods and procedures of the field. All disciplines would consist of a range of knowledge structures and knower structures, though particular form of each would invariably dominate within a particular field. It should be reiterated that this is heuristic and disciplines are unlikely to fit neatly within specific categories.

Below is a graphical representation of the "knowledge structures" and "knower structures in Table 3.3.

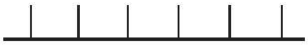
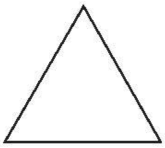
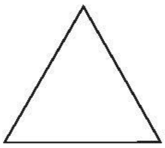
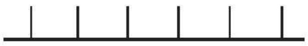
	Humanist culture	Scientific culture
Knowledge structures	 (horizontal)	 (hierarchical)
Knower structures	 (hierarchical)	 (horizontal)

Table 3.3: Graphical representation of the knowledge and knower structures, adopted from Maton (2004, p. 92).

The concepts of classification and framing are useful for identifying the relative strength and weakness of ER and SR in describing a discipline as a number of codes (Maton, 2000a, 2000b, 2004, 2013a). In a discipline where epistemic relations dominate (ER+) and social relations are relatively weaker (SR-), the discipline is said to have a *knowledge code*. This means that the discipline legitimates its knowers on the basis of demonstrating knowledge, skills and procedures more than it demands that the knowers are a particular kind of person with a particular gaze on the world. When the discipline has relatively stronger relations to its knower-structures (SR+) and weaker relations to its knowledge-structures (ER-), that discipline is said to have a *knower code* (SR+/ER-), meaning that it legitimates primarily on the basis of the knowers' dispositions and that knowledge acquisition is less significant (Maton, 2010, 2013a, 2013b). When a discipline has relatively stronger relations to both its knowledge structures (ER+) and knower structures (SR+), it is said to have an *elite code* (SR+/ER+) (Maton, 2013). This means that *who* you are (knower-structure) and *what* you know (knowledge-structure) are both significantly important in this discipline. When a discipline has relatively weaker relations to both its knowledge and knower structures (ER-/SR-), it is said to be a *relativist code*. This means that the discipline does not particularly value either knowledge or knowers for its legitimation, and that anyone can be a legitimate knower in this field, without necessarily possessing the languages of legitimation or having the disciplinary dispositions in the field.

The relative strength and weakness of ER and SR can be plotted on the Cartesian plane, noting an almost infinite amount of variations of plotting different knowledge and knower codes. This is illustrated below in figure 3.1.

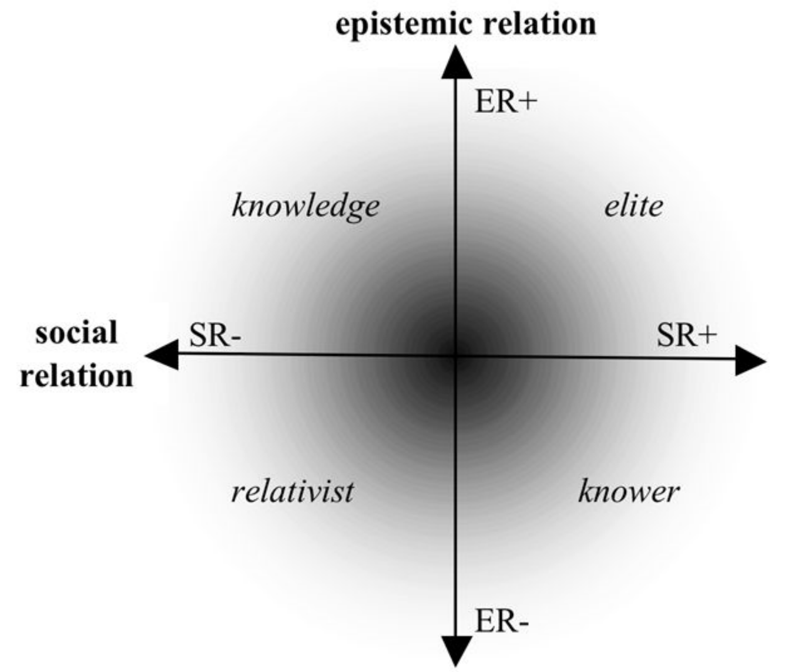


Figure 3.1: Specialisation codes, as adopted from Maton (2013a).

In higher education, the knowledge and knower codes tend to be more dominant (Maton, 2005). In addition, different Specialisation codes are associated with the different possibilities and constraints. This suggests that Specialisation codes that underpin a field of practice have implications for curriculum and pedagogy (see Giloi, 2017; Maton, 2013a; Mkhize, 2015). In this study, Specialisation codes enabled me to uncover to what extent the PDIS curriculum's classification and framing is relatively weaker or stronger regarding the knowledge and knower structures. This enabled me to have a closer look at the underlining mechanisms and processes of the knowledge and knower structures that underpin the PDIS curriculum.

I now turn to the kind of gaze(s) that are required in a discipline for one to access the language of legitimation, and become a successful participant in a field. In order to do this, Bernstein's knowledge structures are re-conceptualised as knowledge-knower structures (Maton, 2007, 2009b, 2010). This allows the researcher to tease out the different kinds of gazes required for one to be a successful participant in a field.

3.5.2 Gaze(s)

As mentioned above, in hierarchical knowledge structures, the basis for the principles of selection, recontextualisation and evaluation lies in their "strong grammars", such as testing truth claims on the basis of agreed upon methods and shared criteria (Bernstein, 2000). In contrast, horizontal knowledge structures, in particular those with "weak grammars" – the notion of "truth" largely depends on having a particular gaze (Bernstein, 2000, p. 165). Although Bernstein (2000, p. 164) describes gaze as a "particular mode of recognising and realising what counts as an 'authentic' …reality", he does not describe the different kinds of gazes.

Premised on two key arguments, Maton (2013a) argues that firstly, if knowledge-structures possess "grammars", which he refers to as "knowledge-grammars", then knower-structures similarly have "knower-grammars". This means that, just as knowledge has different strengths of relations, then too we can look at the strength and weaknesses of knower-structures. Secondly, where knowledge-grammars can refer to the relative strength and weakness of the classification and framing of objects of study and their knowledge (ER), knower-grammars refer to the relative strength and weakness of the classification and framing of subjects of study and their dispositions (SR). It should be noted that the relative strength and weaknesses of these two kind of grammars may vary, which for instance, could be seen in fields where there is a strong knowledge-structures (such as the Natural Sciences where knowledge tends to be cumulative and the dispositions of the knowers are less important), the grammars can be weaker (such as in fields like Cultural Studies where anyone and everyone can claim legitimacy in the field).

In my research, the knowledge-knower structures of the PDIS programme was conceptualised and analysed. This enabled me to critically explore both the relative classification and framing of the knowledge and knower grammars in Political Studies in general and PDIS programme in particular, as well as terse out the kind of gaze(s) that are enabled and legitimated in the discipline.

Maton (2013a) describes four kinds of gazes – that is; born, social, cultivated and trained (Maton, 2013a, p. 95). These do not necessarily refer to the gaze per se, and could just as refer to the "taste", "touch", "feel" and others that a knower may have on a discipline. Similarly, with knowledge-structures, there is a hierarchising of knower-structures that are embodied by knowers or their actions, with Muller (2014) suggesting that hierarchical knower structures may involve an emphasis on procedural knowledge (that is, *know how*) rather than propositional knowledge (*knowing that*). The different kinds of gazes are represented below in figure 3.6:

Weaker **Stronger**
Knower-grammars **knower-grammars**
(SR-) **(SR+)**

Trained gaze cultivated gaze social gaze born gaze

Figure 3.2: The different kinds of gazes as adopted from Maton (2013a, p. 95).

As illustrated above in figure 3.2, relatively strong social relations are indicated by notions of “natural talent” and “genius”. This gaze is often seen through debates in disciplines over “natural talent”, or someone seen to possess “an eye” for something. This is considered a “born gaze”. Less fixed but still relatively strong is the “social gaze”. This is seen where legitimate knowers tend to belong to a social category such as standpoint theories based on class, race and gender. For instance, African feminism as a school of thought attempts to look at the relationship between race, gender and power in how they continue to intersect with the market economy in the marginality and subjugation of African women on the continent (Ahikire, 2014; Coulibaly, 2015; Magadla, 2013). Black African women are seen as possessing a social gaze in how they draw on their own experiences to theorise and reflect on their own experiences in advocating socio-economic change (Magadla, 2013).

Weaker knower-grammars are the “cultivated gaze”, where the legitimacy of the knower comes from an inculcated gaze (Maton, 2013a). This can be seen from a prolonged exposure of the knower to possess the required skills, taste or habitus in the field. The relatively weakest of the knower-grammars is the “trained gaze”, in which the knower has to go through training in specialised principles or procedures in a field. It should be noted that there are always knowledge and knowers, and that social fields are knowledge-knower structures (Maton, 2013a).

In this study, I foregrounded knowledge and knowers in looking at the knowledge-grammars and knower-grammars that are legitimated in the PDIS curriculum. I conceptualised Bernstein's (2000) *knowledge structures* as *knowledge-knower-structures* and consider the knowledge-structures, knower structures as well as the kind of gazes that are legitimated in the field of Political Studies. This focus enabled me to, not only explore and tease out the organising patterns and structures of knowledge, but also see the kind of knower and the gaze(s) that are valued in the curriculum.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed the theoretical frames that I relied upon to make sense of the knowledge and knower structures that are valued and legitimated in the PDIS curriculum. Social Realism was adopted as a theoretical foundation, together with the theoretical and conceptual ideas from Bernstein's pedagogic device and Maton's LCT tool of Specialisation. Gazes were called upon to offer "clearer" frames to see the underlying mechanisms and processes of the knowledge and knower structures of the PDIS curriculum.

In the following chapter, I introduce the methodological "tools" that I adopted in this research in "digging" deeper and making sense of the research phenomenon that is, knowledge and knower legitimation in the field of Political Studies in general, and the PDIS curriculum in particular.

Chapter Four

Research Tools

4.1 Introduction

In this study, I was interested in exploring how Political Studies knowledge is recontextualised in the PDIS programme. I begin this chapter by outlining the broad research approach that I adopted, looking at Social Realism, qualitative research, and insider/outsider research, and how they are all relevant to my study. I then move to discuss my research design "tools", that I relied on in generating data and making sense of the findings, providing the rationale for the key decision-making processes during the research. This includes, but is not limited to, the selection of research participants and the data generated, and the justification thereof. I also outline the process that I followed in the analysis of data. Important aspects such as the transcription and organising of data are first addressed, and then how the data was analysed and the emergent themes. I relied on Holmes' (2014) critical reflection on the importance of positionality in qualitative research, to conceptualise my own positionality in two ways. Firstly, I see positionality as my insider/outsider positionality in the Department that I am researching. Secondly, I also took positionality to refer to my intellectual and epistemological positioning in my own study, as well as being a proponent of the need for decolonisation of South African higher education and the implications this has on my research. I end the chapter with a reflection on how ethical considerations were seriously thought through and carefully considered throughout the research journey.

4.2 Qualitative research

Qualitative research within a Social Realist paradigm was chosen for its inherent characteristics in allowing for the understanding of phenomena located within the social and educational world. It is characterised by the "complexity, richness, connectedness and contradictions [that] qualitative research allows for in-depth and detailed understanding of meanings, actions, non-observable as well as observable phenomena" (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007, p. 219). Creswell and Creswell (2017) define qualitative research as the study that begins with the

> assumptions and use of interpretive or theoretical frameworks that inform the study of the research problems addressing the meanings individuals or groups of individuals ascribe to a social or human problem and involves the generation of data in natural settings which is sensitive to the people and places under study and whose data is analysed deductively using patterns or themes in the voice of the participants (Creswell & Creswell, 2017, p. 44).

I chose a qualitative research in this study because it provided me with an opportunity for the generation, analysis and interpretation of data that is related to the social world, together with the concepts and behavior of people within it (Anderson, 2010; Creswell & Creswell, 2017). I employed qualitative research methods in looking at the "where, when, how and under what circumstances behavior [and in this context, knowledge legitimation and the pedagogic subject it legitimates] comes into being" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982). Various qualitative research methods that were employed in this study. These were case study, document analysis and semi-structured interviews focused on capturing an in-depth understanding of interactional processes as manifested in a particular study (Wagner & Okeke, 2009, pp. 62-63). This was meant to identity mechanisms from which they emerged.

In this study, I employed qualitative research methods to look at how Political Studies knowledge is recontextualised in the PDIS programme. As discussed in Chapter Three, the study looked at the recontextualising agents' pedagogic practices in the selection, ordering and pacing of the curriculum. I also looked at how the academics, who are the recontextualising agents, pedagogise this curriculum knowledge and evaluate the programme through course outlines, seminar critiques, presentations, class participation, class discussions, essay questions and exams/exam portfolio to see whether that transmitted knowledge has been acquired by the pedagogic subjects themselves. I was also interested in the pedagogic subject that is, the kind of knower that is legitimated by the PDIS programme.

In this study, I adopted a number of research approaches typical of qualitative research. These include concern with participant perspectives, naturalistic research settings, the human research instruments, multiple data sources, rich descriptions, interpretations, as well as a researcher's reflexivity (Chen, 2010; Creswell, 1994; Flick, 2014; Maxwell, 2012; Merrill, 2008). These characteristics are expanded below;

- **Participant perspectives** – The focus on participants' perspectives helped make sense of meanings (Chen, 2010; Flick, 2014; Maxwell, 2012). In this study, I, not only presented multiple meanings of the different research participants in the PDIS programme in relation to their recontextualisation of the Political Studies knowledge in their curriculum, but also investigated the processes and mechanism of those meanings and how they are formed.
- **Naturalistic settings** – By studying people or a phenomenon in their actual settings, I aimed to critically explore the particular contexts and their impact on the individual's views, behavior and thinking. In my study, naturalistic setting referred to a historically white university in South Africa and the critical insights offered by that setting for the academics, students and the curriculum (Chen, 2010; Maxwell, 2012).
- **Multiple sources** – Using more than one research instrument in my data collection, not only produced rich data regarding my research phenomenon, but also allowed me to explore my topic in-depth. This meant drawing from both in-depth interviews with the academics who taught on the PDIS programnme, as well as the curriculum documents produced in the programme (Chen, 2010).

- **Richness of data and description** – The findings from this study provided rich description of actors, contexts and events (Merriam, 2002), thus enabling me to reflect on the complexity of the research phenomena, and assist the reader to experience the events vicariously (Chen, 2010; Creswell, 1994).
- **Researcher as a key instrument** – I as the researcher, gathered, translated and transcribed all the interviews myself. This process enabled me to develop an in-depth understanding of my data, my research phenomena as well as provide insights in the analysis (R. Bogdan & Biklen, 2003; R. C. Bogdan & Biklen, 1982). Furthermore, my positionality in being a proponent of decolonising higher education in general, and the field of Political Studies in particular, deeply tied me with my research and had implications for my findings and discussions as well.
- **Researcher's reflexivity** – The recent literature on qualitative research places great emphasis on researchers' reflectivity (Berger, 2015; Caretta, 2015; Muhammad et al., 2015; Suffla, Seedat, & Bawa, 2015). In this study, I discussed in detail, my positionality, both in terms of my insider/outside status in the researched Department, as well as my epistemological positionality regarding the debates on decolonisation of South African higher education.

I now discuss the different qualitative research methods that I employed in this research journey in relation to the data generation, coding, analysis and presentation of results, as well as how those findings were discussed and made sense of.

4.2.1 Vertical Case Study

In this study, I adopted the notion of a vertical case study as suggested by Vavrus and Bartlett (2006) who argued for a more epistemological and longitudinal focus on a study, analysing at a surface level, documents around what counts as legitimate knowledge in the field of Political Studies, and looking closer to the assumptions around legitimate knowledge, the assessment methods through the course outlines, seminar critiques, presentations, class participation, class discussions, essay questions and exams/exam portfolio, on how that curriculum knowledge is evaluated and received by the pedagogical subjects themselves.

Vertical case studies offer a much more detailed understanding of a phenomena, covering macro and micro analysis. This means that the exploration of knowledge and knower structures in the field of Political Studies is a political and structural phenomenon, as it involves different actors competing for what Bourdieu terms "symbolic capital" regarding what counts as legitimate knowledge in this era of transformation and decolonisation. Vavrus and Bartlett (2006) argue that a vertical case study locates macro and micro level analysis in the broader social structures, influences and polices what the researcher needs to understand. Vavrus and Bartlett (2006) cite Broadfoot's (1999, p. 225) argument that;

> Education can only be fully understood in terms of the context in which it is taking place…. The unique contribution [of vertical case study] is that of providing for a more

> systematic and theorised understanding of the relationship between context and process, structure and action.

Thus, the PDIS programme and its selection, sequencing, pacing and evaluation were used as a vertical case study for investigating the knowledge and knower structures that the programme legitimates. The case study was based on two forms of data; the documents produced by the programme, and in-depth interviews from lecturers who teach in the programme.

4.2.2 Analyzing documents

Document analysis was a key feature of this study. Document analysis refers to the systematic and strategic approach in evaluating or reviewing documents; both printed and internet-based (Bowen, 2009). Document analysis requires that data be looked at more closely, examined and interpreted so as to elicit meaning and understanding, as well as adopt empirical knowledge (Bowen, 2009; Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Rapley, 2007). Atkinson and Coffey (2004, p. 47) refer to documents as the "social facts", which are produced, shared and used in society and in socially organised ways. These often include but are not limited to, advertisements, agendas, attendance registers, minutes, books, background papers, brochures and others. This study employed document analysis, looking at the documents produced by in the PDIS as prescribed by the recontextualising agents. The documents analysed were the course outlines, seminar critiques, presentation rubrics, class participation, class discussions, essay questions and their rubrics, and exams/exam portfolios.

Document analysis was significant in answering the main question;

- What kind of knower and knowledge structures does the postgraduate Diploma in International Studies legitimate?

With the above research question, I explored the structures of knowledge and knowers in the field of Political Studies in attempting to make sense of how knowledge is valued, legitimated, produced, recontextualised and evaluated in the field in general and in the PDIS programme in particular. In other words, the PDIS programme offered an insight into understanding not only the kinds of knowledge and knower structures of the PDIS programme, but it also enabled me to have some insight into the kinds of knowledge and knowers that are valued and legitimated in the field of Political Studies.

This was also significant in seeing the kind of pedagogic subject the programme seeks to legitimate, at least in the formally planned, intended curriculum (that is, the written down documents produced by the curriculum) (see Hoadley & Jansen, 2009). The following documents and audio-visual material were critically examined and analysed:

Name of the course	**Type of documents**	**Video and other audio-visual material**

African Political Economy	• Course outline • Assessment information • Referencing guidelines • prescribed readings; • Class presentation schedule • Exam portfolio	• Bamako Documentary • Black Gold Documentary • Seminar slides
Africa and the New Wars	• Course outline • course evaluation • course critiques • Prescribed readings • Past essay examples • Essay questions • Essay style sheet	• Mary Kaldor on New and Old War • Jeffrey Herbst interviews Carolyn Nordstrom • Paul Collier on “4 ways to improve the lives of the bottom”
Peace and Conflict in Africa	• Course outline • assessment guidelines • Seminar presentation schedule • seminar/class topics • Presentation topics • Assignment topics • Method of teaching • Outcomes • Exam questions	
International Relations: Changing Africa	• Course outline • Group presentations • seminar discussions • Presentations • Prescribed readings	

Table 4.1: Table indicating the documents produced by each of the modules in the PDIS programme that were analyzed in the study.

Although the PDIS programme did not have a specific prescribed textbook that was recommended, scholars such as Arbee (2012), Burton (2001), Paxton (2007) and others argue that textbooks play a critical role in the academic lives of students (Richardson, 2004). Similarly, the prescribed readings that are recommended in the programme, not only afforded me understanding of the field of production in Political Studies knowledge, but also helps understanding of how the prescribed texts played a significant role in “distributing legitimated knowledge [and] inducting students into the content, beliefs, values and methodology of their respective disciplines” (Richardson, 2004, p. 508). Thus, the recommended texts play a critical role in inducting students into Political Studies disciplinary knowledge and help model their literacy practices (Arbee, 2012; Burton, 2001; Paxton, 2007).

4.2.3 Interviews

4.2.3.1 Pilot interviews and the "trial run"

Pilot studies were done prior to the research being conducted, with the focus of the piloting being on the interviews with the lecturers and analysis of the documents. Feeley et al. (2009, p. 85) observe that pilot studies offer us an opportunity to identity the "challenges of evaluating an intervention [and that ultimately] it will enhance the …rigour and value of the full-scale study". Similarly, Sampson (2004), reflecting on her own pilot study employed as a qualitative research tool, notes that one of the benefits of pilot studies is that they help the researcher to experience the data generation process before they actually go into the field, allowing them to reflect on their data generation instruments, critical research questions, pacing during the interviews, probing, enquiring and facilitating a rapport with research participant(s). Sampson (2004) suggests that a pilot may be regarded as essential

> before large amounts of time are invested in a project, particularly in the context of today's social science, which is frequently strictly time-bounded and pressurized. However, a pilot has other benefits beyond those of foreshadowing research issues or questions. Pilots have great importance in enabling those responsible for research design to give careful attention to the assessment of researcher risk, something that is too often overlooked in many… institutions. Relatedly, a pilot facilitates the proper scaling and costing of a research proposal. It takes much of the 'guesswork' out of estimating requisite funds and this also has a positive impact in minimizing the risk researchers are exposed to in the conduct of… research eliminating the need for them to 'make do and mend' in terms of living and travel arrangements in cases of under-funding (Sampson, 2004, p. 399).

Conducting the pilot study was important in that it served a few purposes. One purpose was that it allowed me to refine my research "tools" prior to going into the field and generating the data. The pilot studies also allowed for my own growth and development as a researcher regarding how to interview, interviewing techniques, pacing the interview, how to probe in ways that are insightful, as well as interjecting and redirecting responses when necessary (see Singh, 2015). I conducted four pilot interviews with my former colleagues who taught courses in Higher Education Studies. Although the field of Political Studies is very different to Higher Education Studies, the purposes of the pilot study was not necessary to engage with curriculum knowledge but rather to elicit some feedback from colleagues regarding the kind of research questions I was asking them, the pacing of the interviews, the time frame needed for the interview, whether I needed to reflect on any of my research "tools", as well as how to sharpen them further before beginning the data generation phase. The critical feedback received from the pilot participants was helpful in that it led to the refinement of certain questions and removal of some ambiguity. The sequencing and pacing of the interviews was deemed suitable. The pilot study was particularly helpful in that it allowed me to reflect to what extent I was able to dig deeper in my research phenomenon; the recontextualisation of Political Studies knowledge in the PDIS programme using my critical research questions. This led to a lot of reflection, thinking and refinement in terms of my questions, probing skills and redirecting techniques

At a practical level, the pilot study helped me to assess how long the interviews would take. This resulted in me refining my data generation from requesting about 25 minutes initially from my research participants, to between 45-60 minutes to cater for the different questions, probing and reflections that academics needed when reflecting on their teaching and learning practices, as well as their curriculum decisions.

4.2.3.2 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews are a type of interview where the researcher asks open ended questions anchored on the purpose of the study, and allows for the participants to respond in whatever way possible (McIntosh & Morse, 2015). Semi-structured interviews are designed to obtain subjective responses regarding a particular phenomenon, in this context, exploring the recontextualising agents in the field of Political Studies recontextualise Political Studies knowledge in the PDIS programme. Semi-structured interviews were employed in the study in exploring some of the knowledge assumptions, thoughts, ideas and beliefs that the academics, as recontextualising agents have, when they are formulating and planning the PDIS programme. Also, and much more importantly, the semi-structured interviews were useful in answering questions such as the thinking, constraints and enablements behind the design of this programme, what it hopes to achieve, why certain courses are compulsory, the kind of student who succeeds in this programme, and others. Committing to the theoretical lenses of the study, this helped unearth some of the distributive rules that govern what recontextualising agents have to negotiate in constructing what they perceive to be legitimate and valued knowledge and knowers in the field of Political Studies. Semi-structured interviews were helpful in exploring knowledge assumptions regarding what counts as knowledge, why and to what extent, from the perspective of the lecturers who construct, transmit and evaluate the programme.

The lectures that were interviewed and who participated in this study are indicated below:

Name	**Age range**	**Position**	**Highest qualification**	**Disciplinary background**	**Lecturing experience (years)**	**Interview duration**
Lecturer 1	60-65	Professor	PhD	International Relations	30+ years	1hr 22minutes
Lecturer 2	40-45	Senior Lecturer	PhD	African Studies	20+ years	1hr 17minutes
Lecturer 3	30-35 years	Senior Lecturer	PhD	International Relations	7+ years	1hr 13minutes
Lecturer 4	25-30 years	Contract Lecturer	Masters	Microbiology; International Relations	5+ years	1hr 19minutes

Table 4.2: Profile of academics who teach on the PDIS programme who took part in the study.

I interviewed all four lecturers who were involved in teaching the four compulsory courses of the programme, that is, the lecturers who taught the following courses:

Semester 1	**Semester 2**
Africa: Changing International Relations	African Political Economy
Africa and the New Wars	Peace and Conflict in Africa

Table 4.3: This table is constructed from courses that are compulsory for the PDIS programme and that were analysed in this study. Please see for more information https://www.ru.ac.za/politicalinternationalstudies/

The lecturers' participation was voluntary and informed consent was obtained from them,[19] prior to any involvement in the study. Interviews with Lecturer 1 and 2 were held in their offices due to convenience and time schedule of the academics. Lecturer 3 was busy and had just returned from a national conference. She requested we specifically leave the department, and have the interview at a restaurant where she felt, she was going to be free and relaxed. The final interview with Lecturer 4 was held through Skype, as she was out of the country during the time of the data generation process.

As indicated in the consent letters, I originally asked for about 45-60 minutes from the lecturers in the programme. However, the academics were generous with their time and went even beyond that time frame. All the interviews took over an hour, with the academics using the opportunity as a space to reflect on their teaching and learning practices. One of them indicated that perhaps one of the reason that her interview took longer was because, as a department, they did not often reflect collectively on their teaching and learning experiences in the PDIS programme (Interview, Lecturer 2). The study offered them that space to think through what they teach, how they teach, as well as how students receive and experience their curriculum.

4.3 My Positionality

Holmes (2014, p. 380) argues that it is important for us to pay attention to the "positionality, reflexivity, the production of knowledge and the power relations that are inherent in the research process in order to undertake ethical research". Similarly, Denzin (1986, p. 12) suggests that "interpretive research begins and ends with the biography and the self of the researcher". I am still obligated as a researcher to declare my positionality, and to reflect to what extent my positionality may have influenced the data generation as well as the analysis. In Critical Realist terms, this strengthens the opportunities for judgemental rationality.

In this study, I took positionality to mean two key things. Firstly, positionality was taken to mean the complexities of my own insider/outsider status in the department, and to what extent that affected the way I conducted this study, generated data, engaged with my former colleagues, and the dynamics of those interactions and others (Savvides, Al-Youssef, Colin, & Garrido, 2014). Secondly, positionality was also taken to mean my intellectual and epistemological positioning in relation to the current study, regarding my thoughts, beliefs and how I approached this current research project. These forms of positionalities are discussed in the sections that follow.

---

[19] Please see Appendix A attachment

The research idea for this study came from an ordinary staff meeting that immediately took an interesting turn at my previous university. We had consulted with our postgraduate students around transforming our undergraduate curriculum and they gave us some insights on firstly, how they experienced our undergraduate curriculum (as most of them had experienced it and gone through their undergraduate studies with us as a Department), and secondly, what and how they thought some of our curriculum could be transformed. During the course of reporting back what the students were saying and some of the critiques they had levelled at some of the courses, a senior academic staff member lost his temper and cautioned us, that for him, the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes, was "non-negotiable". This triggered in me an interest to understand the assumptions around what counts as legitimate knowledge in our discipline. Was knowledge construction in the PDIS programme merely the selection of one group of scholars over others, or was there something deeper and underlying in that moment? These and other questions led to my current research focus, and my quest to employ Bourdieu, Bernstein and Maton in understanding knowledge legitimation in the PDIS programme as a phenomenal point of inquiry for the study. That is, how Political Studies' knowledge is recontextualised in the PDIS programme.

I have worked as a Teaching Assistant and contract part-time lecturer in the Political and International Studies Department, and have established an "insider status" in the Department. Being a former staff member in the Department, who was "disciplined" in the field of Political Studies, a significant part of my research participants were my former colleagues who were more than happy to assist and take part in the study. This ensured that access to the research site was easier as colleagues were more than welcoming in opening themselves, the department and their curriculum to critical scrutiny and reflection. Savvides et al. (2014) suggest that this insider/outsider positioning is a fundamental issue in qualitative research, and is done in an attempt at showing how the

> production of ethical and credible research is dependent on researchers ensuring that they reflect on, and are transparent about, the methodological issues and challenges they face, which includes how their positionality and background might shape the generation and interpretation of data. In addition, the influence of modern philosophical paradigms, such as postmodernism, post-structuralism and postcolonialism, means that traditional dichotomies, such as insider/outsider and self/other (defined by characteristics such as gender, ethnicity, language and professional status), are being challenged as researchers recognise the limitations of these dichotomies in considering both their own role and that of their participants (Savvides et al., 2014, pp. 412-413).

In the above quotation, Savvides et al. (2014) argue that intellectual and philosophical movements, such as the postmodernism, post-structuralism and post-colonialism, including the decolonial school of thought, have argued against the insider/outsider dichotomies in leading to a shift from “unreflective holder of power and knowledge to reflective participant in the co-construction of knowledge together with research subjects” (Court & Abbas, 2013, pp. 486, in Savvides et al. 2014). This therefore, means that the qualitative researcher is not a “miner”, digging facts from the ground so as to produce authoritative and objective research outputs, but is rather a “traveller”, meeting different people, experiencing the research journey in different and often contradictory ways (Court & Abbas, 2013, pp. 486). Scholars such as Court and Abbas (2013, p. 486), Savvides et al. (2014), Hammersley (2016), Dwyer and Buckle (2009), Alvesson and Sköldberg (2017), have argued for the need to be aware of these dichotomies but not necessarily to choose which position from the dichotomy one needs to belong to, but to critically consider the implications that these positions have for the research process itself and the production of ethical and credible research.

I particularly drew on Merton's (1972) and Singh (2015)’s suggestions on the insider/outside perspectives in reflecting on my own status during the course of the research in the Department. Merton (1972) adopts a structural understanding of the insider/outsider perspectives, and draws our attention to the fluidity of the nature in the space between insider/outsider in research perspectives. He argues that

> In structural terms, we are all, of course, both insiders and outsiders, members of some groups and, sometimes derivatively, not of others; occupants of certain statuses which thereby exclude us from occupying other cognate statuses. Obvious as this basic fact of social structure is, its implications for Insider and Outsider epistemological doctrines are apparently not nearly as obvious. This neglects the crucial fact of social structure that individuals have not a single status but a status set: a complement of variously interrelated statuses which interact to affect both their behaviour and perspectives (Merton, 1972, p. 22).

As a researcher of Political Studies education, who worked in the department and left the university, I am an outsider in that sense. Similarly, in “pure” disciplinary terms, I would also be considered an outsider as I did my undergraduate, Honours[20] and Masters in Political Studies and moved for my PhD to studying in the discipline of Education focusing on knowledge legitimation and curriculum. My background in the field of Political Studies gave some insight into Merton's (1972) notion of complexity regarding the “status set” that comes with the insider/outsider position that I occupied during the course of this research journey. In other words, my status in the Department cannot necessarily be described in the insider/outsider perspective because even though I am no longer an employee in the department and University, I have nonetheless maintained deep ties and relations with my former colleagues. Although this proved useful in accessing staff members who teach on the PDIS programme, with most of them making themselves available for my research and offering advice on how to strengthen the study – it did feel at times that this was out of obligation. This was particularly seen with one of the academics on the programme who was out of the province with her research commitments. When she came back, she had student supervision commitments, department meetings and shortlisting staff interviews. Therefore, she was unavailable for my duration of my "site" visit during the data generation process. She made time for the interview literally a few hours before my departure. Thus, part of critical reflection on the insider/outsider reflection requires me to be honest regarding to what extent the availability of my research participants was out of genuine interest in the study or out of obligation to a former colleague who was still a close friend to most.

---

[20] An honours degree in South African higher education, is a postgraduate qualification classified as level 8 in the HEQSF (for an extensive discussion, please see Chapter Five).

One of the difficulties I encountered interviewing my former colleagues was that we would "naturally" move away from the interview and begin to share common experiences regarding our teaching and learning, as well as curriculum choices in the PDIS programme. For instance, in one of the interviews, Lecturer 1, when making a point, would often attempt to remind me, "Remember Mlamuli you were there when we initially planned…." Or Lecturer 3, suggesting that, "I used to complain in your office about…." And I invariably, would be agreeing with them and helping them recall. Garton and Copland (2010) refers to this kind of interview as an "acquaintance interview", in which prior relationships are used to cumulatively build up on the shared experiences and knowledge in the interview process, which is co-constructed. Garton and Copland (2010, p. 535) define an acquaintance interview as "semi structured interviews in an ethnographic research culture in which the researcher is an insider and in which the interviewer and interviewee have a prior relationship", and that relationship could both be research or personal. While I agree with Garton and Copland (2010), and Giloi (2015b) that there is some advantage in having a prior relationship with my research participants, participants may struggle to reconcile overlapping identities, and this happened during some of our interviews. This was seen in how the interviews would shift from interview/interviewer, to former colleagues sharing similar experiences about academic practices and returning back to the interview/interview roles once again. Thus, the notion of "acquaintance interview" best captures the kind of interview I had with my research participants.

Like Giloi (2015b) reflecting on her doctoral research in graphic design having to interview her colleagues, I too found myself nervous, and felt awkward about asking questions on aspects of their course which I already knew and had had prior experience with. This added to the fact that we kept slipping into conversational mode, discussing pedagogical issues that we shared but were somehow not related to the current study, which is apparently a common occurrence in acquaintance interviews (Garton & Copland, 2010; Giloi, 2015b). I now discuss my secondary positionality, regarding my intellectual and epistemological positioning in the research journey.

Drawing on the seminal work of Mudimbe (1988) and Rodney (1972) to influence the way I think about Africa, knowledge production and the colonial invention of "Africa", I am a proponent of the decolonisation school of thought and deeply sympathetic to the clarion calls to decolonise institutions of higher learning in South Africa, curriculum being knowledge and its production (see Heleta, 2016b; Keet, 2014a; Mbembe, 2015). I am particularly fascinated intellectually by the scholarship that is seeking to unite Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean islands and North America under the banner of the "Global South", not necessarily as a geographical area as Comaroff and Comaroff (2012) cautions, but rather as the intellectual and epistemological alliances between those who are categorised as "oppressed" and marginalised in intellectual community. This includes the scholarship of scholars such as Dussel (1993), Torres (2007) and Gordon (2015b), who critically interrogate what colonisation looks like at the level of being and knowledge.

I note and agree with the seminal work from the Maori anthropologist Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2013), who argues about the historical and contemporary roots of research and its ties with colonial modes of ownership, control and subjugation. Smith (2013) calls us on to be cautious when we are doing research and not merely to accept and think through of research as a neutral, apolitical and innocent process. She suggests that the

> word itself, 'research', is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary. When mentioned in many indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful. It is so powerful that indigenous people even write poetry about research. The ways in which scientific research is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history for many of the world's colonized peoples. It is a history that still offends the deepest sense of our humanity. Just knowing that someone measured our 'faculties' by filling the skulls of our ancestors with millet seeds and compared the amount of millet seed to the capacity for mental thought offends our sense of who and what we are (Smith, 2013, pp. 1-2).

Linking the operational function of colonialism to the indigenous communities in New Zealand, Smith (2013) relates her argument with Said's (1975) notion of "western discourse" to refer to the manner in which the colonised were collected, classified and represented back to the West. This for Said, is supported by the "institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles" (Said, 1978, p. 3). Looking at Smith (2013), Said (1978) and Mudimbe (1988), I argue that the constant process of the western discourse worked between the scholarly and the imagination in socially constructing statements and discourses about the indigenous, the Oriental and the African, combining "both the formal scholarly pursuits of knowledge and the informal, imaginative, anecdotal constructions of the Other … intertwined with each other and with the activity of research…..[resulting in] research [being] a significant site of struggle between the interests and ways of knowing of the West and the interests and ways of resisting of the Other" (Smith, 2013, pp. 1-2). The colonial foundations re-presented the Others in the "colonial archive" (Matthews, 2018), thereby indicating an epistemological frustration for Smith (2013), and more recently for Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2018a) in the difficulty this presents for us in terms of conducting research while being cognisant of the colonial foundations and asking to what extent our research can re-humanise the Others and the production of knowledge in ways that are just, appropriate and liberating. While other decolonial scholars have alluded to Wa Thiong'o's (1992) challenge of responding to the "colonial archive" and speaking back to the imperial inequality in the global production of knowledge through African academics in general, and scholars in the global South in particular, to use our mother tongues and local languages as an attempt at subverting the whiteness and re-asserting the pride, fluidity and linguistic diversity of our local languages (see Mwaniki, van Reenen, & Makalela, 2018; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018b; Shava & Manyike, 2018).

I have nonetheless purposively chosen to position myself in the above debate in two ways. Firstly, I have intentionally chosen to adopt a much more linguistically inclusive and broader conception of decolonisation. It is one that appropriates the use of English as an attempt at communicating much more broadly and at advancing efforts at decolonising higher education curriculum in general, and the field of Political Studies in particular. Secondly, I draw heavily on "dead white men" such as Bernstein (2000) and Bourdieu (2011), and one "still living", Maton (2013a), to argue that a) decolonial scholars need to fashion much more inclusive and broader conception of decolonisation beyond the epistemic erasure and silencing of particular knowledge systems as "Other", and to draw from different scholars in foregrounding own work (see Chapter six); and that b), Bernstein's (2000) pedagogic device offers us three fields of practice that we can look at as the three arenas on which the contestations over decolonisation could take place (see Chapter seven). Thus Bernstein, Bourdieu and Maton help foreground the field of Political Studies to look more closely at the organising patterns as well as how knowledge is produced, sequenced, positioned, refocused and evaluated in the PDIS programme, as well as the knowers that are valued.

Building up on the work of Smith (2013), Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2018a) reconceptualises research as "re-search" and an attempt at exposing how deeply political the pursuits for knowledge have been. Commenting on the intricate relationship between *re-search*, power and methodology, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2018a) focuses on the

> relationship between methodology with power, the imperial/colonial project as well as the implications for those who happened to be the re-searched. Broadly speaking, what is at issue is re-search as a terrain of pitting the interests of the "re-searcher" against those of the "re-searched." The core concern is about how re-search is still steeped in the Euro-North America-centric worldview. Re-searching continues to give the "re-searcher" the power to define. The "re-searched" appear as "specimens" rather than people define re-search methodology as a process of seeking to know the *"Other"* who becomes the object, rather than subject of re-search and what is means to be known by others (emphasis in original).

I argue in this study that looking critically at how Political Studies knowledge is recontextualised in the PDIS curriculum could be seen as a decolonisation process. This is seen in the knowledge "blind spot" that is often seen where Political Studies knowledge is often taken for granted and not critically explored in terms of its organising structures, selection, sequencing, pacing, evaluation and legitimation. Exploring the knowledge and knower structures of the PDIS programme can help curriculum designers, lecturers and students identify the knowledge and knower codes of the curriculum, and begin to help them firstly, critically reflect on their curriculum codes and how to enable epistemological access to students. Secondly, this study helps lecturers and curriculum designers to construct their curriculum in ways that are inclusive, open and socially just, being critically aware of the kind of knowledge that they choose to legitimate, and those they choose to disregard in their knowledge recontextualisation.

I now move to discuss in detail, how data was transcribed, coded and analysed in this study:

4.4 Data analysis

I transcribed the interviews myself. Henning, Van Rensburg, and Smit (2004) and Giloi (2015b) recommend that researchers transcribe their own data as this slow process helps them to get closer to, and understand our data better. Indeed, the slow pace of listening to the interview in full, then slowing it down to listen closer in order to transcribe, making sure you captured what the participants were saying; enabled a level of rigor and attention to the data that was not there during the actual interviews. I agree with Giloi's (2015b) suggestion that transcribing is not only about writing down the interviews as you are listening to them, but it is a complex process that involves a range of decision regarding whether to

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

Thus one can suggest that transcribing involves at least two kinds of activity, one is selectivity and often the "unavoidable knowledge and skills….to interpret and represent what is going on" (Giloi, 2015b) and the writing down word for word, what he research participants are saying in their own words. All interviews were transcribed verbatim. Non-verbal signs, gestures, and pauses were excluded from the audio recordings but were kept separate in a research journal. Although some scholars have suggested that verbatim transcription is not necessary in a thematic or content analysis because the analysis technique is used to identity common ideas from the data (see Ireland, 2003), this study nonetheless transcribed the interviews verbatim.

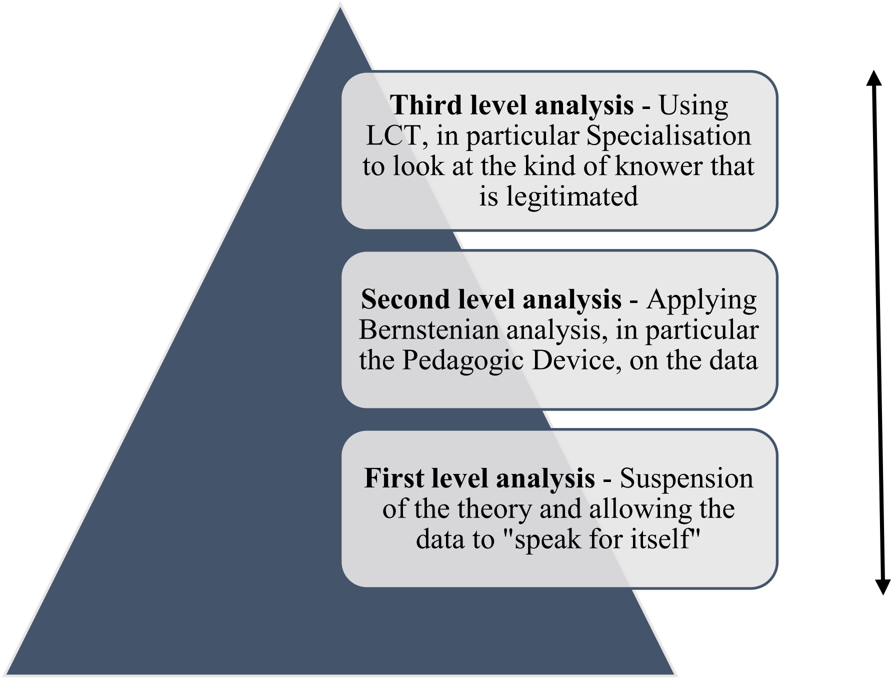
4.4.1 Organising the data

I organised the data according to the module folders that contained all aspects pertaining to the different modules. Transcribed interviews and curriculum documents were all stored prior to coding. The documents were coded using the steps suggested by Brenner (1985) on content analysis. These steps involved categorising the data, creating labels, coding it, reflecting on the data, and developing interpretations and meanings.

4.4.2 Coding and analysing the data

Data analysis in qualitative research often involves condensing raw data into themes/categories that are based on interpretation and valid inference. Patton (2005) suggests that this process is driven by inductive reasoning, where we look at the emerging themes become apparent in the data as we code, examine and interpret.

Although Patton (2005), Singh (2015) and Saldaña (2015) comment that qualitative research should not exclude the deductive reasoning, where theory is imposed on the data and the study becomes theory testing regarding its applicability – I purposely chose to use both inductive and deductive reasoning in order to achieve two things. Firstly, decolonial scholars caution against what Gordon (2005) calls "epistemic closure" where we impose the theory on the data initially and we close the different possibilities of understanding our research phenomena. Secondly, using both approaches was deemed suitable in this study particularly because the field of Political Studies has come under intense scrutiny with the #RhodesMustFall and other student movements regarding the curricula being taught and its pedagogical practices. I was interested in shining a spotlight on the academic and recontextualising logic that underpins the PDIS programme regarding the dominant themes and focus areas in its curriculum. This could not have been done, if the pedagogic device and LCT dimensions were immediately imposed on the data, without allowing the emergence of the themes/categories themselves and thereby introducing the theoretical approaches later to make sense of the data and the researched phenomena. I have purposively chosen both inductive and deductive approaches in allowing me to tell the PDIS story regarding the emergent key themes/categories and focus areas of the programme. The theoretical lenses were thereafter, brought back to offer rich languages of description, or what was necessary in analysing closer the recontextualisation of Political Studies knowledge. The structure of the analysis is graphically represented below as:


Third level analysis - Using LCT, in particular Specialisation to look at the kind of knower that is legitimated
Second level analysis - Applying Bernstenian analysis, in particular the Pedagogic Device, on the data
First level analysis - Suspension of the theory and allowing the data to "speak for itself"

Graph 4.1 Graphical representation of the dialectical stages of analysing the data.[21]

---

[21] It should be noted that although this graph appears to indicate that I started from the first level of analysis where I was making sense of the raw data going all the way to theoretical analysis in levels two and three, during the course of writing and analysis. I was moving between and across the different stages. Hence the arrow symbolizing and representing the dialectical nature of the analysis.

As mentioned, the first stage of the analysis was to ensure that I suspend the theory and conceptual framework of the study, and that I let the "data speak". This was important because it allowed for the themes/categories to emerge on their own, without necessarily confining the data to specific theoretical categories or limiting the possibilities of what emerges (Saldaña, 2015). In the second level of analysis, I used Bernstein's pedagogic device, in particular, his three fields of practice (see Chapters Three and Six respectively) to look at the discipline of Political Studies as a field of contested forces, each with its own "rules" and "languages of legitimation", with its contestations over symbolic capital. Rather than offering broad discussion on how knowledge is legitimated in the field of Political Studies, Bernstein offered an external language of description for the study focusing a closer look on how knowledge is selected, re-focused, organised, sequenced, paced and evaluated. This became the "translation device" (Maton & Doran, 2017) that helped me between going back and forth between the data and the theory, and making meaning in the researched phenomena. This included looking at Political Studies as a field that has three rules: the distributive rules (the field were the discipline of Political Studies itself is produced and reproduced); the rules of recontextualisation (the selection of the knowledge material/course content and others from the field of production to the classroom; that is, the construction of the PDIS programme); and the evaluation rules (that is, looking at the teaching and learning, assessment and evaluation of knowledge and to what extent, that has been received and reproduced by students) (see Chapter Three). The LCT dimensions of Specialisation and Gazes were employed in this study in order to explore and uncover the "rules of the game" and offer finer languages of description in looking at the field of Political Studies as enacted in the PDIS programme (Maton, 2013a), as well as the valued gazes that are legitimated in the programme.

The first level of analysis could be referred to an empirical thematic analysis, in which I immersed myself in the data searching for themes emerging from the data itself. Each of the interview transcripts were read in their entirety, annotated and summarised (Chen, 2010; Creswell, 1994; Creswell & Creswell, 2017; Saldaña, 2015). This was followed by a very close reading of the data and sorting them out into "substantive categories", which was coding according to participants' own accounts, as well as the researcher's descriptions of what is going on (Chen, 2010).

In order to code properly, documents were coded separately from the interviews. This was done, not only to sort out the amount of document and interviews being analysed, but also to see to what extent, there was coherence between what the academics themselves considered to be legitimate and valued knowledge and knowers in the field of Political Studies, and the documents produced in their PDIS curriculum. 58 coding categories were created from the documents themselves. The coding scheme itself contains a definition of each code category, and an example from the data. The extract of the coding scheme provided below serves as an illustration.

Code	Code description	Example from the data

1.1 Africa and international relations	This set of codes categorises all issues related with Africa and the manner in which the continent relates with the international community as indicated in the curriculum documents	
1.1.1 AU and African states	This set of codes categorises the complex relationship between Africa, the African Union and international countries	Conventionally, particularly from realist and economic-structuralist perspectives, Africa is seen to be a peripheral, structurally constrained actor in international affairs. But Africa is also perceived to be moving from being an object of international relations to being its own agent, a player in its own right. Some have even proclaimed the 21st century to belong to Africa.
1.1.2 Illicit drugs	This coding set categorises illicit drugs as part of the larger challenges of drug trafficking and securitisation in Africa as reflected in curriculum documents	How have regional actors in Africa reacted to labels of the region being awash with illicit drugs? Discuss whether the securitisation of drug trafficking has been a hindrance to the fight against drug trafficking in Africa?
1.1.3 Regionalism	This coding set categorises the focus on regional organisation and their role in internal peacekeeping as reflected in curriculum documents	The Libyan, the Malian and the Central African crisis will further provide the entry point for assessing the strategic partnership between the AU, ECOWAS, ECCAS and the UN in conflict management and peacekeeping – including the inherent tension linked to the implementation of the principle of Responsibility to Protect (R2P) as well as questions evolving around division of labour and burden-sharing between the three bodies.
1.1.4 Colonialism	This coding set categorises the focus on colonialism in relation to early postcolonial African scholars regarding development in Africa as reflected in curriculum documents	This year, Helen Zille attracted much attention with her tweet saying that colonialism wasn't all bad. Imagine that you are the reincarnation of Walter Rodney and write a letter to Zille, responding to her claim. Base yourself on the Rodney reading.

1.2 Assessment	This set of codes identifies issues that relate to assessment as reflected in the documents	
1.2.1 Essay	This set of codes categorises all issues related with an essay as a form of assessment in curriculum documents	The purpose of the essay assignment is to test your ability to construct and articulate carefully thought-out arguments. The essay aims to strengthen your ability to conduct independent research. This includes the ability to discern relevant information, to think critically about ways to respond to the question and provide adequate defence(s) to your chosen position or an ability to offer an alternative position to the one presented to you.
1.2.2 Oral Presentation	This set of codes categorises all issues reflecting in the curriculum documents that relate to presentations	The aim of presentations is to strengthen your ability to make arguments orally, assess your ability to collaborate with your peers, and your time management skills. The ability to present your ideas orally is a skill that is essential in all careers. The seminar, then, should be viewed as a place for you to hone these skills in the safe environment of your peers.
1.2.3 Class participation	This set of codes categorises all issues in the data that relate to the importance of class participant in the seminars, as reflected in curriculum documents	Rather, what I'm not expecting you to speak confidently and at I'm looking for is constructive, well-informed, helpful contributions. (e.g. by asking you to contribute – or, alternatively NOT ever spot' – in class), please let me know. If you're nervous or unsure and/or if I can help you in some way

Table 4.4: Examples from the coding scheme for emerging themes from the curriculum documents

Now turning to the coding of the interview with the lecturers, 41 coding categories were created from the lecturer interview transcripts. As with the coding scheme for the documents, the lecturer coding scheme itself contains a definition of each code category and an example from the data. The extract below serves as an illustration.

Code	Code description	Example from the data
1.3 Student	This set of codes categorises all codes that relate to students	

	in general as reflected in the interviews with lecturers	
1.3.1 Strong students	This set categorises all the issues that relate to “strong students” as indicated by the lectures	our University should be producing, particularly the type of black graduates that we hope will come out of our institutions and so I know that her and I share an ethos of trying to create as critically minded courses that remind students that they must live with your information intact and be able to recall historical facts and particular types of analysis, as possible; but you must also be socially conscious and critically minded.
1.3.2 Good Political Studies students	This coding set categorises all the issues that relate to what a “good” Political Studies student looks like, as indicated by the lecturers	Somebody who is interested, somebody who does make an attempt to read, somebody who does try and find different arguments coming from the readings, and tries to distinguish between them and starts finding his or her own position.
1.3.4 Students dictating the content	This coding set categorises all the issues that relate to how students dictate the content of the curriculum, as indicated by the lecturers	When they registered it was the first semester, I sent them a survey and said “I have the following themes, which ones are you most interested in and I have the following case studies, which are you most interested in”, and then I let them choose,
1.3.5 Students’ academic background	This coding set categorises all the issues that relate to academic background of the students that need to take the PDIS programme, as indicated by the lecturers	I am always having introductory key concepts in the course, because some students doing the course, have had economics as an undergraduate, but others don’t know what you mean when you say free market or if you say supply-demand. They don’t know what these terms mean and so you need to explain them to the students.
1.3.6 Bad students	This coding set categorises all the issues that relate to bad students as reflected by the lecturers	a bad student googles Fair trade African farmers, finds a whole bunch of sources, grabs a paragraph here and sticks it all together and doesn't come to an understanding of what Fair Trade is, how it works, who does it benefit.
1.3.7 Mediocre students	This coding set categorises all the issues that relate to	So it is not just me...if I have that level of support as well, then the class is successful, if

	“mediocre” students as reflected by the lecturers	everybody is, I don’t want to use the word, mediocre, then you can’t achieve much in the learning experience. It is important that there is that unevenness, if there are some bright students who are motivated and speak and so on.
1.3.8 Academic performance	This coding set categorises all the issues that relate to academic performance of students as reflected by the lecturers	I’m not sure, this year I was chatting to people just now, it just seems that across the board, undergraduate and postgraduate are not doing well, I don’t think the way they are doing can be attributed to anything I am doing.

Table 4.5: Examples from the coding scheme for emerging themes from interview transcripts with the lecturers

Following this, I then moved to the second and third level of coding the data, where I incorporated Bernstein’s pedagogic device and Maton’s dimension of Specialisation into the data. In determining the strength of the relationships in selection, pacing, sequencing and evaluation of the knowledge transmitted by the recontextualising agents and received by the pedagogic subjects, Bernstein’s codes were used. The strength of the relationship was classified as either strong (+) or weak (-), or at times as a combination both of strong and weak classification (see table 6).

			Coding		
			Strong	Weak	Combination
Classification			+	-	+ -
	Relationship between every day and Specialisation	Strength of boundary between the subject area and everyday knowledge	+	-	+ -
	Between Specialisations	Strength of boundary between the subject area and other subject areas	+	-	+ -
	Within Specialisations	Strength of the boundary between sections or topics within the subject area	+	-	+ -
Framing					
	Selection	Extent to which the academic controls selection of the content	+	-	+ -

	Sequencing	Extent to which the academic controls sequencing of content	+	-	+ -
	Pacing	Extent to which the academic controls pacing of content	+	-	+ -
	Evaluation	Extent to which the academic makes explicit the rules of evaluation of students' academic performance	+	-	+ -
	Academic/student relationship	Extent of the social relationship (formal or informal) between academics and students	+	-	+ -

Table 4.6: Conceptual categories for characterising knowledge in the PDIS curriculum (Bernstein, 2000; Singh, 2015).

4.5 Ethical considerations

In qualitative research, terms like "validity" and reliability" no longer make sense, and as such, qualitative researchers have sought to use "trustworthiness" for meaning making (Fomunyam, 2015). Sinkovics and Alfoldi (2012) provide meaning for trustworthiness in qualitative research by suggesting that it should be seen as a demonstration of soundness of the findings and arguments that are built by the findings of the study. This means for Sinkovics and Alfoldi, that trustworthiness is largely about taking the necessary step to ensure that findings of the study stand the test of time. Thomas and Magilvy (2011) provide an alternative definition of trustworthiness by considering it to be the "characteristics of a study or research which guarantees that the results of the study are dependable and reflect the context from which it was developed", with Morrow (2005) adding credibility and dependability to our understanding. In my study, ethical considerations were addressed in a number of ways. First, ethical clearance was obtained from Rhodes University's Education Higher Degrees Committee (EHDC) before any commencement of the data collection process.[22] Secondly, consent forms were signed by the research participants before the interviews began. The consent form was accompanied by consent letters that explained in detail the research project, objectives of the research study, ethical clearance number, supervisor details. Thirdly, participants' anonymity was protected through the use of pseudonyms.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I outlined the research tools that I relied on and used in my research journey. I started by firstly outlining the broad research approach that I adopted, looking at and exploring Social Realism, qualitative research, the complexities of insider/outsider positionality and how they influenced and shaped my research.

---

[22] Please see Appendix B

Emphasis was placed on how a Social Realist qualitative paradigm was chosen, as well as a critical discussion on the complexities and challenges of positionality, and how they impacted on this study.

In the following chapter, I explore more closely, the relationship between curriculum and knowledge. I argue that before we look at the legitimation of knowledge and knowers in the field of Political Studies in general and in the PDIS programme in particular, we first need to explore the relationship between curriculum knowledge and the influential curriculum discourses that have shaped the way we think about curricula (both nationally and internationally).

Chapter Five

Curriculum and Knowledge

International, Local, Institutional Perspectives

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I trace the influential curriculum discourses that have shaped and influenced our thinking regarding curricula in South African higher education. Unlike other studies that map this these shifts and continues (see for example Giloi, 2015; Singh 2015; Vorster, 2010). I explore to what extent to which Grahamstown in general, and Rhodes University in particular, being the last English colonial metropole against the ever encroaching Afrikaner influences, has any implications on the knowledge and knowers that were (and to some extent are still) legitimated. In this chapter, I argue that before we look at the knowledge and knowers that are valued and legitimated in the field of Political Studies in general, and in the PDIS programme in particular, we first need to look at the curriculum discourses and the thinking factors and forces that have influenced it. In other words, and in relation to this study, we cannot foreground knowledge and how it is produced, selected, recontextualised into the PDIS curriculum as well as the "discursive gaps" that appear when knowledge is appropriated, selected and re-focused from one field and taken into another, without first providing a context on the different views that have shaped and influenced curriculum thinking in higher education at an international, national, and institutional level. Tracing curriculum knowledge and the discourses that have influenced it across the different perspectives is important as it allows one to see the kinds of knowledge(s) and knowers that are valued in different perspectives - that is, internationally, nationally as well as institutionally in the site of this study, Rhodes University.

In the following section, I begin with a (brief) critical discussion on what is meant by curriculum in the higher education field, as well as how the term was understood and operationalised in this research journey:

5.2 Conceptualising curriculum

There is no consensus regarding what the term "curriculum" means (see for example Gyamera & Burke, 2018; Ramrathan, 2016; Shay, 2015). Curriculum is deeply contested and is understood in different ways as a result of varying pedagogical philosophies, and the rapidly changing nature of curriculum studies (du Preez, 2017, p. 95). du Preez (2017) for example, observes that curriculum can be understood on three levels - that is at the *ontological level* (that is, the nature or essence of curriculums in different historical moments and time), the *epistemological level* (that is, the theories of knowledge that underpinned curriculum studies at various times) and *methodological level* (that is, the theories of methods that focus on curriculum studies which concern the different approaches to learning, teaching, assessment and others). This framework is useful to thinking through curriculum as a complex and contested arena, that allows us to think about it as constituting the theories of knowledge, knowledge production, the nature of being, as well as methods applied in the pursuit of knowledge.

Contrary to the above holistic conception of curricula, influential curriculum scholars such as Pinar offer a conception of what curriculum could mean in proposing that we look at curriculum as content (Pinar, 2012, 2014). He argues that content is the "life wire" of every educational endeavour, resulting in some suggesting that without content, there could be no meaningful learning that can take place (see for example Fomunyam, 2015). For Pinar (2012), content is defined as what is or what will be studied. This means that whether content is generated by the lecturer or the students or is rather prescribed by the curriculum, it is still part of the teaching and learning process. The understanding of curriculum as content as suggested by Pinar (2018) and Fomunyam (2015) although useful in helping us to see curriculum as what is prescribed, it is nonetheless limited in looking at the broader and complex role that curriculum plays in reinforcing social class and knowledge production, in legitimating particular kinds of knowers, as well as reinforcing or challenging institutional culture(s).

Pinar's conception of curriculum as content is limiting in that it seeks to reduce our conceptual and phenomenological understanding of curriculum simply to what is prescribed and written down in curriculum documents. South African higher education scholars have argued that curriculum should be seen as an institution, embedded within it, norms, values, beliefs and behaviours that are implicated in all aspects of an institution's life (please see Jansen, 2009: Reid, 2004, 2006; Terwel and Walker, 2004). This means that curriculum itself is not a neutral text inscribed in the course syllabus necessarily for students to obtain a qualification. This reconceptualization of curricula away from the limited lenses of curriculum as content, to looking at curriculum in the institutional sense, broadens the debate and allows us to look at curricular as a holistic entity.

Building up on the work of Reid (2006) and Terwel and Walker (2004), Jansen (2009) argues that looking at curriculum as an institution entails looking at it, not only as content and what is prescribed, but also at the implicit, hidden, ideological beliefs that are embedded in that curricula. They argue that curriculum could be understood "not only as a text inscribed in the course syllabus for a particular qualification, but an understanding of knowledge encoded in the dominant beliefs, values and behaviours deeply embedded in all aspects of institutional life" (Jansen, 2009, pp. 125-126). For these scholars, curriculum includes not only what is formally enacted and written down, but also the socio-historical markers, thoughts, values and assumptions regarding the nature of knowledge in a particular institution. In other words, curriculum is more than what is prescribed, enacted, recommended or what one is taught to read. This includes the cultures, ceremonies, symbols, rituals, discourses and other cultural transactions that the institution says about itself and tries to uphold. This inclusive and expansive conception of curriculum allows us to think through curriculum, not only as something enacted, transmitted and discussed but also experienced phenomenologically, seen, felt, spoken of and inculcated in us. It is within this more inclusive understanding of curriculum that I investigate the context in more depth in this chapter prior to presenting the findings from my study.

In my study, I draw from Bernstein's (2000) argument that curriculum should be seen as what counts as valid knowledge and how that knowledge is transmitted. Bernstein's (2000) work in looking at the underlying mechanisms which shape and influence what counts as valid knowledge, how that knowledge is transmitted and evaluated, is at the heart of my research project on exploring the knowledge and knower structures that are legitimated in the PDIS programme. I draw on Hugo's (2010) work, arguing that curriculum is concerned with the notion of hierarchy in the transmission of knowledge,

> The crudest, most fundamental operating logic of curriculum… is hierarchy. The basic aim of a curriculum is to move a learner to a higher level within an organized knowledge structure, not just a different place within it. This higher level includes what happened below but transcends it by building something new that relies on what came before and then moves beyond it. This insight goes back to its archetypal articulation in Plato's Cave and his Ladder of Beauty. The history of hierarchy as the informing principle behind the systematic learning of knowledge structures is deeply embedded in Western education (Hugo 2007). It is not about dry, repetitive ascent but involves working with the deepest, highest, and richest parts of what it is to be human in an educational way (Hugo, 2010, p. 56).

In the above quotation, Hugo (2010) adopts a classical conception of curriculum in arguing that a curriculum should be seen as a process of running, or ascension toward higher forms of knowledge, indicative of systemic learning within an organised knowledge structure. In other words, curriculum could be seen as a formalised body of work that symbolises that valid knowledge that is being transmitted in an institution. In addition, I argue in this study that curriculum is not just valid, transmitted knowledge within an organised knowledge structure. It is also phenomenologically experienced, reflected upon, discussed in the seminar rooms as well as evaluated through assessment (see for exampleYoung, Lambert, Roberts, & Roberts, 2014; Young & Muller, 2015, 2016). This means that curriculum is conceptualised and understood as the transmission of valid knowledge in the PDIS programme, as well as how it is experienced, understood and evaluated through the various assessment methods. However, the PDIS programme occurs within the global context and it is to these influences that I now turn.

5.3 Curriculum discourses: international influences

In this section, I trace the discourses, polices and others that have influenced higher education curriculum thinking in the global community. While it was broadly acknowledged that South African higher education would need an overhaul in response to the institutional differentiation and structural inequality brought by the apartheid regime (see Badat, 2009, 2010, 2017b), global higher education was similarly confronting the challenges of globalisation, internationalisation and massification resulting in the dramatic increase in the volume, scope and complexity in higher education (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Teferra & Altbachl, 2004). Light and Cox (2001) and Altbach and Knight (2007) suggest that these global discourses and their shift in higher education are underpinned by capital and its investment in the "knowledge society", which is seen in the emergence of the service sector, the dependency on higher knowledge products, and the increased need for higher education trained personnel for economic growth (Altbach & Knight, 2007, pp. 290-291).

This new status of higher education comes about as a result of multiple cultural and structural changes within society and in the state intervention in higher education (Vorster, 2010). This is seen in how the international influence of postmodern thought and the emergence of new global economic order that demands interconnectivity and multilateral trade, has led to the weakening of nation state borders, the separation between civil society and the government, between manual and intellectual work and the different kinds of knowledges, the difference between society and higher education, and the notion of a university as a "public good" (Ensor, 2003; Light & Cox, 2001; Vorster, 2010). Visible within the shift, the government and the civil society are now influential in deciding the focus and direction of higher education. While western governments have reduced their financial investment in higher education (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Streitwieser, 2014), this has nonetheless not stopped the demand for higher education to provide a skilled labour force that is able to adjust and operate within the ever changing global order which is increasingly dependent on rapid production, reproduction, transmission and exchange of knowledge. This has resulted in the increasing challenges of global higher education facing different expectations, differing views of learners and learning, the often illusory nature of transformed teaching and learning practices, as well as time constraints and pedagogy (Bovill et al., 2015). Thus, the notion of the "knowledge society" or the "knowledge economy" has become a common theme in making sense of the contradictions and continuing challenges brought forth by the increased globalised nature of higher education, particularly in the west.

Having outlined the nature of global higher education discourses and challenges, I now move closer to the South African higher education terrain, in shedding spotlight on the discourses that have shaped higher education in general, and curriculum thinking in particular.

5.4 Curriculum discourses: Local influences

In this section, I trace the influential discourses, polices, thinking and others that have influenced curriculum thinking and its design in South African higher education.

The post-apartheid government had the necessary task of unifying a fragmented education system divided along the lines of race, language and geographical location (Badat, 2017b; Bond, 2000; Boughey, 2003). As extensively covered in the section in "mapping the field" in Chapter Two, higher education institutions were seen as the "knowledge bank" that were historically relied upon for imposing the apartheid racial categories, white supremacy and unequal knowledge production.

In the South African higher education context, curriculum discourses can be classified through three critical stages/phases – firstly, the access and democratisation phase beginning in the early 1990s to the early 2000s;

secondly, the throughput and efficiency phase which was largely concerned with teaching and learning from 2001 towards 2016, and finally, the higher education students movement phase which offered (and to some extent, still continues to offer) much more broader and intersectional critique on the nature of higher education curriculum, beginning in early 2015's continuing to the present - see for example Lange, 2017). It should be noted that these historical periods are only heuristic and do not indicate clear and well demarcated historical periods in higher education curriculum discourses in South Africa. They are used and adopted as applied in Lange's (2017) analysis of post-apartheid curriculum policies. They are employed as careful analytical frames for the different curriculum discourses that are seen within the South African context. For instance, the throughput and retention phase intersects and combines with the emergence of the 2015-2016 student movements, particularly in historically white universities.

The access and democratisation phase, spanning the early 1990s to the early 2000s, focused on ensuring access, equity and historical redress (Lange, 2017). Responding to the fragmentation and institutional differentiation that had occurred under the apartheid regime, this period was concerned with ensuring some form of democratisation of formal access to higher education (Badat, 2009, 2010; Heleta, 2016b). The policy framework that was produced during this period focused on responding to the objectives and aims of the National Commission on Higher Education (hereafter referred to as the NCHE), Education White Paper 3, the Higher Education Act of 1997 and the South African Qualification Act of 1995, which created the National Qualifications Framework (hereafter referred to as the NQF). The thinking of the time suggested that the NQF served as a necessary policy in ensuring the democratisation of knowledge and access to institutions of higher learning. This was particularly seen in how the democratisation of knowledge was one of the central objectives of the NQF, and an attempt at breaking the boundaries "between education and training, between academic and everyday knowledge, and between different knowledges, subjects or disciplines within the academic domain" (Ensor, 2004, p. 340). Consistent with this purpose, Ensor (2004) and Lange (2017) observe that the NQF architecture was meant to achieve the outcomes-based qualifications independent and outside of the purview of the institutions that were delivering the qualifications. Although there was some resistance in historically white universities such as Rhodes University who used their resources and influence to fight against the adopt of modularisation in curricula, the effects of outcomes based education was felt in both basic and higher education (see for example Ensor, 2004; Allais, 2009), particularly in historically Black universities. The purpose of the outcomes based education was perhaps more explicitly articulated in the Education White Paper 3's commitment to equity and redress, in the call for coherence across the different undergraduate and postgraduate programmes, and their streamlining to ensure that curriculum content, relevance and delivery is achieved in an equitable manner.

> 2.35 The Ministry, in co-operation with the CHE, through its Higher Education Quality Committee, will initiate a thorough review of the structure and duration of degree, diploma and certificate programmes, aimed at achieving a more appropriate fit between the school, or (more broadly) further education and training, and higher

> education systems. The review will necessarily entail an assessment of the broad curriculum in higher education in terms of content, relevance, design and delivery (Department of Education, 1997a, pp. 17-18).

The access and democratisation phase was a politically fraught exercise that attempted to transform higher education institutions into inclusive and socially just spaces. This was especially seen with the main documents that were framing the future of education and training system in the country. These included the National Education Policy Statement Investigation (1992), the African National Congress' (ANC) "Policy Document for Education and Training", and the National Training Board's National Training Strategy Initiative (1994); which all took a historical and Marxist orientation in linking the marginalised experiences of the Black working class as being important for the economic development of South Africa through the education system. Thus, the new democratic government needed a policy alternative that was going to respond to the racialised capitalism that unpinned apartheid racial order while ensuring that the then depressed economy had access to the scarce skills that were needed to create and maintain economic growth.

> An educational system that had been designed to maintain racialised capitalist accumulation needed to be replaced by its opposite. The White Paper on Education and Training (1995) and, especially, the SAQA Act (1995) were supposed to bring about this necessary change. Warnings about the implications of the suggested policy choices to respond to this problem were voiced as early as 1992 by Harold Wolpe, who, although understanding that "to educate and to equip the people with the skills to participate in the management of the economy (. . .) has become a matter of particular urgency" (Unterhalter, Wolpe and Botha, 1992, p.5), was also concerned that this was leading to a "preoccupation with human resource development outside the context of political and economic development strategies" (Lange, 2017, pp. 36-37).

While committing to the democratisation of knowledge and ensuring that the historically marginalised and oppressed Black community, the post-apartheid government was also confronted with the challenges of driving out the depressed economy out of stagnation and simulating some level of economic growth and industrial development (Ensor, 2004). In order to achieve this, the thinking of the time was that access to higher education was essential for the large numbers of Black South Africans who had been historically dispossessed and pushed to the peripheries of higher education in the "Bush colleges".[23] The progressive ideal of "from sweeper to engineer" mantra was dominant in the broader debate about education and skills that were deemed important for the first decade of democracy in South Africa (Lange, 2017). What was particularly interesting within the access and democratisation phase were the early discussions by the NQF which revolved around the structure of knowledge in the professional, formative and vocational education, in realising the ideals of the "from sweeper to engineer" dream (Bond, 2000; Lange, 2017). It should be noted that underpinning much of these debates, was an ideological shift that began with what could be seen as a leftist, basic-needs orientated Reconstruction and Development Programme[24] that was central to the economic and educational policy of the ANC government, to shift into a neoliberal market logic meant to stress the importance of privatisation, deregulation, and trade liberalisation (see for example Peet, 2002). This policy inconsistence and ideological shift, was largely occasioned by the collapse of the Soviet Union and the increasing role of global capitalism and market liberalisation. Thus, the tension between the focus on ensuring some form of democratisation and access to higher education knowledge in response to the history of apartheid and marginality, against the backdrop of what was a depressed economy that was stagnant and needed to grow in enabling the job opportunities that were required, especially in critical skills that would enable socio-economic industrialisation. Thus, overall, the access and democratisation discourse was largely about 1) ensuring that institutions of higher learning were transformed, into inclusive and open spaces beyond the narrow racial confines of the apartheid racial regime, 2) anticipating the "demographic revolution" (Cloete & Moja, 2005) that was anticipated as a result of responding to the first challenge, while balancing the tension of 3) the needs of the developing state in positioning higher education as central to the national production of scarce skills that would drive the economic growth and stimulate industrial development in what was a depressed economy.

---

[23] "Bush College" was a derogatory term that was used to refer to the higher education colleges that were specifically set up in the rural areas of Apartheid South Africa, for the primary reason of equipping the Black African population with "soft" or technical skills that were required either for the needs of the apartheid regime, and its ideal of spatial fragmentation in dividing up the country according to the differential ethnic groups (see Banda & Peck, 2016; Heleta, 2018; Mbembe, 2015).

Ensor (2004) suggests that both the National Commission on Higher Education's report on Higher Education and Training (1996) and the White Paper 3 (1997) foreground two curriculum discourses –a *disciplinary discourse* and a *credit accumulation and transfer discourse*. The *disciplinary discourse* placed great emphasis on a critical understanding and foregrounding of disciplinary apprenticeships of novice scholars into what is seen as a coherent disciplinary field, while the *credit accumulation and transfer discourse* favoured modular curricula structures that would, at least in theory, allow students to have access to their study programme, and would enable greater flexibility in entrance and exit points (Ensor, 2004; Vorster, 2010). In addition, the credit accumulation and transfer route would allow for easier transfer of credits between the institutions. The NQF became the mechanism for ensuring that there is credit accumulation and transfer across the different institutions. Ensor (2003) and Vorster (2010) argue that there is significantly less, rather than more, articulation and coherence between institutions than before the implementation for the NQF, largely as a result of the manner in which different institutions interpreted the policy in different ways and adopted particular kinds of curriculum guidelines in their own programmes. This resulted in students being limited in terms of curriculum choices as the institutions ensured that each programme had some level of coherence and progression.

---

[24] The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was a post-apartheid policy of the ANC government which focused on resolving the crippling socio-economic challenges that were confronting the country (Cornelissen, 2017). These included housing, water and electricity, health care, land reform, infrastructure and others (Cornelissen, 2017; Fine, 2018; Rogerson, 2018).

Ensor (2004, p. 345) discusses two further discourses that are relevant to curriculum; the *professional discourse* and what is referred to as the *therapeutic discourse*. The *professional discourse* responds to the professional qualifications such as psychology, engineering, medicine, pharmacy, law and other fields. The *professional discourse* emphasises the importance of apprenticeship relationship in which students are inducted into knowledge. Emphasis is on vertical pedagogical relations in which academics assume the position of the legitimate knower and the students become the passive consumers of curriculum knowledge. As extensively covered in the Chapter Three of this study, it is in professional discourse that Shulman (2005) argues are ways of transmitting curriculum knowledge, and that different disciplines have different ways of "disciplining" its valued and legitimate knowers. For example, how you transmit curriculum knowledge in a legal theory in Law is very different to how an academic would teach clinical practice in Pharmacy education. In other words, the field of legal theory has particular kinds of understanding regarding how classes are conducted, how case law is discussed, how they ought to be assessed, written up and evaluated. That differs from the discipline of Pharmacy which would have its own disciplinary logic regarding how that curriculum knowledge ought to be transmitted, that is, how to conduct experiments, calculating chemical formulas as well as assessment knowledge. Thus, different disciplines have different understandings and logics that govern how curriculum knowledge has to be transmitted and evaluated. One of the significant aspect of this study, was to explore the underlying mechanisms, processes and disciplinary logics regarding how Political Studies knowledge ought to be transmitted and evaluated in the PDIS programme.

The *professional discourses* offer a very limited option to students in terms of curriculum choices, selection, pacing and even sequencing. In contrast, the *therapeutic discourse* is often inward looking and focuses on the professional development of the self as opposed to a development of the body of knowledge. This is seen in how students have a high degree of curriculum choices and the relationship between the student and teacher is more horizontal and focused on the development of the "inner competencies" (Ensor, 2004, p. 345). Vorster (2010), building on the work of Ensor (2004), suggests that the therapeutic discourse is not evident in higher education excerpt in courses that often focus on life skills or within academic development programmes. The therapeutic discourse may also be present in disciplines such as Political Sciences (see Mngomezulu & Hadebe, 2018), Psychology (see Ratele, 2014, 2015), Sociology and others (see Fay, 2018).

For Ensor (2004), both the NCHE report and the White Paper 3 seem to argue for both models of the curriculum, but the NCHE report seems to favour the disciplinary approach while the White Paper 3 appears to favour the credit accumulation and transfer route. This results in the disciplinary tensions between the two discourses above. According to Moore and Young (2001, p. 448), the government has not been able to resolve the tensions between the professional discourse and therapeutic discourse and therefore, it is not surprising that "curriculum policy and its implementation is, at best, confused". This is seen in how higher education institutions interpret the policy directives differently, with Ensor showing that early in 2000, there were at least four different kinds of curriculum in evidence within the Sciences and Humanities faculties in South Africa (Ensor, 2002, 2003, 2004). Ramrathan (2016) notes this confusion, and explains what it meant practically for different institutions struggling to conform to the government requirements amidst the discourse tensions;

> Noting that changes to higher education since apartheid were to be driven by appropriate policy recommendations, the first wave of curriculum transformation that I experienced and worked through in higher education offerings was the modularising of courses into coherent units of learning. *Institutions were required to modularise their courses into term, semester or year-long modules. Credit values were allocated to each module. There was no clear guidance on how credit values should be allocated. Hence, institutions developed modules by breaking up existing courses into smaller units of learning and allocated credit points based on institutional decisions*. In my institution, a term module was allocated three credit points, a semester module was allocated six credit points and a year module was allocated 12 credit points (emphasis added) (Ramrathan, 2016, pp. 4-5).

Rhodes University, the site of the study, opted not to change its curriculum to conform to the policy directives. However, they did register their qualifications with SAQA[25] in compliance with the NQF requirements. Rhodes University then argued that the best way for it, as an institution, to be responsive to the needs of the market was to continue offering what it always offered since its student enrolment record had not dropped in their enrolment ratios.[26] This resulted in Rhodes University only registering generic BA, BSc, BComm, Diploma programmes, as well as the Postgraduate Diploma in International Studies; the focus of this study. This confirms Knight and Trowler's (2001) argument that higher education institutions comply with external demands if they begin to experience a push or some pressure to do so, such as when funding is dependent upon meeting certain criteria, policy requirements and others.

The second curriculum phase, that is, throughput and efficiency, from 2001 to 2016 (see Lange, 2017), focused largely on the creation of Higher Education from Basic Education. This resulted in the mergers, incorporation and amalgamation of different institutions that were deemed inefficient. The collapse of the vision of democratising higher education was seen in how a significant amount of Black students were struggling with graduating within the required minimum timeframe; and notion that South Africa failing to meet its commitment to access and others (see CHE, 2016; Department of Education, 1997a; Lange, 2017). While

---

[25] The South Africa Qualifications Authority's objectives are to "advance the objectives of the NQF; (b) oversee the further development and implementation of the NQF; and (c) co-ordinate the sub-frameworks" (National Qualifications Framework Act 67 of 2008). Please see for more information http://www.saqa.org.za/docs/legislation/2010/act67.pdf

[26] During the 1990s and early 2000s, contrary to public expectations of a massive increase in the massification of South African higher education institutions, some public higher education institutions experienced a drop-in enrolments. This was largely ascribed to the emergence of private higher education providers; the idea that historically Black universities lost their enrolment numbers to the better and well-resourced historically white universities, whose segregation polices had ceased with the collapse of the apartheid regime; as well as the low numbers of pupils who obtained the matriculation exemption passes (see Jansen, 2004).

Lange (2017) and CHE (2016) suggest that the two most decisive moments in the 2001-2016 historical moment for curriculum discourses and the thinking at the time, were the strong drive towards the implementation of the mergers and incorporation in institutions of higher learning, as well as the strong demand for accountability, democratic thought and financial access by the students and staff; I argue that one of the most significant curriculum moments post 2000 was the introduction of the Higher Education Qualifications Sub-Framework (hereafter referred to as the HEQSF). The HEQSF was introduced to ensure a single integrated framework for all higher learning achievements, transfer of students between and across the different programmes, and creation of qualifications types/designators/qualifiers and exit levels (CHE, 2013). This was seen in the introduction of the sub-framework and the qualifications types below.

National Qualifications Framework		
Level	**Sub-Framework**	**Qualification Types**
10	Doctoral Degree	Professional
9	Master's Degree	Professional
8	Bachelor of Honour's Degree Postgraduate Diploma	
7	Bachelor's Degree Advanced Diploma	
6	Diploma Advanced Diploma	Occupational Certificate (Level 6)
5	Higher Certificate	Occupational Certificate (Level 5)

Table 5.1: The HEQSF as adopted from the CHE (2013, p. 5).

The third phase, the student movement, involved higher education student movements, particularly in historically white universities, criticising the curriculum and pointing to the need to transform it (Badat, 2016; Heleta, 2016b; Mbembe, 2015). The focus ranged from looking at the colonial history of higher education in South Africa, the lack of transformation in curriculum, as well as the often forgotten experiences of students who felt marginalised and pushed to the peripheries of higher education (see for example Heleta, 2016b).[27] Rhodes University, named after the British arch imperialist and colonial industrialist Cecil John Rhodes, was one the universities that experienced widespread protest action on its campus, with students intersectionally linking the colonial history of the institution with the continuing marginality and oppression that still persisted through the university institutional culture, ceremonies, traditions and being. In their opinion pieces, academic writings and other social media platforms, the students, although not directly commenting on curricula, voiced their concerns regarding the transformation challenges at the institution (Badat, 2016; Naicker, 2016; Valela, 2015).

---

[27] It should be acknowledged that the higher education student protest initially began in historically white universities were primarily focused on fees and formal access to higher education, under the banner of #FeesMustFall. Challenges around curriculum/assessment/ infrastructure/accommodation/institutional cultures and others have always been central to protest actions in historically Black universities (see Badat, 2016; Langa, Ndelu, Edwin, & Vilakazi, 2017; Naicker, 2016).

Describing the role of Black Students Movement, a Rhodes University student movement that was a “broad church” of ideological differences that focused on changing the name of the institution and illuminating the cultural alienation experienced by Black students at the institution, Valela (2015) argues that

> The Black Students Movement consists of a group of students interested in transformation at Rhodes University. *BSM was born from conversations about personal experiences of marginalisation and the inability of students to cope in an environment of structural, class-based and intellectual oppression….* The issue of the name change at Rhodes is not new. Since the 1990s and more especially since 1994, there have been forums and debates around the name change. There have been conversations regarding the need to address racism that is deeply entrenched in the institutional culture at Rhodes. However during these moments, the university has managed to avoid real transformation by disguising racism behind the veil of bureaucratic rhetoric, liberalism and Purple identity (emphasis added).

In the above quotation, Valela (2015) links the history of Rhodes University with the marginalised experiences of Black students who founded the Black Student movements. Commenting on the structural, class and intellectual oppression, she argues about the nature of the institutional culture at Rhodes University as alienating through the institutional responses which she characterises as “bureaucratic”, “rhetorical” and grounded in liberal, individualistic thought. Another student at the University (Naicker, 2016), building on Valela's (2015) argument, links the institutional challenges in the University with the broader national crisis regarding what it means to live in a post-Marikana moment.

> *The Black Student Movement has established a political praxis that showed marked breaks with traditional hierarchical student representative structures*. This has serious implications for the post-Marikana student, who has *seen the failings of the government, the party, and the leader, and who has witnessed popular mobilisations that break with traditional top-down politics*; practices which have repeatedly failed to fix the problems of black and oppressed people in this country…. we are dealing with the post-Marikana moment. This moment epitomises the general feeling that any conscious person, no matter their political affiliations, can no longer pretend that we are living the rainbow nation dream. The massacre of 44 mineworkers and policemen has not led to any kind of punitive justice by the state, or remorse in the case of capital. It has, however, led to a proliferation of popular politics that defines itself as living in the dark shadows of Marikana (emphasis added) (Naicker, 2016).

In the above quotation, Naicker (2016) attempts to make sense of the Marikana[28] moment for contemporary South Africa, while linking the broader national challenges confronting the country with the challenges of attempting to transform Rhodes University. What is particularly interesting in both Naicker and Valela's comments above is the idea of the institutional culture at the university being seen to be exclusionary and positioning them to the periphery. While scholars such as Badat (2016), Heleta (2016b) and Mbembe (2015) have offered some insight into the challenges of transformation in south African higher education institutions, the sustained colonial nature of the institution, Naicker (2016), Valela (2015) and Ngcobozi (2015) draw on their own personal experiences in making sense of the pitfalls and challenges of negotiating space in historically white university, and what that means for a Black students, grappling with belonging. Ngcobozi (2015), commenting on what she refers to the as the "palatable forms of racism" to make sense of the operational functioning of racism, the institutional culture and how alienating it is for Black students, argues that;

---

[28] Often called the “Marikana Massacre/killings”, was a protest action on the 16th August 2018 in which “the South African police shot and killed 34 and injured another 78 striking miners–most of them members of the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU)–of the Lonmin platinum mining company near the small village of Marikana”, in South Africa

> There has been much backlash against the social media campaign #RhodesSoWhite, which I started on a thread on the Rhodes SRC Facebook page. *The rationale behind the social campaign was to expose the collective mental violence faced by black students at Rhodes University on all levels*…The social media campaign attempted to *show how racism exists not only on a macro level. Micro-aggression, or what I call "palatable forms of racism", are as rancid as those who have the blood of our foremothers and fathers on their hands*. The campaign was to bring to the fore *the intersections of micro- and macro-aggression faced by black students on an institutional level, but also in their interactions with other students on campus*. We must dispel the myth that *palatable racism is not an assault or visceral crushing of black humanity*…There are a number of implications that come with this burdensome demand. The most salient of these implications is the implicit demand made by white students to allow white normativity to mutate with ease, comfort and without resistance (emphasis added) (Ngcobozi, 2015).

In the above quotation, Ngcobozi (2015) comments on the campaign called #RhodesSoWhite, to shed light on the alienating institutional culture at Rhodes University, which she argues, is underpinned by whiteness as a singular mode of being in the world. Ngcobozi (2015) sheds a spotlight on the micro-aggressive forms of racism in which Black subjectivity is always asked to conform and account to whiteness. Echoing the concerns of the #BlackLivesMatter movement[29] in the United States, she argues that it is not the responsibility of Black people in general and Black students in particular, to explain Black subjectivities, its pain and oppression to white students. This suggests that the very "methodology of racism and the upholding of white supremacy works to distract the Black political project of constituting and claiming Black subjectivity. This, in and of itself, is the working of anti-Black racism, which has unapologetically found itself comfortable enough to

---

(Marinovich, 2016). This level of state sanctioned violence citizens would prove to be the most lethal use of violence by the state since the collapse of the apartheid regime (please see Bell, 2016; Duncan, 2014; Power & Gwanyanya, 2017).

[29] #BlackLivesMatter is an international activist movement that began in the African American communities in fighting against systemic racism; mistreatment and abuse of African Americans at the hands of the law enforcement community; the disproportionate imprisonment of young Black men and others (see Carney, 2016; Garza, 2014; Rickford, 2016)

claim its space on the Rhodes student representative council (SRC) page and, by and large, a number of white students on campus" (Ngcobozi, 2015).

I have critically discussed and conceptualised how the term "curriculum" has been understood and operationalised in my study. I then moved to exploring the international and national curriculum discourses that have affected the way that we think about curriculum in higher education. I now turn to the broader site of this study, that is, the Eastern Cape and Grahamstown, as being critical to understanding the valuing and legitimating of particular kinds of knowledge in general, and at Rhodes University in particular. I argue in this section that the historical nature of the Eastern Cape in being the only province[30] in South Africa to have two "Bantustans",[31] speaks to the political, tribal and racial fragmentation of the province, and offers key insight particular kinds of knowledge and knowers that were valued, particularly in the colonial founding and history of Grahamstown.

5.5 The Eastern Cape as a (historical) site for research

In order to properly make sense of, and understand the political fragmentation and differentiated nature of the Eastern Cape, we need to go back to the history of the Bantustan in South African during the apartheid period. The Bantustans, also referred to as the "homelands", were established by the apartheid government in an attempt at reducing and re-locating the Black majority to their ethnic community. In other words, Black South Africans were not seen as critical citizens with a share and a role to play in the country. Rather, they were treated as "tribal subjects" who were useful for the needs of the homelands, as well as their community.[32] This was seen in how apartheid invested in measures to ensure that citizenship, humanity and belonging could only be accessed by the Black majority in their own homelands;

> The Apartheid government made it legal for Blacks to become citizens of their independent Bantustans. The Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970 was passed, which allowed Blacks living throughout South Africa as legal citizens in the homeland designated for their particular ethnic group. The Act did not give Blacks South African citizenship or civil and political rights. Blacks had rights in their "Homelands," but they were not completely independent. Other laws included the Bantu Authority Act, Act 68 of 1951, which provided for the establishment of Black homelands and regional authorities, with the aim of creating greater self-government, and the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, Act 46 of 1959, which separated Black people into different ethnic groups. Each group had a Commissioner-General who was tasked to

---

[30] In response to the bifurcated and "ethnic" divisions of the country during apartheid, South Africa is divided into nine provinces. Although they are not federal, provincial governments are nonetheless responsible for the daily operational needs of their own provinces regarding services, infrastructure, education and others.

[31] A "Bantustan" refers to the "independent homelands" within apartheid South Africa, whereby the government racially and ethnically curved up the country according to the different ethnic communities. These "homelands" included the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei, Gazankulu, Lebowa, QwaQwa, KaNgwane and KwaNdebele (Cherry, 2015).

[32] I note the significant body of work that also argues that Black subjects were also useful for the needs of and the functioning of the apartheid state, particularly in terms of the migrant labor system in the mines; domestic work; administrative work and others (see Cock, 1989; Crush, Jeeves, & Yudelman, 1991; Wolpe, 1972).

> develop a homeland, which would be allowed to govern itself independently without White intervention (South African History Online, 2018).

Thus, the homelands became a space in which Black people were re-tribalised, relegated and classified according to their ethnic identity. This ensured that to be white was to be a citizen and to be Black was to be a political subject. Similar to the 1884 Berlin Conference which resulted in the geopolitical and economic curving up of African in order for the Europe imperial powers to control trade and the mineral resources on the continent (see Chamberlain, 2014; Craven, 2015), the central logic of the Bantustan system was premised on the assumption that "separate development" was a necessarily civilisation discourse to retain harmony, looting and socio-economic plundering in the country (Chamberlain, 2014; Craven, 2015; Legassick & Wolpe, 1976).

The figure below shows the map of the Bantustan during the apartheid period.

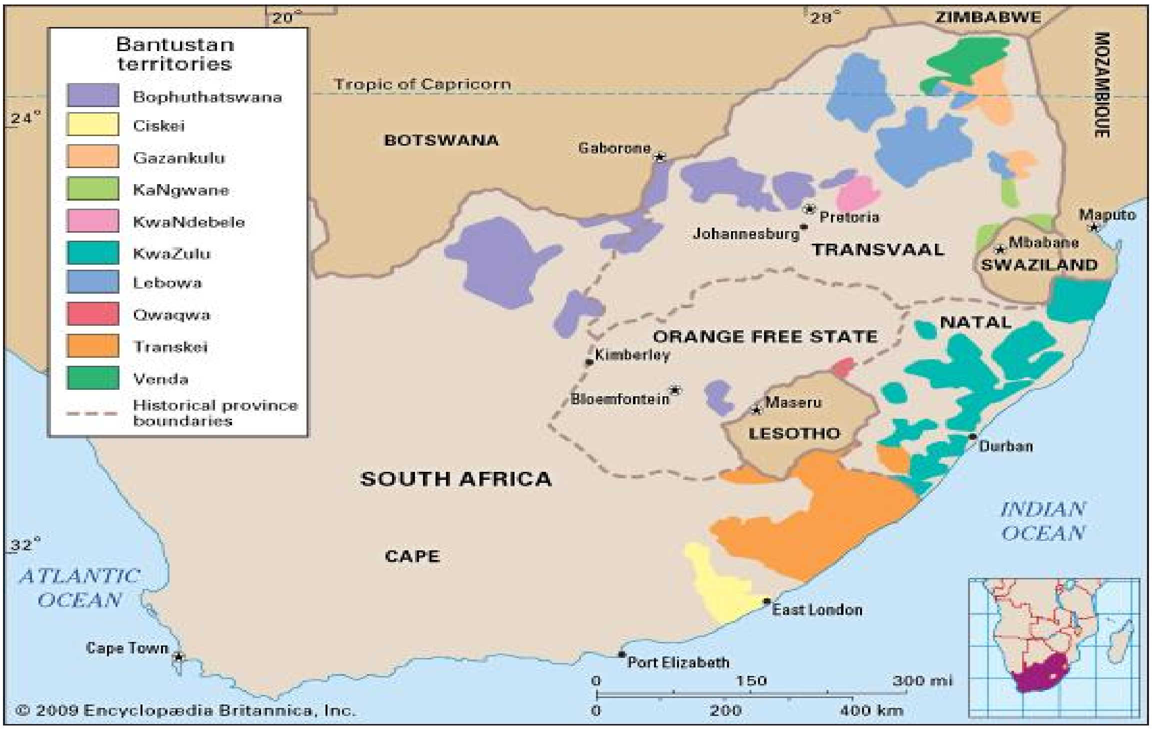

Bantustan territories
Bophuthatswana
Ciskei
Gazankulu
KaNgwane
KwaNdebele
KwaZulu
Lebowa
Qwaqwa
Transkei
Venda
Historical province boundaries
20°
28°
24°
32°
Tropic of Capricorn
ZIMBABWE
MOZAMBIQUE
BOTSWANA
Gaborone
Pretoria
Johannesburg
TRANSVAAL
Maputo
Mbabane
SWAZILAND
NATAL
ORANGE FREE STATE
Kimberley
Bloemfontein
Maseru
LESOTHO
Durban
SOUTH AFRICA
INDIAN OCEAN
CAPE
ATLANTIC OCEAN
East London
Cape Town
Port Elizabeth
0
150
300 mi
0
200
400 km
© 2009 Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc.

Figure 5.1: The map of the Bantustan during the apartheid period (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2018).

The map above shows the apartheid Bantustans and how South African was divided according to the differential ethnic groups. The racial and ethnic logic of the apartheid government as seen below, indicates where particular ethnic and racial communities were relegated.

Bantustan	Designated ethnic group
KwaZulu	AmaZulu
Ciskei Transkei	AmaXhosa

Bophuthatswana	BaTswana
Lebowa	MaPedi Northern Ndebele
Venda	VaVenda
Gazankulu	Shangaan XiTsonga
KaNgwane	AmaSwati
KwaNdebele	AmaNdebele
Qwa Qwa	BaSotho

Table 5.2: The different Bantustan and the ethnic groups that were classified and categorised in them.

One should emphasise that in the 1970s, four of the above Bantustans were granted "independence". These were the Transkei (in 1976), Bophuthatswana (in 1977), Venda (in 1979), and Ciskei (in 1981) (see Legassick & Wolpe, 1976; South African History Online, 2018; Southall, 1982). The remaining Bantustans remained as "self-governing" entities but nonetheless did not have any independent rights. It should be noted that outside of South Africa, these Bantustan and their "sovereignty" and "independence" were not recognised. The (broad) site of this study is the Eastern Cape, which was divided as the Ciskei and Transkei, and specifically designated for the amaXhosa ethnic group.

Scholars argue that to understand the Eastern Cape, one needs to understand the political history of the province which is deeply implicated in April (2016). The history of the Eastern Cape (EC) is deeply implicated and intertwined with the political history of South Africa, with a large number of senior liberation leaders coming from the region. The province is unique in that the history of political, spatial and apartheid fragmentations continues to linger in the province. April (2016) cautions us when discussing the history of the Eastern Cape and its ethnic and political fragmentation, not to overlook the challenges of governance which to this date, continue to cripple the province.

> If the history of the Eastern Cape is to have a wider relevance in the present, it has to speak to the problem of governance and transformation which the province faces today'…, to understand the problems of the Eastern Cape [these historians have suggested] a return "not to the history of the frontier but to the history of the period which immediately succeeded it". Rethinking the frontiers of the Eastern Cape takes a slight detour from the proposition which negates the frontier for two reasons: 1] negating the frontier, not only overlooks the logic of territorial control that has rendered the Eastern Cape as a supplier of cheap labour and as an ethnic enclave, but 2] it forecloses an engagement with the different forms of artistic expression that have produced the scripts that instigates a different kind of engagement with the Eastern Cape (April, 2016).

I now make a much closer discussion on the key site of my study, that is, Rhodes University, and why it offered such a critical research space for exploring the kinds of knowledge(s) and knowers that are valued and legitimated in the PDIS programme.

5.6 Rhodes University: Apartheid, resistance, conformity

Rhodes University is a historically white university based in the Eastern Cape Province. Rhodes University was founded in 1904 as Rhodes University College, a colonial institution that was established with the primary function of extending British imperial education (Greyling, 2007, p. 23). Greyling (2007, p. 23) writes that the institution was established in the aftermath of the Boer defeat in the South African War of 1899-1902, as a response to the wider Anglicisation of the then British High Commissioner Lord Milner:

> The establishment of a college of higher education in the Eastern Cape corresponded with this and would strengthen the British imperial connection. Thus the College was founded as a colonial institution. This was further reflected in the naming of the College after the foremost imperialist of the time, Cecil John Rhodes, recently deceased, even though he had had hardly any association with the Eastern Cape during his lifetime. The decision to name the College after him was a lever to obtain funding from the Rhodes Trust to establish the College (Greyling, 2007, p. 23).

The history of the institution indicates tensions and conformity with the institution struggling to preserve its British imperial influence against the increasing national influence of the Afrikaner racial conservatism, particularly from the 1920s (Greyling, 2007; Maylam, 2017). This was particularly seen in the central role played by Milner, a board member of the Rhodes Trust, who stressed the important role that Rhodes University College could play as a bulwark against the Afrikaner nationalism (Maylam, 2005, p. 16). The Hertzog Pact government, which ascended from 1924, emphasised and strengthened racial segregation and white supremacy, but the government did not impose segregation on universities, at least not legally, and universities could determine their own admission policy. Rhodes University College authorities failed to take advantage of this academic freedom, and adopted a segregationist policy of excluding Black students (Maylam, 2005). Thus, it should be noted that the institution chose to operate as a segregated university from 1904-1959 long before it was legally obligated to do with the formal introduction of obligatory segregation laws in 1959 (Greyling, 2007; Maylam, 2005).

The role of the institution in the socio-political and educational history of South Africa can best be captured in three key episodes that greatly influenced the institution in the 1960s. First, in 1962 the university awarded an honorary doctorate to the then state president C.R. Swart (Maylam, 2005). Swart was then Minister of Justice from 1958 to the 1950s, and was responsible for the state repression of opposition parties. Although the degree invoked opposition and protests from many members of the university, the university authorities did their best to suppress them. These methods included the then Vice Chancellor, Dr Thomas Alty, pressuring the editor of Rhodeo, a campus student newspaper not to publish the letters of dissent; and the university Senate passing a motion of 28 votes to 6, to condemn the action of staff members who had publicly disassociated themselves from the awarding of the degree (Maylam, 2005). The second episode happened five years later, when in July of 1967, the annual congress of the multi-racial National Union of South African

Students (NUSAS) was held at Rhodes University. Prior to the congress, the university council had agreed that segregated accommodation will be provided for the incoming Black delegates. In June, 10 days before the congress, the council changed its mind, because “fresh legal opinion” had suggested that it would probably be illegal to accommodate Black delegates on campus, with the Vice Principal Dr Rennie reporting to Council that “'every care is being taken to ensure that Rhodes University does not transgress the law in any particular” (Maylam, 2005, p. 19). This forced the Black delegates to find accommodation in the township. The events surrounding the 1967 NUSAS congress represented a significant development in the growth of Black Consciousness movement. Steve Biko, one of the delegates, was dismayed by the decision and believed that the white NUSAS delegates had known in advance of the university decision. Biko was disillusioned and broke away from NUSAS along with other delegates such as Barney Pityana, founding a separate organisation, the South African Students Organisation (SASO). Maylam (2005) suggests that Rhodes’s decision may well have triggered the beginning of the Black consciousness movement in South Africa.

The third episode centered on the controversial non-appointment to a temporary lectureship of Basil Moore in 1969, which caused some upheaval in the university. Moore, a former Student Representative Council (SRC) President, had been the founding President of the campus University Christian Movement, which was then viewed as a radical but essentially non-racial, non-violent organisation committed to theological reflections around social, political and Christian issues (Maylam, 2005). University Christian Movement was founded as a breakaway organisation from the established Student Christian Association after the Student Christian Association had decided to conform to the apartheid racial segregation. In December 1968, the Senate voted to confirm the appointment of Moore to a temporary lectureship in Systematic Theology. This recommendation was overruled by Council on the same day. In March 1969, the Senate again reaffirmed its recommendation that Moore be appointed, and again, in the following month, Council overturned the recommendation. This resulted in mass protests on campus. This decision reflected the attempts by the University Council to remain “apolitical”, “neutral” and at the same time consistent with its social order (Greyling, 2007; Maylam, 2016, 2017).

Founded as an institution to promote colonial “Englishness” and to extend British imperialism, or what others have derogatively referred to the institution as “Oxford in the bush” (Maylam, 2016, pp. 22-23), Rhodes University operated within, and was consistent with, the pre-apartheid and apartheid social order. The institution historically promoted certain kind of knowledge(s) and knowers at the expense of marginalised others. The history of the institution offers rich lenses on the site of the investigation to look at the kind of knowledge(s) and knowers that the institution legitimates in its curriculum. This brief outline of the early years of the institution suggests some aspects of the study context which continue to permeate the institutional structure and culture.

In contemporary times, the institution has transformed significantly in terms of demographic shifts. With over 8 200 student enrolments, the institution remains one of the smallest universities in South Africa (Rhodes

University, 2018).[33] With slightly more than 8 200 students, 30% of them are postgraduate students, with 18% of them being international students from roughly 54 countries around the world, making the institution diverse and cosmopolitan (Rhodes University, 2018). Being a highly residential university, almost 50% of the students, that is about 4100 students, live in University residences with special residences allocated for postgraduate students. Until recently, the entire student population of the university came from outside of the Eastern Cape.

Overall, the below numbers can be categorised as;

Students	**Total Numbers**
Registered students	8 100
Undergraduate students	5 670
Postgraduate students	2 430
International Students	1 460
Student/ Staff ratio	1:14

Table 5.3: Total student enrolment at Rhodes University as of 2018, as adapted from Rhodes University (2018).

Although an extensive breakdown of the student demographics is not provided particularly in relation to race and gender, the above numbers offer insight into what the current student population and demographics look like at the institution.

Rhodes University offered an exciting space to think through and make sense of the particular kinds of knowers and knowledges that its curriculum legitimates. The history of the institution and the current calls for institutional transformation and decolonisation makes the institution a captivating site to explore, what the PDIS programme values as key and legitimate Political Studies knowledge.

5.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I drew on Bernstein's and Hugo's work in arguing that curriculum should be seen as what counts as valid knowledge. Emphasis was placed on tracing the intricate and complex relationship between knowledge and curriculum, and the international and local discourses that have shaped the manner in which we think about curricula in South Africa.

In the following chapter, I make a critical discussion of the findings of the study, exploring the knowledge and knower structures of the PDIS curriculum. The following chapter is part one of three chapters that discuss and theorise the findings.

---

[33] For a close interrogation of these statistics and general sense of the university, please see https://www.ru.ac.za/introducingrhodes/

Chapter Six

New Wars, African Political Economy, Peacekeeping

An analysis of the knowledge-knower Structures in the PDIS curriculum

> That's what I force my students at first year to think through. To think about the War on Terror. To actually have an image of those terrified Afghan men, who are naked being tortured by the Americans, in a prison that used to be used by Saddam Hussein? But now is used by the same Americans who are claiming to bring Iraqis freedom. I tried to do this and this [New Wars course] is well, you have to take it in and think about it. You don't make people objects in a sense, where you don't have to consider elements of [their] agency. Even with a child soldier, what does that mean? What kind of negotiations is a young person of 12 making at that time, in the context of Liberia? in the context of South Sudan that was in war for 25 years? Somalia, what kind of choices are being made there? What is it about Somalia that's it the terrain for the rise of Al-Shabaab? What is happening in East Nigeria? I took off the case Boko Haram this year in order to have South Sudan, because I just found the South Sudan thing fascinating (Interview, Lecturer 3).

6.1 Introduction

In this study, I was interested in exploring how knowledge and knowers were legitimated in the PDIS programme. I initially understood this to mean critically exploring and foregrounding how Political Studies knowledge is recontexualised into the PDIS curriculum. However, my data kept leading me, not necessarily to the field of recontextualisation, but to the complex interplay between the enablements and constraints academics were experiencing when recontextualising Political Studies knowledge from the field of production to the field of reproduction. In other words, when asked about the enablements and constraints that they faced when constructing their own courses in the programme, academics kept shifting to reflecting on their teaching and learning experiences regarding the general dynamics in international Political Studies as a field; such as the pitfalls and challenges of navigating what they thought were important themes that students ought to know in the field, facilitating learning in large seminar groups; the quality of students who were in the programme, general poor assessment and feedback they were receiving from students, as well as the reflecting on, and experimenting with, the different teaching method practices to ensure that curriculum knowledge from their courses is received and understood by the students. Thus, this chapter forms one of three chapters that presents the findings from the research. In this chapter, I construct and present the PDIS field of production. I then critically discuss the enablements and constraints that academics experience when constructing their own courses in the programme.

Overall, I argue that these three processes, that is, 1) exploring the PDIS field of production, 2) shedding a spotlight on the enablements and constraints that academics negotiate when constructing their courses, as well as, 3) looking at the underlying mechanisms and processes that occur when knowledge is pedagogised in the seminar room discussions – all these three processes are not only interconnected but they are intertwined with one another. The second analysis chapter focuses specifically on the PDIS curriculum assessment methods offering a critical insight into the kinds of knowledge and knower structures that underlie what is legitimate in the programme.

In this chapter, I rely on the conceptual and theoretical tools offered by Bernstein (2000) and later expanded on by Maton (2013a) to think through the knowledge and knowers that are valued and legitimated in the PDIS curriculum through the three different yet inter-related pedagogic fields, that is, the field of production (exploring the kinds of texts and readings that are recommended in the PDIS curriculum), the pedagogic recontextualising field (the enablement's and constrains that are negotiated when selecting knowledge from the field of production into their respective curriculum), and the field of reproduction (that is, looking at how PDIS through the practices of teaching and learning) as discussed in Chapter Three. Thus, I build on Maton's (2013a) work in arguing that the three pedagogic fields are interrelated, link with one another, and build on each other. Therefore my findings and discussions will similarly move between and at times across the different fields in showing the interconnections in the different fields. Both Bernstein and Maton offered me a "translation device" in the languages of description that enable me to make sense of the data.

6.2 The PDIS Programme: History, tensions, funding shortage

One cannot speak about the history of the PDIS programme without first locating the programme within the broader national and institutional challenges that Rhodes University was facing in the early 1990s. This picks up on the overview provided in the previous chapter. The beginning of the 1990s was a volatile period for Rhodes University which was facing a protracted series of protest actions from workers, students as well as academics (Maylam, 2017). Unlike the national context which was characterised by overt violence – including the assassination of the South African Communist Party General Secretary Chris Hani,[34] the protracted civil war in KwaZulu-Natal between the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP),[35] the killing of Alistair Weakley and his brother Glen[36] who were shot down in ambush near Port St Johns - Rhodes University was relatively nonviolent in the nature of its protest action. The university was confronting its own internal challenges, such as the protest action over workers' conditions and pay as well as the challenges of appointing a new Vice Chancellor in the 1993-1994 period (Greyling, 2007; Maylam, 2017). It was within this contested background, that the PDIS programme was first conceptualised.

---

[34] The killing of Chris Hani on the 10th of April 1993 by Janusz Walus and former Conservative Party member of parliament Clive Derby-Lewis proved a pivotal moment for South Africa in the transition to the new democratic order (Zagacki, 2003). Hani's death further exacerbated the racial tensions in the country.

[35] Often called the "seven day war" (Clark & Worger, 2016, p. xvi). This was the civil war between the ANC and IFP in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), caused largely as a result of perceived diminishing regional influence by the IFP in KZN. This resulted in the IFP and the then ruling apartheid regime colluding to violently remove the United Democratic Front, which was thought of as a wing of the ANC in the province (Clark & Worger, 2016; Kaufman, 2017; van Baalen & Höglund, 2017).

[36] The Weakly brothers were assassinated by the ANC self-defence unit members in response to the killing of Chris Hani (Commission, 1993; Maylam, 2017). They subsequently received amnesty from the country's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) (Commission, 1993).

The history of the PDIS programme is in a way, the history of the Political and International Studies Department at Rhodes University. From the 1956 to the early 1990s, the department was simply known as the Department of Political Studies. It was in the early 1990s that there was "soft money" in an attempt at attracting Black South African students to go into Foreign Affairs. According to Lecturer 1, who played a significant role in the conceptualisation of the programme, the idea behind the PDIS was to anticipate the incoming democratic dispensation mentioned above;

> The soft money was to put in place a studies programme, a Diploma of International Studies [PDIS], to attract ostensibly black South African students who had an interest in pursuing a career in Foreign Affairs. This was in preparation for the democratic transition and the transformation of the Department of Foreign Affairs, that this happened (Interview, lecture 1).

The reliance on the "soft money", that is, the international sponsorship from the United States, ensured that the status of the programme remained precarious in the Department. This was especially seen when the head of the PDIS programme in the early 1990s, Van Wyk, left the Department and the money immediately stopped for the programme.

> The person in charge of the programme initially was one Dr or Professor van Wyk, who ran the programme and had those links with the US and US monies…. Eventually van Wyk was edged out of the programme and John Daniel, joined by Rok Ajulu ran the International Studies Section…… because first the money started to run out, after 1995 the money was being reduced and then petered out by 1996/1997. We couldn't get money to replace it, what I did was manage to get some soft money to run a Democratisation programme, with the assistance of the Swiss government and we got a lecturer from Canada and so on, to teach on that and he got funded through that money, because obviously now it wasn't about staffing departments of government, it was now about democratisation that was important (Interview, Lecturer 1)

It was only in the 1999 Department Indaba that it was agreed that the programme would have an orientation towards African affairs, with emphasis being placed on African diplomacy and peacekeeping. Although not explicitly stated either in interviews with the academics or in curriculum documents, the aims and objectives of the programme appeared to be an attempt at inducting in students, a critical understanding of the challenges facing Africa through security, peacebuilding, diplomacy and international relations on the continent. In order to foreground the peacekeeping and African security component of the programme, it was decided at the Indaba that one of the courses on the programme, the "African Peace and Conflict" course, would be taught by a visiting scholar from Africa, with expertise on African security.

> Part of the restructuring of the diploma also meant that we had a course dedicated to three visitors who would offer three intensive one -week teaching visits and in between students would either prepare presentations or their assignments. This course was the African Peace and Conflict course and this course was going to be taught by three practitioners of African Affairs. So people who had an in-depth understanding, not just academic, but also practical and operational of African Peace and Conflict Issues and we did get people to teach (Interview, Lecturer 1).

In the above quotation, the academic argued that in the discussion on restructuring the programme, it was decided that the programme would have an orientation towards African affairs. This meant moving from a exploring the broad challenges facing the African continent to specific concerns with African security regarding the new and emergent non-state threats that began to emerge on the continent. One could suggest that in the initial conceptualisation of the PDIS programme, there was need to strengthen *both* the epistemic and social relations of knowledge in the PDIS programme, in ensuring that they cultivate a critical understanding of African peacekeeping and security studies (ER+/SR+) in students who, it was expected, would play significant role in the new South African democratic government. Thus, at least in the initial conceptualisation of the programme, the programme focused on strengthening the epistemic and social relations. This is especially seen in the suggestion that students would play a role in the Department of Cooperation and International Relations[37];

> You know initially, the idea was ...You know some of the Diploma Students, do still apply to go to DIRCO, so I have always pushed hard for them to consider taking a language as a 5th option, because it's a dedicated programme, it is all preset, you have no choice...but the 5th option gives you a choice. In the early days we brought someone from the Economics Department and paid that person to teach on International Economics, we encouraged them to do Public International Law or Public International Law…I would love Rhodes to be able to teach Arabic and Swahili and so one. But what we only had in the beginning was French and French will get you a long way on the continent, importantly elsewhere too and that has been joined by Mandarin, which is evolving and growing and of great importance in Africa's relations with Asia (Interview, Lecturer 1).

I now turn to exploring much more closer discussion, what the field of production[38] looks like in the PDIS programme. I have purposively chosen to conceptualise the field of production in two ways. Firstly, I have looked at the recommended readings, additional readings, texts and audio visuals that academics in the programme have recommended for students. This will allow me to see what valued knowledge looks like in the programme. Secondly, I looked at academic writings, articles, peer review articles, books and others that academics in the programme have written in legitimating knowledge. This was important for my study as it gave me a critical insight into the kinds of knowledge(s) that the academics were legitimating and producing. Furthermore, looking at the academic's academic texts proved important as some drew from their own work in conducting their courses. It therefore, became important to go back to the field of production and to see to what extent, the academic valued as legitimate Political Studies knowledge.

---

[37] This is one of the national government departments in the South Africa government. Its equivalent in the international community would be called a "Foreign Affairs"/ "Foreign Ministry". Please see http://www.dirco.gov.za/

[38] See Chapter Four of the study for an extensive theoretical discussion on the field of production.

6.3 Making sense of the field of production

A brief reminder of the pertinent analytical tools outlined in Chapter Three. Maton (2013a) extends the analysis of Social Relations by proposing a cline, from strong to weak "knower grammars", based on the degree of openness of the code to potential knowers. He extends and develops Bernstein's (2000) notion of the "acquired gaze" to differentiate between a "born gaze", that is, the most exclusive gaze, based on biological or genetic disposition; a "social gaze", which can be said to be relatively exclusive, often based on race and gender; a "cultivated gaze", that is, a more inclusive kind of gaze based on the "socialised dispositions that can be acquired through the right kind of education and enculturation" (Luckett, 2012, p. 23); and a "trained gaze", that is, an inclusive gaze that is potentially open to all knowers, based primarily on the training in the methods and procedures of the field. Maton (2013a) and Luckett (2012) make the important point that the greater the inclusivity of the Social Relations, the greater the potential of the knowledge to progress through cumulative knowledge building.

While predominantly Africa-centered, most of the recommended texts in the programme focus on war, security, the positionality of African men and women on the continent, as well as the role played by the international institutions in perpetuating what is deemed as unfair trade policies on the continent. Most of the recommended texts are focused on three key areas –New Wars, African political economy, as well as peacekeeping.

6.3.1 Old Wars, New Wars

One of the major themes of the PDIS curriculum draws on Kaldor's (2018) notion of the "new wars". In this thesis, Kaldor argues about the ever shifting and changing nature of war, in moving away from the traditional conceptions of military warfare to new and innovative wars based on identity.

> New Wars are the wars of the era of globalisation. Typically, they take place in areas where authoritarian states have been greatly weakened as a consequence of opening up to the rest of the world. In such contexts, the distinction between state and non-state, public and private, external and internal, economic and political, and even war and peace are breaking down. Moreover the breakdown of these binary distinctions is both a cause and a consequence of violence (Kaldor, 2013, pp. 2-4).

The set of prescribed readings under this theme look at the contested notion of new wars as a useful category to which violence against women, children and other vulnerable groups are carefully analysed and looked at in relation to the modern democratic state. Violence, objectives, actors and financing are said to have changed, however, the war over borders and military occupation has now shifted to the body, were identity politics based on gender, religion and others now dominate our public discourses (see Ellis, 2003; Kaldor, 2013, 2018; Kalyvas, 2001; Straus, 2012; Williams, 2016). This is seen in how the ontology of new wars is critically discussed in relation to Africa as theatre of new wars in the fight against new and innovative intra-state conflicts;

> Africa is seen as a site where these new forms of violence have taken place. In the 1990s, Africa suffered from a rise in the number of armed conflicts as other parts of the world were experiencing a significant reduction and thus by the start of the twenty-first century, more people were being killed in Africa's wars than in the rest of the world combined. In fact, it is said that the average number of armed conflicts in Africa starting each year during the 1990s was twice that of the previous decade (Africa and the New Wars course outline, 2017, p. 1-2).

What is foregrounded in these debates appear to be an exploration of how the new wars thesis can be adopted to make sense of the socio-political role of African guerrillas who operate outside of the parameters of statehood (see Clapham, 1998; Collier, 2008; Mkandawire, 2002); the effects of these new wars on Africa's young men and women (see Abdullah, 1998; Bøås & Dunn, 2007); the use of Islam as a political ideology in which the marginalised are used by organisations such as Al-Shabaab in the war on terror (see Lewis & Patel, 2012; Marchal, 2009; Mwangi, 2012; Verhoeven, 2009); as well as the increasing securitisation of political life in Africa, with specific focus on states such as Zimbabwe (see Buur, Jensen, & Stepputat, 2007; Chitiyo, 2009; Raftopoulos, 2013; Sachikonye, 2002).

Linking the experiences of African women and what it means to think through International Relations in a Black female body, Lecturer 3, who coordinates and teaches the "Africa and the New Wars" course, comments why the new wars thesis was suitable for the course.

> The choices of it, I think as Toni Morrison shows us, language is political, how you frame one's courses and part of ...I like that even if I disagree with the heart of the argument I use very provocative idea of New Wars to enter the debate and it is good it is a white woman who provokes that debate and there has been a lot of intellectual responses to that. She is theorizing war and it forces a student to think in different ways I sure hope so. I can't separate my identity. My African feminism is highly framed by my African reality so it is allowed intellectual devotion to thinking about this place, this continent in serious ways, women's work and women's ways of thinking are fundamental to that (Interview, Lecturer 3).

The new wars field of production are characterised by relatively strong to very strong social relations (SR++) in how the emphasis appears to critically explore to what extent, the new wars thesis could be used to look at and make sense of the lived experiences of African men, women and those who are at the margins of what is deemed as global empire – that is, North America and Western Europe. The "social spine" is strengthened when the academic above aligns who she is as a knower with what she chooses to recontextualise from the field of production and into her curriculum. In other words, her identity as an African feminist influences who she is as a knower in the PDIS field as well as what she chooses to teach.

A significant number of prescribed readings are also concerned about the presupposed weakness of the modern African state, its external relations with the world, and what this means for African agency (see Clapham, 1998; J. Young, 2005). This is seen in how African International Relations is critically interrogated as, not only conforming to the western norms and ideals of what the modern state ought to look like, but also the (in)security challenges that continue to confront the continent. For instance – drawing from personality learning theories,[39] these particular sets of readings argue that the behaviour of Africans states could be understood through the lens of introversion and extraversion – in which some states are seen to be adopting innovative and creative strategies in living up to demands of the donor community, aid agencies and others in an attempt at (mis)using their presupposed state vulnerabilities so as to have access to, and withdraw, financial resources. Bayart and Ellis (2000) best capture this argument, when they write that;

> Those power-holders who were able to restore their positions in the face of such popular demands had a number of key assets at their disposal. They controlled security forces which they could both use and abuse. They had financial resources accumulated during long years of plunder and management of the various rents and commissions gener- ated by their economies; with these funds they could purchase the support of some key political opponents, finance the creation of a plethora of small parties calculated to divide the opposition, and implement veritable 'strategies of tension' by provoking various forms of agitation, most notably in the form of ethnic and agrarian clashes in rural areas (Bayart & Ellis, 2000, p. 225).

The literature (together with Lecturer 3's reflections) are designed to make students critically reflect on, and understand the, devastating effects that new and innovative conflicts have had on the continent, in particular, on marginalising young men and women. This relatively strong to very strong classification, both of the social relations (SR++) also has a strong epistemic relations (ER+) in that it focuses on detailed knowledge of histories. This has implications for the kind of student that is enabled, valued and legitimated in the programme. This means that in order for students to be knowers under these sets of readings, they need to possess both the attributes in critically understanding the political role played by language, as well as making sense of the intricate and complex challenges that confront African security on the continent.

Analysing this specific set of prescribed readings for this theme, there appears to be a "social gaze" that seeks to suggest that a feminist, critical understanding of new wars in Africa is the most appropriate gaze in order for knowers to successfully participate in the course and succeed. Thus, students need to adopt both an African feminist gaze as an orientation and a critical understanding on how the new wars thesis can be used to make sense of the new and emergent security challenges that are facing the continent.

---

[39] For more on the personality learning theories that these sets of readings are drawing from, please see in particular Barrick and Mount (1991), Gosling, Rentfrow, and Swann Jr (2003) and Zhao and Seibert (2006).

6.3.2 African Political Economy: Politics/Economics, Trade, Injustice

This set of readings is broadly interested in theorising and making sense of African Political Economy as a field of practice (Rodney, 1972; Strange, 2015; Wallerstein, 1997). They critically challenge the assumed distinction between what is considered "political" and "economic", with the course itself arguing on the need to conceptually transcend this binary.

> Political economy lies at the crossroads between the study of politics and the study of economics. In this course we will examine the interrelationships between political and economic processes, recognising that politics and economics are intertwined. In Africa, it is perhaps especially evident that politics and economics cannot be separated and there are a number of very interesting issues which emerge in the grey area between African politics and African economics. We will be examining several of these issues using four stories to introduce us to some of the most pressing issues that arise in the study of African Political Economy (African Political Economy course outline, 2017).

Scholars such as Rodney (1972), Stubbs and Underhill (2000), Miller (2008) and others are brought in to build on the above debate in arguing for the interconnection between the politics and economics, and how African states in particular, have moved from the colonial occupation and looting of resources, to the new role of the global financial institutions playing a neo-colonial role in dictating the economic direction of the country (see Feenstra & Taylor, 2013; Mshomba, 2000).

A careful analysis of these prescribed readings that deal with the African Political Economy represents three kinds of readings that appear to foreground and value knowledge per se. One set of readings attempt to link and historicise the "epistemic divisions" between economics and politics, and how African Political Economy as field, attempts to intersectionally combine these differences (see for example Mshomba, 2000; Rodney, 1972; Strange, 2015). In addition, scholars such as Strange (1994) and Wallerstein (2000) are brought to theorise African political economy and give an introduction to the basic concepts that are dealt with in the curriculum. For instance, Strange (2015) writing about the connection between power and the economy, argues that it is the "power that determines the relationship between authority and market. Markets cannot play a dominant role in the way in which a political economy functions unless allowed to do so by whoever wields power and possesses authority". For these set of readings, the presupposed disconnection between the economy and the state is a fallacy that needs to be challenged precisely because often political behaviour tends to be influenced by the global role of capital, whether through development, infrastructure, elections, healthcare, and others.

The second set of readings under the African Political Economy theme focuses on the operational functioning of the world economy, through looking at both the fair and unfair trade relations pertaining to the mineral resources on the African continent. Coffee and oil are foregrounded and used as case studies in looking at the commodities chains and linking the exploited coffee farmer to the coffee consumer (see Oxfam, 2002; Ponte, 2002; Talbot, 1997), as well as the political role of dependency on oil in Nigeria (see Duruigbo, 2005; Ferguson, 2006; Obi, 2010; Publishing, Co-operation, & Centre, 2013). Combining both academic readings and the international aid agencies report, the focus is on tracing the levels of the "resource curse"[40] on the African continent regarding the use, misuse and abuse of mineral resources on the continent, and how often that comes at the expenses of the living standards of the people themselves.

The third and final set of readings under the African Political Economy area focus on the role of the international financial institutions, such as the World Trade organisation, the Word Bank and the International Financial Institution exploring to what extent their policies on the African continent have contributed to the underdevelopment and economic stagnation that is experienced in Africa (see IMF, 2018; Mkandawire, 2002, 2015; Scott, 1998). Overall, these readings appear to be an attempt at making sense of the relationship between political office and the needs of the economy, in particular, on the seeming economic stagnation that continues to plague many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. While some readings in the "Old Wars, New Wars" theme focused on the extravert behaviour of modern African states in appealing to the donor community for financial resources and corruption (see for example Bayart & Ellis, 2000), prescribed readings in the African Political Economy appears to, not necessarily foreground the agency of African states in shifting the socio-economic challenges facing the continent, but rather seeks to positon the colonial history (see Rodney, 1972) as well as the international financial institutions as being ultimately responsible for the current state of affairs on the continent.

The prescribed readings in the African Political Economy could be characterised as shifting between a strong to very strong classification and framing on the knowledge on African Political Economy, its challenges as well as the prospects for reconceptualising the implications of "resource curse" through coffee and oil – in Africa. Commenting on the importance of African Political Economy and what students need to understand, the lecturer for the "African Political Economy" course, comments that;

> Students need to understand that knowledge is constructed, socially constructed that it is not like there is just knowledge and you pick it up...that you build/shape knowledge, that kind of a thing. What is also important to me...I suppose I am quite influenced by critical pedagogy traditions …this course is very much...we see a lot of injustices when we look at international financial institutions or free trade so I want them to get an

---

[40] The notion of the "resource curse" refers to the tendency in how mineral rich countries, largely found in Africa also found in Latin America, Middle East and other regions - tend to perform badly through their economic development (Siakwah, 2017). For more on the political economic effects on the resource curse thesis on the African continent, please see Siakwah (2017), Ayelazuno (2014) and Mensah and America (2017).

> orientation that is aware of those injustices and that has some interest in trying to think about them and trying to find ways to address them (Interview, Lecturer 2)

For the academic above, her conception of the course is heavily influenced by a critical pedagogy in which issues of social (in)injustice are explored, through an interrogation of unfair trade policies, tariffs and the role of the international financial institutions in perpetuating socio-economic pressures on the continent. The focus on injustice and the fight for social justice continues to be seen as well in the academic writings of the above academic who has published on the role of white identities in a post-apartheid South Africa; the deficiencies in post-development theories regarding making sense of the role of privileged people speaking for and on behalf of the poor; the need to critically reflect on and critique the notion of "development" as understood by the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD); the continuing and sustained challenges of reconciliation as a viable political project for a country like South Africa; the crisis of white identities for white South Africans and the sense of uncertainty and contradictions of being white and South African in the democratic dispensation and others.

Unlike the "Africa and the New Wars" course readings that relatively emphasised SR++ and ER+, readings under the African Political Economy appear to relatively under-value social relations (SR-) in placing greater emphasis on the understanding of the African Political Economy, trade and tariffs on the continent, the role of the global financial institutions in re-structuring the economic framework of the country, as well as the unfair trade practices. Knowers in this field of production would need to have a knowledge code and adopt a "trained gaze" in learning, studying, understanding and critically engaging with the material. Under this sets of readings, a relative focus on knowledge, skills, and process with the legitimation being through the ability to understand the complex relations of various forces (ER++). While the readings are deeply political in nature, they do not as strongly require a particular gaze on the world (SR+/-). The readings under this theme could be classified as a knowledge code (ER+/SR-).

6.3.3 Peacekeeping, Peacebuilding

The third main theme that emerged in the PDIS prescribed texts and the texts produced by the academics was that of peacekeeping. These readings focus largely on two key themes – one set looks at the changing dynamics of security in Africa, and the other set looks at the legal security architecture of peacekeeping and peace building on the continent, through a critical interrogation of the role of the African Union in curbing conflict in West Africa and North Africa respectively (see for example Ackermann, 2003; Aning, 2007; Durch, Holt, Earle, & Shanahan, 2003). The first set of readings on security in Africa have an orientation towards the complexities of security in West Africa, with a specific focus on mapping the threat from transnational organisations, regional interventions in Africa, as well as analysing the responses to terrorism and drug trafficking on the continent (see Abrahamsen, 2004; Aning, 2014; Barth, 2003; Bayart, Ellis, & Hibou, 1999).

The second set of readings focus on fostering in students an understanding of the international conflict management; the different strategies of conflict management; the challenges of peace operations in an ever changing international environment; as well as making sense of the legal framework that governs the practice of conflict management through an evaluation of the legal framework and the African Peace and Security architecture (Glennon, 1991; Gurule et al., 2007; Union, 2000). These readings are interested in making sense of the role of peacekeeping and peace building on the African continent, as well as the socio-legal framework that governs intervention and interference in sovereign states. Recommending and prescribing both the academic textbooks as well as African Union and United Nations policy reports, these readings offer an interesting insight into what is deemed as valued and legitimate knowledge in the "Peace and Conflict in Africa" course. Appearing to foreground what is relatively classified as a knowledge code ER+ the course, prescribing the above readings, aims to "provide class participants with both a theoretical and empirical discussion of the complex challenges posed to communities, states and regions by the emergence of certain contemporary security threats in Africa as a whole [and] West Africa in particular" (Peace and Conflict in Africa course outline, 2017, p. 2). This is perhaps the only course that still has a direct orientation towards the earlier purposes of the PDIS programme, in training academics to work in the field of international peacekeeping and peacebuilding.

Lecturer 1, who played a significant role in strengthening this orientation towards the external, comments on the need for this kind of work in bringing in, not only academics into the programme to teach "Peace and Conflict in Africa", but also drawing from their own professional experiences in working across the African continent;

> This course was the African Peace and Conflict course and this course was going to be taught by three practitioners of African Affairs. So people who had an in-depth understanding, not just academic, but also practical and operational of African Peace and Conflict Issues and we did get people to teach. One of the first to teach on that was somebody…, a former student of our department, who works in the Department of Defence in Pretoria and who has a good understanding of Southern African Strategic and Military Issues, African Security issues in general. But also, we mainly drew from people from the ISS [Institute for Security Studies] and that is where we are still at, it is something that our students really appreciate, because in a sense these individuals, who many of them travel many months of the year, on the continent. The present one Handy, for instance, is part of a special team reporting to the Security Council on Central African Affairs. So he spends many weeks of the year in the Central African Republic, he is like no one else in understanding the affairs of that region. Atta-Asamoah for instance did a similar job on Sudan, so these are people who don't just stay in the capital, they go out into the countryside and they know what is going on the ground, and they come with that type of understanding (Interview, Lecturer 1).

For the academic above, it is critical that the academics who teach in the "Peace and Conflict in Africa" course not only bring with them an academic understanding of the security, peacekeeping and peacebuilding challenges in Africa, but also be involved in security challenges on the continent. The course attempts to link both the theoretical knowledge and practical knowledge regarding the security chalets that are confronting West Africa. This suggests a particular form of knowledge is legitimated (ER+). However, there is also a focus on the personal knowledge and lived experiences that visiting scholars and practitioners are supposed to bring with them (SR+).

Overall, the PDIS field of production can be relatively classified as placing greater emphasis on the ER+ and SR++ as analyses through the readings in the "African Political Economy", "African Peace and Conflict" and the "Africa in International Relations" courses (that is, their prescribed readings, recommended texts and other academic texts). In other words, this set of readings have an orientation towards understanding the challenges that confront African Political Economy, peacekeeping, (in)security and the emergence of non-state actors on the continent, ensuring that students have a critical understanding of the role of trade, tariffs and global financial institutions.

While it was possible to analyse the data from the field of production in various ways, an overview of the dominant forms of legitimation in the three fields is indicated below.

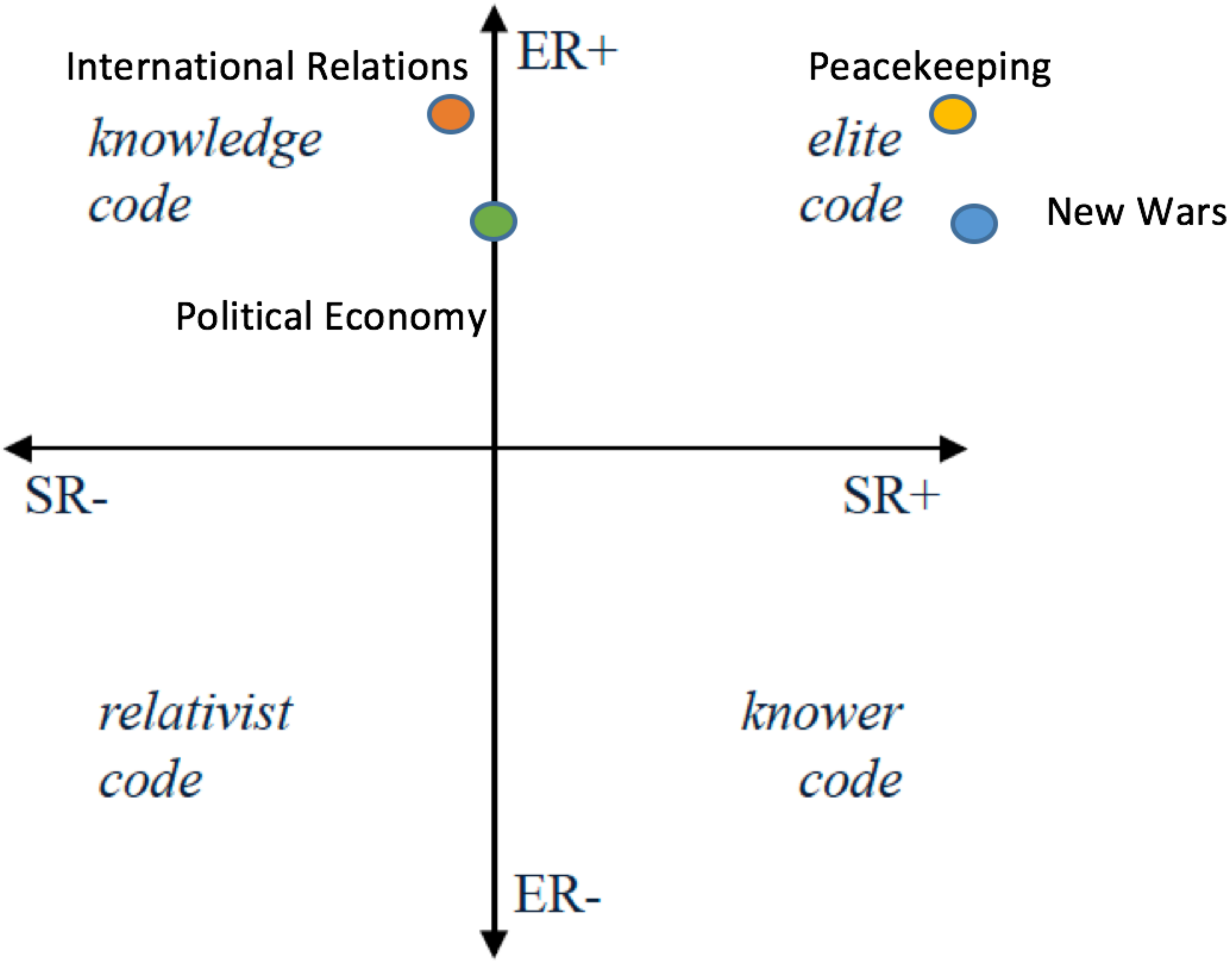


Figure 6.1 The four core courses in the PDIS programme on the Specialisation Codes Cartesian plane.

The above graphic provides a rough heuristic of the positions of the four core courses in the PDIS on the Specialisation Codes Cartesian plane. It should be borne in mind that the plotting was of the dominant code that emerged across the data, and that each course showed evidence of three of the four possible codes (Knower, Knowledge and Elite). Furthermore, the plotting of the codes is relative to each other, and they may be plotted quite differently if plotted according to another subject, such as Accounting. Overall, across all the data, it was clear that to succeed in the PDIS, students need to be able to grapple with extensive knowledge in a scholarly way, and be able to take on a particular gaze on the world which is critical and socially aware.

I now explore the thoughts, perceptions, enablements and constraints that academics negotiate when constructing their curriculum in the PDIS programme. In other words, because there is no official recontextualising field for the PDIS programme[41], it is important to see what underlying and emergent mechanisms were there in the Department that influenced and shaped curriculum construction on the different courses, as well as the role that academics themselves played in the construction of their curriculum.

6.4 Constructing the course(s)

In this section, I focus on the thinking, enablements and constrains that academics face when constructing and designing their PDIS course. As there was no centralised curriculum design mechanism in the Department, it was important to focus more closely on the values, assumptions and thoughts as well as the enablement and constrains regarding what the academic as valuable and legitimate Political Studies knowledge.

One of the most insightful themes that came out from the data, was when I asked academics to share their thoughts, views and perspectives as well as the limitations that they needed to navigate when constructing their courses. Of the four who were interviewed for the study, only one did not play a significant role in designing the course and was rather given this course, with the assistance of the senior academic in the department. The academic shared this thoughts on the thinking behind their courses and what he had hoped to achieve.

> People underestimate what goes into designing a course. It is not a matter of just choosing topics, it is asking, “What do I want to do here?” in the contexts of the main approaches of IR, a) I want them to understand African Agency from different perspectives. b) I want them, using practical examples, to be able to see it from and applied an empirical point of view as well. Now, if you give somebody a license to choose topics, it might disrupt the bigger scheme of what you have in mind. The teaching purpose behind it, might be disturbed. My main thing is participation. If that participation leads to suggestion of doing things differently, then I am quite open to it.

---

[41] While I note that there may not necessarily be an “official” recontextualising field for the programme, there is an external body such as the Higher Education Qualifications Committee that does influence the accreditation and registration status of the programme. This will be discussed in this analysis.

> I couldn't see it happening, in the way you describe it...having a menu...I don't see it (Interview, Lecturer 1).

For the above academic, constructing his course is not necessarily about choosing a series of topics and combining them into a coherent course. For him, creating a course is about achieving two things. Firstly, it is about ensuring that curriculum knowledge about, and the critical understanding of, African agency from different perspectives is understood by the students (ER+/SR+). Secondly, the academic wants to ensure that students have an empirical and practical understanding of how that African agency is applied and understood on the ground. For the academic, his approach to constructing his course and teaching could be referred to as a transmission orientated style (see Mugny, Chatard, & Quiamzade, 2006) in which academics are often hesitant to loosen the control of the curriculum knowledge and empower students to make decisions about curriculum knowledge, selection, sequencing and its pacing (see Iversen, Pedersen, Krogh, & Jensen, 2015; Wright-Maley, 2015). In other words, the above academic knows the legitimate knowledge, understands the field and what needs to be prescribed and therefore, appears hesitant to the idea of opening up his curriculum to students for them to play role in shaping and influencing it.

The above academic's approach to constructing and designing a course differs from that of another academic in the programme, who in the beginning of the semester, created a series of topics within the broader African Political Economy field, and asked students to choose topics from the options.

> *I sent them a survey and said "I have the following themes, which ones are you most interested in and I have the following case studies, which are you most interested in", and then I let them choose. To be honest I would have preferred to have had food in here versus oil and I am not as interested or knowledgeable about regional integration, but they wanted it, so I put it in, in response. What I found in the last few years, having taught the course I can kind of tell which course work better*. I didn't go exactly with *what they wanted but I kept in what was really popular and took out what was really unpopular. They have no idea, they have heard of regional integration but they haven't heard of commodity chains. So sometimes what they are interested in is not necessarily what they need to know*...they might after the end of the course that this is really interesting, they didn't necessarily know before. It sounds really good, let them choose what they want to do...obviously you tend to get the things that get more media attention or are more obviously linked to something they have already done (emphasis added) (Interview, Lecturer 2).

For Lecturer 2 above, sending the questionnaire option to the students and giving them options on what they would like to be taught was an interesting experiment in terms of the critical contribution that the students made. However, this resulted in students choosing the most "popular" content and not necessarily what they did not know and what was critical. This is especially seen with the academic remarking about how she would have preferred looking at commodity chains and food production, instead of the much popular oil, which is linked with global security, the war on terror and the international financial system (Ingram, 2016). She adds that

> WTO [World Trade Organisation] is an umbrella organisation. But I can take these and move it out of this block, the WTO, AGOA [African Growth and Opportunity Act], regional integration I can move out, the oil one is kind of self-standing...I put it in because the students wanted it. They wanted the oil and there was interest in this question. It actually doesn't fit well in this course and it ends up being overlapping, because once you get to the resources you end up getting to conflict and resource curse. It starts to overlap with the stuff that [Lecturer 3] is doing, as I said I kind of didn't want it there, but when I gave them the survey, they wanted it (Interview, Lecturer 2).

The above academic indicates some form of weakening of classification and framing in the "African Political Economy" course, in which she constructed what Lecturer 1 termed a "menu list" regarding the possible options in the field of African Political Economy on what students would like to be taught, and constructing an entire course based on those selections (SR+). Although this may seem to be speaking to the higher education calls for curriculum transformation and decolonization (see Keet et al., 2017; Mbembe, 2015; Ngcobozi, 2015), this presented challenges for the academic as the course was now "incoherent" as the selection, pacing, sequencing and ordering of knowledge did not achieve the conceptual intended outcomes that she was hoping to achieve. In other words, the weakening of the classification and framing of the curriculum knowledge, has deep implications for the progression and cumulative knowledge-building in the course as the material was incoherent and could not be conceptually tied in together.

Lecturer 2 presents interesting tensions in the broader calls for South African higher education transformation and decolonisation of the curriculum. Does this mean therefore, that perhaps academics need to move to adopting what could be seen as an inclusive approach in opening our curriculum to students to play an active role in determining the curriculum? What about ensuring that students learn, not only what they want to learn, but also what is important and critical in the field? Scholars such as Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013b) and more recently Le Grange (2016), speak about decolonisation as a necessary process that enables and activates "Africans to think from where they are as the first step towards decolonisation of the mind. It strongly advocates mental decolonisation as an important step towards unleashing African people's research and innovative potential" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012, p. 51). What this mental decolonisation looks like or the shape it ought to take in curriculum construction, and the valuing of particular kinds of knowledge is yet to be fully developed.

Discussing the constraints that she faced in the Department, Lecturer 2 also mentions some of the structural challenges that she had to negotiate when she came into the Department as the only academic with some form of disciplinary or academic background in African Studies. Thus, it was anticipated that she would teach political economy.

> When I first started this position [senior lecturer] in 2006, it was anticipated that I would teach political economy. In fact, it was not something that I have a background in. My PhD was in development, it was in African Studies, but it was in the theory of development and political economy. I designed this course to begin teaching it in 2006. Every time I have taught it in different ways. African Political Economy is an area of study. So you could do anything in it. And because we don't do political economy at undergraduate level at Rhodes our students have no background and so there is nothing to build on (Interview, Lecturer 2).

Commenting on the constraints and challenges that she faced when she arrived in the Department, the above academic comments on how she is the only one with the disciplinary and academic background in African Studies, and who can teach in the field of political economy. She also mentions that because there are no undergraduate modules in the political economy field, she therefore had to introduce the new concepts to the students, and teach political economy in any way as the field was too broad and nuanced. This presented challenges for her as the possibilities for building on the prior knowledge of students did not exist in this context, and she therefore, had to first introduce the field and what it looks like, before claiming any basic knowledge from the students. This for instance, is seen in how her course, "African Political Economy", has implication for the ordering, allocation and sequencing of the African Political Economy knowledge, by the introduction of an introductory section called, "Key Concepts in Political Economy".

She further adds that she,

> [tries] to take not to take anything for granted and so we started off by just talking about what is an export and what is an import, what is trade, what is a tariff, what are other barriers to trade other than tariffs, what is a subsidy. So there were a group of terms that I actually discovered I had forgotten...I have been teaching this course for a couple of years that if I had to draw it up like in a document, this time I didn't do it like that, I just gave them some introductory texts which gave them those terms and we sat in class and I think I got them in groups to explain concepts to each other and things like that. So there are students in the class that have economics background but I was surprised that often you ask a politics student what is the state and they can't tell you, you ask an economics student explain the law of supply and demand and they wouldn't (Interview, Lecturer 2).

For Lecturer 3, the social construction of her course is an intersectional relationship between who she is as an academic what is interested in the field of production, as well as her intellectual growth as an academic. This process for her is interwoven with and interconnected to her development as a scholar in the field. She explains this process;

> All courses have a central question. It is about how one creates that, then thinking through which case study…I remember the first time I had this course on young males and it took me a while to think or it's one of the most popular topics. I was happy because in the previous course, I had generic gender critique and then I realised there is enough work to have a separate theme about the young man, and to have a theme

> on women, to think about masculinity and to think about femininity, it has also been a journey as I was gaining confidence also in my own PhD. I was 24 when I started teaching I think sometimes people forget that I'm turning 31 next month in December it is also myself coming into my own. It gets reflected in the course as well. I remember the first time I did it, an external examiner said this course is highly advanced. That for me was showing my own growth and I continue to reflect on it…I think at some point one has to decide in their teaching and research what is the conversation that you are part of and maybe you want to contribute something to that conversation (Interview, Lecturer 3).

What was interesting about interviewing Lecture 3 and what I have declared in Chapter Four, is that rather than having interviews with her, it became much more conversational in how we build from each other's experiences and reminded one another of past shared moments while we worked together in the Department. For my data collection in terms of the curriculum documents for her course, "Africa and the New Wars", and interview with her, I had easier access to her – both personally in terms of making time and availing herself in her busy schedule, but also intellectually in terms of knowing and having access to the kinds of readings that had influenced who she was and where she drew her own ontology from. It also had implications for my analysis, as there appeared no need to "explain" or "probe" on some of her comments that she was making. A significant amount of time was spent with lecturer 3 moving across different themes and topics on her module without necessarily explaining them, safely assuming that she knows I understood her material and had read some of the texts prescribed in her curriculum. For instance, while she was commenting on the rationale and objectives of her course, we moved into an acquaintance interview in which we both reflected on the post-Cold War intrastate violence on the African state, where violence has shifted from in-between nations to the intra-war on the female and male bodies, and the emergence of groups such as Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab, and what this all meant for the nature of war in Africa.

> I've been trying to make sense there is a lot of literature on Wars of liberation a lot of that is around guerilla Wars, there is no sound ideology of those Wars, it was to free Africans from colonial occupation, but then we get the political emancipation. African countries from the 1980 and the 1990s, we were plunged into war about 14 or so civil wars on this continent. So, I'm fascinated with making sense of the causes post-colonial what they called the "civil war intrastate wars", in terms of the politics and ideologies of those wars, in terms of the actors, who is centered and so I have themes. The image is usually the image of a young man. What those wars do is the huge population displacement. It is the erasure of childhood, what it does to childhood. The African child becomes a symbol of that. The child soldiers in Sierra Leone or northern Uganda or Liberia and to think again, I guess in fundamental ways, of war as an experience, because what seems to me, the picture that students get is a very epic picture of the disaster but one is not forced to think what was it about Sierra Leone that set it up for the war to happen when it did. What were the structural, historical, social, political conditions that made war happen, which then years later allowed for the wars to end. That is my fundamental fascination. It is the ideology, the history but mainly the funding the resources but at the heart of it, it is understanding the human experiences of this wars (Interview, Lecturer 3).

For the academic above, the constructing and designing of the course is in itself a reflection on contemporary security challenges that are confronting the African continent, and making sense of the notion of war and violence, beyond the narrow lenses of the Cold War imagination of state on state warfare, but on the complexities of everyday violence and brutality caused by the insecurity.

Overall, the process of constructing and designing the course for the academics is largely influenced by what Bernstein (2000) referred to as the "discursive gap", in how the politics, ideology, enablements and constraints that academics have to negotiate. This is seen in how for Lecturers 1 and 3, the social construction of the course is a deliberate and political process, where students are supposed to have a thorough understanding of the material and adopt what could be seen as a particular kind of gaze in having access to, and understanding of the curriculum knowledge. This gaze is particularly explicit and strong in Lecturer 3 and her course, "Africa and the New Wars", in which there appears what could be relatively classified as a highly framed social gaze (SR++) in which, although curriculum knowledge is important in the course, who you are and your values as a person appear to be much more emphasized rather than what you know.

Furthermore, in Lecturers 1 and 3, there is a strong (Lecturer 3) to very strong (Lecturer 1) classification and framing on the control of knowledge in the course, with Lecturer 1 explicitly expressing what could be seen as an "epistemic hesitancy", that is, some hesitancy regarding opening up the curriculum selection, organising and pacing knowledge for the students. For Lecturer 1 in particular, the control of knowledge is premised on the assumption that he knows and understands the field and therefore, is in a better position to construct the curriculum, rather than students who would not be able to have access to the "right kind" of texts from the field of production.

Looking at the curriculum documents of the two courses, that is, "International Relations: Changing Africa" and "African Political Economy" - the "epistemic spine" of the programme appears to be strengthened in how they are focused on "investigating", "examining" and "excavating" the curriculum knowledge, and making sense of the socio-economic and security challenges facing the African continent;

> *This course wishes to investigate what the structure of IR has been and how it may be changing or how it has been changed by African agency*. As such, the course will look at drivers for this change. Drivers include changing power relations, structure affected by identity and culture and new forms of agency in the period after 1990 (emphasis added) (International Relations: Changing Africa course outline, 2017, p. 1).
>
> *In this course, we will examine the interrelationships between political and economic processes, recognising that politics and economics are intertwined*. In Africa, it is perhaps especially evident that politics and economics cannot be separated and there are a number of very interesting issues which emerge in the grey area between African politics and African economics. *We will be examining several of these issues using four stories to introduce us to some of the most pressing issues that arise in the study*

> *of African Political Economy* (emphasis added) (African Political Economy course outline, 2017, p. 1).

The two course outlines indicate what may be classified as strongly framed knowledge code (ER++) in focusing on making sense of and investigating the theoretical structure of International Relations, as well as the positionality of African states in the global financial system. The above course objectives and other curriculum comments aligned with the interviews which expressed a much stronger emphasis on ensuring that students have a critical understanding and solid grasp of the concepts of regarding the security challenges on the continent. Although the interview with the Lecturers 1 and 2, and their emphasis on the knowledge codes as much more important for them in their own courses, what is interesting in the "Africa and the New Wars" course is the change between what Lecturer 3 states as being critical for her course - that is a focus on strengthening the SR++ compared to the curriculum documents which indicate a code that could potentially be classified as ER+/SR++ - that is, a strong focus on knowledge while enabling particular kinds of gazes and attributes in students. The curriculum documents for the "Africa and the New Wars" course have a relatively stronger classification and framing on the curriculum knowledge, and appear to emphasize the importance of "examining", "excavating" and "making visible" knowledge – that is, large scale forms of violence as well as the politics of peacebuilding in war torn countries.

> This course explores the different accounts that have been offered to understand the causes of war and insecurity in Africa. *We do so by examining dominant justifications about goals/objectives, method, participants, and the political economy of African wars. We excavate other forms of militarisation of social and political life in Africa which are often obscured by the attention given to more visible and large scale forms of violence. We examine the politics of peacebuilding*, especially efforts to demobilise and demilitarise, and the roles of regional and international organizations in the re-building of post conflict societies. In the course, we will also *examine the extent to which forms of violence at the turn of the century have been shaped by changing global dynamics such as the discourse on the "war on terror"* (emphasis added) (Africa and the New Wars course outline, 2017, p. 1-2).

In the above quotation, the course objective for the "Africa and the New Wars" course appear to have an orientation towards a critical understanding of the every hidden and normalised political economy of wars on the African continent, in relation to the goals, objectives, methods and its operational functioning. Positioning itself in the post-Cold War moment, the course traces the emergence of contemporary wars in how they have continued to shift away from the traditional convention of armed conflicts between nations to nuanced and intricate intrastate wars waged on male and female bodies, as well as the possibilities of integration in such violent countries. The intended learning outcomes of this course are targeted at, not only enabling a critical and thorough understanding of the armed conflict and security in Africa (ER+), but also a particular kind of gaze and attributes in students (SR++). Below is the intended learning outcome from the course.

> **What I hope you will achieve from this course**:
>
> - *An ability to articulate major debates about conflict and security in Africa, especially the objectives of violence, method, actors (internal and external) and financial and other forms of support*. - An ability *to appreciate the similarities and differences of African states pertaining to the dynamics of conflict*. - *Increased understanding of African political, social and economic affairs*. - An ability to *adopt a 'radical openness' to analysing material critically, imaginatively and independently*. - An ability to prepare and *present detailed arguments in defence of a particular position*. - An improved *understanding of how to organise* and present information in written and oral forms. - An ability *to appreciate and respond in a flexible way to feedback* from peers and lecturer. - An ability to appreciate the value of group work as intrinsic to academic and 'real life' (emphasis added) (Africa and the New Wars course outline 2017, p. 2).

In the above quotation, the intended learning outcome for the course appears to foreground both the complexities of war in Africa, as well as enabling in students, particular kinds of dispositions and attributes that would enable them to have access to, and successfully particulate in, the course. This is seen in how students are expected to, not only know and understand knowledge (ER+), but they are also expected to articulate and demonstrate an imaginative capacity to defend particular kinds of arguments in order to demonstrate their understanding of the curriculum knowledge (SR+).

Overall, the process of constructing a course in the PDIS programme is a complex and intricate interplay that can be relatively classified as an elite code (ER+/SR++) in how it attempts to balance the curriculum knowledge as well as ensure that the identity and dispositions of the knowers are also valued and legitimated. While "Africa: Changing International Relations", "African Political Economy" and the "Peace and Conflict in Africa" could relatively be classified as ER+ due to their emphasis on critically understanding and appreciation of curriculum knowledge, the "Africa and the New Wars" course possesses a strong ER+ in terms of adopting an afro-feminist understanding when making sense of the women and young men's experiences of war and armed conflict on the African continent, and also appears to strengthen the SR++ in focusing more on the dispositions, attributes and intellectual orientation of the students themselves as being much more important for successful participation in the course. Thus, the knowledge-knower structure means the courses in the PDIS programme could be classified as ER+/SR++.

6.5 Conclusion

Political Studies in general, and the PDIS programme in particular appear to have a horizontal knowledge structure regarding the extent of the powers of the agents within the field to shape and structure for themselves, what counts as Political Studies curriculum knowledge and what does not. As a result of the horizontal nature of the knowledge in the field, a significant amount of what counts as valid and legitimate knowledge in the field operates at the level of the "discursive gap" in how the academics themselves often infuse their philosophical and ideological orientation to draw particular kinds of knowledge from the field of production and recontextualise it to their curriculum.

The PDIS field of production, together with the academic texts, offer interesting insight into what is valued and legitimate knowledge and what knowers look like in the programme. The field of production appears to largely value *both* curriculum knowledge and the attributes of the knowers in arguing for a critical understanding of the security pitfalls confronting the continent regarding peacekeeping and peacebuilding, the role of the international financial institutions in perpetrating socio-economic injustice in Africa; making sense of the "new wars" thesis as a useful lense to make sense of the new and innovative intra-state conflicts together with ensuring that students adopt an African feminist orientation in order to become knowers in the programme (ER+/SR++). Put differently, for both the PDIS field of production and when academics construct their own core courses in the PDIS programme, simply knowing and understanding the curriculum material is not enough. Students are expected to adopt a particular gaze in order to become knowers in the programnme.

In the following chapter, I shed a spotlight on what the PDIS programme's teaching and learning site looks like. In other words, I look at the seminar room and the critical discussions that occur, and explore how knowledge and knowers are legitimated in such a space.

Chapter Seven

Pedagogising knowledge

Inside the PDIS seminar room

> I might intervene somewhere, but actually it is not necessary. Then sometimes, depending on what the topic of the presentation is, I put the presentation later but then I would present on the aspect of the work. This presentation would be on one aspect of what they are doing, and then I present on another aspect, so it fills in that other gap. Usually, using audio visuals because I like my audio visuals, so I would do that occasionally I got them to do other things like ...one thing that worked really well that I want to do again, is just put agree/disagree board on the walls of the end of the seminar room and then read a statement…. read a statement on the thing that we are doing and ask people to situate themselves in a room as an indication of how they feel about it. So, if they strongly agree they are right by that side. If they are neutral, they are there and then asking them "oh you are in the middle, are you unsure about this?", or "you strongly disagree you are almost out of the door, what do you think?" I found that it worked really well and the next day when they all move around and also, I did another one where I posted different things on the wall and then they had to move around...when you ask them "do you all agree with the statement" the same three people. Because in postgraduate you always have some enthusiastic people but weirdly when they move, it is like they woke up and they can talk, that worked quite well (Interview, Lecturer 2).

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I explore what the PDIS site of teaching and learning looks like. In other words, as the study is primarily interested in exploring the knowledge and knower structures and how they are legitimated in the PDIS programme - seminar room discussions, debates, presentations, group work and others offer a key insight on what valued and legitimate knowledge looks like in this programme, and across all pedagogic methods of communication. [42]

I should emphasise that I did not draw on first hand insight on the teaching in the PDIS programme as suggested by the research on participant observation (see for example Dobrin & Schwartz, 2016; Kirk et al., 2017; Spradley, 2016). I drew from the in-depth interviews with the academics as well as curriculum documents that refer to pedagogical aspects. The reason for not opting for the participant observation (see Chapter Four), is that I was interested in what the academics in the field of Political studies in general, and in the PDIS curriculum in particular, deemed legitimate knowledge in the field. Thus, I foregrounded and focused on Political Studies' academics' insights as well what their curriculum documents revealed to be legitimate knowledge and knowers in the field.

---

[42] Briefly (as this is already extensively covered in the theoretical lenses of the study, in Chapter Three), pedagogic methods of communication refer to the translation of knowledge from the field of production into the field of reproduction, that is, in seminar rooms, debates, discussions, group work and others (see Bernstein, 2000; Singh, 2002).

7.2 PDIS Seminar Room

For the PDIS programme, the seminar discussions and debates formed an integral part of the programme. They constituted the specific space in which critical thinking, the transmission and reproduction of knowledge, as well as offering a key site in which particular kinds of knower identities are valued and legitimated. This was seen in how academics were concerned about how they transmitted knowledge and ensured that students understood and critically engaged with curriculum knowledge. Ranging from employing transmission-orientated teaching and learning strategies that are more lecturer-centred, to exploring the use of seminar debates, discussions, group presentations, as well as the idea of having critical discussions to stimulate student input – academics in the programme ensured that teaching and learning was inclusive and responded to different kinds of students with different learning strategies. I now explore the different strategies that were employed in the seminar rooms.

One of the academics in the programme had constructed a creative teaching and learning strategy around seminar discussions, in which he divided seminars into two parts. Part one focused on setting up the "theoretical parameters" of the seminar, that is, opening up the discussions across the seminar and seeing to what extent the knowledge base of the students was, and where he could "fill in the gap". Part two was more learner-centered and instructional.

> [The seminar] is structured in two parts as I alluded to earlier. There is a theme that is structured towards a particular major perspective, so in that sense, it wants to set the theoretical parameters of that perspective. It is in that first session that discussion can be quite open. People are expected to have read for that first part and it is a free discussion. The idea is to get as many people involved… I am not the centre of the seminar formally speaking, in the sense that I have a "chairperson', who takes responsibility for getting the discussion going. There is some unevenness, there are some who are better at doing it than others, and some are very good at doing it. It depends on class dynamics as well. Some individuals can get a real discussion going and because it depends on class dynamics, it changes from year to year (Interview, Lecturer 1).

In the above quotation, the academic attempted to ensure that students have some sort of critical engagement with the prescribed text, to get a sense of the theoretical understanding and critical appreciation of the texts (ER+).

> The second part of the seminar is more applied. It is trying to apply theory to an example. Another way of trying to reinforce the theory. that is why the person that presents, if it is a very big class then you have group presentations. You might have to have two presentations, but the idea is always that the example reinforces the theory

> and practical examples, like on the EU example, traditionally EU-African relations were overshadowed by the colonial history between the two, and in a neoliberal age the rhetoric is different now. One talks about partnership. One can go through that, that is theoretical and then the practical example is the EPA [Economic Partnership Agreement] and then that tells us in real interest terms whether the predominance of the one continues or there is more of a partnership in what is concluded in trade deals. That in a sense helps illustrate what happens on the ground (Interview, Lecturer 1).

For this academic, the seminar discussions are a site for navigating two pedagogical responsibilities, one for ensuring that there is some level of "checking" whether there is any theoretical foundation in the knowledge base of the students, and another part, adopting a much more empirical approach in seeing to what extent, the discussed theoretical approaches could be empirically applied to make sense of the current challenges facing African states. Thus, in LCT terms, the first part of the course is relatively characterised by some level of weakening of the pedagogical framing in the seminar, through the academic allowing the students some space to control the discussion, pacing and engagements.

The second part of the seminar is interesting from a pedagogical point of view from Lecturer 1. The introduction of the notion of the "chairperson" in seminars is designed to achieve what appears to be two key things – firstly, to symbolically move the pedagogical authority away from the academic in the seminar room as the mediating centre of knowledge; and secondly, to induct the student into kind of knower legitimated in the field who can make a (legitimate) contribution in class. Explaining the concept of the "chairperson" and how it is applied in a seminar, Lecturer 1 said,

> The idea is to get everybody involved more or less, and the first thing would be to take myself out as chair and put the student in that position, to encourage his or her peers to more easily speak so that it becomes more of a group discussion of how we approach this issue for ourselves and how we can, together promote our understanding of the topic. My role is to prompt when things don't seem to move or to prompt when things are going off tangent, but on occasion, say where there are gaps of knowledge, I can also become more interventionist. I can try fill the gaps or I will bring in a new perspective so that the discussion has, in the end, the kind of holistic understanding I want it to have on the topic that has been set (Interview, Lecture 1).

The above approach was interesting in that it sought to elicit student participation and avoid resorting to the transmission orientated kinds of teaching and learning. The notion of the chairperson was also driven to pedagogically move the knowledge, power and authority, to some extent, away from the lecturers and to the students, giving them an opportunity to facilitate the seminar discussions and control the pacing, sequencing as well as the rate at which knowledge in that curriculum was acquired. This indicates a continuation of the weakening of the farming of the seminar, in how pedagogy is used to enable and cultivate a particular kind of knower in the seminar, that is, one who is able to facilitate and elicit class discussion and its debates. One could conclude that, with the “chairperson” experiment, there is some form of strengthening of the curriculum knowledge (ER+), and instilling particular kinds of skills for the students (SR+) in the course.

Another academic, echoing Lecturer 1’s notion of the “theoretical parameters”, speaks about the importance of establishing some form of conceptual foundation in getting a sense of what students know about the curriculum (thus ER+), and at which level the course can be delivered. The participant commented on the importance of not assuming anything in seminars and establishing some level of “knowledge base.”

> *So, I try to take… not to take anything for granted and so we started off by just talking about what is an export and what an import is. What is trade? What is a tariff? What are other barriers to trade other than tariffs? What is a subsidy? So, there were a group of terms that I actually discovered I had forgotten… I just gave them some introductory texts which gave them those terms and we sat in class, and I think I got them in groups to explain concepts to each other and things like that, …there are students in the class that have Economics background but I was surprised that often you ask a politics student ‘what is the state?’ and they can't tell you. You ask an economics student explain the law of supply and demand and they can’t.* So, it was just the basic thing that the price of something will go up there is a lot of demand and not much supply. *A lot of the concepts you have to explain as you move on. So, like subsidies, for example, means that you go back to the cotton question, because cotton subsidies in the US, subsidisation of cotton farmers is a very big issue for cotton*. So, a lot of the time, the concepts have come up as we went along but we did start with the basics because I think people don't necessarily know GDP is, what GDP growth is, so I didn't assume any prior knowledge at all. Well, there is prior knowledge, but not too much (emphasis added) (Interview, Lecturer 2).

The academic above spoke about the notion of ensuring that concepts and themes are broken down and well explained without assuming any prior knowledge. This is seen in how concepts and terms such as “demand and supply”, “trade” “tariffs” and others were explored and broken down to make sure that students had access to, and understood their meaning. In other words, the academic spoke about the challenges of progression and cumulative knowledge-building in the course, and she did not assume that prior knowledge existed for students, as her course, “African Political Economy”, is a postgraduate course not offered at undergraduate level. This had implications for the pacing of the curriculum as the academic had to carefully introduce and unpack the terms that were used in the programme. This is seen below, in the “African Political Economy” seminar programme and reading guide.

Seminar Programme and Reading Guide

	Date	**Topic**	**Case Study**	**Readings to be read in preparation**
1	17 July	Introduction and Key Concepts		Krätke, Miller, Feenstra & Taylor, Mshomba

2	24 July	Theorising about Political Economy		Strange, Wallerstein, Rodney
3	31 July	Commodity Chains	Coffee	Oxfam, Ponte, Talbot
4	7 Aug	Free trade and Fairtrade	Coffee	Fridell, Fairtrade Foundation, Levi & Linton, Robbins, Wilson
5	14 Aug	Natural Resources and Economic Development	Oil	Obi, Duruigo, Ferguson, AEO
6	21 Aug	International Financial Institutions and Africa		IMF, Levin, WDM, Scott, Mkandawire, Fraser
		UNIVERSITY BREAK		
7	4 Sept	International Financial Institutions and Africa: focus on the New Development Bank		CHRD, Bond, Dossani, Jiejin
8	11 Sept	The World Trade Organisation and Africa	Cotton	BBC, Chaudhuri, WTO, Minter, Mshomba
9	18 Sept	The World Trade Organisation and Africa	Cotton	Fairtrade Foundation, Heinisch, Moseley & Gray, Singh, Sneyd
10	26 Sept	Trade Agreements: focus on AGOA	Clothing	Bett, Baden and Barber, Rivoli, Brooks & Simon, Ladu, Njiraini, Hickel
11	2 Oct	Trade Agreements: focus on regional integration	Clothing	De Melo & Tsikata, ATRC, Mangeni, Nkeupo
		STUDY BREAK – NO CLASS ON 9 OCTOBER		
12	16 Oct	Conclusions and Essay Presentations		

Table 7.1: Seminar Programme and Reading Guide (African Political Economy course outline, 2017, p. 3-4).

Two other academics in the programme had different conceptual understandings of the role of the seminar in the PDIS programme. Lecturer 4 expressed an external orientation of the seminar space together with assessment as necessary tools for preparing students for employment, equipping them for critical thinking skills, and others for commitments beyond the confines of the seminar. Lecturer 4 spoke about this orientation towards an external career, as being important in framing seminar discussions and debates in the "Africa and the New Wars" course.

> *The idea is that presenting confidently is a very big part of anyone's career in the social sciences*. Even if you end up doing marketing, anything else and you don't end up using your degree in terms of its content. … *The purpose of the presentation is to equip you with that skill If you're in a room with 20 other people you should be able to put your thoughts together, tell them a story and give a context to the answer you've been given*. We give marks for visual aids and good preparation, because that also is important… Your presentation is going to include something of that sort whether you're showing plans or graphs or mock ups or whatever (emphasis added) (Interview, Lecturer 4).

In order to equip students to have the critical thinking and presentation skills that are important for their personal development, academics in the "Africa and the New Wars" course have begun to seriously think through the role of assessment as a legitimate tool in determining to what extent exams and other methods are useful in seeing whether knowledge has been acquired in the curriculum by the students. This was seen in the introduction of an interesting assessment method, called "Critiques", that constituted 25% of the total assessment marks in the course. The purpose of the critique "is to assist you to systematically build a position or positions regarding debates about the discourse on peace and security in Africa, if done well, these will ultimately prove very useful for your essays and exam", with the goal that the "two critiques for each week will be uploaded on RUconnected.[43] This is to encourage you to appreciate the different ways in which to approach writing and presenting your arguments by observing the ways in which your peers advance their perspectives on the different topics" (Africa and the New Wars course outline, 2017, p. 3). In other words, critiques are designed to enable students to critically analyse and appreciate the different texts and presentation in these seminar (ER+), as well as enable students to begin to "own" a text and gain their own critical voice (SR+). The table below shows the criteria given to students for evaluating a critique;

CRITIQUE EVALUATION

	Very Poor	**Poor**	**Average**	**Good**	**Very Good**	**Excellent**

---

[43] RUconnected refers to Rhodes University's online learning platform, where all the soft copies of readings, additional readings, assignments, submissions and others are posted (see https://ruconnected.ru.ac.za/). Other higher education institutions often use alternative e-learning sites such as Moodle (see for example University of KwaZulu-Natal's https://learn.ukzn.ac.za/), and Blackboard (used by the University of Connecticut https://cetl.uconn.edu/huskyct-blackboard-2/). All these e-learning platforms constitute what could be seen as a pedagogical shift away from that the literature sees as "passive" modes of transmitting knowledge to interactive and inclusive approaches that responds to the technological demands of 21st century education (see for example Crossland, 2017; Jackson, 2017; Oproiu, 2015). For the debates on the e-learning sites and to what extent they are making a material differences in the pedagogy and leaning experiences of students, see (El-Bahsh & Daoud, 2016; Ho, Ng, Leung, Wang, & Wong, 2015; Wong, 2015).

Critique concisely captures the main points of the required text/s						
The critique adequately interrogates the strength and weakness of the required text/s						

What I like about the critique:

Areas of improvement:

Table 7.2: This table is extracted from the "Africa and the New Wars" Evaluation of Critique document (2017).

In the above criteria for a critique, the emphasis is placed on the importance of capturing the main points of the texts as well as ensuring that the strengths and limitations of a reading are best captured (ER+). Beyond the broad criteria above on a) capturing the main arguments of a text and b) showing the strength and limitations of that text, the curriculum documents do not indicate how students will be graded regarding whether they obtain "Excellent" or "Very Good", and the differences between those two assessment outcomes. This appears to show a "pedagogical opening", or loosening of the framing designed to ensure that students, not only critically engage with and make sense of curriculum knowledge (ER+), but gain the skills of presenting in public, engaging with their peers as well developing academic confidence that will assist them in practice or real life (SR+).

The attempt at critical engagement with the texts and attempting to build confidence in enabling students to have their own academic voice (SR+), is explained by the academic below as well as the challenges experienced with the amount of readings prescribed.

> I have so many readings. I think for them, they're just trying to get through, a lot of those people they have never read. So, it is an entirely different experience for them and often there is no confidence. I don't think it's a confidence thing but usually, they have not read enough in order to suggest another [reading]. They are discovering for

> the first time, Nordstrom, Hendricks all those people for the first time…. *What I say in the critiques is tell me what you like. Did you like the reader? There is a sense that one reading doesn't do the thing that allows me to think about what do I do with it next year, do I stick with it or do I find another one that will be much more accessible*? *So, it is in that manner, but they are vocal about it, saying I like African guerillas week*. I always say to them language is very important, in the 1960 s who were talking about "guerillas" and then in the 1980s and 90s we were talking about the "rebels", we don't talk about rebels any more, we talk about "terrorists". What happened? What has changed? A lot of that is paying attention to categories and what categories mean for our understanding of wars. It's not a bottom up process, unfortunately (emphasis added) (Interview, Lecturer 3).

In the above quotation, the academic comments on the importance of the critique as an opportunity for students to show what they appreciated about a particular reading and what they found limiting. The challenge for the academic becomes the manner in which the sheer volumes of readings becomes a challenge for the students to catch up, and therefore, most of them would not have any prior knowledge of the texts from to be able to not only to offer a critical appreciation of the texts, but also to have access to, and propose other readings for the course.

The critique below was taken from the "Africa and the New Wars" course, which was publicly posted during the course in 2017 as an example of an "excellent critique", that a student had written and was shared to fellow students to use as an example. I share below, only a section of the two-page critique, with the full text as Appendix G.

> **Week Five Critique: Young Men and New Wars**
>
> From the onset, Hoffman points out "to be a *kamajor*[44] is performance" (2011: 58), this sets out the way in which one views and responds to the *kamajor*. Considering the similarities and parallels drawn between the hunter and the *kamajor*, it would be safe to assume that this performance is one of masculinity or the performance of male bravado and prowess. *Although the hunter is rooted within a society and his craft is learnt from passed on memory, apprenticeship and through the shared values of community and kamajor learns his craft through initiation (2011: 63), both exploit the idea that the male has the genetic predisposition of using violence and the body as a means to protect against threatening forces.* Thus, the hunter and *kamajor* take on the identity of "warrior- protector" (2011:63) which is seen in the manner in which he uses violence to protect against the possible threat the army or other opposition rebel groups. *This is problematic in that in that it appears to have a Hegel-esque understanding the African guerilla as inherently "volatile, violent and is a global black underclass" (2011:67). The iconography of the male warrior and protector, whose greatness lies not in his ability to use legitimate political platforms to change social order, but in the use of rebellion and gratuitous violence, is one that is most important to the kamajor and is the very performance of masculinity within these groups* (2011:67) Throughout this chapter, Hoffman makes the impression that these young male bodies are used to outsource "political violence" (2011:67) and their

---

[44] The kamajor refer to the rebel group that was active during the Sierra Leon civil war from beginning of 1991-2001 (Hoffman, 2011). They draw their identities from the pre-colonial ethnic hunter gatherers called the kamajoisia (see Francis, 2017; Ginifer & Peimani, 2017; Harris & Lappin, 2015).

> prowess is determined by their ability to provide protection against bullets, hence, the invincibility of violent masculinities. This is affirmed by the kamajor identity which favours "revolutionary postcolonial youth [male] culture, legacies of mercenary labor and masculine responsibility" (2011: 71). *These identities were used throughout the rebel group movement in Sierra Leone, most evidently in times of war. This then links to the idea of victimisation and agency; these young men are victimised not only by the state in economic and political ways, they are further victimised in so far as their bodies are treated at carriers of war, this limits agency and places an onerous burden to young men to perform these masculinities.*
>
> In his final chapter, Hoffman speaks to the conflict that arises when former rebel groups become co-opted or institutionalised in the very state that they were opposed to. The identity of these rebel groups now takes on the identity of the states in so far as they are committed to the constitutional democracy of Sierra Leone (2011:97) Hoffman calls this the new political imaginary in which once rebelling groups (CDF) now reveal the desire for a political system which recognises and guarantees human rights, and the security of citizenship (2011: 97). *This political imaginary seeks to affirm Weberian conceptions of statehood such as the monopoly on violence and structures that enhance the recognition of statehood (2011:99)* The revolutionary possibilities of the CDF now give in to the logic of the state, statehood and a democratic politic (2011:99). This co-option of the CDF into state institutions saw the rise of patronage networks which further victimised the junior men or young boys to advantage older men within the movement. These patronage networks had transnational connections which had no desire for state reformation or the recapturing of it. *Using the realist theory, one can argue that these once revolutionary and rebellious groups were invested in greed and not the securitisation of citizens and their fighters. Self-interest of those who now had political capital further victimised these young men, still leaving them as marginalised and misrecognised groups* (emphasis added) (Africa and the New Wars Ruconnected page, 2017).

In the critique, the student connects, quite interestingly; war, violence and trauma, as performative and reflective of the gender identities that young men in the kamajor rebel group have to subscribe to in order to negotiate their society (ER++). In the above critique, the suspension of youth, childhood and what it means to be a child, all (symbolically) intersects with the imagery of pre-colonial hunter gathers whose "craft is learnt from passed on memory, apprenticeship and through the shared values of community, and kamajor learns his craft through initiation". Therefore, the hunting spirit legitimated and used by the precolonial hunters is again being symbolically employed by the kamajors rebel group to unleash force and violence in performing what it means to be a man in the time of war. Once again, this violence, and the student critique above comments on this – war becomes a valued, legitimate and painful initiation into manhood, that is used to demarcate and see who gets to be a man and who gets to be relegated into perpetual "boyhood".

The critique in the "Africa and the New Wars" course also appears to serve the same function as the seminars reflections that in the Africa in IR course, in how for the academic, they are meant to ensure that students, not only demonstrate some form of critical understanding of the text and its key argument (placing emphasis on the ER+), but also take a position in the broader conversations of the field (SR+).

> *The reflections are very important. First of all, it is to ensure that people do their reading, but secondly, it is not summaries I want. I want them to take a position on the readings, how they relate to the readings, so I do want to see...I don't like ...I can't agree with this point of view, because A, B & C... I have mixed feelings about…. I want that to come out.* It is a bit of an uphill battle because people are not used to it, but at the same time, I do expect at a postgraduate level, people have done a lot of reading, they will have some views, they ought to be able to critically relate to material, to be more or less in agreement with arguments put forward (emphasis added) (Interview, Lecturer 1).

Seminar rooms present with them, challenging dynamics that academics must negotiate. What also comes out from the above critique is the manner in which the critiques also serve the function of enabling some form of progression and cumulative knowledge-building in the course. This is particularly seen in how critiques are regarded an opportunity for students to demonstrate, not just broader understanding of the reading and the issues that are discussed (ER+), but critical engagement with the text and show where in the debates they are positioned (SR++). Thus, *knowing* and understanding is not enough in the course, students also need to positon themselves and critically engage in the broader debates that are presented to them.

Academics often had to negotiate challenges such as the lack of reading culture among students in preparing for the seminars as well as the effects of massification brought by the large seminar rooms. The academics below comment on such challenges, reflecting that students operate from "little information" and the general misunderstanding on the challenges that confront the African security.

> *Students are operating from such little information. There is a façade. There is a sense that one knows a lot about the Somali dysfunction but knows so little about Somalis history.* So that forces us to really think through this idea of Islam. There is work and people are thinking through that. A lot of Somalis are outraged at the use of Islam, actually a lot of Muslims are outraged by the use of Islam for political ideology and people don't know that, and so it's always quite humbling for students to have to think through that… looking at our suburbs as a transnational organisation that is expanding from the domestic base to the region and….[and also] looking at US targeted killings in Somalia, the drones, and all of it comes from teaching that provokes that kind of interest and all of it comes from teaching that provokes that kind of interest (emphasis added) (Interview, Lecturer 3).

In the above quotation, the academic suggests that one of the challenges that she is grappling with is the manner in which students have access to inadequate information regarding some of the themes that she deals with in the course. Another academic, building up from Lecturer 3's reflections above, and argues that some of the challenges with the students accessing readings from the field of production may very well have to do with how her own course, "African Political Economy", is too broad, inclusive and difficult to prescribe what core or key texts look like in such a fragmented field.

> It is quite difficult with African Political Economy, because political economy is a term that is used by very different people, from very different backgrounds to mean very different things. It is no really like "liberalism" or something which is a field. There isn't a theory of political economy. It is important to define what we understand political economy to mean. Does it mean the interaction of the "political" and "economic" wealth? So, a study that is orientated to mean that you can't understand politics without understanding economics and they are not the same thing. Some of the readings they [students] read are Susan Strange and was actually recommended by the external examiner, and Emmanuel Wallerstein who is very different, but both Strange and Wallerstein agree that these disciplinary boundaries don't make sense (Interview, Lecturer 2).

The academic commented on the challenges with teaching a field that appears to be too broad, inclusive and does not have an orientation to a field of practice, and is not strongly rooted/grounded in a particular discipline. In Bernsteinian terms, "African Political Economy" could be seen as a field/topic/subsection of Political Studies, characterised by a horizontal knowledge structure due to fragmentation, expansiveness and no agreement on what constitutes "African Political Economy" as a field.

The above academic (lecturer 2) further argues that she could "teach 6 courses in 'African Political Economy' [as] there are different ways to teach it. The focus has mostly been on trade, there could be other themes and so I developed that course and have kind of redeveloped over the years" (interview, Lecturer 2). This has implications for the kind of readings, construction of the curriculum, as well as the manner in which students have access to the field of production in getting the "right" kind of readings. Furthermore, the academic introduces some of the disciplinary debates in the field of "African Political Economy", regarding to what extent one can legitimately separate what is political from the functioning of a country's economy. In other words, can the field of Politics be separate from the influences of, and effects of the economy, or are the two intertwined, without necessarily reducing one field into another? (see for example Dahl, 2017).

Other challenges within the seminar space included the lack of critical discussion from some students, plagiarism issues, and large seminars groups, all of which influenced teaching and learning;

> Sometimes, some people are just sponges. They will just come and listen to everything that everyone else says. They are not interested in participating. Maybe because they didn't read but also, they are not confident enough to say the things that they think. I think incentivising the participation is sort of ensuring participation an equal exchange. Some people will be able to talk every week and some people will talk sometimes. Everyone is reminded that there is a mark that speaks to participation. People become aware that you won't just be able to come listen to everybody else and capitalize on the brilliance of other people and then write a good essay. I also think to be fair, and it is not just incentivising or to penalise people who don't want to participate. Also, to draw out things that are very positive from other students who wouldn't normally say anything to encourage them that they could have something that is really useful for somebody else or for the whole class, and you would get extra marks for it and your thoughts are repeated (Interview, Lecturer 4).

> What is the problem is that they are not even trying to understand. They don't want to be caught by Turnitin.[45] Turnitin has stopped the whole copy and paste thing ......my funniest one was when they changed the words. The ‘pursuit of knowledge’ becomes the ‘chase of knowledge’ [laughing] and you know the chase of knowledge is funny because you know they just looked up pursuit. They just put into a synonym search thing and of course chase and pursuit ...but there is no chase of knowledge. So I got a lot ...they have been scaling through them. I got them at the end of the 4th term...they have learnt to get around Turnitin. It doesn't flag it but they haven't understood a word or have no evidence of understanding. They are using texts wrongly, and so the only way to fix it is to take texts away and ask them to tell you Rwanda voices in the east of the DRC and if they haven't actually understood it, they can't tell me. So either an oral or a written ...but they are not using texts the way they should and that is across the board, the better one won't just copy two pages and change a few words they'll copy a paragraph from this person and then a sentence from this person’s stuffed in, but they are not actually reading, understanding, writing, that understanding bit is being missed in the reading and the writing (interview, Lecture 2).

With the above mentioned challenges in the programme, another academic spoke about the importance of “class dynamics” for enabling critical environments in the seminar (SR+). For the academic, class dynamics are helpful in ensuring that outstanding students are able to bring with them energy that can activate the rest of the class. He explains this phenomenon below.

> The dynamics, we had four people in a class of eleven who were quite active. You could rely on them to contribute to the discussion. They also happened to be the ones with the top marks. What does help is one of them is an outstanding student. She had a very original take on the some of the subject matter and I tried to encourage her to speak more, because she was quite shy. She didn’t want to take the limelight, because you could actually see from her own perspective in terms of putting things in her original way was kind of an eye-opener for the other students. That is why I say, group dynamics are very different from year to year, and it depends how the group relates to each other. That is not really an issue. People do relate well, but sometimes we have outsiders, where this whole thing about Rhodes ...there are some outsiders who don’t acclimatise. They don’t integrate that well, there is some distance. That plays a part. What is important is to have two or three people who are motivated, and they speak. They lift the whole level of discussion and they lift the level of understanding. So it is not just me...if I have that level of support as well, then the class is successful. If everybody is, I don’t want to use the word, mediocre, then you can’t achieve much in the learning experience. It is important that there is that unevenness. If there are some bright students who are motivated and speak and so on, it does get the others going. It does make the others think more, because it is one of the own who is seemingly on top of things and it jolts them. If it is just me and the rest, then they can think that is the lecturer. So this year I was happy to have those four out of the eleven who helped to lift the class up (Interview, Lecture 1).

---

[45] Turnitin is a software device that is often used by higher education institutions to look at the similarity check/index of the assignments/essays/document submitted. There has been widespread concerns regarding the conflation of Turnitin as a “plagiarism” checker, and to what extent, it is pedagogically useful or anti-education (Bruton & Childers, 2016; Li & Li, 2018; Orlando, Hanham, & Ullman, 2018).

In the above quotation, the academic spoke about the importance of having some sort of class dynamics in these seminars balancing between outstanding students and those who are struggling. According to the academic, the stronger students are able to lift up the conversation through their contribution and help those who are "mediocre" to understand the material and be able to critically engage with the curriculum (SR+/ER+). He also notes that adjustment challenges played a significant role in students who were not from the university, as they struggled to socially and academically acclimatize. This resonates with the growing South African higher education literature that shows the adjustment, attrition and retention challenges of students, particularly those in historically white universities such as Rhodes University, the current site of this research (Naicker, 2016; Petersen, Louw, & Dumont, 2009; Sennett, Finchilescu, Gibson, & Strauss, 2003).

Overall, pedagogising Political Studies' knowledge in the PDIS programme is a complex and intricate process. Various academics use different and varying teaching and learning strategies, from the use of a student "chairperson" model, to seminar discussions, presentations and others that are designed to elicit some form of critical engagement from the students (SR+). When pedagogising knowledge, the programme could be said to be largely characterised by strong epistemic relations in which knowing and understanding the material is much more valued in the seminar discussions and presentations than the attributes and dispositions of the knowers. Although one is tempted to speak about the weakening of the classification and framing of the pedagogical relations with the introduction of the "chairperson" student model as the facilitator of the discussion and the one who controls the pacing, sequencing and ordering of knowledge in the seminar - the presence and strong influence of the academic challenges that claim. Thus, one could speak about the "sharing" or "transferring" of pedagogical relations as both Lecturer 1 and 2 indicate instances where, even though there is a student who is leading the discussion and facilitating the conversation, they "intervene" or "prompt" the discussion when there is a sense that the general direction of the seminar moves way from what they think should be the focus on the prescribed readings and the particular theme.

> My role is to prompt when things don't seem to move or to prompt when things are going off tangent, but on occasion, say where there are gaps of knowledge, I can also become more interventionist. I can try fill the gaps or I will bring in a new perspective so that the discussion has, in the end, the kind of holistic understanding I want it to have on the topic that has been set. It is a combination of things, it is no lecture, even though when I intervene it may be a mini lecture, but it is trying to balance two things. It is trying to get everyone to participate and feel comfortable, mainly by not me standing in front and sort of directing, but by trying to further an inclusive group discussion. By having a clear [chairperson] who has hopefully read and sort of prepared questions and who can get their classmates to respond, with me intervening again and again in order to move the discussion and to have it cover as much ground as possible for the topic chosen (Interview, Lecturer 1).

> So they [students] were fine when I put them into groups. It meant that no one would just sit there. They did presentations because most seminars, about half to two thirds of the seminars would start with the student doing a presentation and that would go into discussion, which if it went fine I'd just sit there and let it continue, probably for about an hour of presentation and discussion, the class is teaching each other. I might

> intervene somewhere, but actually it is not necessary. Then sometimes, depending on what the topic of the presentation is, I put the presentation later but then I would present on the aspect of the work, so this presentation would be on one aspect of what they are doing, and then I present on another aspect so it fills in that other gap, usually using audio visuals because I like my audio visuals (Interview, Lecturer 2).

The role of the critique is very interesting in the PDIS programme from a pedagogical point of view. It is in the critique that one begins to see some appearance of what could referred to as the strengthening of both the ER+ and the emphasis on the SR++, in how knowing and understanding the material is not good enough in the course. The students are also supposed to "own the text" and make sense of it from their very own original voice. Furthermore, SR+ and SR++ could also be seen with the overall assessment critique offered by Lecturer 4 who argued for a broader and holistic understanding of assessment in the programme, suggesting that the role of the presentation should not only be geared towards passing and obtaining the marks, but that they should also be aiding students for professional practice in being able to "put your thoughts together" and show the necessary confidence in whatever employment sector one finds him or herself (Interview, Lecturer 4). Thus, one could suggest that when pedagogising knowledge, the programme could be characterised as relatively possessing an elite code (ER+/SR++).

7.3 The *ideal* PDIS student

While the data indicates an ER+/SR++ as the dominant form of social relations and thus, a strong emphasis on being a particular kind of knower, I needed to go further by using the LCT tool of Gazes to make a more detailed analysis.

One of the research objectives of my study was to explore what a valued knower looks like in PDIS programme. In other words, what are the valued and legitimated gaze(s) in the programme, and how do we see them? I asked academics during the interviews what their ideal "Political Studies student" looked like. In other words, I asked if they could describe for me what are we looking for in an "ideal student" in the programme, in terms of the attributes, dispositions and values. Below, I interrogate and theorise their responses.

When asked about the "ideal", "excellent" and "valued" students in the PDIS programme, different academics offered different suggestions. These included a student that is "inquisitive", "interested in the material", and who can show some form of intellectual and personal growth in the programme.

> I think the curiosity in the sense of...a change in what they and how they say it, those are the delights. Things are complex. There are layers, I think the big one is the student who comes out with a much more layered understanding of Africans, ways of which African life and experiences and war in one of those experiences is layered. They have an appreciation of history, a perception of history and power coming from internally

> and externally and perhaps those are the major ones, history, context, power and language (Interview, Lecturer 3).

> Somebody who is interested. Somebody who does make an attempt to read. Somebody who does try and find different arguments coming from the readings, and tries to distinguish between them and starts finding his or her own position. Reading is one thing, but the other thing is that if people enter discussions saying, I don't understand this or I don't know how I can assume that, if people are open like that...I very much appreciate that. In other words, if they can open up ...I have a lot of time for students like that. I do appreciate those who lift the level of the class, but I very much appreciate the student who is open and inquisitive and wants to improve. There is one student, this year, who got a low 'C' from me, that is at the beginning of the year. She is doing another diploma course and she ends up with a 70. She wants to do the MA but she won't get the 70 mark to get there. She came to talk to me and I said you need a backup plan and so on. But I could say to her, 'look, I see you have grown and she could mirror that and say ...I've learnt a lot and I am terribly motivated in IR and I want to continue…. She has applied to the University of Kent in Brussels. In a way, if she has this opportunity, it is better for her to go to another continent to get that international exposure...all the better for her (Interview, Lecturer 1).

For the above academics, the most valued attributes and dispositions from PDIS students is the ability to know and realise the complexity of challenges facing the African continent, being cognisant of those complexities and being inquisitive in finding out more. While Lecturer 1 emphasised the importance of reading, critically engaging with the texts, as well as finding one's position in the course debates, including lifting up the discussions in the seminar and making a material contribution - Lecturer 3 emphasised more on the critical awareness in students, calling for a much more multi-layered understanding on the operational functioning of history, power and language to Others and marginalise on the continent. Echoing Lecturer 3, Lecturer 4 also commented on the importance of this kind of social consciousness in students.

> [I] share particular value about knowledge and knowledge production and the nature of the graduate that our University should be producing, particularly the type of black graduates that we hope will come out of our institution and so I know. I share an ethos of trying to create as critically minded courses that remind students that they must live with your information intact and be able to recall historical facts and particular types of analysis, but you must also be socially conscious and critically minded. Confident enough to be able to say if something has been done correctly, aware enough to see when something doesn't correlate with the way that you perceive it, and try and figure out why that could be taking place (Interview, Lecturer 4).

For the academic above, PDIS students need not only have critical understanding of the curriculum knowledge but begin to have embedded values of being socially conscious, critically minded students who have the confidence to speak up when they see perceived injustice and help in making sense of why particular things happen. Alluding to the importance of curriculum knowledge in an ideal PDIS programme student, Lecturer

2 supports Lecturer 1's argument on the importance of opening oneself up to critical engagement, making sense of the material, as well as carving one's position in the readings.

> Firstly, just interested, interested and committed, so I think a lot of students have ...they are battling their own personal battles, so they are not interested because the space to be interested is squeezed out by personal issues that they are dealing with, but I can sympathise with that student, but they are not my ideal student. My ideal student needs to be able to have enough space in their lives and in their heads to be fascinated by something, to think, "Wow the new Development Bank, maybe that is going to change the whole architecture of international financial institutions, will it or won't it", to be interested and the commitment to carry through in actually trying to find out. So that's ... if they get something wrong or they don't understand something that is not really as important, because if they have that orientation, then they can get there, and I can help them get there, because if they have that orientation they will come and ask me. If they don't have that orientation when they come and ask me...then they won't send me a draft ... there is not much that we can do (Interview, Lecturer 2).

In the above quotation, the academic describes the ideal PDIS programme student as a student with an orientation towards being genuinely interested in issues and attempting to make sense of their contribution. The academic argues that although she understands the challenges that students are confronting in their personal lives, those are not her ideal students. Her ideal PDIS students are ones who are committed and fascinated by the curriculum knowledge, making sense of it and researching it further, and even when they misunderstand particular issues, their interests and fascination will sustain them.

Overall, the programme appears to value a "cultivated gaze" in how the academics describe the "socialised dispositions that can be acquired through the right kind of education and enculturation" (Luckett, 2012, p. 23) for the PDIS students. In other words, the dispositions and attributes that the academic described as ideal and valued for PDIS students centred on the commitment to understanding the complexity of African challenges; being interested in the programme; reading and positioning one's voice in the debates; as well as being genuinely interested and committed to the curriculum knowledge that is discussed. Thus this "cultivated gaze" appears relatively inclusive and open to everyone in the PDIS programme, as long as they read the prescribed material, understand the broader debates in the field, and adopt a position themselves. What is interesting within PDIS is that, even though students may be struggling to grasp the curriculum knowledge (ER+), they are nonetheless still deemed an ideal student because of their "open", "inquisitive", and being willing to "grow" as individuals (see Lecturer 1 above). Thus, one could suggest that when it comes to the ideal student in the programme, the epistemic relations can often be sacrificed on the basis of the social spine of the programme. In other words, at times, being an ideal student may not necessarily be based on what you know, but on your own attributes and dispositions as a student.

7.4 Conclusion

Seminars in the programme are an interesting pedagogical site for the PDIS curriculum in how academics often experiment with different pedagogical methods that are designed to, not only ensure that curriculum knowledge is understood by the students (ER+), but also enable students to position themselves in the broader debates in the field and have a critical voice (SR++). It was interesting to note that, although the curriculum knowledge and a critical understanding of the material was valued in the programme (ER+), at times the epistemic relations of the programme were sacrificed to re-affirm the social spine (SR++) and place greater emphasis on a student that is "inquisitive" by nature, "open" and willing to "grow" as representing the ideal markers of a knower in the PDIS programme even though the knower could be struggling academically.

In Chapter Six of the analysis, I showed how 1) the PDIS field of production values *both* curriculum knowledge and the dispositions of the knowers, and that 2) because there is no external regional body that regulates curriculum knowledge in the programme, what counts as key knowledge in the field in general, and in the programme in particular, occurs at the level of the discursive gap. I then moved to Chapter Seven which showed how knowledge from the field of production is recontextualised into the PDIS curriculum and pedagogised. In the following chapter, I critically explore the knowledge, knowers and the particular gaze(s) that are valued and legitimated as communicated by the PDIS assessment methods and documents.

Chapter Eight

Valuing knowledge, Legitimating social dispositions

An analysis of the PDIS assessment documents

> They don't have to [submit work] per week. There is one a week that can be done. They have to do between 4 and 6 over the semester. They don't all submit each week, because otherwise I find that you get students who just specialise by the end of the Course, they know a lot about the World Trade Organization and nothing about anything else. So, this is to stop that, because they are getting a qualification in African Political Economy, they need to not just know one thing, so that's the breadth. And then presentation is included as a component of each, both the exam and term mark, because I think we rely too much on writing at university and I think that outside university, in the real world, both in the workplace and another setting you need to be able to communicate your understanding of something verbally. That's why it is important and the participation is important just to encourage by attaching a mark to put an effort every week. A lot of us have a participation mark but it doesn't help as much. You end up giving everyone 60, it is very hard to justify why you gave someone this mark. It is very hard for them to know what they have to do to get that mark (Interview, Lecturer 2).

8.1 Introduction

In the previous analysis chapter, I critically explored the Knowledge and Knower Structures in the PDIS curriculum, specifically looking at three processes, that is, the PDIS field of production, the process of constructing the PDIS curriculum, and finally the intricate and complex interplay that is found when PDIS knowledge is recontextualised from the field of production and into the seminar room discussions and debates. In this chapter, I continue on this trajectory now foregrounding the assessment documents as key to offering the underlying mechanisms of what valued curriculum knowledge looks like in the programme. In other words, what underlying messages are being communicated by the assessment documents in the PDIS curriculum regarding what counts as valued and legitimate knowledge and knowers in the programme? In this chapter, I argue that the PDIS assessment documents strike a balance between a relative emphasis on the importance of knowledge in the field of Political Studies and the highly framed particular social dispositions and gazes that are enabled and valued in the programme.

8.2 Exploring assessment methods in curriculum documents

In looking at the overall assessment methods that are used in the PDIS programme, the following were analysed in the curriculum documents/schedules – critiques; presentations; class participation; class discussions; essay questions and exams/exam portfolio.

Assessment in the PDIS programme is an interesting yet contested terrain. In the "African Political Economy" course, there is a document, "Basic principles informing assessment", that describes the central purpose of assessment in the course.

> Assessment in education has two main goals. Firstly, students must be assessed and given feedback in order to improve their learning. *You cannot learn about key issues in African Political Economy if no one listens to what your understanding of an issue is*, and then helps you see how it might be improved. Secondly, students are assessed to *determine whether or not they can be granted a particular qualification*. The mark I give you, along with your marks for other courses, determines whether or not you are seen to have the knowledge and understanding required to have a particular qualification… I would like everyone to pass this course – indeed, I have very rarely had a student fail it. I commit to making myself available to you to assist you in meeting the course requirements. In turn, I would appreciate it if you brought to my attention any obstacles in the way of your performance well in advance and if you set up an appointment with me (by email, please) to come and speak to me if there is any particular assistance you need from me (emphasis added) (African Political Economy: Assessment Guidelines, 2017, p. 1).

In the above quotation, the academic describes the assessment principles that shape and influence the "African Political Economy" course. This is seen in how assessment is understood primarily as an attempt at giving feedback for students to pass, as well as ensuring that students have met the minimum standards required to be given a qualification (ER+). However, it is clear that the academic sees this achievement of minimum standards as a process of becoming and focuses on assessment as a space to try out certain practices and be listened to (SR+). Initially, assessment in higher education was understood as consisting of formative assessment methods that were designed to look at the peer review/critiques and discussion (Tong, Standen, & Sotiriou, 2018, p. 180). As higher education increasingly shifted from elite to mass education, traditional conceptions of assessment have been disrupted to respond to the challenges of globalisation and internationalisation. Tong et al. (2018) argue that:

> As the education system in the last century underwent a shift from elite to mass education, being *driven to satisfy the economic imperative* of the Industrial Revolution (Robinson 2010), higher education objectives *focused on training* the managers of industry and giving researchers the means to find new materials to feed into the engine of progress. This, in turn, caused the deviation from a learning-centred focus, instead pushing examinations and various forms of summative assessment to the core of higher education, *serving the purposes of certification and selection*. These led to our current situation, where there is an over-emphasis on the measurement of learning often at the expense of the assessment for learning (Price et al. 2008). 'Assessment defines what students regard as important, how they spend their time and how they come to see themselves as students and then as graduates' (Brown et al. 1997, 12). It must be acknowledged that our current system of assessment, which focuses on marks and grades, is not working. A greater emphasis on assessment for learning, rather than an assessment of learning, is required to achieve a holistic sense of learning. Clearly,

> there is a need to change the method of assessment if we want to change what and how students learn (emphasis added) (Tong et al., 2018, pp. 179-180).

Lecturer 2 above and Tong et al.'s (2018) conceptions of assessment in higher education appear to place significant emphasis on assessment as a space for learning both the knowledge and ways of being (ER+/ SR+), and not just about compliance to regulations or about accreditation. Responding to the relative absence of social relations in higher education assessment (see for example Craft, 2018; du Plessis & Van Niekerk, 2014; Mohamedbhai, 2014), scholars have adopted the broader theoretical tools from Heidegger's notion of "being-in-the-world" (see Dreyfus, 1991) in how we are already embedded and situated in social reality,[46] to argue about the need for assessment that enables student ontology in higher education curriculum;

> A better aim for higher education assessment is to attempt to get at students' thinking processes. It is possible to get some sense of how students arrived at an answer by asking them to provide a written response rather than allow them to pick (possibly at random or via semi-educated guess) from a set of pre-defined options. The same logic is at play here as when students are asked to show their working as part of a maths problem…… Broadly, the notion that learning is enhanced through the testing of knowledge makes intuitive sense in practice settings and is supported by laboratory-based research. Much of the evidence for the testing effect has been gathered through the use of multiple-choice questions, so it would appear that this format could be good for learning…. When considering the purpose of a university education at the most fundamental level, it isn't just about remembering or thinking. The ultimate aim of university education as it has been historically conceived, is a process of becoming…. Students come to university so that they can become lawyers, architects, historians and scholars with all the associated cognitive skills. While this process of becoming is at the core of the purpose of university education, it is nonetheless difficult to assess. The very definition of becoming is about subjective experience and not an objective reality that can be easily quantified in some way…This notion of becoming is particularly hard to get at with a bank of multiple-choice questions. That may have led in part, to their continued derision as an assessment approach (Lodge, 2014).

The most preferred assessment method in the PDIS programme appears to be the presentation. This is seen in how all the programmes are pedagogically geared towards some form of seminar debates and critical conversations. In the section above, I mentioned how for some academics, it is critically important that students have their own intellectual voice and positionality that they bring to the readings and seminars

---

[46] Briefly, Heidegger, in Being and Time, argues about what it means to be human if we are to comprehend and make sense of thinking and knowing as central modes of being human (Heidegger, 1962, 1977, 1996). He regarded modes of knowing (such as Architecture, Biology, Chemistry and in this context, Political Studies), as ways of being human. In other words, before we fully understand the various forms of professional practice (ER+), we must first understand the being and ontology of those with knowledge (SR++). Thus he suggested the notion of "being-in-the-world" in which he suggests that we "always already embedded in, and entwined with, our world, not simply contained within it…we typically are absorbed in a range of activities and projects with others that involve the use of tools or equipment and production of artefacts" (Dall'Alba, 2009, pp. 35-36). In other words, before we look at professional practice and social construction of knowledge (ER+), we first need to foreground the ontological subject first (SR++) and the different ways of being and knowing.

(SR++). The presentation and feedback sessions become the site where academies model an orientation towards debates, positionality, and insights regarding what students may have thought about a particular kind of reading. This is the site were the social spine of the programme is strengthened as students are, not only supposed to know and understand the curriculum knowledge (ER+), but also to bring their own understanding, perspective and voice to the text (SR++). This is seen in the notes below regarding the presentations.

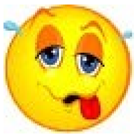
> **New and "Old" Wars: A Valid Distinction?**
>
> This week we examine some of the key criticism of the concept of "new wars" that call to question the legitimacy of the ruptures that Kaldor underscores in her thesis. The critiques seek to highlight continuities between past wars and post-Cold War wars in terms of objectives of violence, ideology, method and actors. With regards to Africa, some of the critiques call for an analysis of post-colonial wars within a historic framework that gives attention to the violent imposition of the Westphalian state system and the continuing legacy of imperial power in the state making processes in Africa. We conclude by examining the ways in which patterns of war in Africa are changing.
>
> **Presentation topic**: Is the "new wars" thesis an adequate conceptual category within which to understand the dynamics of post-colonial wars in Africa? (Africa and the New Wars course outline, 2017, p. 8).

> **State-centred and realist perspectives - Africa's place in International Relations-**
>
> Africa as appendage, subject and object of the West and the nature of the African state and its limits in international relations.
>
> **Group Presentation 1**
>
> What are the perceived weaknesses of African states in their external relations in both world, regional and African politics? Are these perceived weaknesses caused by structural or historical conditions or agency? Discuss the perceived structural, historical and local causes of the perceived weakness of African states in their external relations (International Relations: Changing Africa course outline, 2017, p. 1-2).

In the above quotations, students were asked to critically evaluate the usefulness of the "new wars" thesis as a viable option in making a distinction between what is considered "old" and "new" in the contemporary understanding of wars (SR++). In other words, due to the continuation and disruptions of postcolonial wars on the African continent, students are asked to present the extent to which the Kaldor (2013) thesis is useful and relevant to the understanding of patterns of conflict in Africa and, and whether the "old" ceasing and the "new" beginning is applicable to African states (ER+). Thus, the "Africa and the New Wars" course asks students to reflect on whether "Is the 'new wars' thesis an adequate conceptual category within which to understand the dynamics of post-colonial wars in Africa?" For the "International Relations: Changing Africa" course, students are similarly asked to reflect and present on the curriculum knowledge, focusing on the perceived weaknesses of the African states in how they relate in the regional and global community.

In perhaps the most extensive detail as to the requirements for the presentation and the expected standard that students are supposed to present their work, "African Political Economy" has provided the rubric below as a graphical representation.

Presentation Rubric

	 4 **Excellent**	 **3** **Good**	 **2** **OK**	 **1** **Really needs work**
Content	You were really knowledgeable about the topic under discussion. We learnt so much from listening to you!	You show a good grasp of the topic under discussion.	We could follow your discussion, but there were some errors or missing information in your presentation.	You haven't yet grasped this work or are not yet able to communicate your understanding clearly.
Audio-visuals	The audio-visuals were really great and made a big impact on how the presentation came across.	The audio-visuals helped us better follow the presentation.	Some useful audio-visuals were used.	There weren't any audio-visuals or they were distracting rather than helpful
Organisation	Your presentation was very well-organised and really easy to follow. No one felt in the slightest confused or lost.	Your presentation was well organised and flowed smoothly.	There were moments were things were a bit disorganised or unclear.	It was hard to follow your presentation.
Delivery	You were enthusiastic and made a real effort at engaging with the class. You spoke clearly and used eye contact. We felt that you were relating to us!	You spoke clearly and made good eye contact with the audience.	It didn't feel like you really connected with us enough during the presentation.	We struggled to hear you. The presentation did not feel comfortable.

Collaboration	You were a great team! We could really tell that you'd worked hard together and that everyone had contributed.	It was clear that everyone had contributed meaningfully.	All team members made some contribution, but that contribution was uneven.	Some team members were late or absent or played little or no role in the presentation.

Table 8.1: The graph above, indicating how "African Political Economy" students' presentations will be assessed, as adapted from the Assessment Information document (2017, pp. 10-11).

In the rubric above, for the seminar presentations, students were given an extensive breakdown of the assessment scale of how their presentations would be assessed using content, audio-visuals, organisation, delivery and collaboration as headings. What is insightful in the above extract is the manner in which there appears to be balance between the understanding of curriculum knowledge (ER+) and the actual delivery of the presentation, in that students are, not only expected to know and understand the material, but also expected to deliver the presentation in an "organised" manner, be "enthusiastic", "engaging" and demonstrate some level of collaboration within the group (SR+).

Participation is at the heart of assessment in the PDIS programme. This is seen in how the students are meant to critically engage with the curriculum knowledge and one another in making sense of the curriculum and jointly learning together. This often requires a sensitive balance between the different "kinds" of students and whether they feel comfortable presenting, or are reluctant to be placed "on the spot" (SR++). This often requires academics to reflect on their teaching and learning practices, to ensure that they construct their presentations in ways that are inclusive, non-intrusive and respect those students who may not necessarily feel comfortable[47] in front of the class, and feeling vulnerable. This "tension", is balanced by the following class participation statement from the same course, "African Political Economy".

> At postgraduate level, students are expected to participate actively in each seminar. I will keep track of your participation and may also ask your *peers to evaluate* your participation. Of course, participation might be challenging for those who do not like speaking in public, but note that I'm not expecting you to speak confidently and at length every week. Rather, *what I'm looking for is constructive, well-informed, helpful contributions*. If you're nervous or unsure and/or if I can help you in some way (e.g. by asking you to contribute – or, alternatively NOT ever 'putting you on the spot' – in class), please let me know. In order to assist you to find your role in each class, in at least some seminars I will assign particular students to particular roles – e.g. the role of asking the first question after the presentation or of providing an evaluation of the presentation. You are welcome to ask me at any point for comments on your progress in this regard. Note also that in the last seminar, you will be required to evaluate and comment upon at least one of your fellow student's essays. These comments will be

---

[47] I note that recent scholarship on the purpose of higher education in South Africa has argued that the central purpose of education, is for us to get used to the "uncomfortability" (Heleta, 2016b), however other scholarship has argued that "happiness" and "relationships" are central to better academic performances for students (see for example Schiller & Hinton, 2015).

> included in your class participation mark. We'll talk about this more in class (emphasis added) (African Political Economy course outline, 2017, pp. 1-2).

In the above curriculum document, the academic describes the importance of class presentation as an integral part of the course. This is seen in the emphasis placed on the constructive engagement, evaluations and well informed feedback. What is interesting in the quotation is the manner in which the academic attempts to "draw in" students who are shy and may not feel comfortable in public, class discussions, by showing some level of understanding that presentations may be intimidating but she is willing to assist them in their different roles during the presentations. Thus, the academics show sensitivity and understanding to different kinds of students who may not necessarily feel comfortable publicly taking part in the debates and presentations of the programme (SR++). This also demonstrates the curriculation of the process of developing the cultivated gaze identified in the previous chapter as being key to legitimation.

Discussions are also critical in assessment of the PDIS programme. Unlike the presentations that are often structured with a specific timetable and roster of reading and which group or individual will be presenting this week, and which individuals have to ask the first questions/offer a critique or feedback; discussions are often loosely structured, fluid in their nature and quite inclusive. This is seen in how they often take a flowing direction, are often uncontrolled by the academic, and are based on foregrounded themes/topics for that particular week. This for example, is seen in the discussions from the "International Relations: Changing Africa" course and the "Peace and Conflict in Africa" course;

> **Weak abroad, strong at home? Extraversion and the use of international relations by African states in their foreign policies.**
>
> **Discussion**
>
> In seeking to maintain their power, many African regimes rely on strategies of extraversion, converting their dependent relations with the external world into domestic resources and authority. African countries vary in their extraversion portfolios, or the dimensions of their relations to the outside world that they can instrumentalise. These variations correspond both to different degrees of vulnerability to the demands of foreign donors and to different preferences from the donors themselves. To what extent has the neo-liberal world been able to make use of Africa's need for extroversion to advance neoliberal forms of democratization? What does the author find in terms of the result (democratic and hybrid regime trajectories)? What does all this say about African independence? Critically discuss (International Relations: Changing Africa, 2017 course outline, pp. 2-3).

> **Where Africa has been an object of international relations, it is now a subject or its own agent in international relations? Do you agree? Explain.**
>
> **Discussion**

> **Seminar/Class Discussion: Response to terrorism and Drug Trafficking in Africa**
>
> Understanding national, regional and international responses to drug trafficking and terrorism; Examining peacekeeping and terrorism; Examining the use of drones in peacekeeping (Peace and Conflict in Africa, 2017 course outline, p. 4).

In the curriculum documents above, an attempt is made to elicit some form of student engagement and positionality when it comes to some of the most contested issues that the African continent is grappling with when it comes to peacekeeping and security (ER+/SR++). In "International Relations: Changing Africa", the seminar discussion is framed around exploring the notion of fragile African states being very weak internationally, in terms of active socio-political and military interventions, while being very militarised and consolidated internally in their own countries. Students are asked to relate the external fragility of African states to the African demands for donor aid, the neoliberal global order and its prescription of democratisation, African independence and others, as all intersecting to produce new forms of African marginality (ER+). The second course, the "Peace and Conflict in Africa" course, is much more explicit in calling for the seminar discussion to be framed by the different positionalities that the students will be taking (SR++), in provocatively asking whether students agree with the claim that Africa and African States have historically been colonial objects in international relations, and whether there is now some possibility of looking at Africa as having access to, and possessing some agency in its own affairs? Thus, both course discussions aim at provoking some form of critical discussion in the seminar and forcing students to take a position (SR++) in the broader debates on African statehood and its viability in contemporary times (ER+).

Looking at the assessment processes in the critiques, participation and class discussions, there appears what one could characterise as a "cultivated gaze" describing what appears to be inclusive socialised dispositions in students that are required in order to efficiently and successfully take part in the seminar space. This is seen in how notions of "critical engagement", "speaking confidently", being "knowledgeable" (SR++) of the curriculum knowledge, knowing how to "organise" one's thoughts in an orderly and logical manner, is geared towards enabling a cultivated gaze in the PDIS students.

One of the most common assessment methods in the PDIS programme is the essay. The essay is used in the different courses as a balance between enabling some form of criticality in terms of students carefully constructing their own thoughts, argument and positionality in the debates (SR++), as well as ensuring that academics are able to see evidence of the extent to which the pedagogised knowledge transmitted in the seminar has been received and can be reproduced (ER+). This careful balance is seen, particularly in the "Africa and the New Wars" course, where the purpose of the essay is described in the curriculum documents.

> **ESSAY**
>
> The purpose of the essay assignment is to test your ability to construct and articulate carefully thought-out arguments. The essay aims to strengthen your ability to conduct

> independent research. This includes the ability to discern relevant information, to think critically about ways to respond to the question and provide adequate defence(s) to your chosen position or an ability to offer an alternative position to the one presented to you. On the last day of the second term, each student will also be expected to present individually on the progress of their second essay (emphasis added) (Africa and the New Wars course outline, 2017, pp. 5-7).

In the above quotation, the "Africa and the New Wars" curriculum documents describe the purpose of the essay, linking the need to construct and articulate one's thoughts and arguments in a logical manner (SR+), with strengthening the importance of independent research (ER+). The shifts between the emphasis on academic literacy and positionality in students, where they are able to adopt and defend their positions in the broader debates, is interesting in that it articulates an expectation of some form of critical thinking, as students do not only access the field of production, but also "discern the *relevant* information" in terms of the key texts that are required (ER+/SR+). This is also seen in the essay questions below;

> **Essay questions**
>
> 1. Is the distinction that Kaldor creates between "old" and "new" wars valid? And is the "new wars" thesis an adequate conceptual category within which to understand the dynamics of post-colonial wars in Africa?
> 2. "The need to provide answers for the perpetuation of armed conflicts in the absence of Cold War dynamics has stimulated a simplistic link between war and economics to imply a new type of warfare characteristic of contemporary African conflict." Critically evaluate this statement.
> 3. "Whereas Cold War-era divisions were created and alliances formed along ideological lines, competition over strategic resources and vital economic assets now drives inter-state relations". Using Liberia as a case study, discuss the merits and demerits of the "new wars" thesis.
> 4. Are young people, especially males participating in wars in Africa, simply victims of corrupt political elites or are they agents? Use Sierra Leone as an example.
> 5. In what ways does inter-state violence affect women differently to men? How should processes of peacebuilding include different needs of women in the post-conflict phase? (New Wars, 2017, pp. 5-7).

In the above essay questions, the emphasis is largely on curriculum knowledge in asking students to make sense of, and analyse the, continuing tensions between the "old" and "new" wars, the prevalence of perpetual armed conflict on the African continent post-Cold War, and the ravaging effects of intra-state violence on young men and women on the continent (ER+). The common strand in the above essay questions is the sustained manner in which the supposed distinction between the "old" and "new" wars thesis continues to be troubled and problematised as a suitable classification for contemporary wars and armed conflict on the African continent.

The essay questions for the "Peace and Conflict in Africa" have an orientation towards an independent research project that would enable students to demonstrate academic literacy practices.

> **Assignment Topics**
>
> Demonstrating your ability to engage in your own, independent research, write an essay of 3000 words on any one of the topics provided.
>
> **Essay Topics**
>
> 1. Using the case of one regional peacekeeping intervention in Africa, discuss whether regionalism has a comparative advantage over multilateralism?
> 2. In the same way that theories of conflict and instability have determined that failed or weak states be applied as an analytically useful concept in understanding terrorism?
> 3. How have globalisation factors enabled transnational organised crimes in Africa?
> 4. The concept and practice of peacekeeping has evolved to encompass newer threats to peace in Africa. Do you consider the future of peacekeeping to be under threat from its perceived fluidity? (Peace and Conflict in Africa course outline, 2017, p. 6).

The essay questions for the "Peace and Conflict in Africa" course have an orientation towards preparing students for independent research in looking at the weak and fragile Africans states, and to what extent new and emerging theories on conflict and instability adequately describe the security challenges that plague the African continent, post-Cold War (ER+). This includes looking at peacekeeping, the emergent role of terrorism, and other factors that contribute to the emergence of transnational organised crimes and its actors on the continent.

Similarly, in the "African Political Economy" course, the essay topics are also seen as an in-depth-research project that will give students a basic introduction into postgraduate research and help them with academic literacy skills of writing (ER+). Unlike the "Peace and Conflict in Africa" course whose focus and essay questions shine a spotlight on the fragility, instability and conflict that surrounds the African state and its (in)ability to engage in international relations effectively; the essay topics in the "African Political Economy" course are more heavily structured and have an orientation towards making sense of Africa's positionality in the global financial system, as well as what trade, tariffs and commodity chains mean to the continent (ER++). Unlike the "Africa and the New Wars", and "Peace and Conflict in Africa" courses; the "African Political Economy" course is detailed, not by explaining to the students what is expected in terms of academic performance standards, but by mentioning the general academic direction that the responses in the essay ought to take. This is seen below.

The long essay gives you an opportunity to explore a topic in-depth. You may choose any of the topics below. Alternatively, you may meet with me to propose a different topic.

Possible Topics

1. Africa and the World Trade Organisation: The case of cotton.

• To succeed in this essay, you need to: demonstrate detailed knowledge of the cotton issue; demonstrate an understanding of the workings of the WTO; engage with literature on Africa and world trade, and relate the cotton issue to broader debates about Africa's position in global politics and economics (as discussed in the first two themes of the course).

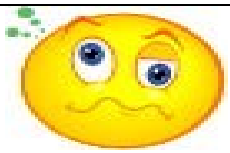
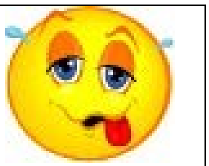
2. Africa's position in the global economic order: The case of coffee.

• To succeed in this essay, you need to: demonstrate a basic understanding of commodity chains; show an understanding of Africa's role in the production and consumption of coffee; and relate this discussion to the broader concerns about Africa's position in the global economy (see the first two themes of the course).

3. Free and Fair trade in Africa: The case of Fairtrade coffee.

• To succeed in this essay, you need to: show a detailed understanding of what Fairtrade is and how it relates to broader debates about free and about fair trade; engage with the burgeoning literature on Fairtrade; be able to differentiate between different critiques of Fairtrade; and demonstrate an ability to weigh up arguments and counter-arguments (African Political Economy Assessment Information document, 2017, pp. 8-9).

Cumulatively, building from the above expected standard for academic writing and the required responses in the essay, the academic has also included an extensive rubric that guides students on what an "excellent", "good", "OK" and "really needs work" different kinds of essays look like in her course. In keeping with the presentation rubric, this one uses emojis and an informal and encouraging tone.

	 Excellent (75% and above)	 **Good** **(60-74%)**	 **OK** **(50-59%)**	 **Really needs work (Less than 50%)**
Knowledge of the topic	You show an excellent grasp of this topic. You have researched it well and show more than just a	You show a firm grasp of the topic and did not omit any important information or make any significant errors.	While you do have a fair understanding of the topic, there were significant	You have not yet understood this topic. Important information

	superficial understanding. There were no significant factual errors in the essay.		errors or missing information.	was missing or incorrect.
Structure	The essay is well-structured and flows smoothly. You have paid careful attention to the use of headings and to paragraphing.	The essay is fairly well-structured. You have paid some attention to the use of headings and to paragraphing.	The essay lacked structure or the structure was unclear. More attention needed to be given to headings and paragraphing.	The lack of structure made the essay really difficult to follow.
Argument	You make a clear and convincing argument which shows awareness of counterarguments. Your argument is well supported by key authors.	Your argument is clear and mostly convincing. There is some awareness of counterarguments/alternative approaches.	I could not always follow your argument. It wasn't all that clear what you wanted to say.	You have not really provided an argument in this essay.
Use of texts	You use useful and relevant texts and weave them into your essay appropriately. You do more than just summarise the texts you are using.	The texts you use are mostly useful although you could have used more supporting literature. Be careful not to just summarise what others are saying.	You do not draw on enough appropriate literature here/You tend to just summarise what others are saying, rather than integrating their ideas into your discussion.	You don't show understanding and engagement with relevant texts.
Referencing	Correct and thorough.	Mostly correct.	There were missing references and/or incorrect references.	Referencing was completely absent or very poor.
Editing and language	This is clearly a polished draft that has been edited carefully. Thank you!	The language and expression could be improved, but the errors did not prevent me from understanding what you were saying.	A lack of editing and/or poor language use meant that your meaning did not always come across clearly.	This reads as a first draft rather than a final piece of work.

Table 8.2: The above graph, indicating how African Political Economy students' essay will be assessed in the course, as adopted from the course outline (2017, pp. 10-11).

The above essay guidelines offer a critical insight into what is expected from students regarding the course essay. Knowledge of the topic, structure of the argument and its logic, the use of texts, referencing and the general style and editing are all foregrounded as critical in ensuring that students would have understood the transmitted knowledge in the course and are able to reproduce it in written work (thus ER+). What is particularly interesting with the above essay rubric is the manner in which the academic has included a "note" as signifier for students, in alerting them to specific aspects within the rubric and the general inequality regarding the assessment weighting for all of them.

> *Note that your final mark is not simply a composite of the marks for each of the sections – e.g. if you got three 'Excellents' and two 'Goods' that doesn't automatically mean that the final essay must be awarded a distinction*. The *first four categories below matter more than the last two and the final mark takes into account how ambitious your chosen topic was and whether or not you responded meaningfully to feedback at earlier stages* (emphasis added) (African Political Economy Assessment Information document, 2017, p. 13).

The academic above describes the most important aspects of the essay and how students need to pay close attention to the "first four categories", that is, knowledge of the topic, structure (ER+), argument and the use of texts (SR+) as being more important than the final two aspects that is, referencing and language editing. This comment gives an insight that what is valued, at least in the "African Political Economy" essay, is deep and factually correct understanding of the topic (ER+) and taking a position demonstrating critical understanding of the material (SR+).

Looking at the kind of gaze(s) that are valued in the essay assessment across all the curriculum documents in the PDIS programme, there seem to be two kinds of gazes that are visible – that is, a "cultivated gaze" and a "trained gaze". This is seen in how, for the "African Political Economy" course, the emphasis is on training and enabling students to follow the strict and thorough guidelines that will enable them to pass the essay. The focus is on the curriculum knowledge and ensuring that they know and understand how an essay in the course is supposed to be written and structured. This "training" of a particular gaze in students to respond to the extensive feedback in ways that will enable them to successfully participate and pass, suggests that the gaze can be acquired by anyone and that explicit training in the requisite practices is required. That is, the requirements are extensive, they are clear, they are written and detailed as to what one needs to write on, and the pitfalls that students need to avoid if they want to perform well; thus, strengthening the inclusivity and openness of the "trained gaze" in the "African Political Economy" course. Alongside, evidence of a "trained gaze" in the essay assessment, was evidence of a "cultivated gaze" in both the "Africa and the New wars" and "Peace and Conflict in Africa" courses which have an orientation towards knowledge (ER+) and focus on teaching students the importance of positionality in research, and constructing the essay questions in a manner that forces them to think through the readings, adopt a particular position, as well as be prepared to defend through a rigorous counter-arguments (SR+++).

The continuum of gazes that might be legitimated in a curriculum was indicated in Chapter Three, and shows that the cultivated gaze and trained gaze are at the same side of the continuum. Both of these gazes were evident in the assessments and both assume that access to becoming a legitimate knower is neither by virtue of inherent skills or attributes (as might be the case with a born gaze) or by virtue of belonging to a particular social group (as might be the case with a social gaze). In keeping with the analysis of the curriculum documents in the previous chapter, the analysis of the assessment suggests that the gaze that is legitimated is the taking on of a critical and informed positionality with a focus on social justice, and that this gaze is assumed to be acquired over time. The assessments make explicit that such a gaze or 'way of being' is to be rewarded in the curriculum.

As I did not analyse the feedback provided on the essay or whether students were provided opportunities to use such feedback to practice the gaze they were expected to demonstrate, I am unable to comment on the extent to which it was indeed cultivated through pedagogical interactions related to assessment. There is always a concern that the dominant explanation of student success and failure in the form of the "decontextualised learner" who either has or fails to have the "born gaze", might undermine the careful process of using assessment to cultivate the gaze needed for legitimation in the PDIS.

Perhaps one of the most contested assessment methods in the PDIS programme, is the examination, with academics asking to what extent the use of the examination is still pedagogically effective in 21st century higher education teaching. The use of an examination as a pedagogical tool for seeing to what extent curriculum knowledge has been received by the students is deeply contested in the higher education assessment literature. For instance, in an article titled "Why we should abolish the university exam", Simons (2011) argues that

> The time has come to abolish university examinations. Just because something has been around a long time there's no reason to assume it's outdated. But in the case of exams, that assumption would be right. We've all been through it. You sit down in a room for two or three hours and answer questions from memory. Now we're wedded to the idea that's how you should test someone's knowledge. But research shows that examinations don't develop questioning, self-sufficient learners. So why have universities, by and large, chosen to retain them? …We have to remember that students today face different pressures to those of previous generations. They have to balance study and work in ways that most of us didn't…. They are entering a mass higher education system designed for an educated citizenship not an elite system for a small number of professionals, managers and intellectuals. Their schooling is different. They have computers….Gen-Y doesn't have a mystical relationship with the virtual world but it is probably true that the difference between physical and virtual reality, between face-to-face and mediated communication, is less marked for a 20 year old student than it is for a 50 year old professor Students coming to university give us a great gift of trust: we should repay that trust by trusting and giving the opportunity to develop

> the knowledge, the skills and the opportunity to excel. Scrapping examinations is just one step towards that (Simons, 2011).

Academics in the PDIS programme expressed similar concerns regarding the use of the exam for seeing to what extent curriculum knowledge has been understood and received by the student and how they are able to demonstrate the legitimated gaze. The academic below, echoing the concerns of Simons (2011), commented that;

> I am not sure that the exam really shows what a student has learnt, because there are so many dynamics. They are scared. It is cold at Mullins and Great Hall[48]. It's not really an environment that cultivates thinking for me. I developed my writing when I was at Master's Level, in the US. They gave us take-home exams and I used to get my huge bucket of coffee. So you sit there and I used to just enjoy the challenge. Get your question and you have 24 hours ... the thing is 12 pages and enjoy the journey and then you find someone's doing the same thing, then you laugh, and then come back. That's the thing I believe in. I don't like surprises and even in the undergrad [undergraduate] I give them the same questions. I say these are potential exam questions and they come out looking exactly like that, so what I am interested in is you preparing to answer a question. if you are prepared then you should be able to do well and I am interested in what you think and I don't need to catch you out and so there are...I have a rubric for the exam. I will be printing that next year. I comment on grammar, I comment on the structure ... in my assessment even with the critique, I say what I like and what I would've liked to see, because I want it to be constructive. Even if it's not a very good one, there may be one or two things that I like and I want to affirm that. … I want them to be confident, to build an argument about the various things that come out of this course and that will sustain beyond university. Certainly, at a Master's level so I am not into exams (Interview, Lecturer 3).

In the above quotation, the academic expresses her pedagogic concerns about the effectiveness of the exams and the need to start thinking creatively and beyond the exam in enabling knowledge that will sustain students beyond the university. Drawing from her own personal experiences, she argues that one of the effective ways of teaching and learning for herself, is giving students the space to think, reflect and understand the material. For the academic above, this requires some form of understanding of the exam conditions, students being nervous, and wondering whether any learning can take place under such conditions. She is explicit in her focus on the social relations (SR++) as she is not seeking memorisation of facts, but rather demonstration of confidence in their argument. This is also seen in another academic refusing to see her "exam portfolios" in the assessment as exam portfolio, but rather as short submissions, indicating the manner in which the notion of exam is being challenged within the programme.

> I shouldn't have called these exam portfolios. But basically they had to do a bunch of short submissions where they could do between four and six and they get the top four

---

[48] Mullins and Great Hall are the exam venues at Rhodes University.

> marks so the idea there was to make sure that they all know a little bit about everything and they don't just become experts in one aspect of the course, and it is spread out. You can choose which four to six you want to do. There is one every week. So, they can work at their pace and adjust to the other issues that they have. So that was there in the course, then there is presentations, class participation and the presentations are … So, their term mark is basically the short essay for the exam portfolio but it is replacing an exam in that exams usually ask you a lot of things, and there was the presentation and class participation, which is just an overall sense in how well did you do (Interview, Lecturer 2).

The exam portfolios in the PDIS programme serve as a continuous assessment in which students would have been incrementally working on their respective projects throughout the entire semester and would serve as the final method of assessment. This is seen in how the portfolio is submitted together with the course essay that the students would have done during the term. What is interesting with the portfolio requirements is the cumulative orientation of the portfolio in how students have sectional deadlines for submitting parts of the portfolio, indicating the stage of where they are, and how they plan on improving from that level, leading up to the final deadline for submission of the entire project. The cumulative nature of the knowledge building is fairly overt (ER+), and the cultivated nature of the expected gaze (SR+) is also allowed for. This achieves two key things. Firstly, it ensures that pedagogically, the academic is able to see the extent to which curriculum knowledge is understood by the students (ER+). And secondly, it also offers students an opportunity to receive feedback from the academic on how to improve their work and demonstrate a particular way of being (SR+). This is seen below, in the description of a portfolio from the "African Political Economy" course, indicating the requirements, topics, as well as general focus on curriculum knowledge that generally underpins portfolio work in the course.

> **Exam Portfolio**
>
> Throughout the semester you need to hand in a selection of short submissions. These submissions are designed to demonstrate that you have a good basic grasp of the issues we will be grappling with in this course. In all cases, the submissions should also demonstrate familiarity with the prescribed readings. The pieces will be gathered together into a portfolio which will be submitted, along with your long essay, to the external examiner at the end of the term. These submissions will showcase your overall grasp of the course material (African Political Economy Assessment Information document, 2017, pp. 2-3).

In the above quotation, the purpose of the portfolio is described as being orientated towards ensuring that students have a basic understanding and grasp of the curriculum issues that are discussed (ER+/SR+). This is seen in how the portfolios require a demonstration of some form of basic understanding and critical engagement with the prescribed readings.

> **Here are some guidelines to help you with these pieces:**

• You need to submit between four and six submissions • Please do not submit more than one in any given week • Please submit on the due dates indicated below. If you miss a particular due date, then you need to choose another submission or make a special arrangement with me • Submissions are to be made by 12 midday through RUconnected • If you submit more than four during the semester, only the marks for the top four will count • You don't need to use in-text references • Please include a short reference list indicating which texts you used • You are expected to draw principally on the prescribed readings when preparing these pieces, although you may include additional texts • All submissions should be between 300 and 500 words long – i.e. only around one to two pages • Use a format suited to the question. For example, if you are asked to write a letter (see 24 July below), your submission should look like a letter and if you're asked to draw up a leaflet (see 31 July), then it should look like a leaflet. Place the reference list on a separate page • Please include a title page. The title page format is provided on RUconnected under 'submissions'.

Due 24 July

- Both Susan Strange and Immanuel Wallerstein argue against studying economic and political phenomenon separately. Provide a summary of each of their arguments in favour of working outside of disciplinary constraints. OR

- Earlier this year, Helen Zille attracted much attention with her tweet saying that colonialism wasn't all bad. Imagine that you are the reincarnation of Walter Rodney. Write a letter to Zille, responding to her claim. Base yourself on the Rodney reading.

Due 31 July

- Draw up a one-page leaflet explaining the coffee commodity chain. Have in mind the ordinary coffee drinker at a café/restaurant as an audience for the leaflet. Please include a diagram/figure/chart of your own making in the leaflet to provide a visual representation of the commodity chain.

Due 7 August

- Explain and contrast free and fair trade in an accessible way. Write in such a way that an ordinary person without university education could understand it. This piece may be written in English, Xhosa or Afrikaans. OR

- Summarise the arguments in favour and against the Fairtrade movement.

Due 14 August

- Write a short essay in response to the question "Can natural resources drive economic growth and development in contemporary Africa?"

Due 21 August

- Succinctly explain what the World Bank and International Monetary Fund are, how they operate and what role they have played in Africa. This piece may be written in English, Xhosa or Afrikaans.

Due 4 September

- Write a short opinion piece reflecting on whether or not the New Development Bank is likely to play a positive role in Africa.

Due date TBC

> - Write a review of the film Bamako in which you explain its orientation towards the role of international financial institutions in Africa.
>
> [Note: this piece is due a week after we watch Bamako. As this date has not been finalised, the due date is yet to be confirmed.]
>
> Due 11 September
>
> - Succinctly explain what the World Trade Organisation is, and what role it has played in Africa. This piece may be written in English, Xhosa or Afrikaans.
>
> Due 18 September
>
> - Summarise the WTO cotton dispute. Make sure to include recent updates.
>
> Due 26 September
>
> - Write a short opinion piece on the topic of Uganda's proposed ban on the import of second-hand clothing. Should Uganda limit or ban such imports? OR
> - You have been employed as a researcher by the South African Clothing and Textile Workers. Write a short briefing on African Growth and Opportunity Act, and its implications for South African clothing and textile workers.
>
> [Note: if you want to do this piece with a non-South African focus, feel free – just let me know which country focus you would like to do.]
>
> Due 2 October
>
> - Summarise the possible benefits and potential drawbacks of increased regional integration (African Political Economy course outline, 2017, pp. 2-4).

In the above exam portfolio guidelines, students are informed about the submission guidelines and what is expected of their exam portfolio. The orientation towards sectional submission "chapters" is also explained and the dates are also given. There is significant student choice in which of these pieces to complete suggesting a fairly weak Framing. However, what is interesting in the above guideline is the manner in which curriculum knowledge is organised, which is seen in how students cannot choose to focus on only one particular topic to answer or a particular section, by having to select at least four out of the many options provided they are forced to engage with issues across the curriculum and submit according to the different submission dates. This achieves Lecturer 2's goals of ensuring that the students do not just master one aspect of African Political Economy, but they have to have a basic and general understanding of the entire course.

What is interesting in the above exam portfolio is the pedagogical experimentation or creativity that the academic offers with students being invited to write in very different styles, in how they are not only forced to take a position between in the "economics" and "politics" disciplinarity divide (see Chapter Six in "pedagogising knowledge"), but are also meant to think creatively around writing a letter written by a late African philosopher and activist speaking into contemporary times, as well as attempting to draw a leaflet on the coffee commodity chains. Students are being expected to take on the positionality of another in the letter and to imagine the need to communicate to particular groups in the pamphlet creation. The creative genres being called upon, all indicate strong Social Relations and the cultivation of a gaze that is critical, creative and socially aware.

One has to ask to what extent the pedagogical strategy of ensuring that students learn about and have a basic understanding of all of the entire course rather than choosing a particular topic, research it further and write their exam portfolio based on it, achieves cumulative knowledge-building and learning. Does this requirement to relate different and varying aspects of the course that responds to the requirements of the course not segment curriculum knowledge? Does the conceptual coherence that the academic was referring to earlier, in how the inclusion of different aspects of the topic of the course, such as the oil issues particularly in the Niger Delta region;[49] not further segment and make the course incoherent in the exam portfolio?

The assessment methods in the PDIS programme appear to strike a balance between a relative emphasis on the importance of knowledge in the form of factual knowledge about world events, and theoretical knowledge about the allocation of power and resources, for example (ER+) and the highly framed particular social gazes that are enabled and valued in the programme (SR++). This is seen in how there is a systemic effort at enabling students to have a thorough grounding in the theoretical and empirical challenges that are confronting the African state (ER+), including at times, asking them to adopt a particular position in defending their stance. There is also a highly framed SR++ that is visible in the curriculum in how the programme appears to value particular kinds of knowers whose dispositions and attributes are important well beyond students' university life (Interview, Lecturer 3). The assessment also exhibits some level of cumulative and curriculum segmentation in how students are compelled to complete different and varying parts of the course, that may not necessarily result in a coherent portfolio project at the end of the course. While ensuring that students need to complete all sections of different topics of the course, this may prevent some form of curriculum coherence and cumulative knowledge-building.

8.3 Conclusion

PDIS Assessment methods offer a critical insight into what the valued and legitimate Political Studies knowledge is. Because it is on the basis of assessment that students succeed, it can be seen that this is the process whereby what is being legitimated is most evident.

This chapter formed one of three findings' chapters that I presented in this study. In Chapter Six and Seven, I critically explored the knowledge and knower structures in the PDIS curriculum, specifically looking at three processes, that is, the PDIS field of production, the process of constructing the PDIS curriculum, and finally the intricate and complex interplay that is found when PDIS knowledge is recontextualised from the field of production and into the seminar room discussions and debates. In this chapter, I continued on this trajectory in foregrounding the assessment documents as key to offering the underlying mechanisms and processes of what valued curriculum knowledge looks like in the programme. I argued that the PDIS assessment documents appear to strike a balance between a relative emphasis on the importance of curriculum knowledge (ER+) in the field of Political Studies, and the highly framed particular social dispositions and gazes that are enabled and valued in the programme (SR++).

---

[49] The Niger Delta region is located in the Southern parts of Nigeria. It houses the mineral rich oil fields of the country, and has history of turmoil and political violence over the uses, misuses and abuse of oil in the area. This is often further exacerbated by the increasing protest action over the environment effects of oil pollution on local ecological life in the region (see for example Boris, 2015; Elum, Mopipi, & Henri-Ukoha, 2016; Imongan & Ikelegbe, 2016).

In the next chapter, I offer a conclusion on the research journey, specifically focusing on the research questions that I sought to answer, as well as the challenges and limitations of the study. I end that chapter with the recommendations for future research.

Chapter Nine

Reflections, Conclusions, Recommendations

The So What Moment

9.1 Introducing the conclusion

The central purpose of this chapter is to focus on the "so what question" that plagues Humanities and Social Sciences doctoral research. I set up my research question and theoretical frameworks to respond to the research phenomenon for the study. Furthermore, I located the study within the broader literature on South African higher education transformational discourses as well as the calls for decolonisation of curriculum. I have generated data and presented my findings after analysing the data, to investigate the ways in which the knowledge and knowers are structured. I now reflect on what all this means for my research in terms of the critical contribution of the study.

9.2 Reflecting on the research journey

In this section, I reflect on my attempts at cumulative knowledge-building in this research project by showing how all the different chapters and sections of the thesis built one from another in responding to the critical research questions and objectives of the study.

In **Chapter One**, I briefly introduced the research journey, including the broader critiques for South African higher education in general, and Political Studies in particular, as needing to transform and decolonise its knowledge. I aimed to contribute to this emerging body of work by foregrounding Political Studies knowledge.

In **Chapter Two**, I argued that the recent emergent South African higher education transformation and decolonisation discourses tend to conflate epistemologies with knowledge, thereby creating a gap in scholarship that looks at how Political Studies is produced, organised, re-focused and recontextualised into curriculum. This study aimed to fill that gap in the field.

In **Chapter Three**, I introduced the theoretical lenses of the study and the frames that they gave me in this research project. I drew from Social Realism as a theoretical underlabour, and employed the theoretical tools from both Bernstein and Maton to foreground Political Studies knowledge, and how knowledge and knowers are valued and legitimated in the PDIS programme.

In **Chapter Four**, I outlined the research tools that I used in my research journey. These included justifying the use of Social Realist paradigm as well as in-depth-interviews and document analysis. I especially placed greater emphasis on how positionality was understood in the research journey, and the potential implications for the findings and discussions.

In **Chapter Five**, I relied on Bernstein's (2000) and Hugo (2010)'s work in arguing that curriculum should be seen as what counts as valid knowledge. I then argued that it is possible to think through both international and national curriculum discourses that have shaped the way we think about curricula.

Chapters Six, Seven and Eight presented the findings of the study. In **Chapter Six,** I argued that the Political Studies in general and the PDIS programme in particular, appear to have a horizontal knowledge structure regarding the extent of the powers of the agents within the field to shape and structure for themselves, what counts as Political Studies curriculum knowledge and what does not. As a result of the horizontal nature of the knowledge in the field, a significant amount of what counts as valid and legitimate knowledge in the field operates at the level of the "discursive gap" in how the academics themselves often infuse their philosophical and ideological orientation to draw particular kinds of knowledge from the field of production and recontextualise it to their curriculum.

In **Chapter Seven** I focused on the pedagogising of knowledge in the PDIS curriculum, in how seminars in the programme are an interesting pedagogical site for the PDIS curriculum, in how academic often experiment with different teaching and learning methods that are designed to ensure that curriculum knowledge is understood by the students (ER+), and to enable students to position themselves in the broader debates in the field to take a positon, and have a voice (SR++). I drew particular attention to how, although curriculum knowledge is key in the programme (ER+), epistemic relations can be sacrificed for the social spine of the programme (SR++) in how the attributes and dispositions of the knower are often valued more, even when a knower may be struggling academically. Thus, knowing the material is not enough in the programme. In order for students to become knowers, they also need to exhibit the values, attributes and dispositions that are valued and legitimated in the programme.

In **Chapter Eight** I moved closer to see to interrogate to what extent the PDIS assessment documents could reveal what was valued and legitimate knowledge and what knowers looked like. I argued that the assessment documents appear to balance between a relative emphasis on the importance of curriculum knowledge (ER+), however assessment methods such as presentations, essay questions, critiques and seminar discussion were all geared towards ensuring that students begin to, not only know and understand the material (ER+), but also position themselves in the broader debates and also show limitations (SR++).

Having outlined the above chapters and how they cumulatively build on one another, I now move to the contribution of the study.

9.3 Contributions of the study: On the newness of this research

This study sheds a spotlight on the knowledge and knower structures of Political Studies in general, and the PDIS programme in particular. This was done through analysing in-depth interviews with the recontextualising agents and curriculum documents, which revealed that in the field of Political Studies, curriculum knowledge is important (ER+), together with ensuring that students have a particular dispositions and attributes that would enable them to successfully participate in the program (SR++) and become knowers.

A “cultivated gaze” was valued in the programme. In other words, in order for students to become knowers in the field, they needed to know and understand curriculum knowledge regarding the “new wars” thesis, African Political Economy and the peacekeeping challenges that continue to plague the African continent, and possess the *right kind* of gaze in order become valued knowers in the programme. Thus, they needed to adopt a cultivated gaze premised on being critical, creative and socially aware knowers. While the cultivated gaze was dominant across most of the data, there were some instances of other kinds of gazes being legitimated, which I detail below.

In some cases, there was evidence that a trained gaze was legitimated, whereby students were trained to take on certain practices and processes, but by and large, this was overshadowed by evidence that the legitimated gaze was cultivated over time. In a few other cases, there was evidence of a “social gaze” whereby one had to belong to a certain group in order to be seen to be able to take on the legitimate gaze. This was premised on adopting an Afro-feminist conception of Africa that would enable students to become valued knowers.

The PDIS assessment documents offered a critical insight into exploring and making sense of what valued knowledge and knowers looked like in the field of reproduction. This was seen in how the assessment methods appeared to require a relative emphasis on the importance of curriculum knowledge (ER+) in the field of Political Studies, and the highly framed particular social dispositions and gazes that were enabled and valued in the programme (SR++). While the epistemic relations could be seen to be relatively strong across all courses, the strength of legitimation through Social Relations varied across the courses. In the PDIS courses such as “African Political Economy” and “International Relations: Changing Africa”, there was a relatively strong orientation to curriculum knowledge in the program (ER+), which required that knowers demonstrate particular attributes and dispositions of knowers (SR+).

It is when we explore and critically analyse the underlying mechanisms and processes of knowledge and knower structures of “Africa and the New Wars” course that we most explicitly see that, to be legitimated in the PDIS, you are expected to be a very particular kind of knower. In this course, students are expected to firstly understand that

> At the heart of the contestation about the changes in forms of violence is the view that dominant International Relations (IR) theories are conceptually inadequate to understand the ruptures in the conduct of violence following the end of the Cold War. While others argue that the discourse on “new wars” undermines important continuities in warfare, especially the extent to which post-colonial wars are rooted in the violent imposition of the Westphalian state system in Africa (Africa and the New Wars course outline, 2017, p. 1-2).

While students are expected to critically analyse the limitations of International Relations theory in making sense of the post-Cold War phenomena of violence on the African continent and how young women and men have experienced it (ER+), they are also expected to position themselves within these broader discourses and take a position (SR++).

> For me, the themes or seminars that stood out, were the ones *that the students begun to question the way African Security questions were essentialised or depicted in mainstream research and so, as the course continued, there was a recurrent discussion on the validity of Mary Carldo's claims. When we now started to get into the more detailed accounts of the wars...for instance, she makes a claim about all the wars being noble and the fact that they were fought over more authentic issues than the wars that are fought now, and it was a theme that occurred often in the seminars, to say what makes Europeans fighting against each other or against us noble, versus us fighting over land or us fighting over resources not noble. And why is it justified as a better type of war when it is warfare that is not African? It is not to say that African warfare is good, but to say the ways in which it is presented in the literature is problematic.* What also stood out for me was the role of women in warfare and that was a theme that was very popular amongst the students, because I think then, they were unaware of the vital role that various women had played in the anti-colonial struggles, and they were also unaware of the various roles that only women could play in these struggles. So, there were particular roles in warfare that women were able to take on because they were not suspected to be part of any anti-colonial movement. They watched "Pray the Devil back to Hell" which was very useful in seeing the way in which the Liberian women had organised themselves in order to bring the war to an end and in the end to hold Charles Taylor[50] accountable (emphasis added) (Interview, Lecturer 3).

Students were expected to find their own academic voice and positionality within the broader debates in the course in ensuring that they, not only reproduced the knowledge, but they placed themselves at the centre of curriculum in arguing and defending their own understanding of the material (SR++).

Bernstein's (2000) three pedagogic arenas in looking at how knowledge is legitimated across the three fields of practice offers us in the decolonisation school of thought a much broader understanding of higher education transformation. This is seen in how we are now able to call for transformation and decolonisation at the level of: 1) knowledge production, in how we think about, and how we produce and socially construct knowledge; 2) the role of the discursive gap in how we select, re-focus and recontextualise knowledge from the field of production into our curriculum and the ideological politics involved in that process; and 3) the field of reproduction, that is, through teaching and learning, as well as our pedagogical practices. The South African higher education calls for decolonisation have focused largely on the field knowledge production (see for example Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012, 2013a, 2013c) as well on the field of reproduction (see for example Heleta, 2018; Le Grange, 2016; Matthews, 2018). Thus, the recontextualisation of knowledge is largely under-researched. This study, to some extent, made a contribution in shedding a spotlight on the ideological "politics of knowledge", especially regarding what the academics deem to be valid and legitimate knowledge when constructing their curriculum in the PDIS programme.

---

[50] Charles Taylor is the former Liberian President and rebel movement leader, who was accused and convicted of war crimes during the First Liberian Civil War (1989–96) as well as the Sierra Leone Civil War (1991–2002) (for a closer analysis of this period, please see MacIntyre, 2018).

Furthermore, South African higher education curriculum critiques of the field of Political Studies have often focused on the un-transformative nature of Political Studies, the lack of African content, the challenges of relevance as well as the privileging of the western epistemic canon over local, indigenous knowledge systems (see for example Heleta, 2016b; Mngomezulu & Hadebe, 2018; Tselapedi, 2016). In this study, I moved beyond the critiques of epistemologies to foreground and explore the underlying mechanisms and processes of Political Studies knowledge in general, and the PDIS programme as a case study, and revealed the knowledge and knower structures together with the gaze that is valued in the field. This allowed the decolonisation school of thought to move beyond only focusing on transforming and de-centering western epistemologies only, to beginning to explore the underlying mechanisms and processes of the different knowledge(s) that need to be transformed and decolonised. Focusing on the underlying mechanisms and processes of the PDIS programme could be seen as a decolonising process that allowed us to explore how knowledge and knowers are valued and legitimated in the field.

Put differently, this study made contributions in two ways. Firstly, I argued for the need for South African higher education transformation and decolonisation school of thought to move beyond the simplistic demands of "dead white men" discourses and epistemic erasures (see Pett, 2015; Vorster & Quinn, 2017; Wolff, 2016), and to begin to draw from different sources of knowledge that are broad, inclusive and that can enhance the scholarship from the global South. I intentionally and deliberately drew my theoretical tools from both Bernstein and Maton to fashion a much more inclusive and broader understanding of how knowledge and knowers are legitimated in the field of Political Studies. Secondly, Political Studies remains one of the most critiqued fields, whether in relation to curriculum knowledge being anarchic and untransformed (see Mngomezulu & Hadebe, 2018; Tselapedi, 2016), or relevance in terms of not speaking to and responding to social reality (see Century, 2011; Farr, 1988; Gouws et al., 2013). Foregrounding knowledge and knower structures in how knowledge is produced, selected and recontextualised into the PDIS programme offers an illuminating insight into the underlying processes and mechanisms of how knowledge is legitimated in the field. This opens up possibilities and space of curriculum transformation.

9.4 On recommendations and limitations: (future) potential research

The following could greatly assist the field going forward

- The study was interested in what the academic themselves, or in Bernsteinian terms, the recontextualising agents, deemed as valued and legitimate knowledge in the field of Political Studies in general and in the PDIS programme in particular (Bernstein, 1975a). It would greatly enhance our understanding of how students have experienced curriculum in Political Studies. Thus, future studies could move beyond foregrounding academics and curriculum documents on what they reveal to be the underlying mechanisms and processes of legitimating Political Studies knowledge and knowers, to exploring to what extent, the pedagogic subjects experience curriculum knowledge in the field. In other words, student voice and input is at the heart of the calls for South African higher education transformation and decolonisation (see Badat, 2016; Heleta, 2016b, 2018), thus foregrounding it and exploring how they experience curriculum knowledge may be illuminating to our understanding.

- A key space for knowledge and knower legitimation in the PDIS programme was in the field of reproduction, that is, through teaching and learning, in the seminar rooms through the contested discussions and debates. Participant observation was not one of my research tools in the study, and this to some extent, was limiting as I had to rely on what the academics reflected upon as occurring during the seminars. Participant observation could enhance the richness of the data generation and provide a much more critical understanding of how curriculum knowledge is critically engaged with, debated, challenged and valued in the seminars, together with the presentations, group work, discussions, critiques, and others that foreground the programme.
- Maton (2013a) LCT offers a number of additional tools beyond that of Specialisation, that is, Autonomy, Density, Semantics and Temporality that could be employed to see how Political Studies is valued and legitimated in the field. Future research that could advance our understanding of how Political Studies could be decolonised and transformed, could begin to use all or some other tools beyond Specialisation, to reveal the different underlying mechanisms and processes that could not have been realised in this study.
- Recent scholarship has emerged that seeks to respond to the calls for higher education transformation and decolonisation by suggesting that knowledge in and of itself can neither be transformed or decolonised, it is simply is (see for example Appiah, 2017; Appiah & Bhabha, 2018). Premised on cosmopolitanism as a progressive thought, scholars argue that early Greek thinkers such as Socrates, Plato, Aristotle and others drew their intellectual formulations from the contributions of Egyptian, Islamic and Jewish scholars of the time, thus knowledge has always been global and transnational, therefore decolonising it is historically, philosophically and empirically improbable. These and other arguments are very attractive to explore in greater analytical detail, to what extent, early philosophical and intellectual thinkers of Political Studies may have drawn from the global South in the emergence of the field.

9.5 Concluding remarks

As a result of the 2015-2016 student movement in South African higher education, one of the fields that have come under intensive scrutiny as being untransformed, archaic and irrelevant has been the field of Political studies. In this study, I explored how knowledge and knowers are legitimated in the field of Political Studies in general, and in the PDIS programme in particular. I argued that exploring the knowledge and knower structures of the PDIS programme could be seen as a decolonising exercise, as it enabled me to see the underlying mechanisms and processes of how knowledge and knowers are valued. The programme was found to be deeply invested in the African context and to require that students acquire an extensive grasp of knowledge regarding the African political economy, security and peacekeeping challenges that confronts the African continent (ER+). Having such knowledge was, however, insufficient for success as students needed to ensure that they also brought to the curriculum, their own voice, positionality and understanding of the material (SR++).

The dominant gaze that was legitimated was a cultivated one, and the programme generally provided ample opportunities for students to practice and take on this gaze. The gaze required that students be able to take a strongly African consideration of events in the world, and that they do so with criticality and creativity. Other gazes were also evident to a lesser extent, and there is needs to consider that not all students will have equal access to the gaze being legitimated. The literature clearly indicated that higher education success is closely correlated to social class and so, there is a need to reflect on the extent to which the criticality being valued might be more complex to acquire by some than others.

The greatest concern would be if such a critical gaze was considered to be something that students either have or don’t have (that is, if there was a perception that this was a born gaze) as if evidencing the related literacy practices was inherent in the student herself, decontextualised from her life experiences and the kinds of gazes which would have been validated in the spaces she has occupied prior to the PDIS course. The acquisition of criticality and the disposition to challenge and contest texts is not an innate characteristic, nor is it simply a matter of technical skill. Rather, it is closely associated with a particular way of being in the world, and if this is to be central to success in the course, there needs to be carefully scaffolded opportunities to take on such a gaze. While the academics did not explicitly indicate an awareness that students need to be supported to take on this particular gaze, there was evidence in the data that students are indeed given opportunities to see such a gaze modelled by academics, and are given spaces to practice this gaze, both in class and seminar discussions and in the creative assessment practices.

There was also, to some degree, evidence of a social gaze whereby students were expected, not only to take on a critical and creative gaze in which they used texts and concepts as a means of developing a clearly articulated position, but also to take a very particular position, that of African Feminism. Legitimating knowers on the basis of a social gaze can be exclusionary as knowers are then expected to show allegiance to a particular social group and can even, in a strong version of standpoint theory, be deemed insiders or outsiders on the basis of their belonging to a particular gender, race or other grouping. If one does not belong to that group, one cannot legitimately be considered a knower. The social gaze that was evidenced in this data, however, was relatively weak and countered by a stronger cultivated gaze.

Overall, although the post 2015-2016 South African higher education students' movement did re-center the challenges of transformation and decolonisation, in particular on curriculum and knowledge, Political Studies remains one of the fields that continues to come under sustained critique for teaching "dead white men" and "irrelevant" curricula that disregards Africa and the Global South (Matthews, 2018; Mngomezulu & Hadebe, 2018; Tselapedi, 2016). I argue that these critiques, although claiming to focus on knowledge, have actually 1) conflated knowledge with *epistemologies* and that 2) looking at how knowledge and knower structures of Political Studies in general, and the PDIS programme in particular, could be seen as a decolonising exercise. This enables us to see the field of Political Studies through three pedagogical arenas, which I argue, are the three epistemic arenas of possibility for decolonisation. We can think through Political Studies and how knowledge and knowers are valued and legitimated from a) the field of production, b) how that knowledge is recontextualised from the field of production into curricula and the politics of the discursive gaps operational at that level, and c) how Political Studies knowledge continues to be reproduced through pedagogy. It may very well be that the decolonisation of the field of Political Studies lies, not with "taking back curriculum" from these "dead white men" as Pett (2015) argues, but rather in the field of recontextualisation regarding what are the critical texts that we selecting, and what message are they communicating regarding valuing particular knowledge and knowers.

Appendix A: Ethical Clearance

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

PROPOSAL AND ETHICAL CLEARANCE APPROVAL

Ethical clearance number 2017.06.01.03

The minute of the EHDC meeting of 1 June 2017 reflect the following:

2017.06.01 CLASS A RESTRICTED MATTERS DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY RESEARCH PROPOSALS

To consider the following research proposal for the degree of PhD (Education) in the Faculty of Education:

Mlamuli Nkosingphile Hlatshwayo (10H1438)

Topic: An exploration of Political Studies knowledge and knower structures: A case study of the Postgraduate Diploma in International Studies.

Supervisors: Professor S McKenna Dr A Hlengwa

Decision: *Approved*

This letter confirms the approval of the above proposal at a meeting of the Faculty of Education Higher Degrees' Committee on the 1 June 2017.

The proposal demonstrates an awareness of ethical responsibilities and a commitment to ethical research processes. The approval of the proposal by the committee thus constitutes ethical clearance.

Sincerely

Prof Marc Schäfer
Chair of the EHDC, Rhodes University
9 June 2017

Appendix B: Consent Letters

A. Research Information for Lecturers

Project title: An exploration of Political Studies knowledge and knower structures: A Case Study of the Postgraduate Diploma in International Studies.

Primary Investigator: Mr. Mlamuli Nkosingphile Hlatshwayo, for PhD (Higher Education) – HlatshwayoM@ukzn.ac.za

Supervisors: Professor Sioux McKenna, Rhodes University – S.Mckenna@ru.ac.za

Dr Amanda Hlengwa, Rhodes University – A.Hlengwa@ru.ac.za

This is an invitation to participate in a research that forms part of my PhD. Please read the information outlining the research project and what is involved:

Research Focus and Aims

The study is positioned in the field of higher education studies with a specific focus on exploring knowledge and knower structures in Political Studies. The study explores the various ways in which knowledge is legitimated in the field of Political Studies by asking how knowledge is legitimated within the discipline. The data generated includes the formally planned curriculum as contained in the programme's course outlines, essay/exam questions, recommended readings, and other related curriculum documents. The data also include interviews with the lecturers who teach in the programme and who will offer insight on some of the curriculum choices regarding selection, pacing, sequencing and evaluation in the programme.

I would like to ask if you would be willing to be make available your curriculum documents in the respective course that you teach in the Postgraduate Diploma in International Studies. Furthermore, would you be willing to make yourself available for an interview for this project. The interview will be arranged at a convenient and suitable time for you. These interviews are anticipated to average between 30-45 minutes.

Implications

Lecturers/programme designers' names, and institutional affiliation will anonymised in the research and I will attempt to ensure that confidentiality and anonymity is applied throughout the process. All ethical and institutional requirements regarding the secure storage, protection and storage of data will be adhered to.

Rights

If you agree to participate in the study but subsequently wish to withdraw, you may do so. This "Right of Withdrawal" may be exercised at any point during the research journey.

Ethical Clearance

Ethical clearance for the study has been granted by Rhodes University's Education Higher Degrees Committee (EHDC). The ethical clearance number is 2017.06.01.03.

Contact Details

Please feel free to contact me if you require more information on any of the above or on the research process itself. My contact details are: HlatshwayoM@ukzn.ac.za /+27 713098593. My student number is G10H1438.

Your co-operation and participation in this study will be greatly appreciated. Please sign the accompanying Consent Form beneath if you agree to participate in this study. If you wish to receive a copy of the signed consent form from the researcher, please contact me at the above address.

Kind regards,
Mlamuli Hlatshwayo

B. Consent Form

I hereby confirm that I have been adequately informed by the researcher about the focus, aims and how the study will be conducted. I have also received, read and understood the above written information. I am aware that the results of the study will be anonymised. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may, at any stage, without prejudice, withdraw my consent and participation in the study.

I agree to take part in this study by providing curriculum documents related to my course/s, as well as being interviewed by the researcher.

Interviewee:

Research Participant's Name: ________________________________ (Please Print)

Research Participant's Signature: _____________________________

Date: ______________

Interviewer:

Researcher's Name: ________________________________ (Please Print)

Researcher’s Signature: ____________________________

Date: ______________

Appendix C: Curriculum document codes

Name	Sources	References
Africa and international relations	4	24
Colonialism	2	2
Illicit drugs	1	5
Regionalism	2	3
The AU and African states	3	7
African political economy	5	16
Understanding of	1	2
Assessment	5	18
Academic writing	1	5
Class participation	1	2
Discussions	1	1
Essay	3	58
Angle and Approach	1	5
Argument	1	4
Audio visual	1	4
Content	2	7
Grammar	2	6
Knowledge of the topic	1	4
Language and editing	1	4
Organisation	2	16
Texts chosen	1	8
Topic	1	5
Vocabulary and Language	1	7
Exam	1	1

Name	Sources	References
African diplomacy	1	1
African security	1	2
Exam Portfolio	1	1
Peace building	1	2
Oral Presentations	3	15
Collaboration	1	4
Commodities	2	8
Trade	1	2
Fragile states	3	15
Africa as a sight of war and violence	4	21
African states weaknesses	5	20
International Financial Institutions	1	4
Key words	2	3
Lecturer	1	6
Background	1	1
Power	1	3
Securitisation in Africa	4	19
Student	0	0
Good speaker	1	7
Good students	6	25
Student critique	2	5
Weak students	1	5
War	0	0
Ideology and conflict	3	13
New war	1	11

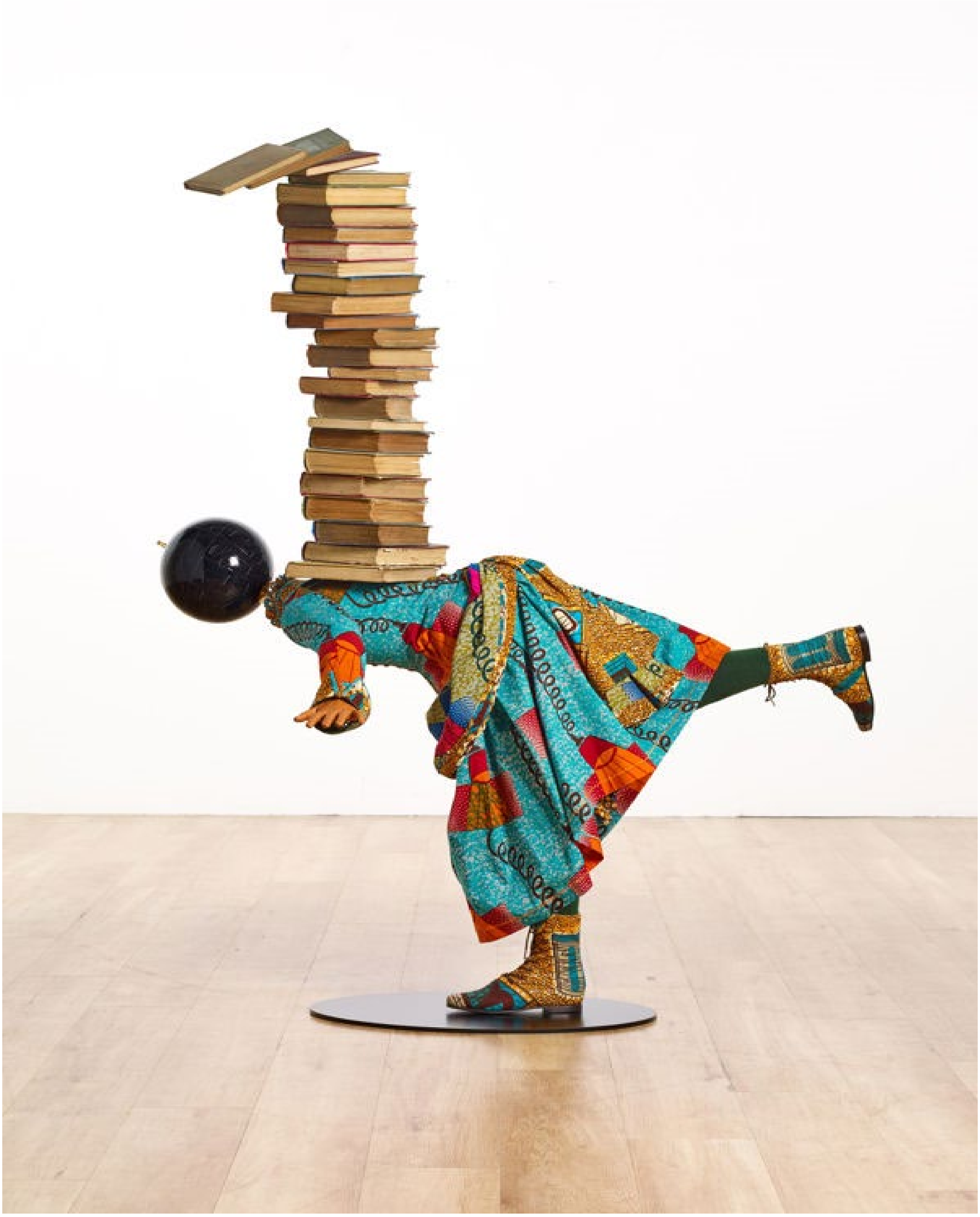
Name	Sources	References
Peacekeeping	1	6
Terrorism	1	9
War and women	1	3
War and young men	1	2

Appendix D: Academic interview codes

Name	Sources	References
African security issues	2	2
Militarisation	1	2
Assessment	5	13
Group work	1	2
Presentation	2	3
Course background	4	9
Changes	1	1
Criticality	1	1
Current affairs	1	1
Disciplinary background	2	3
Disciplinary identity	4	7
Discussions	1	4
External influences	1	2
Feminism	1	1
Group dynamics	3	4
Interest in Africa	1	1
Language	1	1
New and Old Wars	2	4
Background	1	1
PDIS Programme	5	10
Experts in African issues	1	1
History of	1	2
Political economy	1	6
Concepts	1	3

Name	Sources	References
Prior courses	2	2
Reflections	2	2
Skills	1	2
Structure of the course	2	3
Seminars	1	2
Structure of the seminar	4	7
Students	5	18
Academic performance	1	1
Bad students	1	1
Good Political Studies students	4	4
Mediocre students	1	1
Strong students	3	4
Student academic backgrounds	1	2
Students dictating the content	1	3
Teaching	1	1
Teaching as a relationship	2	2
Teaching philosophy	1	1
Teaching style	2	5

Appendix E: Girl Balancing Knowledge III, by Yinka Shonibare MBE



Appendix F: Permission for the use of Girl Balancing Knowledge III

From: rahiem.whisgary@samro.org.za on behalf of Theatricals Department
To: Mlamuli Nkosingphile Hlatshwayo
Subject: Re: Request to use The Girl Balancing Knowledge on her back III for PhD dissertation
Date: Monday, 19 November 2018 07:41:01

Dear Mlamuli,

Following the email below, kindly note that, as your dissertation will not be circulated (there is no print or digital run), the rights holders are happy to waive any royalty fees.

You may proceed with your usage of the image on the cover of your dissertation.

Should you have a print / digital run of your dissertation, kindly note that the usage of the image will have to be licensed through DALRO.

Kind regards,

Rahiem

DALRO Theatricals Team
Elroy Bell & Rahiem Whisgary

Office: +27 (0)11 712-8330 | Fax: +27 (0) 86 648-6299
Email: theatricals@dalro.co.za |
DALRO Online: Facebook | Twitter | LinkedIn | Website
Subscribe to our newsletters
New Musicals to license are on our website, drop us an email for more information.

Appendix G: Top Critique for Week 5

African and the New Wars

Week Five Critique: Young Men and New Wars

Abdullah and Muana (1998) provide an in depth historical account of the conflict and the formation of opposition and rebel groups in Sierra Leone. Their primary focus of this historical account of rebel groups is on the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone (RUF/SL) which was the dominant rebel group against the state. This critique will not focus on the makings, rise and demise of the RUF. Rather, it will focus on the reasons why young men and boys find themselves in such rebel groups and they benefit from being members of such groups.

In this reading, there appears to be a recurring theme of disgruntled young men, "lumpens" or "rarray boys" (Abdullah and Muana 1998:173), who as a result of the failure of the state to provide economic security or the access to it, have taken to the rebel groups which have the ability to provide economic security. The authors argue that the "swelling rank of young unemployed men" left the gap for political organisation outside of state structures to give these young men the opportunity to be members such rebel groups. The RUF being a group which carried the "freedom fighter mantle" (Abdullah and Muana 1998: 178), appealed to such marginalised groups in that it gave resonance to the appeal of these young men; the reversal of social hierarchies, self-actualisation and ultimately the acquisition of wealth. These ill-defined ideals were to be achieved through the possession of the means of violence which traditionally belongs to the state. The authors argue further, that the political exclusion of these young men, by virtue of being poor and unable to access capital required for social mobility, is the key reason that the RUF appealed to these young men the most. The lure of alluvial diamond mining and a smuggler's economy played to the grievance of these young men who appeared to suffering under the authority of the state (Abdullah and Muana 1998: 178). From the above, it is safe to assume that the authors find themselves at the centre of the greed versus grievance argument. Given the above reasons, I would propose that both arguments hold. Grievances of these young were based primarily on economic exclusion and thus exclusion from society at large. This exclusion, misrecognition and inability to access the claims to economic resources places an unnecessary limitation their ability to exercise their agency outside of the sate sponsored victimization. By virtue of a majority of these young men in these rebel groups being part of those at a high level of social vulnerability, their propensity to join a "bandit organisation solely driven by survivalist needs" (Abdullah and Muana 1998: 190).

Following the above discussion, Boas (2007) attempts to provide an analytical approach which places the young man at centre of his thesis. He does this, in my opinion, as a tool to bring pull the human face out of essentialist portrayal of these young men as gratuitously violent, animalistic and have a high susceptibility to gross human right violations (Boas 2007:41). The author attempts to provide a context which looks at the conditions created by the state which facilitate an environment for such rebel groups. Boas follows the life of

Maskita, who, due to the "break down and damage" (2007:43) of the state, experienced the culture of corruption, mismanagement and abuse of power" (2007:44) in Sierra Leone. Because of Maskita's social vulnerability, it was economically friendly for him to join insurgency movements. Boas argues that the African Guerilla fighter is "neither angel nor demon" (2007:39) in that painting him as either a ruthless murderer of powerless victim is disingenuous. The young guerrilla is "young, hurt man-child" (2007:39) however, he is also a "political actor who commits crimes" (2007:39). These two simultaneously held identities of the guerrilla in Africa speak to the debate of whether the young men are co-opted and manipulated into rebel groups because of their marginalization and victimhood or are they free acting political actors? These groups are victimised (primarily by the state); their exclusion from the formal economy leaves them often in the position of being part of these rebel groups, thus using survival tactics to keep afloat. However, even within their victimhood, there is an element of agency that ought to be recognised. Boas argues that the need to transform society in order to create a far more inclusive social order not only creates new meaning for the self but also a new meaning for society at large (2007:47). The use of the gun as proposed by Boas is the social capital exercised by these rebel groups in order to devastate already existing forms of exclusion created by the state. These young men are indeed exercising their agency, as any idea or political action requires one to recognise their ability to move from the space of a non-citizen to full citizenship by laying certain claims or through the use of violence. "As they [young men] use the gun they gain agency; others pay the price as victims of the violence used to establish this agency" (Boas 2007: 47).

Looking at the Hoffman's two chapters in which he focusing on the *major*, he looks at the historical trajectory of the *kamajor,* the identity of the *kamajor* in which Hoffman draws the parallel between the *kamajor* and the rural hunter (2011:62). For the lack of time, I will not discuss in detail these formations and identities. However, I will draw from them throughout this critique.

From the onset, Hoffman points out "to be a *kamajor* is performance" (2011: 58), this sets out the way in which one views and responds to the *kamajor.* Considering the similarities and parallels drawn between the hunter and the *kamajor*, it would be safe to assume that this performance is one of masculinity or the performance of male bravado and prowess. Although the hunter is rooted within a society and his craft is learnt from passed on memory, apprenticeship and through the shared values of community and kamajor learns his craft through initiation (2011: 63), both exploit the idea that the male has the genetic predisposition of using violence and the body as a means to protect against threatening forces. Thus, the hunter and *kamajor* take on the identity of "warrior- protector" (2011:63) which is seen in the manner in which he uses violence to protect against the possible threat the army or other opposition rebel groups. This is problematic in that, it appears to have a Hegel-esque understanding the African guerilla as inherently "volatile, violent and is a global black underclass" (2011:67). The iconography of the male warrior and protector whose greatness lies not in his ability to use legitimate political platforms to change social order but in the use of rebellion and gratuitous violence, is one that is most important to the kamajor and is the very performance of masculinity within these groups (2011:67). Throughout this chapter, Hoffman makes the impression that these young male bodies are used to outsource "political violence" (2011:67) and their prowess was determined by their ability to provide protections against bullets, thus the invincibility of violent masculinities. This is affirmed by the kamajor identity which favours "revolutionary postcolonial youth [male] culture, legacies of mercenary labor and masculine responsibility" (2011: 71). These identities were used throughout the rebel group movement in Sierra Leone, most evidently in times of war. This then links to the idea of victimisation and agency; these young men are victimised not only by the state in economic and political ways, they are further victimised in so far as their bodies are treated at carriers of war, this limits agency and places an onerous burden to young men to perform these masculinities.

In his final chapter, Hoffman speaks to the conflict that arises when former rebel groups become co-opted or institutionalised in the very state that they were opposed to. The identity of these rebel groups now takes on the identity of the states in so far as they are committed to the constitutional democracy of Sierra Leone (2011:97) Hoffman calls this the new political imaginary in which once rebelling groups (CDF) now reveal the desire of a political system which recognises and guarantees human rights, and the security of citizenship (2011: 97). This political imaginary seeks to affirm Weberian conceptions of statehood such the monopoly on violence and at structures that enhance the recognition of statehood (2011:99) The revolutionary possibilities of the CDF now gave in to the logic of the state, statehood and a democratic politic (2011:99). This co-option of the CDF into state institutions saw the rise of patronage networks which further victimised the junior men or young boys at the gain of older men within the movement. These patronage networks had transnational connections which had no desire on state reformation or the recapturing of it. Using the realist theory, one can argue that these once revolutionary and rebellious groups were invested in greed and not the securitisation of citizens and their fighters. Self-interest of those who now had political capital further victimised these young men, still leaving them as marginalised and misrecognised groups.

References

Abdullah, I. (1998). Bush path to destruction: the origin and character of the Revolutionary United Front/Sierra Leone. *The Journal of Modern African Studies,* 36(2), 203-235.

Abeysekera, L., & Dawson, P. (2015). Motivation and cognitive load in the flipped classroom: definition, rationale and a call for research. *Higher Education Research & Development,* 34(1), 1-14.

Abrahamsen, R. (2004). A breeding ground for terrorists? Africa & Britain's 'war on terrorism'. *Review of African Political Economy,* 31(102), 677-684.

Ackermann, A. (2003). The idea and practice of conflict prevention. *Journal of Peace Research,* 40(3), 339-347.

Ahikire, J. (2014). African feminism in context: Reflections on the legitimation battles, victories and reversals. *Feminist Africa,* 19, 7-23.

Akoojee, S., & Nkomo, M. (2007). Access and quality in South African higher education: The twin challenges of transformation. *South African Journal of Higher Education,* 21(3), 385-399.

Alasow, J. G. (2015, 23 March 2015). What about 'Rhodes (University) must fall'? *Daily Maverick*. Retrieved from https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2015-03-23-what-about-rhodes-university-must-fall/ Date of Access: 2nd March 2016.

Allaise, S. 2009. The National Qualifications Framework in South Africa: a democratic project trapped in a neo-liberal paradigm? Journal of Education and Work, 16(1), 305-323.

Altbach, P. (2015). Knowledge and education as international commodities. *International Higher Education* 1 (28) 2372-4501.

Altbach, P., & Knight, J. (2007). The internationalization of higher education: Motivations and realities. *Journal of studies in international education, 11*(3-4), 290-305.

Alvesson, M., & Sköldberg, K. (2017). *Reflexive methodology: New vistas for qualitative research*: Sage.

Anderson, C. (2010). Presenting and evaluating qualitative research. *American journal of pharmaceutical education,* 74(8), 1-7.

Aning, K. (2007). Are there emerging West African criminal networks? The case of Ghana. *Global Crime,* 8(3), 193-212.

Aning, K. (2014). Transnational security threats and challenges to peacekeeping in Mali. *Conflict trends,* 1(2), 11-17.

Appiah, K. A. (2017). *Cosmopolitanisms,* New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company.

Appiah, K. A., & Bhabha, H. (2018). Cosmopolitanism and Convergence. *New Literary History,* 49(2), 171-198.

Apple, M. W. (1993). The politics of official knowledge: Does a national curriculum make sense? *Discourse,* 14(1), 1-16.

Apple, M. W. (2014). *Official knowledge: Democratic education in a conservative age*, New York: Routledge.

April, T. (2016). *Rethinking the frontiers of the eastern cape* Unpublished article Uhuru. Rhodes University Grahamstown. Retrieved from https://www.ru.ac.za/media/rhodesuniversity/content/uhuru/documents/RETHINKING%20THE%20FRONTIERS%20-08%20June%202016.pdf . Date of Access 2nd March 2016.

Arbee, A. (2012). *Knowledge and knowers in the discipline of Marketing at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.* (Doctor of Philosophy Full thesis), University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pinetown.

Archer, M. (1998). *Introduction: Realism in the social sciences*, New York: Routledge.

Atkinson, P., & Coffey, A. (2004). Analysing documentary realities, In Silverman, David (ed.), *Qualitative Research*, London: Sage Publications Ltd, 56-75.

Ayelazuno, J. (2014). Oil wealth and the well-being of the subaltern classes in Sub-Saharan Africa: A critical analysis of the resource curse in Ghana. *Resources Policy,* 40, 66-73.

Badat, S. (1994). *Differentiation and disadvantage: the historically black universities in South Africa: report to the Desmond Tutu Educational Trust*: Education Policy Unit, University of Western Cape.

Badat, S. (2007). *Higher education transformation in South Africa post 1994: Towards a critical assessment,* Johannesburg: CEPD.

Badat, S. (2009). Theorising institutional change: post-1994 South African higher education. *Studies in higher education,* 34(4), 455-467.

Badat, S. (2010). The challenges of transformation in higher education and training institutions in South Africa. *Development Bank of Southern Africa,* 1(8). 1-37.

Badat, S. (2016). Deciphering the meanings, and explaining the South African higher education student protests of 2015–16. *Pax Academica,* 1, 71-106.

Badat, S. (2017a). The Idea of Higher Education as an Instrument for Social Mobility and Societal Transformation. In Pinheiro, Rómulo, Wangenge-Ouma, Gerald, Balbachevsky, Elizabeth, Cai, Yuzhuo (ed.), *A Critique of Nelson Mandela,*London: Palgrave Macmillan, 125-136.

Badat, S. (2017b). Trepidation, longing, and belonging: Liberating the curriculum at universities in South Africa. *Public Lecture Series on Curriculum Transformation Matters: The Decolonial Turn*, Tshwane: University of Pretoria, 1-26.

Banda, F., & Peck, A. (2016). Diversity and contested social identities in multilingual and multicultural contexts of the University of the Western Cape, South Africa. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development,* 37(6), 576-588.

Barnett, R. (2000). University knowledge in an age of supercomplexity. *Higher education,* 40(4), 409-422.

Barrick, M. R., & Mount, M. K. (1991). The big five personality dimensions and job performance: a meta-analysis. *Personnel psychology,* 44(1), 1-26.

Barth, M. (2003). Sand castles in the Sahara: US military basing in Algeria. *Review of African Political Economy*, 679-685.

Bashir, S. (2007). Trends in International Trade in Higher Education: Implications and Options for Developing Countries. Education Working Paper Series, Number 6, Washington D.C. : *World Bank Publications*.1-96.

Bastedo, M., Altbach, P., & Gumport, P. (2018). *American Higher Education in the Twenty-First Century: Social, Political and Economic Challenges* (4th ed.). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Bayart, J.-F., & Ellis, S. (2000). Africa in the world: a history of extraversion. *African Affairs,* 99(395), 217-267.

Bayart, J.-F., Ellis, S., & Hibou, B. (1999). *The criminalization of the state in Africa*, London: Villiers Publications.

Becher, T. (1981). Towards a definition of disciplinary cultures. *Studies in higher education,* 6(2), 109-122.

Becher, T., & Trowler, P. (2001). *Academic tribes and territories: Intellectual enquiry and the culture of disciplines,* Buckingham: McGraw-Hill Education.

Bell, T. (2016). The Marikana massacre: why heads must roll. *New solutions: a journal of environmental and occupational health policy,* 25(4), 440-450.

Berger, R. (2015). Now I see it, now I don't: Researcher's position and reflexivity in qualitative research. *Qualitative research,* 15(2), 219-234.

Bernstein, B. (1975a). Class and pedagogies: Visible and invisible. *Educational studies,* 1(1), 23-41.

Bernstein, B. (1990). The structuring of pedagogic discourse: Vol. 4. Class, codes and control: London: Routledge.

Bernstein, B. (1996). A estruturação do discurso pedagógico: classe, códigos e controle. *Petrópolis: Vozes*, 3719-3739.

Bernstein, B. (1999). Vertical and horizontal discourse: An essay. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 20*(2), 157-173.

Bernstein, B. (2000). *Pedagogy, symbolic control, and identity: Theory, research, critique,* London and Washington, D.C: Rowman & Littlefield.

Bernstein, B. (2003). *Class, codes and control: Applied studies towards a sociology of language* (Vol. 2), London and New York: Psychology Press.

Bernstein, B. (2004). *The structuring of pedagogic discourse,* London and New York: Routledge.

Bernstein, B. (2006). Vertical and horizontal discourse: An essay, *British Journal of Sociology of Education,* 20(2), 157-173.

Bertram, C. (2008). *Curriculum recontextualisation: a case study of the South African high school History curriculum* (Doctor of Philosophy Doctor of Philosophy), University of KwaZulu-Natal Pietermaritzburg

Bertram, C. (2012). Bernstein's theory of the pedagogic device as a frame to study history curriculum reform in South Africa. *Yesterday and Today* 7, 1-11.

Bhaskar, R. (1998). *Philosophy and scientific realism*, London and New York: Routledge.

Bhaskar, R. (2008a). *Dialectic: The pulse of freedom,* London and New York: Routledge.

Bhaskar, R. (2008b). A Realist Theory of Science, London and New York: Routledge.

Biggs, J. (2015). South Africa's Language Planning Policy Post-Apartheid. *tarboard*, 29.

Bøås, M., & Dunn, K. C. (2007). *African Guerrillas: raging against the machine*: Lynne Rienner Boulder, CO.

Bogdan, R., & Biklen, S. (2003). Research for education. *Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1*, 56.

Bogdan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (1982). Qualitative research methods for education: Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Bond, P. (2000). *Elite transition. From apartheid to neo-liberalism in South Africa*. London and Pietermaritzburg: Pluto Press and University of Natal University Press.

Boris, O. H. (2015). The Upsurge of Oil Theft and Illegal Bunkering in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria: Is There a Way Out? *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences,* 6(3 S2), 563-573.

Bosch, T. (2017). Twitter activism and youth in South Africa: The case of# RhodesMustFall. *Information, Communication & Society,* 20(2), 221-232.

Boud, D., Cohen, R., & Sampson, J. (2014). *Peer learning in higher education: Learning from and with each other*, Oxon: Routledge.

Boughey, C. (2003). From equity to efficiency: Access to higher education in South Africa. *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education,* 2(1), 65-71.

Boughey, C. (2005). 'Epistemological'access to the university: an alternative perspective. *South African Journal of Higher Education,* 19(3), 230-242.

Boughey, C. (2007). Marrying equity and efficiency: The need for third generation academic development. *Perspectives in Education,* 25(3), 1-11.

Boughey, C., & McKenna, S. (2016). Academic literacy and the decontextualised learner. *Critical Studies in Teaching and Learning,* 4(2), 1-9.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The force of law: Toward a sociology of the juridical field. *Hastings LJ,* 38, 805-853.

Bourdieu, P. (1996). *The rules of art: Genesis and structure of the literary field*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1998). *The state nobility: Elite schools in the field of power*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (2011). The forms of capital.(1986). *Cultural theory: An anthology,* 1, 81-93.

Bovill, C., Jordan, L., & Watters, N. (2015). Transnational approaches to teaching and learning in higher education: challenges and possible guiding principles. *Teaching in Higher Education,* 20(1), 12-23.

Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative research journal,* 9(2), 27-40.

Bowman, J. M., & Filar, D. C. (2017). *Masculinity and Student Success in Higher Education: Student Success and the Crisis of Masculinity,* New York: Routledge.

Bozalek, V., & Boughey, C. (2012). (Mis) framing higher education in South Africa. *Social Policy & Administration,* 46(6), 688-703.

Brenner, M. (1985). *The research interview, uses and approaches,* London: Academic Press.

Broadfoot, P. (1999). Stones from Other Hills may Serve to Polish the Jade of this One: towards a neo-comparative 'learnology'of education. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education,* 29(3), 217-231.

Brooks, A., & Brickhill, J. (1980). *Whirlwind Before the Storm: The origins and development of the uprising in Soweto and the rest of South Africa from June to December 1976* (Vol. 247), London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa.

Bruton, S., & Childers, D. (2016). The ethics and politics of policing plagiarism: a qualitative study of faculty views on student plagiarism and Turnitin®. *Assessment & Evaluation in Higher Education,* 41(2), 316-330.

Bryson, C. (2016). Engagement through partnership: Students as partners in learning and teaching in higher education, *International Journal for Academic Development*, 1(21), 84–90.

Bulhan, H. A. (2015). Stages of colonialism in Africa: From occupation of land to occupation of being. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology,* 3(1), 239-256.

Bundy, C. (1986). South-Africa On The Switchback. *New Society, 75*(1201), 7-11.

Bunting, I. (2006). The higher education landscape under apartheid. In Cloete, Nico, Maassen, Peter, Moja, Teboho, Gibbon, Trish, Perold, Helene (ed.), *Transformation in Higher Education,* 10(1), Dordrecht: Springer, 35-52.

Burton, D. (2001). Critical marketing theory: the blueprint? *European Journal of Marketing,* 35(5/6), 722-743.

Buur, L., Jensen, S., & Stepputat, F. (2007). *The security-development nexus: expressions of sovereignty and securitization in Southern Africa*: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet; HSRC Press.

Caretta, M. A. (2015). Situated knowledge in cross-cultural, cross-language research: a collaborative reflexive analysis of researcher, assistant and participant subjectivities. *Qualitative research,* 15(4), 489-505.

Carney, N. (2016). All lives matter, but so does race: Black lives matter and the evolving role of social media. *Humanity & Society,* 40(2), 180-199.

Century, P. S. i. t. s. (2011). *Political Science in the 21st Century*. Retrieved from Washington: http://www.apsanet.org/portals/54/Files/Task%20Force%20Reports/TF_21st%20Century_AllPgs_webres90.pdf Date of Access: 8th April 2016.

Chamberlain, M. E. (2014). *The scramble for Africa*, Oxon: Routledge

CHE. (2010b). *Higher Education Monitor Access and throughput in South African Higher Education: Three case studies*. Retrieved from Pretoria: http://www.che.ac.za/sites/default/files/publications/Higher_Education_Monitor_9.pdf Date of Access: 2nd of March 2016.

CHE. (2013). *The higher education qualifications sub-framework*. CHE: Pretoria.

CHE. (2016). *South African higher education reviewed: Two decades of democracy*, Pretorai: Council on Higher Education

CHE. (2018). *VitalStats of Public Higher Education 2016*, Tshwane: Cuncil on Higher Education.

Chen, R. T. H. (2010). Knowledge and knowers in online learning: Investigating the effects of online flexible learning on student sojourners, Unpublished PhD thesis, Wollongong: University of Wollongong.

Cherry, J. (2015). A complex study of the history and politics of the Transkei Mandela's Kinsmen: Nationalist Elites and Apartheid's First Bantustan, Timothy Gibbs: book review. *Historia,* 60(1), 191-194.

Chitiyo, K. (2009). *The case for security sector reform in Zimbabwe*. London: Royal United Services Institute.

Christie, F., & Maton, K. (2011). *Disciplinarity: Functional linguistic and sociological perspectives,* London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Clapham, C. (1998). *African guerillas*, London: Indiana University Press.

Clark, N. L., & Worger, W. H. (2016). *South Africa: The rise and fall of apartheid,* New York: Routledge.

Cloete, N., & Moja, T. (2005). Transformation tensions in higher education: Equity, efficiency, and development. *Social research*, 693-722.

Cock, J. (1989). *Maid and Madams: Domestic Workers Under Apartheid,* London: Women's Press.

Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2007). The ethics of educational and social research. *Louise Cohen, Lawrence Manion, and Keith Morrison. Research methods in education. Sixth edition. London: Routledge*, 51-77.

Collier, P. (2008). *The bottom billion: Why the poorest countries are failing and what can be done about it*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. L. (2012). Theory from the South: Or, how Euro-America is evolving toward Africa*, A Journal of Social Anthropology and Comparative Sociology,* 22(2), 113–131.

Cooper, D., & Subotzky, G. (2001). *The skewed revolution: Trends in South African higher education, 1988-1998*: Education Policy Unit, University of the Western Cape.

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008). Basics of qualitative research, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.

Cornelissen, S. (2017). *The global tourism system: Governance, development and lessons from South Africa,* London and New York: Routledge.

Corson, D. (1991). Bhaskar's critical realism and educational knowledge. *British Journal of Sociology of Education,* 12(2), 223-241.

Coulibaly, A. S. (2015). Theorizing and categorizing African Feminism within the context of African female Novel. *Recherches africaines,* 13(15), 1-23.

Court, D., & Abbas, R. (2013). Whose interview is it, anyway? Methodological and ethical challenges of insider–outsider research, multiple languages, and dual-researcher cooperation. *Qualitative Inquiry,* 19(6), 480-488.

Craft, A. (2018). *International developments in assuring quality in higher education*, London and New York: Routledge.

Craig, A. (1996). Education for all. *South African Journal of Higher Education, 10*(2), 47-55.

Craven, M. (2015). Between law and history: the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 and the logic of free trade. *London Review of International Law, 3*(1), 31-59.

Creswell, J. W. (1994). *Research design: Qualitative & quantitative approaches*: Sage Publications.

Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2017). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches,* Thousand Oaks: Sage publications.

Cross, M. (1986). A historical review of education in South Africa: Towards an assessment. *Comparative Education,* 22(3), 185-200.

Cross, M. (1991). Youth culture and resistance in South African education: A theoretical review. *Perspectives in Education,* 12(2), 33-48.

Crossland, M. (2017). Using the “Lesson” Activity Module in Moodle as a Primary Building Block for Online Courses, in Summer Institute on Distance Learning and Instructional Technology. https://scholarspace.jccc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1224&context=c2c_sidlit Date of Access: 5th December 2017.

Crush, J. S., Jeeves, A., & Yudelman, D. (1991). *South Africa's labor empire: A history of black migrancy to the gold mines,* Cape Town: Westview Press.

Dahl, R. A. (2017). *Politics, economics, and welfare*, London and New York: Routledge.

Dall’Alba, G. (2009). Learning professional ways of being: Ambiguities of becoming. *Educational Philosophy and Theory,* 41(1), 34-45.

Danermark, B., Ekström, M., Jakobsen, L., & Karlsson, J. C. (2002). *Explaining society: Critical realism in the social sciences,* Oxon: Routledge.

Davies, J. (1996). The state and the South African university system under apartheid. *Comparative Education,* 32(3), 319-332.

de Bie, G. (2016). *Analysis of a Biomedical Curriculum Using Legitimation Code Thoery: Exploring Integrative Knowledge-Building in the Rehabilitive Health Professions.* Unpublished PhD thesis, Grahamstown: Rhodes University.

de Lange, J. (1981). *Report of the Main Committee of the HSRC Investigation into Educational Provision in South Africa.* Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

de Oliveira Andreotti, V., Stein, S., Ahenakew, C., & Hunt, D. (2015). Mapping interpretations of decolonization in the context of higher education. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society,* 4(1), 21-40.

de Sousa Santos, B., Nimako, K., Maldonado-Torres, N., Burman, A., Aman, R., Sithole, T., Díaz-Cepeda, L. R. (2016). *Decolonizing the Westernized university: Interventions in philosophy of education from within and without*, Lanham: Lexington Books.

Dean, B. A. (2018). The Interpretivist and The Learner. *International Journal of Doctoral Studies, 13*, 1-8.

Deardorff, D. K., & Arasaratnam-Smith, L. A. (2017), *Intercultural Competence in Higher Education*, London and New York: Routledge.

Denzin, N. K. (1986). *Interpretive Biography*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Department of Education. (1997a). *Education White Paper 3 A Programme for the Transformation of Higher Education*. Date of Access 4th March 2018: http://www.che.ac.za/sites/default/files/publications/White_Paper3.pdf

Department of Education. (1997b). Education White Paper 3: a programme for the transformation of higher education. (NOTICE 1196 OF 1997), 1-50.

Department of Education. (2001). N*ational plan for higher education*, Pretoria: Department of Education.

Department of Education. (2004). *White Paper on e-education*, Pretoria: Department of Education.

Dhunpath, R., & Vithal, R. (2014). *Alternative Access to Higher Educaction: Underprepared Students Or Underprepared Institutions?* London: Pearson.

Dobrin, L. M., & Schwartz, S. (2016). Collaboration or participant observation? Rethinking models of' linguistic social work', *Language, Documentation and Conservation*, 10(1): 253–277.

Dobson, I. (1999). *Transition from secondary to tertiary: A performance study*.

Dreyfus, H. L. (1991). *Being-in-the-world: A commentary on Heidegger's Being and Time, Division I*, Cambridge and London: MIT Press.

du Plessis, H., & Van Niekerk, A. (2014). A new GISc framework and competency set for curricula development at South African universities. *South African Journal of Geomatics,* 3(1), 1-12.

du Preez, P. (2017). Classical theories and theorists of curriculum studies. In L. Ramrathan, Le Grange, L and Higgs, P (Ed.), *Education Studies for Initial Teacher Development,* Cape Town: JUTA, 95-111.

Duncan, J. (2014). South African journalism and the Marikana massacre: A case study of an editorial failure. *The Political Economy of Communication,* 1(2), 65–88.

Durch, W. J., Holt, V. K., Earle, C. R., & Shanahan, M. K. (2003). *The Brahimi Report and the Future of the UN Peace Operations,* Washington D.C. : The Henry L. Stimson Center.

Duruigbo, E. (2005). The World Bank, multinational oil corporations, and the resource curse in Africa. *U. Pa. J. Int'l Econ. L., 26*, 1.

Dussel, E. (1993). Eurocentrism and modernity (Introduction to the Frankfurt Lectures). *boundary,* 20(3), 65-76.

Dwyer, S. C., & Buckle, J. (2009). The Space Between: on being an insider-outsider in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods,* 8(1), 54-63.

El-Bahsh, R., & Daoud, M. (2016). *Evaluating the use of Moodle to achieve effective and interactive learning: A case study at the German Jordanian University.* Paper presented at the Proceedings of the 35th Annual IEEE International Conference on Computer Communications.

Ellis, S. (2003). The old roots of Africa's new wars. *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft,* (2), 29-43.

Elum, Z. A., Mopipi, K., & Henri-Ukoha, A. (2016). Oil exploitation and its socioeconomic effects on the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. *Environmental Science and Pollution Research, 23*(13), 12880-12889.

Ensor, P. (2002). Curriculum. In C. Cloete, P. Hehnel, P. Maassen, T. Moja, P. Perold, & T. Gibbon (Eds.), *Transformation in higher education. Global pressures and local realities in South Africa*. Cape Town: Juta and Company.

Ensor, P. (2003). The National Qualifications Framework and higher education in South Africa: some epistemological issues. *Journal of Education and Work,* 16(3), 325-346.

Ensor, P. (2004). Contesting discourses in higher education curriculum restructuring in South Africa. *Higher Education, 48*(3), 339-359.

Fairclough, N. (2005). Peripheral vision: Discourse analysis in organization studies: The case for critical realism. *Organization studies,* 26(6), 915-939.

Farr, J. (1988). The history of political science. *American Journal of Political Science,* 32(4), 1175-1195.

Fay, J. (2018). Decolonising mental health services one prejudice at a time: psychological, sociological, ecological, and cultural considerations. *Settler Colonial Studies,* 8(1), 47-59.

Feeley, N., Cossette, S., Côté, J., Héon, M., Stremler, R., Martorella, G., & Purden, M. (2009). The importance of piloting an RCT intervention. *CJNR (Canadian Journal of Nursing Research),* 41(2), 84-99.

Feenstra, R. C., & Taylor, A. M. (2013). *Introduction to Globalization in an Age of Crisis: Multilateral Economic Cooperation in the Twenty-First Century*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Fenwick, T., & Edwards, R. (2014). Networks of knowledge, matters of learning, and criticality in higher education. *Higher Education, 67*(1), 35-50.

Ferguson, J. (2006). *Global shadows: Africa in the neoliberal world order*, Durham: Duke University Press.

Fine, B. (2018). *The political economy of South Africa: From minerals-energy complex to industrialisation,* London and New York: Routledge.

Flick, U. (2014). *An introduction to qualitative research*, Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Fomunyam, K. G. (2015). *Content and Ideology in Literature modules taught in a Cameroonian university.* Unpublished PhD thesis, Pinetown: University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pinetown.

Francis, D. J. (2017). *Civil Militia: Africa's intractable security menace,* New York? Routledge.

Freire, P. (2018). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*, New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

Garton, S., & Copland, F. (2010). 'I like this interview; I get cakes and cats!': the effect of prior relationships on interview talk, *Qualitative research,* 10(5), 533-551.

Garza, A. (2014). A herstory of the# BlackLivesMatter movement, Feminist Wire, https://news.northseattle.edu/sites/news.northseattle.edu/files/blacklivesmatter_Herstory.pdf Date of Access: 1st Sepetember 2018.

Gibbons, M. (2000). Mode 2 society and the emergence of context-sensitive science. *Science and public policy,* 27(3), 159-163.

Gibbons, M., Limoges, C., Nowotny, H., Schwartzman, S., Scott, P., & Trow, M. (1994). *The new production of knowledge: The dynamics of science and research in contemporary societies,* London: Sage.

Giloi, S. L. (2015). *The knowledge-knower structures used in the assessment of graphic design practical work in a multi-campus context.* Unpublished PhD thesis, Grahamstown: Rhodes University.

Giloi, S. L. (2017). The Benefits of Incorporating a Decolonised Gaze for Design Education, *14th National Design Education Conference 2017*, http://defsa.org.za/sites/default/files/downloads/2017conference/Giloi%23decolonise.pdf Date of Access: 13th March 2018.

Ginifer, J., & Peimani, H. (2017). Security Challenges: International Experiences and Implications for Africa. *Civil Militia: Africa's Intractable Security Menace?*, 251.

Glennon, M. J. (1991). The Constitution and Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. *American Journal of International Law,* 85(1), 74-88.

Gordon, L. (1997). *Her majesty's other children: Sketches of racism from a neocolonial age*, London: Rowman & Littlefield.

Gordon, L. (2005). Through the Zone of Nonbeing A Reading of Black Skin, White Masks in Celebration of Fanon's Eightieth Birthday. *The CLR James Journal,* 11(1), 1-43.

Gordon, L. (2007). Problematic People and Epistemic Decolonization. In Persram, Nalini (ed.), *Postcolonialism and Political Theory*, London: Lexington Books, 121-139.

Gordon, L. (2011). Shifting the geography of reason in an age of disciplinary decadence. *Transmodernity,* 1(2), 6-9.

Gordon, L. (2013). *Existentia africana: Understanding africana existential thought,* New York and London: Routledge.

Gordon, L. (2015a). *Disciplinary decadence: Living thought in trying times*, New York: Routledge.

Gordon, L. (2015b). *What Fanon said: A philosophical introduction to his life and thought,* New York: Fordham University Press.

Gosling, S. D., Rentfrow, P. J., & Swann Jr, W. B. (2003). A very brief measure of the Big-Five personality domains. *Journal of Research in personality,* 37(6), 504-528.

Gouws, A., Kotze, J. S., & Van Wyk, J.-A. (2013). Celebrating 40 years: The state of political science in South Africa in 2014. *Politikon,* 40(3), 393-423.

Greyling, S. (2007). *Rhodes university during the segregation and apartheid eras, 1933 to 1990.* Unpublished Masters thesis, Grahamstown: Rhodes University.

Grosfoguel, R. (2007). The epistemic decolonial turn: Beyond political-economy paradigms. *Cultural studies,* 21(2-3), 211-223.

Gurule, J., Paust, J. J., Cherif Bassiouni, M., Scharf, M. P., Sadat, L., & Zagaris, B. (2007). *International Criminal Law: Cases and Materials*, Durham: Carolina Academic Press.

Guzman, G., & Trivelato, L. F. (2011). Packaging and unpackaging knowledge in mass higher education—a knowledge management perspective. *Higher Education,* 62(4), 451-465.

Gwala, N. (1988). *Popular Struggles in South Africa*, London: ROAPE.

Gyamera, G. O., & Burke, P. J. (2018). Neoliberalism and curriculum in higher education: a post-colonial analyses. *Teaching in Higher Education,* 23(4), 450-467.

Hammersley, M. (2016). *Reading ethnographic research,* London and New York: Routledge.

Harris, D., & Lappin, R. (2015). Taylor is guilty, is that all there is? The collision of justice and politics in the domestic arena. In Ainley, Kirsten, Friedman, Rebekka and Mahony, Chris (eds.), *Evaluating Transitional Justice*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 153-172.

Hay, D., & Fourie, M. (2002). Preparing the way for mergers in South African higher and further education institutions: An investigation into staff perceptions. *Higher Education,* 44(1), 115-131.

Heidegger, M. (1962). *Being and time*, New York: Harper & Row.

Heidegger, M. (1977). *Basic writings: from Being and time (1927) to The task of thinking (1964)*, San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco.

Heidegger, M. (1996). *Being and time: A translation of Sein und Zeit*, New York: SUNY Press.

Heleta, S. (2016a). Coloniality persists in our universities and we must urgently decolonise. *Mail & Guardian*. Retrieved from https://mg.co.za/article/2016-11-18-00-coloniality-persists-in-our-universities-and-we-must-urgently-decolonise. Date of Access: 2nd January 2017.

Heleta, S. (2016b). Decolonisation of higher education: Dismantling epistemic violence and Eurocentrism in South Africa. *Transformation in Higher Education,* 1(1), 1-8.

Heleta, S. (2018). Decolonizing Knowledge in South Africa: Dismantling the 'pedagogy of big lies'. *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies,* 40(2), 47-65.

Henkel, M. (2005). Academic identity and autonomy in a changing policy environment. *Higher education,* 49(1), 155-176.

Henning, E., Van Rensburg, W., & Smit, B. (2004). *Finding your way in qualitative research*, Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Ho, W.-S., Ng, A., Leung, K., Wang, F. L., & Wong, L.-P. (2015). *A Teachers' Survey on the Effectiveness of e-Learning Platform in a Higher Education Institution.* Paper presented at the International Conference on Technology in Education.

Hoadley, U., & Jansen, J. D. (2009). *Curriculum: Organizing knowledge for the classroom*, Oxford: Oxford University Press Southern Africa.

Hodgkinson, G. P., & Starkey, K. (2011). Not simply returning to the same answer over and over again: reframing relevance. *British Journal of Management,* 22(3), 355-369.

Hoffman, D. (2011). *The war machines: young men and violence in Sierra Leone and Liberia*, Durham: Duke University Press.

Holmes, A. (2014). Researcher positionality: A consideration of its influence and place in research. *Retrieved from ResearchGate. net*.

Hornsby, D. J., & Osman, R. (2014). Massification in higher education: Large classes and student learning. *Higher Education,* 67(6), 711-719.

Horsthemke, K. (2004). Knowledge, education and the limits of Africanisation. *Journal of Philosophy of Education,* 38(4), 571-587.

Huff, A. S. (2000). 1999 Presidential address: Changes in organizational knowledge production. *Academy of management Review,* 25(2), 288-293.

Hugo, W. (2010). Drawing the line in post-apartheid curriculum studies. In Pinar, William (ed.), *Curriculum studies in South Africa,* New York: Pagrave Macmillan, 51-105.

Hung, H.-T. (2015). Flipping the classroom for English language learners to foster active learning. *Computer Assisted Language Learning,* 28(1), 81-96.

Imbo, S. O. (1998). *An introduction to African philosophy*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

IMF. (2018). The IMF and the World Bank. from International Monetary Fund https://www.imf.org/About/Factsheets/Sheets/2016/07/27/15/31/IMF-World-Bank?pdf=1. Date of Access: 28th February 2018.

Imongan, E. O., & Ikelegbe, A. (2016). Amnesty Programme in Nigeria: the impact and challenges in post conflict Niger Delta region, *Journal Of Humanities And Social Science,* 21(4), 62-65.

Ingram, A. (2016). *Spaces of Security and Insecurity*, New York: Routledge.

Ireland, J. (2003). Research interviews in midwifery. *RCM midwives: the official journal of the Royal College of Midwives,* 6(6), 260-263.

Iversen, A.-M., Pedersen, A. S., Krogh, L., & Jensen, A. A. (2015). Learning, leading, and letting go of control: Learner-led approaches in education. *Sage Open, 5*(4), 1-11.

Jackson, E. A. (2017). Impact of MOODLE platform on the pedagogy of students and staff: Cross-curricular comparison. *Education and Information Technologies,* 22(1), 177-193.

Jansen, J. (2001). *Access and values.* Paper presented at the Conference on Values, Education and Democracy in the 21st Century, National Botanical Institute, Kirstenbosch, Cape Town.

Jansen, J. (2003). The state of higher education in South Africa: From massification to mergers. In Habib, Adam, Daniel, John and Southall, Roger (eds.), *State of the nation: South Africa 2003-2004,* Cape Town: HSRC Press, 290-311.

Jansen, J. (2004). Changes and continuities in South Africa's higher education system, 1994 to 2004. *Changing class: Education and social change in post-apartheid South Africa*, 293-314.

Jansen, J. (2009). The curriculum as an institution in higher education. In Bitzer, Eli (ed.), *Higher education in South Africa: A scholarly look behind the scenes.* Stellenbosch: Sun Media, 123-154.

Kaldor, M. (2013). In defence of new wars. *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development, 2*(1), 1-16.

Kaldor, M. (2018). *Global security cultures*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Kallaway, P. (1984). *Apartheid and education: The education of black South Africans*, Cape Town: Ravan Press of South Africa.

Kallaway, P. (2002). *The history of education under apartheid, 1948-1994: the doors of learning and culture shall be opened*, Cape Town: Pearson South Africa.

Kalyvas, S. N. (2001). "New" and "old" civil wars: a valid distinction? *World Politics,* 54(1), 99-118.

Kaufman, S. J. (2017). South Africa's civil war, 1985–1995. *South African Journal of International Affairs,* 24(4), 501-521.

Keet, A. (2014a). Plastic knowledges: Transformations and stagnations in the Humanities. *Alternation,* 21(2), 99-121.

Keet, A. (2014b). Refractions: Social theory, human rights and philosophy. *Acta Academica,* 46(4), 132-158.

Keet, A., Sattarzadeh, S. D., & Munene, A. (2017). An awkward, uneasy (de) coloniality higher education and knowledge otherwise. *Education as Change,* 21(1), 1-12.

Khoapa, B., & Gwala, M. P. (1973). *Black Review*: Black Community Programmes.

King, K. (1993). Education policy in a climate of entitlement: the South African case. *Perspectives in Education,* 14(2), 199-208.

Kirk, C. M., Lewis, R. K., Brown, K., Karibo, B., Scott, A., & Park, E. (2017). The empowering schools project: Identifying the classroom and school characteristics that lead to student empowerment. *Youth & Society,* 49(6), 827-847.

Knight, P., & Trowler, P. (2001). *Departmental leadership in higher education*, Buckingham: McGraw-Hill Education.

Langa, M., Ndelu, S., Edwin, Y., & Vilakazi, M. (2017). *# Hashtag: An Analysis of the# FeesMustFall Movement at South African Universities*, Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.

Lange, L. (2017). 20 Years of higher education curriculum policy in South Africa. *Journal of Education ,*68(1), 31-57.

Le Grange, L. (2016). Decolonising the university curriculum. *South African Journal of Higher Education,* 30(2), 1-12.

Legassick, M., & Wolpe, H. (1976). The Bantustans and capital accumulation in South Africa. *Review of African Political Economy,* 3(7), 87-107.

Leibowitz, B., Bozalek, V., van Schalkwyk, S., & Winberg, C. (2015). Institutional context matters: The professional development of academics as teachers in South African higher education. *Higher Education,* 69(2), 315-330.

Lewins, K. (2007). *'How open are our doors? A comparison of academic staff transformation at the University of Cape Town and the University of the Witwatersrand,* Master of Arts Research Report, Jonnanesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.

Lewis, P., & Patel, P. (2012). Somalia, 2006-2012: Theories on Conflict and Its Continuance. *Africa Peace & Conflict Journal,* 5(2), 41-53.

Li, J., & Li, M. (2018). Turnitin and Peer Review in ESL Academic Writing Classrooms. *Language Learning & Technology,* 22(1), 27-41.

Light, G., & Cox, R. (2001). Assessing: student assessment. *Learning and Teaching in Higher Education: The Reflective Practitioner,* London: Paul Chapman Publishing.

Lindblom-Ylännea, S. T., K; Nevgia, A; Ashwin, P. (2006). How approaches to teaching are affected by discipline and teaching context. *Studies in Higher Education,* 31(3), 285-298.

Lodge, J. (2014, 24 September 2014). What is the point of assessment in higher education anyway? *The Conversation*. Retrieved from https://theconversation.com/what-is-the-point-of-assessment-in-higher-education-anyway-32095 Date of Access: 21st February 2016.

Louw, J., & Finchilescu, G. (2003). *UCT organisational climate survey*. Unpublished research report, Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Luckett, K. (2012). Disciplinarity in question: comparing knowledge and knower codes in sociology. *Research Papers in Education,* 27(1), 19-40.

Luckett, K. (2018). Gazes in the post-colony: an analysis of African philosophies using Legitimation Code Theory. *Teaching in Higher Education*, 1-15.

Luescher-Mamashela, T. M. (2015). Theorising student activism in and beyond the 20th century: The contribution of Philip G. Altbach. In Samardžić-Marković, Snežana (ed.), *Student Engagement in Europe: Society, Higher Education and Student Governance,* Paris: Council of Europe, 33-49.

Luescher, T. M., & Klemencic, M. (2016). *Student politics in Africa: Representation and activism*, Cape Town: African Minds.

Lyotard, J.-F. (1984). *The postmodern condition: A report on knowledge*, Manchester: Manchester University.

MacIntyre, A. (2018). Charles Taylor and dramatic narrative: Argument and genre, *Philosophy & Social Criticism,* 44(7), 761-763.

Magadla, S. (2013). The Personal Is the International: For Black Girls Who've Considered Politics When Being Strong Isn't Enough. *Politikon,* 40(3), 585-596.

Makgoba, M. W. (1997). *Mokoko – The Makgoba affair: A reflection on transformation*, Florida Hills: Vivlia.

Makgoba, M. W. (1998). South African universities in transformation: An opportunity to Africanise education. *Black perspective (s) on tertiary institutional transformation*, 42-62.

Maldonado-Torres, N. (2007). On the Coloniality of Being: Contributions to the Development of a Concept. *Cultural studies,* 21(2-3), 240-270.

Maldonado-Torres, N. (2016). Outline of ten theses on coloniality and decoloniality. *Fondation Frantz Fanon*.

Marchal, R. (2009). A tentative assessment of the Somali Harakat Al-Shabaab. *Journal of Eastern African Studies,* 3(3), 381-404.

Margolin, V. (2010). *Design research: Towards a history.* Paper presented at the Design & Complexity: Design Research Society International Conference Montreal.

Maringe, F., & Moletsane, R. (2015). Leading schools in circumstances of multiple deprivation in South Africa: Mapping some conceptual, contextual and research dimensions. *Educational Management Administration & Leadership,* 43(3), 347-362.

Marinovich, G. (2016). *Murder at Small Koppie: The real story of the Marikana massacre*, Cape Town: Penguin Books.

Mathieson, S. (2012). Disciplinary cultures of teaching and learning as socially situated practice: rethinking the space between social constructivism and epistemological essentialism from the South African experience. *Higher education, 63*(1), 549–564.

Maton, K. (2000a). Languages of legitimation: The structuring significance for intellectual fields of strategic knowledge claims. *British journal of Sociology of Education, 21*(2), 147-167.

Maton, K. (2000b). Recovering pedagogic discourse: A Bernsteinian approach to the sociology of educational knowledge. *Linguistics and Education,* 11(1), 79-98.

Maton, K. (2004). The wrong kind of knower: Education, expansion and the epistemic device. *Reading Bernstein, Researching Bernstein*, 218-231.

Maton, K. (2005). A question of autonomy: Bourdieu's field approach and higher education policy. *Journal of education policy, 20*(6), 687-704.

Maton, K. (2007). *Language, knowledge and pedagogy: Functional linguistic and sociological perspectives*, London: Continuum.

Maton, K. (2009a). Cumulative and segmented learning: Exploring the role of curriculum structures in knowledge-building. *British Journal of Sociology of Education,* 30(1), 43-57.

Maton, K. (2009b). *Invisible tribunals: Progress and knowledge-building in the humanities. In title to the finalised,* New York: Peter Lang.

Maton, K. (2010). Canons and progress in the arts and humanities: Knowers and gazes. *Social realism, knowledge and the sociology of education: Coalitions of the mind*, 154-178.

Maton, K. (2013a). *Knowledge and knowers: Towards a realist sociology of education*, London and New York: Routledge.

Maton, K. (2013b). Making semantic waves: A key to cumulative knowledge-building. *Linguistics and Education,* 24(1), 8-22.

Maton, K., & Doran, Y. (2017). Semantic density: A translation device for revealing complexity of knowledge practices in discourse, part 1—wording. *Onomázein*, 46-76.

Maton, K., & Moore, R. (2010). Analysing knowledge claims and practices: Languages of legitimation. In Maton, Karl and Moore, Rob (eds.). *Social realism, knowledge and the sociology of education: Coalitions of the mind*, New York and London: Continuum, 35-59.

Maton, K., & Muller, J. (2007). A sociology for the transmission of knowledges. In Christie, Francis and Martin, JR (eds.), *Language, knowledge and pedagogy: Functional linguistic and sociological perspectives*, New York and London: Continuum, 14-33.

Matthews, S. (2018). Confronting the Colonial Library: Teaching Political Studies Amidst Calls for a Decolonised Curriculum. *Politikon*, 1-18.

Maxwele, C. (2016). Black pain led me to throw Rhodes poo. *Business Day Live*, https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/opinion/2016-03-16-black-pain-led-me-to-throw-rhodes-poo/ Date of Acesss: 8th November 2018.

Maxwell, J. A. (2012). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach*, Thousand Oaks: Sage publications.

Maylam, P. (2005). *The cult of Rhodes: remembering an imperialist in Africa*, Claremont: New Africa Book.

Maylam, P. (2016). 'Oxford in the bush': the founding (and diminishing) ethos of Rhodes University. *African Historical Review,* 48(1), 21-35.

Maylam, P. (2017). *Rhodes University 1904-2016: An Intellectual, Political and Cultural History*: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University.

Mbembe, A. (2015). Decolonizing knowledge and the question of the archive. *Aula magistral proferida*.

Mbembe, A. (2016). Decolonizing the university: New directions. *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education,* 15(1), 29-45.

McIntosh, M. J., & Morse, J. M. (2015). Situating and constructing diversity in semi-structured interviews. *Global qualitative nursing research,* 1(1), 1-12.

Mensah, P., & America, L. (2017). *Resource Curse, Oil Rent and Mismanagement: The Case of PDVSA.* Published Bachelor thesis. Leiden: Leiden University. https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/50666 Date of Access: 18th November 2017.

Merriam, S. B. (2002). *Qualitative research in practice: Examples for discussion and analysis*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc Pub.

Merrill, M. D. (2008). Why basic principles of instruction must be present in the learning landscape, whatever form it takes, for learning to be effective, efficient and engaging. In Visser, Jan and Visser-Valfrey, Muriel (eds.), *Learners in a changing learning landscape,* Melbourne: Springer, 267-275.

Merton, R. K. (1972). Insiders and outsiders: A chapter in the sociology of knowledge. *American journal of sociology, 78*(1), 9-47.

Metz, T. (2016). Teaching African philosophy alongside Western philosophy: Some advice about topics and texts. *South African Journal of Philosophy, 35*(4), 490-500.

Mignolo, W. (2011). *The darker side of western modernity: Global futures, decolonial options*, Durham: Duke University Press.

Mignolo, W. (2012). *Local histories/global designs: Coloniality, subaltern knowledges, and border thinking*: Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mignolo, W., & Walsh, C. (2018). *On Decoloniality: Concepts, Analytics, Praxis*, Durham: Duke University Press.

Miller, R. C. (2008). *International political economy: Contrasting world views*, Oxon: Routledge.

Mkandawire, T. (2002). The terrible toll of post-colonial 'rebel movements' in Africa: towards an explanation of the violence against the peasantry. *The Journal of Modern African Studies,* 40(2), 181-215.

Mkandawire, T. (2015). Neopatrimonialism and the political economy of economic performance in Africa: Critical reflections. *World Politics,* 67(3), 563-612.

Mkhize, T. F. (2015). *An analysis of the Certificate of the Theory of Accounting knowledge and knower structures: A case study of professional knowledge.*Unpublished PhD thesis, Grahamstown: Rhodes University.

Mngomezulu, B. R., & Hadebe, S. (2018). What Would the Decolonisation of a Political Science Curriculum Entail? Lessons to be Learnt From the East African Experience at the Federal University of East Africa. *Politikon*, 1-15.

Mohamedbhai, G. (2014). Massification in higher education institutions in Africa: Causes, consequences and responses. *International Journal of African Higher Education,* 1(1). 59-83.

Moore, R., & Young, M. (2001). Knowledge and the curriculum in the sociology of education: Towards a reconceptualisation. *British Journal of Sociology of Education,* 22(4), 445-461.

Morrow, S. (2005). Quality and trustworthiness in qualitative research in counseling psychology. *Journal of counseling psychology,* 52(2), 250-260.

Morrow, W. (1994). Entitlement and achievement in education. *Studies in Philosophy and Education,* 13(1), 33-47.

Morrow, W. (2009). Bounds of democracy: Epistemological access in higher education, Cpe Town: HSRC Press.

Mshomba, R. E. (2000). *Africa in the global economy*, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Msila, V., & Gumbo, M. T. (2016). *Africanising the curriculum: Indigenous perspectives and theories*: Stellenbosch: African Sun Media.

Mudimbe, V. Y. (1988). *The invention of Africa*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Mugny, G., Chatard, A., & Quiamzade, A. (2006). The social transmission of knowledge at the university: Teaching style and epistemic dependence. *European Journal of Psychology of Education,* 21(4), 413-427.

Muhammad, M., Wallerstein, N., Sussman, A. L., Avila, M., Belone, L., & Duran, B. (2015). Reflections on researcher identity and power: The impact of positionality on community based participatory research (CBPR) processes and outcomes. *Critical Sociology,* 41(7-8), 1045-1063.

Muller, J. (2006). On the shoulders of giants: Verticality of knowledge and the school curriculum. In Moore, Rob, Arnot, Madeleine, Beck, John and Daniels, Harry. *Knowledge, power and educational reform,* New York: Routledge, 25-41.

Muller, J. (2008). In search of coherence: A conceptual guide to curriculum planning for comprehensive universities. *Report prepared for the SANTED Project, Centre for Education Policy Development.* Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Muller, J. (2014). Every picture tells a story: Epistemological access and knowledge. *Education as Change,* 18(2), 255-269.

Muller, J. (2015). The future of knowledge and skills in science and technology higher education. *Higher Education,* 70(3), 409-416.

Muller, J., & Subotzky, G. (2001). What knowledge is needed in the new millennium? *Organization,* 8(2), 163-182.

Muller, J., & Young, M. (2014). Disciplines, skills and the university. *Higher Education,* 67(2), 127-140.

Mwangi, O. G. (2012). State collapse, al-Shabaab, Islamism, and legitimacy in Somalia. *Politics, Religion & Ideology,* 13(4), 513-527.

Mwaniki, M., van Reenen, D., & Makalela, L. (2018). Advanced language politics in South African higher education post# RhodesMustFall: Taylor & Francis.

Naicker, C. (2016). From Marikana to #feesmustfall: The praxis of popular politics in South Africa. *Urbanisation,* 1(1), 53-61.

Naidoo, R. (2004). Fields and institutional strategy: Bourdieu on the relationship between higher education, inequality and society. *British Journal of Sociology of Education,* 25(4), 457-471.

Napier, C. J., & Labuschagne, P. (2018). The study of political science in South Africa and beyond: the search for relevance. *Africa Review* 10(2), 1-18.

National Education Crisis Committee. (1986). *People's English for people's power*.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. (2012). Fiftieth Anniversary of Decolonisation in Africa: a moment of celebration or critical reflection? *Third World Quarterly,* 33(1), 71-89.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. (2013a). *Coloniality of power in postcolonial Africa,* Dakar: African Books Collective.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. (2013b). Decolonising the university in Africa. *The Thinker,* 51, 46-51.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. (2013c). *Empire, global coloniality and African subjectivity*, New York: Berghahn Books.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. (2018a). Decolonising research methodology must include undoing its dirty history. from The Conversation https://theconversation.com/decolonising-research-methodology-must-include-undoing-its-dirty-history 83912?utm_campaign=Echobox&utm_medium=Social&utm_source=Facebook#link_time=1519734678 Date of Access: 3rd January 2016.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. (2018b). *Epistemic Freedom in Africa: Deprovincialization and Decolonization,* Oxon: Routledge.

Ngcobozi, L. (2015). #RhodesSoWhite: An Insight. *Daily Maverick.* Retrieved from http://www.theconmag.co.za/2015/03/27/rhodessowhite-an-insight/ Date of Access: 2nd January 2016.

Nkomo, M. O. (1990). *Pedagogy of domination: Toward a democratic education in South Africa*, Trenton: Africa World Pr.

Nkrumah, K. 1966. Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism. New York: International

Nyerere, J. K. 1974. Freedom and socialism, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nyerere, J. K. 1987. Ujamaa: The basis of African socialism. The Journal of Pan African Studies, 1(1). 4-11.

O'Flaherty, J., & Phillips, C. (2015). The use of flipped classrooms in higher education: A scoping review. *The internet and higher education,* 25, 85-95.

Obi, C. I. (2010). The petroleum industry: A paradox or (sp) oiler of development? *Journal of Contemporary African Studies,* 28(4), 443-457.

Open Stellenbosch Collective. (2015). Open Stellenbosch—tackling language and exclusion at Stellenbosch University. *Daily Maverick.* https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-04-28-op-ed-open-stellenbosch-tackling-language-and-exclusion-at-stellenbosch-university/ Date of Access: 30th April 2015.

Oproiu, G. C. (2015). A study about using e-learning platform (Moodle) in university teaching process. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences,* 180, 426-432.

Orlando, J., Hanham, J., & Ullman, J. (2018). Exploring intentional use of a technological proxy, Turnitin, to enhance student academic literacy practices. *Australasian Journal of Educational Technology, 34*(4), 44-56.

Oxfam, M. (2002). *Poverty in your coffee cup*. Boston: Oxfam America.

Patton, M. Q. (2005). *Qualitative research*, Thousand Oaks: Wiley Online Library.

Paxton, M. (2007). Tensions between textbook pedagogy and the literacy practices of the disciplinary community: A study of writing in first year economics. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes,* 6(2), 109-125.

Peat, M., Dalziel, J., & Grant, A. M. (2000a). Enhancing the transition to university by facilitating social and study networks: Results of a one-day workshop. *Innovations in Education and Teaching International,* 37(4), 293-303.

Peat, M., Dalziel, J., & Grant, A. M. (2000b). Enhancing the transition to university by facilitating social and study networks: Results of a one-day workshop. *Innovations in Education and Training International,* 37(4), 293-303.

Peet, R. (2002). Ideology, discourse, and the geography of hegemony: From socialist to neoliberal development in postapartheid South Africa. *Antipode,* 34(1), 54-84.

Petersen, I. h., Louw, J., & Dumont, K. (2009). Adjustment to university and academic performance among disadvantaged students in South Africa. *Educational psychology,* 29(1), 99-115.

Pett, S. (2015). It’s time to take the curriculum back from dead white men. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from https://theconversation.com/its-time-to-take-the-curriculum-back-from-dead-white-men-40268 Date of Access: 1st June 2016.

Pinar, W. (2012). *What is curriculum theory?* New York and London: Routledge.

Pinar, W. (2014). *Curriculum: Toward new identities*, New York and London: Routledge.

Pinar, W. (2018). What is the Reconceptualization? *Journal of curriculum theorizing,* 1(1), 93-104.

Ponte, S. (2002). Thelatte revolution'? Regulation, markets and consumption in the global coffee chain. *World Development, 30*(7), 1099-1122.

Power, M., & Gwanyanya, M. (2017). Massacre at Marikana. *SUR-Int'l J. on Hum Rts., 25*(61).

Publishing, O., Co-operation, O. f. E., & Centre, D. D. (2013). *African Economic Outlook 2013: Structural Transformation and Natural Resources*: OECD.

Raftopoulos, B. (2013). The 2013 elections in Zimbabwe: The end of an era. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 39*(4), 971-988.

Ramrathan, L. (2016). Beyond counting the numbers: Shifting higher education transformation into curriculum spaces. *Transformation in Higher Education,* 1(1), 1-8.

Rapley, T. (2007). *The Sage Qualitative Research Kit: Doing Conversation, Discourse and Document Analysis*, London: SAGE.

Ratangee, N. (2007). *Academic literacy, the PTEEP, and the prediction of academic success,* Masters Research Report, Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.

Ratele, K. (2014). Currents against gender transformation of South African men: Relocating marginality to the centre of research and theory of masculinities. *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies,* 9(1), 30-44.

Ratele, K. (2015). Working through resistance in engaging boys and men towards gender equality and progressive masculinities. *Culture, health & sexuality,* 17(2), 144-158.

Richardson, P. W. (2004). Reading and writing from textbooks in higher education: a case study from Economics. *Studies in higher education,* 29(4), 505-521.

Rickford, R. (2016). *Black lives matter: Toward a modern practice of mass struggle.* Paper presented at the New Labor Forum.

Rodney, W. (1972). *How Europe underdeveloped Africa* (Vol. 239): London: African Tree Press.

Rogerson, C. (2018). *Local Economic Development in the Changing World: The Experience of Southern Africa,* London and New York: Routledge.

Sachikonye, L. M. (2002). Whither Zimbabwe? crisis & democratisation. *Review of African Political Economy,* 29(91), 13-20.

Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon.

Saldaña, J. (2015). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*, Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Sampson, H. (2004). Navigating the waves: the usefulness of a pilot in qualitative research. *Qualitative research,* 4(3), 383-402.

Samuel, M. A. (2017). Africanising the curriculum: indigenous perspectives and theories by Vuyisile Msila and Mishack T. Gumbo (Editors): Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.

Sarich, V. (2018). *Race: The reality of human differences,* London and New York: Routledge.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P., & Thornhill, A. (2009). Understanding research philosophies and approaches. *Research methods for business students, 4*, 106-135.

Savvides, N., Al-Youssef, J., Colin, M., & Garrido, C. (2014). Journeys into Inner/Outer Space: reflections on the methodological challenges of negotiating insider/outsider status in international educational research. *Research in Comparative and International Education,* 9(4), 412-425.

Sayer, A. (1999). *Realism and social science*, Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Schiller, L., & Hinton, C. (2015). It's true: happier students get higher grades. *The Conversation* https://theconversation.com/its-true-happier-students-get-higher-grades-41488 Date of Access: 25th April 2017.

Scott, G. (1998). Who has failed Africa? IMF measures or the African leadership? *Journal of Asian and African Studies,* 33(3), 265-274.

Sennett, J., Finchilescu, G., Gibson, K., & Strauss, R. (2003). Adjustment of black students at a historically white South African university. *Educational psychology,* 23(1), 107-116.

Setati, M. (2008). Access to mathematics versus access to the language of power: The struggle in multilingual mathematics classrooms. *South African Journal of Education,* 28(1), 103-116.

Shava, S., & Manyike, T. V. (2018). The decolonial role of African indigenous languages and indigenous knowledges in formal education processes. *Indilinga African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems,* 17(1), 36-52.

Shay, S. (2015). Curriculum reform in higher education: a contested space. *Teaching in Higher Education,* 20(4), 431-441.

Shulman, L. (2005). Signature pedagogies in the professions. *Daedalus,* 134(3), 52-59.

Siakwah, P. (2017). Political economy of the resource curse in Africa revisited: the curse as a product and a function of globalised hydrocarbon assemblage. *Development and Society,* 46(1), 83-112.

Simons, J. (2011). Why we should abolish the university exam. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from https://theconversation.com/exams-might-be-stressful-but-they-improve-learning-35614 Date of Access: 2nd January 2016.

Singh, P. (2002). Pedagogising knowledge: Bernstein's theory of the pedagogic device. *British Journal of Sociology of Education,* 23(4), 571-582.

Sinkovics, R. R., & Alfoldi, E. A. (2012). Progressive focusing and trustworthiness in qualitative research. *Management International Review,* 52(6), 817-845.

Slonimsky, L. F. (1994). Beyond a descriptive reading of educational disadvantage, Unpublished Masters thesis, Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.

Smith, L. T. (2013). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*, London: Zed Books Ltd.

South African History Online. (2018). Homelands *SAHO*. South Africa: South Africa.

Southall, R. (1982). *South Africa's Transkei: the political economy of an'independent'bantustan*, London: Heinemann.

Spaull, N. (2015). Schooling in South Africa: How low-quality education becomes a poverty trap. *South African Child Gauge,* 12, 34-41.

Spradley, J. P. (2016). *Participant observation,* Belmont: Waveland Press.

Steyn, A. S. (2016). Afrikaans, Inc.: the Afrikaans culture industry after apartheid. *Social Dynamics,* 42(3), 481-503.

Strange, S. (2015). *States and markets*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Straus, S. (2012). Wars do end! Changing patterns of political violence in sub-Saharan Africa. *African Affairs,* 111(443), 179-201.

Streitwieser, B. (2014). *Internationalisation of higher education and global mobility*, Oxford: Symposium Books.

Stubbs, R., & Underhill, G. R. (2000). *Political economy and the changing global order*, Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Suffla, S., Seedat, M., & Bawa, U. (2015). Reflexivity As Enactment of Critical Community Psychologies: Dilemmas of Voice And Positionality in a Multi-Country Photovoice Study. *Journal of Community Psychology,* 43(1), 9-21.

Suriano, M., & Lewis, C. (2015). Afrikaners is Plesierig! Voëlvry Music, Anti-apartheid Identities and Rockey Street Nightclubs in Yeoville (Johannesburg), 1980s–90s. *African Studies,* 74(3), 404-428.

Talbot, J. M. (1997). Where does your coffee dollar go?: The division of income and surplus along the coffee commodity chain. *Studies in comparative international development,* 32(1), 56-91.

Teferra, D., & Altbachl, P. G. (2004). African higher education: Challenges for the 21st century. *Higher Education,* 47(1), 21-50.

Thanh, N. C., & Thanh, T. (2015). The interconnection between interpretivist paradigm and qualitative methods in education. *American Journal of Educational Science,* 1(2), 24-27.

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2018). Bantustan *Encyclopædia Britannica*. United States: Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc.

Thomas, E., & Magilvy, J. K. (2011). Qualitative rigor or research validity in qualitative research. *Journal for specialists in pediatric nursing,* 16(2), 151-155.

Tong, V. C., Standen, A., & Sotiriou, M. (2018). *Shaping Higher Education with Students: Ways to Connect Research and Teaching*, London: UCL Press.

Torres, N. M. (2007). On the coloniality of being. *Cultural studies,* 21(2), 240-270,

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report, 1998, 3(1), Pretoria: TRC, 145 https://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/trc_report_volume_3.pdf Date of Access: 27nd June 2016

Tselapedi, T. (2016). Political studies: An entry into ‘social science thought’in the South African academy. *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education, 15*(1), 169-174.

Union, A. (2000). The Constitutive Act. *Addis Ababa*.

Valela, N. (2015, 26 March 2015). The Rhodes to Perdition: Why Rhodes was never ready for the BSM. *Daily Maverick*. Retrieved from https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2015-03-26-the-rhodes-to-perdition-why-rhodes-was-never-ready-for-the-bsm/ Date of Access: 26 March 2015.

van Baalen, S., & Höglund, K. (2017). “So, the Killings Continued”: Wartime Mobilization and Post-War Violence in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 1-19.

Vavrus, F., & Bartlett, L. (2006). Comparatively Knowing: Making a Case for the Vertical Case Study. *Current Issues in Comparative Education,* 8(2), 95-103.

Verhoeven, H. (2009). The self-fulfilling prophecy of failed states: Somalia, state collapse and the Global War on Terror. *Journal of Eastern African Studies,* 3(3), 405-425.

Vorster, J.-A. (2010). *A social realist analysis of collaborative curriculum development processes in an academic department at a South African university,* Unpublished PhD thesis, Grahamstown: Rhodes University.

Vorster, J.-A., & Quinn, L. (2017). The "decolonial turn": what does it mean for academic staff development? *Education as Change,* 21(1), 31-49.

Wa Thiong'o, N. (1992). *Decolonising the mind: The politics of language in African literature*, London: Heinemann.

Wagner, C., & Okeke, C. (2009). Quantitative or qualitative: Ontological and epistemological choices in research methods curricula. *Teaching research methods in the social sciences*, 61-70.

Wallerstein, I. (1997). Eurocentrism and its avatars: The dilemmas of social science. *Sociological bulletin,* 46(1), 21-39.

Wheelahan, L. (2010). *Why knowledge matters in education: a social realist argument*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Wheelahan, L. (2012). *Why knowledge matters in curriculum: A social realist argument*: New York and London: Routledge.

Wheelahan, L. (2014). Babies and bathwater: Revaluing the role of the academy in knowledge *Thinking about Higher Education*, New York: Springer.

Wilkinson, K. (2015). Checked: 80% of South African schools indeed ‘dysfunctional’. *Mail & Guardian, 25*, 1-2.

Williams, P. D. (2016). *War and conflict in Africa,* Malden: John Wiley & Sons.

Wolff, J. (2016, 19 July 2016). Students don’t mind studying dead white men, but they want dead women too. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/jul/19/students-studying-dead-white-men-women-higher-education-syllabus Date of Access: 19 July 2016.

Wolpe, H. (1972). Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid. *Economy and society,* 1(4), 425-456.

Wong, L.-P. (2015). *A Teachers' Survey on the Effectiveness of e-Learning Platform in a Higher Education.* Paper presented at the Technology in Education. Technology-Mediated Proactive Learning: Second International Conference, ICTE 2015, Hong Kong, China, July 2-4, 2015, Revised Selected Papers.

Wright-Maley, C. (2015). On “stepping back and letting go”: The role of control in the success or failure of social studies simulations. *Theory & Research in Social Education,* 43(2), 206-243.

Young, J. (2005). Sudan: a flawed peace process leading to a flawed peace. *Review of African Political Economy,* 32(103), 99-113.

Young, M., Lambert, D., Roberts, C., & Roberts, M. (2014). *Knowledge and the future school: Curriculum and social justice*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Young, M., & Muller, J. (2015). *Curriculum and the Specialization of Knowledge* New York and London: Routledge.

Young, M., & Muller, J. (2016). *Curriculum and the specialization of knowledge*, London: Routledge.

Zagacki, K. S. (2003). Rhetoric, Dialogue, and Performance in Nelson Mandela's" Televised Address on the Assassination of Chris Hani". *Rhetoric & Public Affairs,* 6(4), 709-735.

Zhao, H., & Seibert, S. E. (2006). The Big Five personality dimensions and entrepreneurial status: A meta-analytical review. *Journal of applied psychology,* 91(2), 259.