

On Decolonizing US Education: Lessons from the Caribbean and South Africa

Shan J. Sappleton
University of Wisconsin-Platteville

Doug Adams
University of Wisconsin-Platteville

US education is hardly divorced from systemic societal inequalities. Utilizing the cases of the English-speaking Caribbean and post-apartheid South Africa decolonization efforts, we engage the settler coin concept to interrogate the popular notion that we can achieve systemic change in the US without fundamentally transforming the education system. What lessons might the US glean from other decolonization efforts in the Caribbean and South Africa? How have the instrumental ideas and work of Caribbean and South African scholars and educators shaped and advanced a decolonization vision? Answering these questions requires considering the overall goals of the US education system relative to advancing a larger decolonization project.

Keywords: US Education, Settler colonialism, Antiracism, the Caribbean, South Africa

Introduction

The calls to decolonize the US education system are long overdue. It is incumbent on all educators from k-12 to higher education to heed the clarion call to make education more appropriate, inclusive, and antiracist. Notably, conversations about systemic racial inequalities in America tend to be brought to the fore of national subconscious when egregious violations of the civil liberties and rights of minorities, especially African

Shan Sappleton (<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9495-503X>), Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Platteville.

Doug Adams (<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4875-9265>), Education, University of Wisconsin-Platteville.

Correspondence concerning this paper should be addressed to Doug Adams, Education University of Wisconsin-Platteville, United States Email: adamsdo@uwplatt.edu

¹While there are meaningful distinctions between the various forms of colonialism (particularly between metropole/colony and settler colonial, in which the latter, the metropole, sought not only territorial claims and direct governance but also settled the region with colonists from the colonizing power), we note the outcomes and effects were essentially the same—i.e., an established colonial structure, institutions, and practices that favor the colonist and relegate indigenous and other marginalized groups (and their structures, institutions, and cultural practices) to the bottom of the metaphorical colonial coin. As such, we make little note of distinguishing between what forms were specific to which cases referenced in our work.

Americans, become politicized. A recent example is the horrific death of George Floyd by the Minneapolis Police in May 2020. Many watched the painful death that Floyd endured. Public reaction was immediate and visceral. In part, this was likely due to the seemingly callous disregard of Floyd's life by the Minneapolis police officers captured on video. Also, the Floyd case was the umpteenth in a long list of such incidents, horrific enough to garner national and international news coverage. The incident set off a firestorm of protests that brought racism in the US and elsewhere to the fore and resulted in calls for systemic change to institutions grounded in historical racist structures and practices. Though law enforcement, specifically the policing institutions, has been the immediate focus, there have been calls for broader embrace and advancement of the decolonization project within US education. At the core is the issue of how the US education system facilitates and reinforces systemic inequalities in America, particularly in its failure to address the historical underpinnings of colonialism or challenge underlying eurocentric notions and practices. As several scholars point out, education systems have historically been integral to advancing the colonial project in formerly colonized and settler colonial societies such as the United States¹ (Thiong'o, 1986; Kelley, 2000; Goodyear-Ka'opua, 2013). Fault, therefore, lies in the education system itself and educators. This is particularly evident in the persisting colonial notions (ex. structural domination, patriarchy, white supremacy, and the plantation society) that are actively replicated through pedagogy, cur-

ricula, and other education traditions that favor Western ethnocentric hegemony (i.e., eurocentrism)². The result is an education system that not only separates historically oppressed and marginalized students from their lived realities (past and present) but that is also wholly inadequate and inappropriate in creating a more inclusive and safer learning environment for all.

In response, universities throughout the country have announced diversity initiatives and crafted statements committing to challenging systemic racism and other forms of inequalities. As some scholars note, however, university administrators also often fail to make a substantive change to longstanding systemic barriers and processes or transform deeply embedded eurocentric cultural norms within their departments to effect desired emancipatory outcomes (Williams et al., 2021). As such, antiracism and decoloniality scholars have cautioned against performativity and called on education practitioners to implement antiracism and decoloniality in actual practice (Davis, 1979; Kendi, 2019, Tuck and Yang, 2012). There is no shortage in the academic literature of criticism regarding virtue-signaling and tokenistic slogans that universities have employed in response to calls for antiracism efforts and decolonizing US education (Henry et al., 2016; Williams et al., 2021). As a popular trend for expressing outrage about injustice, virtue-signaling is more a means of elevating one's symbolic social standing than effecting meaningful change (Smith, 2011; Desnoyers-Colas, 2019). The concern is seemingly more about passing the proverbial "wokeness" test than really undoing the persisting harm of inherited colonial education systems, particularly to historically marginalized groups (Kendi, 2019). Highlighting the parallel organizational and cultural norms between many contemporary higher education institutions and plantation economic systems, Williams et al. (2021) note, for example, that universities (particularly predominantly white institutions (PWIs) often take up the language of antiracism and use diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) initiatives to maintain rather than disrupt longstanding

cultural norms. For antiracism scholars such as Kendi (2016, 2019), such initiatives, however well-meaning, do not constitute antiracism. Decoloniality scholars such as Tuck and Yang (2012) would likely consider these measures metaphorical at best.

This is not to say that colonialism and residual colonial norms have gone entirely unchallenged in the US. Most recently, *The 1619 Project* (Hannah-Jones, 2019) has sought to (re)center the lived experiences and contributions of minorities, specifically African Americans, in recounting American history. Still, this also does not mean that the hold of the dominant paradigm, which centers on eurocentrism, has been broken. Disciplines such as history, political science, philosophy, and education, for example, continue to rely on the predominantly eurocentric white male-centered scholarship, textbooks, and related course material (Mbembe, 2016). Additionally, the recent pushback against the study of race and racism at the k-12 grade levels in the south (Strunk, et al., 2021; Posey-Maddox et al., 2021), suggests that attempts to meaningfully revise and embrace inclusivity in course and curriculum development are hardly universal. In fact, not only have many US institutions, including those in the south, failed to incorporate proposed ideas for curricular changes or pedagogy, the Department of Education, at the directive of Betsy DeVos and the Trump Administration, launched the *Patriot 1776 Project* as a countermeasure. In tandem, several mostly southern states have introduced legislation. In May 2021, for instance, Tennessee Representative John Ragan (Republican) introduced an amendment to the House Bill 580 in the Tennessee State Assembly outlining penalties for institutions, educators, administrators, and students engaging in Critical Race Theory (CRT) related discourses. Note: the bill does not use the term CRT. the initiative, which passed on May 5, 2021, nonetheless prohibits the teaching about (race, class, and gender) privilege and the intersection between the United States and racism (TN HB 580) and allows the state government to withhold funding from public schools that seek to address racism and racial inequities in the classroom (see Strunk et al., 2021). Specifically, House Bill 580 states,

If the commissioner of education finds that an LEA or public charter school knowingly violates the prohibitions described in (1)- (11), then this amendment requires the commissioner to withhold state funds, in an amount determined by the commissioner, from the LEA

²Ethnocentrism is the belief in cultural superiority. Methodologically it's the advance of universalism grounded in and modeled after the European historical experience. Assumptions of European (Western EuroAmerican) superiority become so engrained among citizens, including education scholars and practitioners, they are treated as unchallenged truths and have not been sufficiently subjected to critical scrutiny. What are generally opinions are often presented as objective universal truths without meaningful debate about the universal criteria should be.

or public charter provides evidence to the commissioner that the LAE or public charter is no longer in violation (TN HB 580).

While the US is hardly the only country for which the above realities hold true³, this resistance suggests that the vestiges of the inherited US education system may be more deeply ingrained in colonial, particularly settler colonial, hegemony than generally assumed. How then can educators help to decolonize US education?

We note that a number of countries have somewhat successfully⁴ engaged the decolonization project beyond the scope of a mere intellectual exercise, specifically prioritizing education. For example, the formal movement to dismantle Western colonial hegemony and decolonize the English-speaking Caribbean education systems pre-dates 1940. Specifically, as part of their transition to independence, English-speaking Caribbean countries have sought to reimagine, restructure, and revamp their inherited education systems to function as a tool for decoloniality. This quest has also taken hold in post-Apartheid South Africa, particularly since 2015. Thus, what are the lessons from the decolonization projects from these postcolonial societies that could help inform the strategies and approaches of American educators and scholars in their own decolonizing efforts? That is, what practices, challenges, and possibilities might the US glean from other decolonization efforts, specifically in education reforms, and how have the ideas and work of Caribbean and South African scholars and educators helped to shape and advance a new global decolonizing vision? Though much has been written on colonialism and attempts at decolonizing education within the countries referenced, the focus tends to be rather insular. Relatively few pieces offer a comparative context, particularly in the extrac-

tive exercise of US educators deriving insights and lessons from non-US cases with similar backgrounds and colonial experiences. This article seeks to bridge this gap. Highlighting what other countries, regions, and educational visionaries have achieved, we believe, can help inspire US educators and provide helpful ideas for decolonizing US education. Also, situating the US within the broader context of the decolonizing project juxtaposed with other like-cases presents an opportunity to interrogate colonialism—its global reach, unsavory residual legacies (including within education), and the historical underpinnings to much of systemic inequalities that exist today.

The article is structured as follows: a brief note on our research methods and conceptualizations followed by a discussion of the links between colonialism, systemic inequalities and education within formerly colonized and settler colonial societies. We then explore the cases of Caribbean and South Africa, careful to note the role, functions, and efforts to dismantle inherited colonial educational systems. Lastly, we explore lessons from the cases and close with a few suggestions, particularly for educators eager to respond to the urgent need to decolonize US educational practices.

A Brief Note on Methodology & Concepts

In this article we draw on the examples of decolonization projects to problematize and explore the challenges and possibilities of disrupting entrenched systems of power and oppression. Specifically, we examine cases (the English-speaking Caribbean and post-apartheid South Africa) with some common frameworks to the US. These cases all have (a) a settler or metropole-colonial pasts, (b) inherited colonial structures and institutions, including education, and (c) embarked on decolonizing its education system. This allows us to situate the US within the broader context of the decolonizing project and critically examine colonialism—its historical underpinnings, global reach, and unsavory residual legacies, including within education. In terms of the research, we relied heavily on qualitative works that focus on (a) the centrality of education to the colonization projects (b) how various key actors have sought to challenge, dismantle, and reimagine educational traditions to reduce harm to historically marginalized groups. These include a range of secondary sources on colonialism, education, and decolonization efforts in the English-speaking Caribbean, South Africa, and the US. We also, however, assessed critical primary source materials pertinent to each case. These

³ The United Kingdom is similarly embroiled in calls for confronting its colonial past and residual colonialism. To a lesser extent, so too are Canada and Australia, albeit more specifically in terms of the treatment of indigenous populations. Since the end of Apartheid in 1991, South Africa has also been forced to confront what the decolonization process in education should be in a country that is more than 76 percent Black.

⁴ We acknowledge that success is contestable, specifically in the inherent implication that an endpoint is achievable. We note, for example, that countries may be at various stages of the decolonization spectrum—some further along having had earlier start times (ex. the English-speaking Caribbean) while other, more nascent ones (ex. South Africa) lag.

include government and legislative initiatives, education department memos and policy briefs, newspaper articles and reports, and various pedagogy and curricula-related material.

We also engage the settler coin framework (Pauly-Morgan, 1996; Dixon, 2019) to interrogate the popular notion that we can achieve systemic change in the US without fundamentally transforming the education system. A cursory review of the popular discourse of systemic inequalities within the US reveals a particular difficulty that many Americans (especially colonial beneficiaries) have in discerning how embedded colonial inequalities continue to permeate and inform our policies, laws, and actions today. This is evident, for example, in the frequent framing of related policy solutions in terms of individual actions (ex. “the few bad apples” idiom) rather than targeting the broader and underlying systemic forces at play. This is not to say that individuals do not have a role to play in addressing systemic inequalities. However, our concern here is that without a fundamental understanding of the origins, underpinnings, and reinforcing nature of embedded systems of inequality and the role that education plays as a primary disseminator of the very norms, values, and knowledge base in perpetuating these systems, Americans, including US educators (most of whom are themselves colonial beneficiaries) may continue to fail to grasp the need for the decolonizing work essential to reforming the US education system.

The coin concept has been adopted and used by various scholars to explain systemic or structural inequalities. It is particularly beneficial in explaining how systems embedded in colonial hegemony are established and can persist long after colonialism has formally ended, especially in countries that are unable or unwilling to change inherited structures, processes, and cultural norms. Pauly-Morgan (1996) for instance, first employed the concept to discuss the gender inequalities within education. Others, such as Dixon (2019), have since used the framework to reveal the roots and underpinnings of health disparities in settler colonial Canada and the US. In the context of our article, the “coin” represents colonialism (both settler and metropolitan forms)— a system or the embedded framework within which the broad societal rules, structures, and policies are constructed. These rules, structures, and policies consistently benefit some groups (ex. colonists and their beneficiaries), often at the expense of others (ex. Indigenous and other marginalized groups). In terms of positionality relative to the system or coin, those benefiting from the existing rules, structures, and policies rise to the top. The groups disadvantaged by the

system, in turn, are relegated to the bottom. And, as the system becomes entrenched, group relationality and positionality become fixed, further reinforcing and perpetuating the underlying system.

Scholars have long grappled with the question of how to effect change from within. The argument is that as one becomes a part of a system, their viewpoints, calculations, and decisions, are informed by the existing rules and policies, which generally serve to reinforce rather than disrupt or dismantle the system. To explore the ideas informing decolonizing education initiatives, we highlight decolonization itself is a contested concept. There is no singular use or operationalization within the extant literatures, nor is there uniformity in the empirical experiences across previously colonized countries and regions. Accordingly, we considered a multiplicity of conceptualizations, measures, agendas, and practices— each at the core rejecting the perpetuation of dominant eurocentric views and in some way advancing (re)centering the experiences and voices of those historically marginalized by colonialism and its residual forms. Incorporating these various perspectives into a more hybridized approach, we believe, better reflects the shared realities and effects of colonialism (whatever the form) across cases and helps to identify effective decolonizing efforts.

First, we consider decolonization as both a global geopolitical and an intellectual process. Both processes are engaged in dismantling cultural, economic, and political artifacts within previously colonized and settler colonial areas. It entails confronting, interrogating, resisting, and disrupting colonial endeavors (physically, psychologically, and ideologically). This includes a paradigm shift away from favoring eurocentric norms, views, and embedded social structures to (re)centering the experiences and voices of the historically marginalized. We consider the process to be active, and ongoing— noting that countries may be at various stages of the decolonization spectrum, some farther along than others. We also view the process as intentional in its course correction and specific to the actual colonial experience on the ground. Therefore, we consider indigenous land restoration as one of, albeit not the sole measure of, decolonial success (see Tuck and Yang, 2012). Of particular concern in our conceptualization is the empirical challenge and sometimes impossibility of indigenous land restorations to formerly colonized populations, given colonial genocide and the near extermination of entire groups of indigenous nations (ex. much of the Caribbean region— Dei and Lordan, 2016; Garba and Sorentino, 2020). Broadening the conceptualiza-

tion, we believe, helps move discussions of decolonization efforts, including measures of success, beyond a singular endpoint and highlights how truly global the colonial experience really has been.

Second, while decolonization is an older and much broader tradition than the relatively new antiracism emphasis, we consider these less as distinct or unrelated concepts. Rather, we view the latter as a mechanism for advancing the former. That is, we deem antiracism efforts and actions inherent to the broader decolonization project. In challenging pervasive eurocentric societal norms and ideals within and through education, antiracism efforts can functionally advance the overarching goal of the decolonization project—dismantle colonial hegemony. We do not view antiracism efforts as existing in isolation, but more so efforts requiring deliberate and calculated actions by educators to democratize education. As a process grounded in egalitarianism, democratizing education is itself a means via which to engage in antiracism efforts. Therefore, we consider both the singular efforts and the strategic framework within which they operate integral to decolonizing education. In fact, we believe that the empirical examples of pedagogical antiracist democratization in the Caribbean and South Africa, can help to empower US educators, especially those in the southern states where the teaching of Critical Race Theory has recently come under attack (Strunk et al., 2021). While the assumption is generally that African and Caribbean scholars and educators have a lot to learn from their Euro-North American counterparts, we believe the reverse is also true—US educators may also garner key insights and strategies for decolonizing US education from their Caribbean and South African counterparts.

The Decolonization Project: Confronting Colonialism, Systemic Inequalities & Education's Complicity

Fundamentally, the real aim of colonialism was the subjugation and rule of a people and territory as if an

⁵As Robinson (2017) notes for example, the British are largely still proud of their colonial endeavors. The British Empire and most Americans remain largely indifferent to the devastation the colonial project inflicted on indigenous population. In 2017, Princeton Ph.D., Bruce Gilles, published a piece, "The case for colonialism" in *Third World Quarterly*, which took the stance that colonialism was both legitimate and a force of good. While the scholar and journal received immediate public backlash for the publication, the public discourse indicated that the sentiment remains more pervasive even in the 21st century.

extension of a government. Though considered a benign relic of the past⁵ and generally understood as an exercise in political domination and economic exploitation, it is an all-encompassing political, economic, and cultural endeavor with persisting vestiges. The empirical realities of the colonial system were, at the same time, physical, psychological, and ideological. Colonialism included: the invasion and territorialization of foreign lands; the political, economic, and cultural subjugation of indigenous peoples; and the development of infrastructure through which power and control are exercised by those at the top (i.e., the colonist and beneficiaries) over the subjugated and marginalized groups (i.e., those relegated to the bottom). Together, these systems and structures (all undergirded by eurocentric cultural hegemony) inform group positionality and relationality. In the context of the settler coin model, the "coin" represents colonialism—a system or embedded framework, complete with a reinforcing infrastructure of structural dominance. This system, regardless of the various ways it was implemented and enforced across countries, effectively functioned the same—i.e., primarily in service of preserving established white European power differentials politically, economically, and culturally. The established rules, policies, and societal-level norms help reinforce and perpetuate the inherent systemic inequalities, even as colonialism (at least in the form discussed above) officially ends. As both a mechanism for organizing and communicating thoughts, and more broadly, an agent of socialization that cultivates the attitudes, views, and beliefs that enable an established system to function and persist, education systems in formerly colonized and settler colonized society were very much a part of the colonialization process. Colonists established education systems not to liberate the subjugated. Rather they sought to undergird and maintain colonial power structures, specifically white European supremacy (Stein, 2018). In fact, the education system was a tool for further subjugating and dehumanizing entire groups of people, diminishing their cultures, and disappearing their lived experiences and contributions from the annals of history (Kelly, 2000; Stein, 2018). In this vein, it is crucial to focus on the extent to which the purpose, approaches, methods, and educational traditions have changed over time. Highlighting the role of path-dependency in his analysis of democratic changes in contemporary Africa, Steeley (2009) notes, for instance, that transitions to independence have resulted in little meaningful operational or structural change. He finds that colonial arrangements remain a potent predictor of a country's future or current arrangements. To resist and dismantle

entrenched systems of power and oppression, decolonization, therefore, requires a paradigm shift and thoughtful, intentional course correction. For education, this means revisiting, challenging, unlearning, and rewriting the dominant historical accounts, educational traditions, and approaches to teaching and learning. It also means re-imagining and reforming education in ways that avoid or resist educational practices that serve to perpetuate eurocentrism and hegemonic notions. Educators must first be aware of how their own positionality and lived experiences (past and present) are shaped and informed by the very system in which they are embedded. They must confront and carefully interrogate the systemic forces at play that have (an continue to) advantage some groups and marginalizes others—specifically identifying ways or measures to avoid or resist educational practices that serve to perpetuate eurocentrism and Western hegemonic notions. This includes centering the lived experiences, narratives, knowledge systems, and contributions of historically marginalized peoples.

The Decolonization Project: the Caribbean & South Africa Considered

Caribbean countries and South Africa endured centuries of European subjugation. In both cases (as is true of the rest of the colonized world), colonists established education systems to cultivate and spread of societal norms that valued and centered eurocentric views as universally objective and unchallenged truths, thereby undergirding the colonial power structure. Heleta (2018) notes for example that the colonial educational institutions in South Africa are among the most odious instruments used by European colonists to subjugating indigenous South Africans, and justify racial hegemony. Indeed, she maintains that the entire higher education system was in service of reproducing and maintaining settler colonial hegemony—with white South Africans (British and Afrikaans) as beneficiaries on top and indigenous South African and other marginalized groups at the bottom (Heleta, 2018). South African schools for example, propagated textbooks, resources, and material that reinforce ideas of white supremacy. Subjugated groups were often depicted as sub-human at best, whose very humanizing was to the “white man’s burden.” This depiction often served as a rationale for denying the indigenous and black populations access to formal education in both cases. In fact, fewer than three schools in Jamaica were dedicated to the education of the black population prior to the mid-

1800s (Gordon, 1963). It was not until the late nineteenth century that any concerted effort was made to provide better elementary and secondary education available to the public throughout the Caribbean region (Gordon, 1963; Gordon, 1998). While the stated aim was to make education more universally accessible, there was no immediate development of a distinct curriculum. The adopted curriculum offered a curriculum that maintained a predominantly eurocentric paradigm that was contrary to the lived experiences of the historically marginalized communities, and little regard for their backgrounds or values (Thiong’o, 1986). Students, for instance, had to learn “Queen’s English.” They were often punished by educators for speaking their own language (Thiong’o, 1986). Additionally, students, specifically at the secondary level, sat exams that were written and graded by the British-based Cambridge Local Examinations, competing not only with fellow classmates and nationally, but also others within the region, as well as those in British. These exams persisted until the 1950s when the General Certificate of education (GCE) replaced them at the Ordinary and Advanced levels. The latter, however, was merely another form of the Cambridge exams. And even the University of the West Indies (UWI) itself, once established, came under the auspice of The University of London (Millette, 2004).

Internationally renowned Caribbean scholars, such as Marcus Garvey, Franz Fanon, Stuart Hall, Walter Rodney, Louise Bennett, and Eric Williams, have been incredibly influential to various aspects of the decolonization project, including education. For Williams, the decolonization project entailed not only eradicating colonial education but excising colonialism itself. As he cautioned: “the educational problem . . .not be regarded in isolation, but rather as merely a specific example of a general colonial problem” (Williams 1946; 11). He declared the process of inner and intellectual decolonization imperative to the postcolonial agenda. A process that would (a) center the struggles and contributions of Caribbean people and; (b), per Fanon (1963), dismantle the colonial education system that sought to distort the past and effectively destroy the future of the colonized. Education in its reformed state, for Williams, was pivotal to the broader decolonization project in that it dislodges pervasive ethnocentric views and representations. He wrote:

Education in the modern world is, more than anything else, education of the people themselves as to the necessity of viewing their own

education as a part of their democratic privileges and their democratic responsibilities ...as is the teacher, so is the school (Williams, 1946; xi-18).

In particular, Williams was committed to challenging the pervasive colonial misrepresentation of Caribbean societies in extant scholarship, especially history. He advocated a vision for reconstructing histories by centering historically marginalized groups' lived experiences and contributions via education (Nettleford, 2002; Palmer, 2006; Lavia, 2012). Inherited colonial education systems, he maintained, separated students from their new path forward in the post-independence era. Thus, the decolonization process begins only after a careful yet aggressive interrogation of the historical record. As Williams notes, "Every age rewrites history, but particularly ours, which has been forced by events to reevaluate our conceptions of history and economic and political development" (Williams, 1944; ix). As such, students and scholars of Caribbean history must carefully interrogate the historical records better to acknowledge the contributions and lived experiences of the historically marginalized groups. They should also challenge the many claims by colonists of the benefits of slavery and the plantation economy. As he later stated, "a great responsibility rests on the educational system. Its role should be that of a midwife to the emerging social order. Instead, it is the chambermaid of the existing social order" (Williams: 1946; 10).

Williams's "reimagine education" charge manifested in the careful rethinking of the entire educational system within the Caribbean since the 1960s. This includes primary curriculum, establishing new institutions, teacher training, and approaches to teaching and learning. As an activist, he was instrumental in advancing political independence and influencing social change in the region. Williams not only forged his own political party, but he also secured the first premiership and led Trinidad and Tobago to independence from Britain in 1962 (Nettleford, 2002; Palmer, 2006; Lavia, 2012). Among his acts as Prime Minister of independent Trinidad and Tobago, Williams leveraged his academic expertise to concretize the transformation of the education system by making education available to all—regardless of socio-economic status (Nettleford, 2002). He established a series of junior secondary schools (seventh -ninth grade) to fill the existing gap between primary and secondary levels. The first of these opened at Chaguanas in 1972 (Nettleford, 2002, Palmer, 2006). For Williams, the region's people

would garner prosperity and improved quality of life via these institutions.

Williams also firmly believed that the lived realities should inform the context of the texts studied within the classroom and at all levels of the educational system (Palmer, 2006). For example, he challenged the reliance on classroom material that essentially offers an ahistorical eurocentric re-telling of the region's experiences. Additionally, he confronted the newly developed University College of the West Indies (later the University of the West Indies—UWI), which he saw as a non-independent entity under the auspice of London University that perpetuated colonial notions and practices. He posited that the region (and its people) is quite capable of building its own centers of artistic and cultural excellence and must be grounded in Caribbean culture and shaped by its diversity. To this end, Williams sought the university's Chancellorship, and with a shift in vision, steered UWI towards autonomy and guided UWI's centering of Caribbean scholarship, culture, and thought (Palmer, 2006). UWI's break from the University of London's stronghold in the early 1980s also filtered in a movement throughout the region to revamp the curriculum to more carefully interrogate the purpose of education within a postcolonial society (Miller, 2000; Nettleford, 2002).

An early advocate of Williams' decolonizing education via public education approach was Louise Bennett of Jamaica. Like Williams, Bennett was also a product and critic of Jamaica's inherited British colonial education system. Highlighting the disregard of the popular language spoken by the majority, Bennett challenged the pervasive linguistic prejudice and assumptions about the value of non-European communicative strategies. She believed that the inherited colonial education systems in Jamaica and the broader Caribbean region had, for too long, failed to embrace the vast contributions of the enslaved peoples to the rich culture of the area (Morris, 2014). For Bennett, the language of a society is the very vehicle to its culture. She maintained that relegating the common languages spoken by entire groups of peoples to the playgrounds and advancing English as the mode and language of learning served to perpetuate problematic eurocentric views and beliefs— that the language and culture of the region lacked structure, depth, nuance, and scope. To Bennett, the common language (an amalgam of the disparate languages of various African ethnicities and groups and the language of their colonial oppressors) itself was an act of resistance and triumph that should be celebrated—not considered a source of embarrassment. Thus, within the traditions of her ancestors, Louise

Bennett pursued poetry written in the common tongue of Jamaica, not English. She also set out to teach the general public and introduce the common language of Jamaica into the classroom by engaging the oral traditions of the African ancestors: story-telling (ex. tales of Anansi), parables, work songs, and poetry. Teachers would later add her poems and short stories to the Jamaican grade-school curriculum, where, perhaps for the first time, students got a chance to see and read in their native language. Additionally, Bennett adopted Williams' public education charge by hosting a popular live television and radio program with the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (JBC) that reached even the most rural communities (Morris, 2014). Generations grew up with this programming, which scholars have noted has helped legitimize the culture of an entire people—externally and internally. Today, English and cultural studies programs worldwide, including the US, UK, Canada, and Africa, use Louise Bennett's work. In effect, patois (Jamaican native tongue) is offered as stand-alone courses at major universities in Canada and the US (including Harvard). This is mainly due to Louise Bennett's work as a poet, public educator, and cultural ambassador.

However, Bennett's efforts hardly went unchallenged. She came under heavy criticism, both by British-based scholars and educators and those throughout the Caribbean region. Some considered Bennett's work to be of little value—her writing a mere “bastardization” of the Queen's English and her teaching, trivializing an otherwise severe “scholarly” approach to the teaching of history (Morris, 2014). Concerns with Bennett's work stemmed directly from the fact that, though independent, the final exams for secondary schools in the region were set and graded in Britain (i.e., British-based GCE Ordinary Level (11th-grade finals) and later A-Levels (pre-university final). The curriculum was established based on an inherited colonial education system by the colonial agents from which the countries had sought their independence. For Caribbean students to find post-secondary success, they had to excel at the British-based curriculum, even as the material was often divorced from (and in many ways contrary to) their own experiences. However, though Bennett encouraged educators to elevate the common languages of the Caribbean, doing so created political and educational tension, particularly with the British Exam system. For some Caribbean educators, therefore, exposing students to the region's historical realities—and via the lingua franca of the countries no less—would unduly interfere with the students' ability to succeed at the external exams, which are set and graded in Britain by the

British. This tension resulted in even stronger renewed calls to decolonize further the Caribbean education systems, particularly the curriculum, as a matter of course.

In answering the calls, academics, educators, and policymakers within the region sought to create a more regional curriculum that would allow for some individual grounding and country specificities but avoided the residual colonial education problem. The Caribbean Examination Council (CXC) was established for just this reason. Founded in 1972, the Council consisted of educators from the region working together on a common curriculum and examination standards to be graded internally, replacing the British-based GCE Ordinary Level and A-Levels examinations. The Council addressed the prior disregard to the values and background of the region by the British GCE curriculum and the problematic eurocentric assumptions to which students of the region had been previously exposed. There are reports of a local newspaper, the Jamaica Daily News, in 1977 that featured a series of articles by a group of Jamaican history teachers expressing dissatisfaction with the initial syllabus outline proposed by the Council (Jennings, 1994). Of particular chagrin was the reductionist and ahistorical approach to the unit on African history, specifically the references to the region as the “dark continent.” As the history teachers aptly pointed out, such references indicate the need to move beyond minor changes to inherited colonial education systems. They also raised the long-term harm of perpetuating such ahistorical claims on historically marginalized groups. The series was a watershed for the CXC, as the modifications made history syllabi less eurocentric (Jennings, 1994). Additionally, the Council offers educators guidance on contextualizing the “difficult” topics to minimize harm to students. For example, a directive in the Jamaican History curriculum cautions: “when delivering the unit...ensure not [to] focus on the history of Jamaica, but rather on Jamaica's culture, which has been influenced by its history” (CXC Curriculum; 16).

Other Caribbean scholars and educators such as Stuart Hall (1992) and McCarthy & Sealey-Ruiz (2010) have called for the democratization of the Western educational traditions—allowing for Caribbean knowledge, thought, pedagogy, and scholarship to be on par with Euro-North American counterparts. This democratization effort resulted in 1998, the Caribbean Advanced Proficiency Examinations (CAPE) emerged to replace the persistent Cambridge Advanced Level (A-level) examinations. Notably, CXC and CAPE are

not only embraced and accepted throughout the Caribbean region, UK, US, and Canadian universities have also used the qualifications as part of their matriculation requirements. The shift has also triggered what some would consider a revolution in the writing of local textbooks, most of which are high quality and published by international publishing houses (ex. Ian Randle, Longmans). Still, rather than rely solely on manufactured textbooks, Caribbean educators utilize a plethora of supplementary material, including field visits, experiential learning exercises, and artifacts, to inform their lessons in ways that balance a sordid historical past with a vision for a genuinely postcolonial future.

Walter Rodney was one of the early scholars to embrace Williams' call for scholarship that challenged historical accounts and colonialism claims. Like Williams, Rodney was a student of a largely inherited colonial education system, albeit in Guyana. He, too, used his tenure at one of Britain's premier higher education institutions to focus on research that challenged long-held claims and assertions about the nature and effects of slavery as a capitalist economic system. Perhaps his most well-known work, is *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, was based on his dissertation research. Using British primary and archival sources, Rodney advanced a historical economic account centered on the primary source of labor—the historically marginalized (Rodney, 1972). He deemed this a center-periphery economic relationship, which he notes replicated the settler colonial coin (i.e., with marginalized countries at the periphery). Like Williams, his work also focused on the Caribbean context. However, as the book title indicates, Rodney's work more expansively included Africa. For Rodney, to understand and fully address development issues in Africa and the diaspora, we must first examine the implications of European imperialism, its colonial counterparts, settler colonialism, and the residual effects that persist long after the latter officially ended. Slavery, Rodney (1972) found, was the engine of industrialization and the basis of Western Europe's development and global hegemony. Cities such as Amsterdam and Liverpool, he maintains, would hardly have emerged as the financial capital of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Europe without European exploitation of African resources. Thus, without understanding the purpose, functions, and aims of the colonial systems, we are not likely to affect the necessary change.

It is squarely within this tradition that the more recent efforts to decolonize education in South Africa sit. In fact, given the Caribbean's vigorous agitation

against colonialism and direct calls for the ending of Apartheid, it is hardly surprising that South Africa's quest to decolonize its inherited colonial education systems would be significantly influenced by the work of Caribbean scholars and activists, with Garvey, Fanon, Rodney, and Williams' work heavily referenced by South African scholars working within the decolonization framework. Indeed, in recognition of their role in the anti-Apartheid movement, Jamaica (the second country to ban all trade with Apartheid South Africa in 1957) was among the first countries that Nelson Mandela visited after being freed in 1990. In his address to the Jamaica Parliament (July 1991), Mandela thanked the government, especially Prime Minister Michael Manley, for the longstanding support against Apartheid. The charge, led primarily by students in 2015, calls for the dismantling of eurocentric ideals rooted in colonialism and Apartheid, specifically the deconstruction of colonial education (Heleta, 2018, Mavunga, 2019). They demanded the reconstruction of the South African education system to center the experiences of black South Africans (including pre-colonial histories, languages, social relations, and knowledge systems). As in other postcolonial settler societies, the inherited colonial systems and institutions in post-apartheid South Africa allowed minor meaningful changes or decoloniality. Home to what Smart calls "colonial universities," the South African Apartheid administration viewed the higher education system as an extension of the broader state apparatus—designed, in effect, to replicate and reinforce settler colonialism. The Bantu Education Act of 1953, for example, ensured racially segregated schools and required Black South Africans to attend government schools where the curriculum was controlled, limited, and served mainly to fill positions the Apartheid government deemed fit. Though the Act was repealed in 1979, the system of racial segregation continued until 1996 with the passage of the South African Schools Act. Much like the Caribbean (and elsewhere that experienced settler colonialism), such institutions, institutional arrangements, and institutional understanding of the role of education persisted in South Africa years after Apartheid formally ended in 1994, with minimal transformation. South African scholars and activists have also pointed out that de facto segregation in education persisted in post-apartheid South Africa, albeit in the form of high tuition costs and low admissions to the country's most prestigious universities. Indeed, the student protests of 2015-2016 #No-More Fees were about precisely this issue. For the students:

The inherited higher education system was designed, in the main, to reproduce, through teaching and research, white and male privilege and black and female subordination in all spheres of society. All [South African] higher education institutions, were in differing ways and to differing extents, deeply implicated in this. The higher education “system” was fragmented, and institutions were differentiated along with race and ethnicity. This was accompanied by the advantage of “historically white institutions” and the disadvantage of “historically black institutions” “in terms of the financial resources that were made available and the social and academic roles that were allocated to each (Badat, 2004; 3-4).

In line with their Caribbean counterparts, the charge by South African students and scholars, therefore, called for significant reforms centering Africa in teaching, learning, and research scholarship. Specifically, they maintained that:

dismantling of the “pedagogy of big lies” rooted in colonialism and Apartheid... require a complete reconstruction of everything that [South African] universities do— from institutional cultures to epistemology and curriculum...[and] sensitizing students to the place of, and the issues surrounding South Africa on the African continent and in the world at large ...free of Eurocentric views and approaches that have historically subjugated, denigrated, and exploited African peoples.” (Heleta, 2018; 58).

In terms of curricula changes, South African scholars and activists point to the need to revamp the k-12 and higher education curriculum to balance the past and residual colonial injustices in South Africa (and Africa more broadly). That is, to: “reconstruct the African story based on its past, in a manner that does not seek to engage in a feel-good, nationalist historiography but challenges the prevailing climate of falsehoods, distortions and outright lies” about Africa and its peoples (Motlanthe, 2014; 21 cited in Heleta, 2018; 59). Smart (2020) argues, for example, that without fundamental changes to the inherited eurocentric curricula and pedagogies, South African students, particularly the “born-frees,” are likely to face persisting psychological trauma, which could hinder their ability to flourish in post-apartheid South Africa.

The movement has yielded the following changes: the South African government offered aid to low-income students to cover tuition costs; universities have implemented a zero-percent increase in tuition fees, are committed to more student support, and a range of institution-specific demands across the campuses, and to transforming the curriculum. Specifically, South African academics across various disciplines have restructured their courses, syllabi, and pedagogical strategies to fit within the decoloniality (see, for example, Smart 2020). In terms of research and scholarship, Heleta (2018) notes that few South African scholars focused on decolonization as a research focus before 2015; since then, there has been a notable increase in publications. Ramoupi (2014), Mbembe (2016), Radebe & Maimela (2020), and Smart (2020) have published a range of related high-profile pieces. In particular, Bennett, Ramoupi (2014), and Radebe & Maimela (2020) tackle the linguistic prejudice in the continued use of English and Afrikaans as the medium of instruction at South Africa’s significant universities. Ramoupi (2014) argues that the neglect of South Africa’s languages in the curriculum and content of education perpetuates the subjugation, conquest, and denial of social justice to the majority. In terms of the country’s legal institutions and education systems, Radebe & Maimela (2020) document how the marginalization of South African indigenous languages inherently marginalizes African indigenous cultures. They note, for example, that the language in which customary law is generally taught at most South African universities is English, which is a practice that directly or indirectly establishes that the European language is hierarchically above the indigenous and local languages. What is more, they point out, this pedagogical practice demonstrates that the legal system does serve the benefit of indigenous African students and the predominantly non-English speaking South African litigants with cases before the court. Regardless of their particular focus, almost all academic scholars call for increased decolonization of South Africa’s education system.

Although education reforms in both the Caribbean and South Africa indicate significant gains, albeit to varying degrees, this does not mean that the decolonization efforts have been entirely without drawbacks or problems. Escayg and Kinkead-Clark (2018), for example, document the ongoing colonial notions and eurocentric influences in the knowledge base of Caribbean early childhood education. They point out that despite past and continued appeals, teacher education programs continue to draw predominantly on American

and eurocentric theories (ex. Philosophical underpinnings and bias towards the works of Bruner, Piaget, and Montessori). Similarly, South African academics continue to carefully document the varied ways that eurocentrism and long establish hierarchies of power remain undisrupted for the most part, particularly at the historically white (“colonial”) universities in South Africa. Recent examples highlight how much eurocentrism permeates, becomes internalized, and informs continual conformity to the persistent detriment of the historically marginalized. For example, (a) in 2020, a Jamaican Supreme Court case (*Virgo, Dale v ZV, Board of Management of Kensington Primary School, Ministry of Education, Attorney General of Jamaica, and Office of the Children’s Advocate*) ruled in favor of blocking student’s admission to grade school because the 6-year-old student had locs and, (b) the suspension of a black South African student in 2018 for having her hair in its natural form rather than chemically altering and straightening it per the school dress code. Still, these cases seem to be significantly further along in the active decolonizing process (physically, psychologically, and ideologically) than in the US.

Lessons for US De-colonizing Project: On Confronting a Difficult History & Decoloniality

Though often not viewed as such by most Americans, the US education system is grounded in colonialism, specifically settler colonialism, and is informed by residual colonial notions and practices (Robinson, 2017; Goodyear-Ka’ōpua, 2013). As Goodyear-Ka’ōpua (2013) notes, one only has to examine the history and role of institutions such as Harvard in the Christianizing missions that resulted in the near erasure and subjugation of entire groups of people (see also Stein, 2018). Like Oxford, London, Cambridge, Harvard, and other US colleges were active tools of colonization, “weapons for the conquest of Indigenous peoples, and major beneficiaries of the African slave trade and slavery” (Wilder, 2013; 17). As in the Caribbean and South African contexts, colonial colleges in the US favored a largely eurocentric curriculum (Patel, 2016). For instance, Patel (2016) notes that the US colonial curriculum was often restricted to History (ancient Greek/Roman), Latin, geometry, and logic, effectively establishing what areas of study were considered legitimate and vital. Not only were lived experiences of marginalized groups such as Indigenous peoples and African Americans omitted from the historiography, but references to the latter were notably cast as sub-human and uncivilized (Kelley, 2000; Patel, 2016).

American history misses important truths about colonialism as texts rarely discuss the genocide of Indigenous groups or the enslavement and the systematic oppression of people of African descent. Rather, US historical narratives remain largely framed within a “European-civilized-victors” versus the “savages and uncivilized” context. In 2015, a 9th grade US geography textbook published by McGraw Hill Publishers referred to enslaved African Americans as workers and implied that enslaved Africans came to the US as economic migrants. Though the publishers would later update the description, the incident showed that the decolonizing efforts require a rethinking of the purpose and role of education in light of acknowledging a sordid colonial past, residual colonial notions, and perpetuating practices. This endeavor requires the revisiting, relearning, and rewriting of historical accounts beyond the obligatory checking of the diversity box or virtue signaling; critical questioning of unchallenged truths and stories told about ourselves and others; reflexivity as a tool of interrogation of those unchallenged truths— at the individual, institutional, and societal levels; and a better grasp of societal influences and positionality and relationality in our educational practices.

Other recent events highlighting the inequalities in the United States also demonstrate that systemic racism does not exist independently of the long history of colonialism—that history is neither stuck in the past nor is it objective. In the dominant narrative of the American Revolution, early nineteenth-century George Bancroft (1818), for example, elevated those fighting for freedom to a near apotheosis state that glorifies the Founding Fathers. This produced a more nativist narrative in which much of the US’ curriculum (especially history) became anchored. As in the Caribbean and South Africa, the educational practices within the US have been to provide a historical account that glorifies colonial conquest while simultaneously erasing the lived realities of its marginalized peoples. Hundorf (2001) notes, for instance, that the exploitation of Indigenous identities in the US is an incredibly violent and sinister reality of the settler colonial project— one in which Indigenous cultures are positioned as a cultural other (often in a highly romanticized way) and barred from popular historiography. As the Caribbean and South African cases show, to resist and dismantle such entrenched colonial notions, US educators must establish a curriculum that would allow a more critical examination of how US identity, nationality, and history intersect to create a Bancroftian narrative to decolonize education successfully. They must engage a reconstructed description of the American story based on

its actual past rather than nationalist historiography and pervasive distortions that recreate the settler colonial coin. This unreading of the widely popular Bancroftian narrative would mean understanding that colonists established the hierarchical structures (political, economic, and social), which, as we have pointed out, persists in their residual forms today. Unpacking how the colonial system was constructed and the central role of educational institutions in its persistence would make for a more nuanced understanding of systemic inequalities in the US. As the Caribbean and South African scholars maintain, dismantling colonialism and its residual infrastructure and effects requires action, thought, and intentionality. Williams and others have aptly pointed out that educational institutions are the central dispenser and vehicle of overall cultural values, attitudes, and societal norms that undergird all existing structures and institutions, decolonizing education is critical. The challenge then is for the breadth of the education system (from K12 to higher ed, including educators and administrators) to view and subsequently use education not so much as a tool of the colonial project but rather the means via which to marshal in opposition to colonialism and its contemporary counterpart, residual colonialism. For US educators, this requires careful examination of educational material and pedagogical practices that confronts the country's complex colonial history (particularly its implications for the lives of the country's marginalized peoples) and revisiting how the system has persisted (i.e., residual colonialism) in the classroom.

Controversies around teaching CRT in k-12 also indicate that some Americans regard teaching about the negative impacts of colonialism, specifically on the indigenous and African American communities, as too political. This notion itself perpetuates the eurocentric idea that history is neutral, arguably leaving grounds for educators to continue glorifying US colonial conquest while simultaneously erasing realities of its devastating harm to marginalized peoples. We see this manifested in the recent nostalgic calls by the Reagan and Trump administrations to "Make America Great Again." We also see it reproduced in the use of mascots across American institutions of higher education, including in the south. Like Williams, both Jane Jacobs (1961) and Bloomly (2011) maintain that a notion of civic responsibility begins with organic engagements amongst all community members, including those historically marginalized. Accordingly, US educators should ask whether sterile curriculums focused on a Bancroftian ideal, is dismissive of the violence associated with settler colonialism, and that relegates

slavery to a footnote (NYT, 2018), can, in fact, meet the needs of a diverse populace. What if, like the Caribbean and South African cases, we aimed instead for decolonization through antiracist and democratization efforts in the classroom and viewed decolonization as more of a process than an endpoint? What if instead of asking, "how can we teach students as individuals to not be racist," we asked, "how we destabilize and dismantle Eurocentrism within the classroom and more broadly as a societal norm and ideal?" Like the Caribbean educators, American educators could embrace "teaching beyond the textbook" as an intentional pedagogical strategy. Rather than rely solely on textbooks, which Ayers (2019) considers incomplete sources, US educators, like their Caribbean counterparts, could more rigorously incorporate supplemental primary and secondary source materials, oral histories, field site trips, and museum artifacts. In this way, students are learning as much about the research process as they are about the content itself. As such, they would stand to know more about the parameters around what information is included and what gets left out. Notably, while minimal in scope, this practice is hardly new in the US. One example is the renowned Freedom School Movement of the 1960s in Mississippi, which viewed teaching as a political act. The movement sought to address the discriminatory and exclusionary schooling practice by introducing an emancipatory curriculum. Northern educators and Southern Black student activists allied to develop summer education programs despite headwinds/retaliation stemming from the request for college integration. Institutions barred the educators and activists from petitioning the government for better schools and libraries. They subjected them to state-sanctioned racial terror in Mississippi during the civil rights era. Like Williams, the Freedom School teachers advocated for a didactic method that encouraged students to identify problems and solutions within their communities unaddressed by the extant school curriculum challenging the persisting eurocentric knowledge system. The curriculum mandated that the Freedom School teacher improvise. Rather than the typical textbook coverage of the Gettysburg Address, Freedom School teachers required the students to situate their lived experiences within the dominant US historical narrative. Students produced a document reflective of such confluence drawing from the language of the artifact itself. The resultant document, *The Declaration of Independence in Hattiesburg, Mississippi*, accordingly reads:

We... appeal to the government of the state that no man is free until all men are free. We do hereby declare independence from the unjust laws of Mississippi, which conflict with the United States Constitution" (Freedom Schools 1960; 105).

Thus, as these experiences in the Freedom Schools and those of the Caribbean and South Africa demonstrate, while the process of unlearning, relearning, and intentionality on the part of educators can be slow and painstaking, it is achievable. Indeed, heeding Williams' call for ingenuity and reimagining of the education [Doug Adams], within his own secondary social studies curriculum, curated a reading list that highlights systemic racism in the US and cases of resistance and speculative futures. While some of the readings shifted throughout the semester, students were consistently encouraged to develop a critical pedagogy of place (Gruenewald, 2003) that emphasized antiracism (Kendi, 2016), which encouraged preservice teachers to curate their own inclusive materials. By elevating the concepts of place, as a pause, and space, as movement (Tuan, 1979), preservice teachers were able to make cultural, geographic connections that simultaneously celebrate and critique the local. They completed a semester-long landscape geography project emphasizing cultural geography, which allowed them to grapple with race, racism, and settler colonialism. By the end of the course, preservice teachers became more aware of the intersection between place, history, and positionality and better positioned to challenge normative eurocentric epistemologies, having engaged in thoughtful dialogues on Williams' concept of emancipatory education, "beyond the textbook," and field site visits. Additionally, [the authors] co-taught a special topics education course that coincided with the education sponsored three-part lecture series, *Equity in Education*, in the Spring of 2021; specifically, addressing the need for changes to the inherited colonial education systems. As Williams (1946) suggested, we considered the education problem as a specific example of a larger structural problem grounded in inherited colonial systems. This includes recognizing the residual colonial infrastructure, the deeply embedded ethnocentric ideals, and how the internalized experiences of the body polity reinforce eurocentric norms and ideas.

Conclusion

How then can educators help decolonize US Education? As Williams suggests, first, we must interrogate

the inherited educational systems, specifically regarding the underlying purpose of education in a truly post-colonial American society. As in the Caribbean and South Africa, this step requires (re)centering an educational system that both (a) confronts the harsh realities and acknowledges the pain and trauma endured by the marginalized and (b) recognizes their significant contributions and the similar benefits to the colonists. As Williams advocated, redefining and re-orienting the purpose of education may generate this understanding among the US body politic and serve as a tool for effective decolonization and antiracism efforts that are enrolled as a civic responsibility. That is, restructuring education to continuously challenge and dislodge pervasive eurocentric notions and ideals. Secondly, as educators, we must also reconstruct the narrative representations of the nation's history. This necessarily requires intentionality in complicating the extant model glorifying US colonial conquest while simultaneously erasing its realities for the historically marginalized. American scholar and Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction's liaison, David O'Connor, suggests, for example, that American educators embrace the Three Is of inclusive excellence: inclusion, integration, and infusion in curriculum development and pedagogical practices. Doing so would incorporate the voices of those "silenced far too long" (Harvey, 1989) and move the teaching of their stories beyond the superficial one day or month coverage (ex. Black History in February, Indigenous People's Day in October, and Women's History in March) to year-round. The magnitude at which these voices are embedded into the curriculum becomes a marker for how inclusive the integration process is. Admittedly, adopting the Three Is raises legitimate concerns about the danger of reproducing violence. This is particularly true of those who only focus on the structural, institutional, and other forms of systemic violence, which in missing the human costs (particularly to the marginalized), end up removing the agency of the silenced, and therefore, reproduce violence (Said, 1978). Some recently reported cases include US k-12 grade-school teachers introducing assignments rife with historical inaccuracies about slavery and enslaved peoples' experiences in the US. Not only are these assignments generally regressive, ahistorical, and not based on a reality rooted in social justice, they are also harmful to African Americans in perpetuating some of the inaccuracies about the institution of slavery in the US and its impact on enslaved communities. For example, embedded stereotypes, such as the enslaved as lazy, vicious, childlike, lacking intelli-

gence, and sub-human, generally further reinforce rather than dispel and change pervasive negative attitudes toward people of color. One particularly harmful implication of such faulty curricula and pedagogical approaches is the double victimization of students of color, who are often made to feel inferior and singled out by their peers. Like the majority population, minority populations internalize pervasive societal views, even those painting them in a particularly negative light. Their understanding of American history and politics are also informed by the lessons learned inside the classroom (k-12 and higher education). At least as framed within the “wokeness” framework, the popular discussion of unlearning generally focuses on the need for the majority population to awaken to the disparate lived experiences of minority people of color in the US. A missed component, which arguably facilitates residual colonialism, is the “unlearning” that needs to occur among the historically marginalized groups, which as the Caribbean and South African cases demonstrate, require embracing a truly antiracist and democratizing pedagogy to resist and undo long embedded and persisting harm of inherited colonial education.

References

- Almond, G., & Verba, S. (1963). *The civic culture: Political attitudes and democracy in five nations*. Princeton University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400874569>
- An act to amend Tennessee Code Annotated, Title 4 and Title 49, relative to education. HB 580. 112 Cong. (2021). <https://wapp.capitol.tn.gov/apps/BillInfo/Default.aspx?BillNumber=HB0580>
- Ayers, B. (2019). *About becoming a teacher*. Teachers College Press.
- Badat, S. (2004). Transforming South African higher education, 1990-2003: goals, policy initiatives, and critical challenges and issues. In N. Cloete, P. Pillay, S. Badat, & T. Moja (Eds.), *National policy and regional response in South African higher education, 1-50*. -
- Bancroft, G. (1818, 2019) *History of the United States: From the discovery of the American continent*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Bloomly, N. (2011). *Rights of passage: Sidewalks and the regulation of public flow*. Routledge.
- Davis, A. (1979). It's not enough to be non-racist. We must be antiracists. Public speech at Oakland auditorium. Oakland, CA.
- Dei, G. J. S., and Lordan, M. (eds.). (2016). *Anti-colonial theory and decolonial praxis*. Peter Lang.
- Dewey, J. (1916). *Democracy and education: An introduction to the philosophy of education*. Free Press.
- Dewey, J. (1946). Foreword. In Eric Williams', *education in the British West Indies*. Teachers' Economic and Cultural Association Ltd.
- DeFronzo, J. (2015). *Revolutions and revolutionary movements*. Westview Press.
- Desnoyers-Colas, E. F. (2019). Talking loud and saying nothing: kicking faux ally-ness to the curb by battling racial battle fatigue using white accomplishment. *Departures in Critical Qualitative Research*, 8(4), 100–105.
<https://doi.org/10.1525/dcqr.2019.8.4.100>
- Dixon, S. (2019). The coin model of privilege and critical allyship: implications for health. *BMC Public Health*, 19 (1637), 1-13. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-019-7884-9>
- Dunbar-Ortiz, R. (2020). *An indigenous peoples' history of the United States*. Beacon Press.
- Escayg, K., & Kinkead-Clark, Z. (2018). Mapping the contours of Caribbean early childhood education. *Global Education Review* 5(4), 236-253.
- Estes, N. (2019). *Our history of the future: standing rock versus the Dakota access pipeline and the long tradition of indigenous resistance*. Verso.
- Fanon, F. (1963). *The wretched of the earth*. Grove Press.
- Fanon, F. (1965). *Dying colonialism*. Grove Press.
- Fanon, F. (1967). *Black skin, white masks*. Grove Press.
- Federici, S. (2021). *Caliban and the witch: Women, the body, and positive accumulation*. Penguin.
- Freire, P. (1972). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Penguin.
- Garba, T., and Sorentino, S.M. (2020). Slavery is a metaphor: A critical commentary on Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang's "Decolonization is not a metaphor." *Antipode*, 52(3), 764– 782. <https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12615>
- Gilles, B. (2017). The case for colonialism. *Third World Quarterly*.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2017.1369037>
- Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, N. (2013). *The seeds we planted: portraits of a native Hawaiian charter school*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Gordon, E. (2009). “The Caribbean examination council: symbol of successful Caribbean development and unity?” *Journal of the University College of the Cayman Islands*, 3(1), 27-51.
- Gordon, S. (1963). *A century of west Indian education: A sourcebook*. Longmans.
- Gordon, S. (1998). “Schools of the free.” In B. Moore and S. Wilmot (Eds.), *Before and after 1865: Education, politics, and regionalism in the Caribbean*. Ian Randle.
- Gruenewald, D. (2003). “The best of both worlds: a critical pedagogy of place.” *Educational Researcher*, 32(4), 3-12. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X032004003>
- Hall, S. (1992). The question of cultural identity. In S. Hall, D. Held, & T. McGraw (Eds.), *Modernity and its futures*. Polity.
- Harvey, D. (1989). *The condition of postmodernity*. Blackwell.
- Heleta, S. (2016). Decolonization of higher education: dismantling epistemic violence and eurocentrism in South Africa. *Transformation in Higher Education*, 1(9), 1-8.
- Heleta, S. (2018). decolonizing knowledge in south Africa: dismantling the ‘pedagogy of big lie,’ *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, 40(2), 47-65.
<https://doi.org/10.5070/F7402040942>
- Henry, F., E. Dua, et al. (2016). Race, racialization, and Indigeneity in Canadian universities. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 20 (3), 300– 314.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2016.1260226>

- Huhndorf, S. (2001). *Going native: Indians in the American cultural imagination*. Cornell University Press.
- Jacobs, J. (1961). *The death and life of great American cities*. Random House.
- Jennings, Z. (1994). Innovations in Caribbean school systems: why some have become institutionalized, and others have not. *Curriculum Studies*, 2(3), 309-331. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0965975940020303>
- Hannah-Jones, N. (Ed.). (2019, August). The 1619 project. *The New York Times Magazine*.
- Jules, D. (2010). Rethinking education for the Caribbean: A radical approach. In P. Mayo (Ed.), *Education in the small states: global imperatives, regional initiatives, and local dilemmas* (pp.79-90). Routledge.
- Kelley, R. (2000). A Poetics of anticolonialism. In A. Césaire (Ed.), *Discourse on colonialism*. Monthly Review Press.
- Kendi, I. X. (2016). *Stamped from the beginning: the definitive history of racist ideas in America*. Avalon Publishing Group.
- Kendi, I. X. (2019). *How to be an antiracist*. Vintage.
- Lavia, J. (2012). Revisiting the inner plantation: decolonization and the practice of education in the work of Eric Williams. *Postcolonial Directions in Education*, 1 (1), 9-30.
- Mavunga, G. (2019) #FeesMustFall protests in South Africa: critical realist analysis of selected newspaper articles. *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa*, 7(1), 81-99. <https://doi.org/10.24085/jsaa.v7i1.3694>
- Mbembe, A. J. (2016). Decolonizing the university: new directions. *Arts & Humanities in Higher Education*, 15(1), 29– 45. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1474022215618513>
- McCarthy, C, & Sealey-Ruiz, Y. (2010). Teaching difficult history: Eric Williams’s Capitalism and slavery and the challenge of critical pedagogy in the contemporary classroom. *Power and Education*, 2(1), 75-84. <https://doi.org/10.2304/power.2010.2.1.75>
- Miller, E. (2000). “Access to tertiary education in the Commonwealth Caribbean in the 1990s. In G.D. Howe (Ed.), *Higher education in the Caribbean: Past, present, and future directions* (pp.117-141). UWI.
- Millette, J. (2004). Decolonization, populist movements, and the formation of new nations (1945-1970). In B. Brereton (Ed.), *General history of the Caribbean: The Caribbean in the Twentieth Century* (pp.174-223). UNESCO.
- Morris, M. (2014). *Miss Lou—Louise Bennett and Jamaican culture*. Ian Randle.
- Motlanthe, K. (2014). The role of the African intelligentsia in post-Mandela Africa,” *The Thinker*, 60, 19-23.
- Nettleford, R. (2002). Forward. In H. Beckles, A. Perry, & P. Whiteley, *The brain train: quality higher education and Caribbean development*. Ian Randle.
- Omi, M. & H. Winant. (2015). *Racial formation in the United States*. Routledge.
- Palmer, C. (2006). *Eric Williams and the making of the modern Caribbean*. Ian Randle.
- Patel, L. (2016). *Decolonizing educational research: from ownership to answerability*. Routledge.
- Pauly-Morgan K. (1996). Describing the emperor’s new clothes: three myths of educational (in)equality. In A.Diller, B. Houston, K. Pauly Morgan, & M. Ayim, *The gender question in education: theory, pedagogy and politics*. Westview. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429496530>.
- Posey-Maddox, L., McKinney de Royston, M., Holman, A., Rall, R., & Johnson, R. (2021). No choice is the “right” choice: Black parents’ educational decision-making in their search for a “good” school. *Harvard Educational Review*, 91(1), 38– 61. <https://doi.org/10.17763/1943-5045-91.1.38>
- Radebe, K., & Maimela, C. (2020). The importance of African indigenous languages in the decolonization of legal education and practice. *Journal of Decolonising Disciplines*, 2(1), 1-16. <https://doi.org/10.35293/jdd.v2i1.39>
- Rampoui, N. (2014). African languages policy in the education of South Africa 20 years of freedom or subjugation? *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 38(1), 269-286.
- Rizvi, F. (2006). *Epistemic virtues and cosmopolitan learning*. Radford Lecture, Australia.
- Rizvi, F. (2009). “Mobile minds.” In J. Kenway and J. Fahey (Eds.), *Globalizing the research imagination*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203870556>
- Robinson, N. (2017, September 14). A quick reminder of why colonialism was bad. *Current Affairs*.
- Rodney, W. (1972). *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. Bogle-L'Ouverture.
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. Pantheon Books.
- Santayana, G. (1955). *Life of reason or the phases of human progress*. Charles Scribner & Sons.
- Smart, B. (2020). Practicing Afrocentric ethical teaching: towards a decolonized pedagogy. *Teaching Philosophy*, 43(2), 197-1999. <https://doi.org/10.5840/teachphil202035119>
- Smith, C. (2011). *Enacting others: politics of identity. Politics of identity in Eleanor Antin, Nikki S. Lee, Adrian Piper, and Anna Deavere Smith*. Duke University Press Books.
- Smith, L.T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: research and indigenous peoples*. Zed Books Ltd.
- Stein, S. (2018). Confronting the racial-colonial foundations of us higher education. *Journal for the Study of Postsecondary and Tertiary Education*, 3(1), 77-98.
- Steeley, J. (2009). *The legacy of transition governments in Africa: the cases of Benin and Togo*. Palgrave Macmillian.
- Strunk, K. K., Locke, L. A., Chang, J., Clancy, P. W., Drake, L. (2021). From the spies of Mississippi to the eyes of the white house: surveilling and obstructing anti-racist work in the U.S. *The Professional Educator* (advanced online publication). <https://doi.org/10.47038/tpc.44.01.03>
- Subreenduth, S. (2006). “Why, why are we not allowed even. . .?”: a de/colonizing narrative of complicity and resistance in post/apartheid south Africa. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 19 (5), 617-638. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09518390600886403>
- Sylvester, M. (2008). The globalization of higher education: assessing the response of the University of the West Indies. *Advances in Education in Diverse Communities Research Policy and Praxis*, 6(1), 261-284. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1479-358X\(08\)06010-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1479-358X(08)06010-5)
- Thiong’o, N. (1986). *Decolonising the mind: the politics of language in African literature*. African Educational Publishers Ltd.

- Tilly, C. (1985). War making and state making as organized crime. In P. Evans, D. Rueschemeyer, & T. Skocpol's (Eds.), *Bringing the state back in*. Cambridge University Press.
- Tolman, J. (2006). Learning, unlearning, and the teaching of writing: educational turns in postcoloniality. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 3(2/3), 191-202. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15427587.2006.9650846>
- Tuan, Y. (1979). *Space and place: The perspective of experience*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2012). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1(1), 1–40.
- University of the West Indies (UWI) (2020). *About UWI*. <http://www.uwi.edu/about/overview.aspx> 12.20.2020.
- Virgo, D. v Board of Management of Kensington Primary School, Ministry of Education, Attorney General of Jamaica, and Office of the Children's Advocate. Jamaica. (2020).
- Wilder, C. (2013). *Ebony and ivy: race, slavery, and the troubled history of America's universities*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Williams, B., D. Squire, & Tuitt, F. (2021). *Plantation politics and campus rebellions: power, diversity, and the emancipatory struggle in higher education*. State University of New York.
- Williams, E. (1944). *Capitalism and slavery*. University of North Carolina Press.
- Williams, E. (1946). *Education in the British West Indies*. Teachers' Economic and Cultural Association Ltd.
- Williams, E. (1962). *History of the people of Trinidad and Tobago*. People's National Movement Co. Ltd.
- Wolfe, P. (2006). Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8(4), 387-93. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623520601056240>

First submission received August 13, 2021

Revision received January 12, 2022

First published online February 21, 2022