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Peer review history for:

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Influence of Cambridge International Education on environmental content in seven African syllabi. *S Afr J Sci.* 2025;121(3/4), Art. #18607. <https://doi.org/10.17159/sajs.2025/18607/peerreview>

The original manuscript for review is appended below.

Reviewer 1: Round 1

Date completed: 14 August 2024

Recommendation: Accept / **Revisions required** / Resubmit for review / Resubmit elsewhere / Decline / See comments

Conflicts of interest: None

Does the manuscript fall within the scope of SAJS?

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Is the manuscript written in a style suitable for a non-specialist and is it of wider interest than to specialists alone?

Yes/No

Does the manuscript contain sufficient novel and significant information to justify publication?

Yes/No

Do the Title and Abstract clearly and accurately reflect the content of the manuscript?

Yes/No

Is the research problem significant and concisely stated?

Yes/No

Are the methods described comprehensively?

Yes/No

Is the statistical treatment appropriate?

Yes/No/**Not applicable**/Not qualified to judge

Are the interpretations and conclusions justified by the research results?

Yes/Partly/No

Please rate the manuscript on overall contribution to the field

Excellent/**Good**/Average/Below average/Poor

Please rate the manuscript on language, grammar and tone

Excellent/**Good**/Average/Below average/Poor

Is the manuscript succinct and free of repetition and redundancies?

Yes/No

Are the results and discussion confined to relevance to the objective(s)?

Yes/No

The number of tables in the manuscript is

Too few/**Adequate**/Too many/Not applicable

The number of figures in the manuscript is

Too few/**Adequate**/Too many/Not applicable

Is the supplementary material relevant and separated appropriately from the main document?

Yes/No/Not applicable

Please rate the manuscript on overall quality

Excellent/**Good**/Average/Below average/Poor

Is appropriate and adequate reference made to other work in the field?

Yes/No

Is it stated that ethical approval was granted by an institutional ethics committee for studies involving human subjects and non-human vertebrates?

Yes/No/**Not applicable**

If accepted, would you recommend that the article receives priority publication?

Yes/**No**

Are you willing to review a revision of this manuscript?

Yes/No

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Yes/No

Comments to the Author:

Overall a useful analysis of the biology curricula for school leaving certificates across 7 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. The paper uses a simple method which allows for a descriptive analysis of the curricular which affords a means to compare them in a meaningful way. It sufficiently illuminates the missed opportunities to use local examples which is a very important component in the decolonisation of the natural sciences. There are two suggestions I have to strengthen the paper - both require engagement with Blackie's work. Firstly, I think it is important to make a distinction between indigenous knowledge and the use of local examples. Secondly, to indicate that there are meaningful overlaps between indigenous knowledge and western science. (for more on both of these see particular comments below).

Overall I think the paper is a useful addition to the emerging work on decolonisation and science education. The missed opportunities illuminated in this paper give a clear way forward to textbook writers and curriculum developers.

On pg 4 and 5 where you write about the teaching IK alongside western science it would be good engage with Blackie's recent paper in this journal on IK and science <https://sajs.co.za/article/view/16860> . Her position is a counterpoint to the 'two-eyed seeing' model and gives both students and teachers more of a handle on where IK and western science intersect and diverge.

Pg 10 – Section on missed opportunities

Is incorporation of indigenous knowledge the same as using local examples? Is the only way to decolonize to use indigenous knowledge? Again I point you to Blackie's work

[https://www.scienceopen.com/document_file/5d2d780b-73b4-4095-8ef5-](https://www.scienceopen.com/document_file/5d2d780b-73b4-4095-8ef5-bcdda90cd394/ScienceOpen/IJCDS_4_2_Blackie.pdf)

[bcdda90cd394/ScienceOpen/IJCDS_4_2_Blackie.pdf](https://www.scienceopen.com/document_file/5d2d780b-73b4-4095-8ef5-bcdda90cd394/ScienceOpen/IJCDS_4_2_Blackie.pdf) Blackie 2021 International Journal of Critical Diversity Studies.

What you are discussing in this section is simply using locally relevant examples.

Minor point which should be elaborated on...

Pg 7 'Finer-grained analysis of similarity between each syllabus and the reference list is shown by the percentage of matches scored at levels 1, 2 and 3.' – you need to explain what levels 1, 2 and 3 are. I have no idea what these refer to.

Author response to Reviewer 1: Round 1

Firstly, I think it is important to make a distinction between indigenous knowledge and the use of local examples.

Author: Thank you for identifying this problem which caused me to re-think the conceptual framework of the paper. Please see the para that follows the 5 adaption guidance principles. Sentence edited on p. 5: "In

this paper, relevance has three dimensions: choice of local contexts to illustrate ecological principles, ecosystems and environmental issues, inclusion of indigenous worldviews, and use of IK in the syllabus.”
Secondly, to indicate that there are meaningful overlaps between indigenous knowledge and western science.

Author: See new para on p. 3 “An alternative to hybrid science”

On pg 4 and 5 where you write about the teaching IK alongside western science it would be good to engage with Blackie’s recent paper in this journal on IK and science. Her position is a counterpoint to the ‘two-eyed seeing’ model and gives both students and teachers more of a handle on where IK and western science intersect and diverge.

Author: See new para on p. 3 “An alternative to hybrid science ...”

Pg 10 Is incorporation of indigenous knowledge the same as using local examples? Is the only way to decolonize to use indigenous knowledge? Again I point you to Blackie’s work [link]. What you are discussing in this section is simply using locally relevant examples.

Author: Please see the ff text on p. 3 “...seeks evidence of decolonisation by inclusion of African epistemology, locally relevant content and IK in the syllabi.” This idea recurs in the paper.

p. 8: “Three aspects derived from CIE adaption guidelines indicate that a syllabus was relevant to a country: 1. Including African worldviews pertaining to ecology and environmental issues. 2. Referencing local IK. 3. Referencing local ecosystems and environmental issues.”

On p. 9, I have changed the heading to “Inclusion of African worldviews, IK and relevant content” and added to the first paragraph “Local IK is specifically mentioned once in the South African syllabus only”.

Pg 7 ‘Finer-grained analysis of similarity between each syllabus and the reference list is shown by the percentage of matches scored at levels 1, 2 and 3.’ -you need to explain what levels 1, 2 and 3 are. I have no idea what these refer to.

Author: Please see ff. text “Similarity was coded on a scale of 1-3 using the following descriptors..”. I have added the coding scheme to the title for Figure 1.

Reviewer 1: Round 2

Date completed: 12 November 2024

Recommendation: **Accept** / Revisions required / Resubmit for review / Resubmit elsewhere / Decline / See comments

Conflicts of interest: None

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Are the interpretations and conclusions justified by the research results?

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Yes/No

Is it stated that ethical approval was granted by an institutional ethics committee for studies involving human subjects and non-human vertebrates?
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Comments to the Author:
 This paper is a valuable contribution to secondary science education.

Reviewer 2: Round 2
Date completed: 25 January 2025
Recommendation: **Accept** / Revisions required / Resubmit for review / Resubmit elsewhere / Decline / See comments
Conflicts of interest: None

Does the manuscript fall within the scope of SAJS?
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Yes/No/Not applicable/Not qualified to judge

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Yes /No/Not applicable
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Yes/ No /Not applicable
If accepted, would you recommend that the article receives priority publication?
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Yes /No

Comments to the Author:

Introduction

Use authoritative sources to support that there are calls African university students to decolonise the curriculum. Refer to a book chapter by:

Ngakane, B. and Madlela, B. (2024). A Transformative Framework for the Incorporation of Indigenous Knowledge Systems into the Curriculum in South Africa's Higher Education Institutions: How do we Centre Historically Marginalised Knowers and Knowledge? DOI: 10.36615/9781776490073-09 in a book entitled Transforming Higher Education Scholarship after Covid-19 and in the Context of the 4th Industrial Revolution

The chapter has information on university students' call for the decolonisation of the curriculum.

Strengthen your introduction by bringing views from other researcher who have written about Cambridge International Education and those who have written about calls to decolonise the curriculum in Africa. Doing so will assist you to identify the gap that you intend to address. It will also make the problem of your study to be clear to your reader.

Relevance of the study

The study addresses current and contentious issues in Africa's education systems. The study came at the right time when Africa is advocating for quality and decolonised education based on African indigenous knowledge systems. The study will inform curriculum developers in the continent and make them aware that it is essential to incorporate African knowledge systems in the curriculum.

Methodology

Explain the methods that you used and justify why they were suitable for your study. Support your justification with authoritative sources.

Figures and tables

Are figures and tables not supposed to be inserted and analysed in the content to help the reader to have a better understanding of the arguments and message being conveyed.

Discussions

It is advisable to present findings in paragraphs than in bullets.

Areas for further research

Suggest areas for further research that other researchers can focus on to address the problem that you have identified. You identified a contentious issue that other researchers should contribute towards its solution hence the need to identify areas for further research.

Influence of Cambridge International Education on environmental content in seven African syllabi

Abstract

Cambridge International Education (CIE) has influenced the curriculum and examinations in ex-British colonies in Africa, presenting a western science-based generic syllabus for use in foreign countries. Amid calls to decolonize the curriculum, this study investigates the extent to which seven African biology syllabi have decolonized their ecological and environmental content by departing from CIE. Decolonisation entails infusing African epistemology into the syllabus to reduce the alienation claimed by students when they encounter western science. A decolonized syllabus incorporates indigenous knowledge (IK) and relevant examples of scientific concepts drawn from the local environment. The seven African biology syllabi presented a western science perspective, with five syllabi exhibiting CIE influence ranging from very close similarity (Namibia and Lesotho) through somewhat similar (Rwanda and Botswana) to mostly dissimilar (Malawi). Uganda and South Africa displayed little CIE influence and incorporated more relevant content than other countries. Countries other than Botswana, Uganda and South Africa chose inappropriate examples to illustrate concepts and neglected the local environment and valuable local IK. Although all seven countries developed their own syllabi, sometimes in collaboration with CIE, they have not decolonized nor contextualized their biology syllabi.

Significance of findings

This paper shows that seven African countries have adopted western science epistemology for the ecology and environment sections of their biology syllabi, some follow CIE syllabi closely, and few include indigenous knowledge and content relevant to local context. I conclude that all seven countries have not decolonized their syllabi.

Keywords

decolonisation; indigenous knowledge; ecology; environmental issues

Tables and figures inserted at bottom of document

31

Introduction

32 This study was precipitated by my experience as an author of secondary school biology
33 textbooks in African countries, which required close engagement with the official national
34 syllabus for each country. Many of these syllabi resembled Cambridge International
35 Education (CIE), western science-based syllabi for Biology. In a time when African students
36 are calling to decolonise the curriculum, I ask to what African biology syllabi have been
37 decolonised from western science and CIE? I also ask to what extent African biology syllabi
38 are relevant to local ecosystems and environmental issues?

39 Cambridge International Education (CIE)

40 CIE originated from the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES)
41 which administered examinations in British colonies from 1864¹. After attaining political
42 independence, many previous colonies continued to import curriculum and examinations
43 from outside countries including Cambridge qualifications such as Cambridge Overseas
44 School Certificate, Cambridge Overseas Higher School Certificate, International O-Level and
45 International A-Level^{2,3}.

46 Many African countries later opted to develop national curricula for their public schools with
47 or without assistance from outside agencies, including Cambridge Assessment Group^{2,3}.
48 'Public schools' exclude 'international schools' which offer qualifications emanating from the
49 global North including CIE⁴. UCLES offered an advisory service to ex-colonies to run their
50 own examinations following the Cambridge model. The West African Examinations Council,
51 established in 1952, was the first of such partnerships⁵. Cambridge Partnership for
52 Education aims to partner with governments to transform societies through quality education.
53 It assists countries to design, establish and implement curriculum and assessment that will
54 work best for the country⁶.

55 Curriculum design can take one of three forms: a bespoke curriculum designed by CIE; co-
56 development of a curriculum by CIE with curriculum developers from the commissioning
57 country; or adaption of a Cambridge curriculum to suit the country's context⁶. The Learning
58 Passport provides guidance for adaption using five principles⁷ which apply in any situation
59 where local experts are developing a national curriculum⁸. The adaption guidance principles
60 are:

- 61 1. Take account of the country's curriculum and education policies;
- 62 2. Select an appropriate language of instruction;
- 63 3. Frame selected content so that it is culturally relevant;
- 64 4. Incorporate indigenous knowledge;

65 5. Support learner well-being, inclusion and success^{7,8}.

66

67 Guidance principles 3 and 4 are relevant to the present study. Guidance principle 3 includes
68 choosing content and examples that are familiar to students such as local plants and
69 animals, ecosystems and environmental issues⁸. Culturally relevant content equips students
70 with skills that are useful in their everyday lives and accommodates the worldview prevailing
71 in the target community^{3,9,10}. Guidance principle 4 recommends including local indigenous
72 knowledge (IK) in the curriculum, thereby affirming people's traditional knowledge of their
73 environment, and promoting students' interest and motivation^{8,11}.

74 Guidance principles 1-5 enable CIE and its partners to adapt their generic, western science-
75 based curricula to different contexts⁷. The present study investigates the extent to which CIE
76 influences biology syllabus in seven African ex-colonies. It seeks evidence of decolonisation
77 by inclusion of African epistemology, locally relevant content and IK in the syllabi.

78 **Worldviews, indigenous knowledge and decolonising the curriculum**

79 Western science is believed to occupy a privileged status above the worldviews of non-
80 dominant groups in current science curricula^{10,12,13}. African IK and its worldviews are defined
81 as 'culturally-specific knowledge systems that relate to the knowledge of Africa, their oral
82 culture and traditional ecological knowledge, as affected by their worldview; the knowledge
83 that incorporates their social and natural wellbeing, their cosmos and their spiritual
84 world'^{3(p.28)}. It is important to distinguish between worldview, defined as a way of
85 understanding the natural world, and IK, defined as knowledge that informs actions in
86 everyday life. African indigenous worldviews hold that a vital force connects all natural
87 phenomena into a unity of being. African cosmology interwoven with traditional religion
88 teaches that all living and non-living things possess spiritual powers which emanate from
89 god and exist in decreasing amounts through the ancestors, living people, animals, plants,
90 rocks and soil, mountains, streams and the earth itself. Knowledge is collectively owned and
91 transmitted from the ancestors through the elders by means of story-telling, games, songs,
92 rituals and cultural practices^{9,14}.

93 Worldwide, indigenous groups share a worldview of spirits interconnecting all of nature and
94 all humanity, creating a pluriverse of onto-epistemologies. Such worldviews make
95 communities responsible and accountable for their actions in the natural environment,
96 centring community goals over individual and economic gains^{12,15}. Indigenous worldviews
97 and IK have been infused into school science curricula in nations such as Canada, New
98 Zealand, Australia, some jurisdictions in the USA¹⁶, and some Central American and Latin
99 American countries¹⁷. IK offers rich, relevant and authentic contexts for science learning,

100 particularly about the environment and sustainable use thereof. It also provides opportunities
101 for students to develop more balanced and holistic worldviews characteristic of indigenous
102 knowledge systems but not western science¹⁵.

103 While supporting calls to recognise African IK in school science curriculum, African scholars
104 acknowledge that western science and technology benefit society and the ecological
105 environment. Science curriculum should be relevant to students' 'cultural attitudes towards,
106 and local knowledge about, their environment'^{14(p.17)}, including knowledge of local
107 ecosystems and sustainable use thereof for survival^{3,18}. While African students need to learn
108 about their worldview and IK for their identity formation, scholars recommend that they learn
109 western science in a hybrid subject integrating IK and western science^{3,19,20}. Hybrid science
110 improves student interest and motivation^{16,20} and could lead to improved performance in
111 science, although evidence supporting this is limited^{10,11,13}. It is a 'two-eyed seeing' model of
112 learning which draws examples from IK to illustrate Western scientific concepts¹⁰, thereby
113 reducing the alienation felt by African students in science classes^{3,13}.

114 Violent student protests on South African university campuses in 2015-16 included calls for
115 decolonisation of curricula, citing alienation, exclusion and racism experienced by (mostly)
116 black students in universities dominated by (mostly) white academics¹⁹. The protests
117 revealed that university lecturers and administrators were unaware of the lived experiences
118 of students and their cultural knowledge was not legitimised¹⁹. To overcome the perceived
119 alienation, Jegede¹⁴ recommended that science teaching in Africa should begin with the
120 traditional worldviews of students and progress towards imbibing scientific culture. Students
121 then perceive science as relevant to their culture, while inculcating scientific culture.
122 Induction of African students into western science is best achieved by using a conceptual
123 ecocultural paradigm in which an individual's perception of knowledge grows and develops
124 from their sociocultural environment¹⁴. Relevance is of primary importance in Jegede's
125 argument for African science¹⁴. In this paper, relevance includes choice of local contexts to
126 illustrate ecological principles, ecosystems and environmental issues as well as inclusion of
127 indigenous worldviews and IK in the syllabus.

128 Researchers who promote the concept of powerful knowledge²¹ which best prepares
129 students for future life²² argue against including indigenous epistemologies and IK in the
130 curriculum. Powerful knowledge inducts students into conceptual organisation of isolated
131 facts into generalizable principles²¹. A curriculum constructed around students' life
132 experiences does not develop their human powers of reasoning nor prepare them for a
133 technological future as western science does^{14,21,22}. Most powerful scientific knowledge is
134 counter-intuitive and generic, unlike IK. As stated by Young and Muller, 'The structure of

135 local knowledge is designed to relate to the particular; it cannot provide the basis for any
136 generalizable principles^{21(p.113)}. Proponents of powerful knowledge would agree that IK can
137 set the context for scientific knowledge, but they reject appeals for African students to learn
138 only things that are important for everyday life and living^{21,22}.

139 Philosophers of science regard faith-based or spiritual worldviews as incompatible with
140 science. Western scientists seek rational explanations for natural phenomena, excluding
141 spiritual or supernatural causes²³. Science presupposes that natural mechanisms and
142 entities explain or potentially can explain all natural phenomena. Science does not rule out
143 supernatural intervention but separates supernatural from natural explanations because it is
144 concerned with material objects of study that obey natural laws and are open to scrutiny^{23,24}.

145 Caution is urged to avoid romanticising indigenous epistemologies and IK²⁵. Contrary to
146 claims, indigenous peoples do not all live in harmony with nature, respecting the living and
147 non-living world and behaving for the good of the community^{15,16}. For example, medicinal
148 plants were harvested sustainably in the past but this has changed as plant trade became a
149 competitive trade business²⁶. Africa's environmental challenges include air pollution,
150 unsustainable land management practices, waste and littering, overpopulation and rapid
151 urbanization²⁷. The continent's rich biodiversity faces threats from illegal trade in plants and
152 animals, mono-cropping, deforestation, climate change and invasive alien species¹⁸. These
153 realities contradict claims of harmonious coexistence for indigenous communities^{15,16}.

154 **Influence of CIE and relevance of African syllabi to local contexts**

155 CIE syllabi are intended for use in many different countries and present a generic western
156 science-oriented worldview. Where CIE has collaborated with a foreign country to develop its
157 own curriculum, one expects to find content that is locally relevant, including local IK and
158 acknowledging indigenous worldviews. Even if formal collaboration did not take place, CIE's
159 influence may be revealed through similar content selection and wording of learning
160 outcomes. The first research question investigates the influence of CIE on African syllabi
161 through two avenues:

162 a) How closely does the content selected in seven African biology syllabi match the content
163 in equivalent CIE syllabi?

164 b) How closely does the wording of learning outcomes match the wording in CIE syllabi?

165 The second research question investigates relevance of African syllabi to local ecosystems,
166 indigenous worldviews and IK. Ecology and environmental issues are relevant to African
167 worldviews, IK about local ecosystems and local environmental concerns¹⁹. Questions asked
168 here are:

169 a) What proportion of each syllabus is locally relevant?

170 b) What opportunities to contextualise the syllabus have been missed?

171 Seven African countries selected were based on curriculum documents available to me.
172 Countries previously colonised by Great Britain and their years of attaining independence
173 were South Africa (self-governing dominion until 1961), Uganda (1962), Malawi (1964),
174 Botswana (1966) and Lesotho (1966). Rwanda obtained independence from Belgium in
175 1962. Namibia was governed by South Africa from 1915 until independence in 1990²⁸.

176 **Methods**

177 **Constructing a reference list**

178 I used CIE Biology syllabi 0970 for IGCSE²⁹ and 9700 for AS and A Level³⁰ to construct a
179 reference list of generic western science content related to ecology and environmental
180 issues. The reference list contained both core and supplement learning outcomes from
181 IGCSE Topic 19 (Organisms and their environment) and Topic 21 (Human influences on
182 ecosystems)²⁹, supplemented with a few relevant outcomes from AS & A Level Topic 18
183 (Classification, biodiversity and conservation)³⁰. The final reference list had two topics, eight
184 sub-topics and 71 learning outcomes^{29,30}, shown in Table 1.

185 [Table 1 here]

186 Some CIE learning outcomes were subdivided but were counted as a single outcome. For
187 example, an outcome relating to the nitrogen cycle has eight subdivisions, but it is counted
188 as one outcome.

189 **Matching African syllabi with CIE reference list**

190 Documents analysed and the years of study to which they apply are shown in Table 2.

191 [Table 2 here]

192

193 Namibia³¹, Lesotho³³ and Uganda³⁶ acknowledge assistance from CIE in their curriculum
194 development.

195 **Identifying content in African syllabi.**

196 Content was organised differently in the different syllabi necessitating considering the whole
197 syllabus in each country. Headings from which content was extracted were 'Ecology' in
198 Botswana^{35(pp.25-26)}; 'Relationships of organisms with one another and with their environment'
199 in Namibia,^{31(pp.31-34)}; "Environment' in Malawi^{37(pp.19-25)}; 'Relationships of organisms with one

200 another and with their environment' in Lesotho^{33(pp.6-11)}; 'Environmental Studies' in South
201 Africa^(34,pp.33-34,51-55); 'Soil'^(36,pp.22-23) and 'Interrelationships' in Uganda^(36,pp.45-48); 'Ecology and
202 conservation' in Rwanda^(32,pp.51-52,82-90) . Statements in each syllabus were grouped to form
203 conceptually coherent units, which were counted only once if they recurred in another
204 column or under another heading. For example, five statements listed in Rwanda's Unit 5:
205 'Conservation and sustainability' were repeated from Unit 4: 'Effects of human activities on
206 ecosystems' and were not counted as new units. The complete spreadsheet showing
207 reference list outcomes and units from each syllabus is available as supplementary material.

208 **CIE influence on content selection**

209 Content units from African syllabi were assigned to reference list outcomes where a match
210 was detected. In many cases, a unit matched more than one reference outcome, meaning
211 that the number of matches could exceed the number of content units in a syllabus.

212 The wording of the content units provided finer-grained analysis, if similar wording indicates
213 CIE influence. Similarity was coded on a scale of 1 - 3, using the following descriptors:

214 1 = similar idea, but wording does not match reference list.

215 2 = similar idea, wording somewhat matches reference list.

216 3 = wording closely matches reference list.

217 Table 3 shows an example of coding for similarity.

218 [Table 3 here]

219

220 **Coding for relevance to each country's context**

221 There are two aspects to contextualizing the syllabus:

222 1. Including African worldviews pertaining to ecology and environmental issues^{3,19}.

223 2. Referencing local ecosystems, environmental issues and/or local IK.

224 The list of units in each African syllabus was scrutinised for mention of African
225 epistemologies with respect to ecology and environmental issue and coded for whether it
226 was generic or relevant to the local context. To qualify as relevant, a unit had to explicitly
227 mention a national/local ecosystem, issue or IK.

228 Table 4 summarizes how coding was carried out and the terms used throughout this paper.

229 [Table 4 here]

230 **Findings**

231 **Influence of CIE on content selection**

232 The number of content units per syllabus ranged from 13 in Botswana, 15 in Malawi, 21 in
233 Uganda, 23 in South Africa, 38 in Lesotho, 46 in Namibia, 50 in Rwanda, and 71 in the
234 reference list. Many units in African syllabi matched more than one outcome from the
235 reference list. The proportion of the reference list matched varied from a high of 62% in
236 Rwanda and 61% in Namibia to lows of 23% in Uganda and 20% in Malawi (Table 5). The
237 percentage match indicates that Namibia and Rwanda were most similar to CIE in terms of
238 broad content selected.

239 [Table 5 here]

240 All seven African syllabi selected content that matched both topics in the reference list.
241 Namibia matched 68% of the outcomes in Topic 19, while Botswana matched only 18%.
242 Botswana omitted the subtopic population size in Topic 19, while Malawi, South Africa and
243 Uganda omitted the subtopic energy flow. Rwanda matched 64% of the outcomes in Topic
244 21, while Malawi matched only 12%. Lesotho, Malawi, and Uganda omitted the subtopic
245 food supply and Malawi also omitted conservation. Apart from those omissions, every
246 reference subtopic was represented by at least one unit in each syllabus.

247 Non-matching content indicates independence from CIE. Table 5 shows that 57% of
248 Ugandan units did not match the reference list, followed by 52% in South Africa, 40% in
249 Malawi and 39% in Rwanda. Botswana, Namibia, and Lesotho had very few units that did
250 not match the reference list.

251 Rwanda and South Africa added the biosphere and biomes, while Rwanda, South Africa
252 Uganda and Malawi included interspecific interactions such as predator-prey relations,
253 competition and commensalism. CIE syllabi omit the abiotic factors of an ecosystem which
254 are present in Rwanda, South Africa, Uganda and Malawi. Uganda emphasized the structure
255 of soil, its importance in the environment and its conservation. Actions to promote
256 conservation are included in six syllabi, the exception being Lesotho. Other non-matching
257 units are diverse.

258 Finer-grained analysis of similarity between each syllabus and the reference list is shown by
259 the percentage of matches scored at levels 1, 2 and 3.

260 [Figure 1 here]

261 Figure 1 shows that the Namibian syllabus had the highest proportion of level 3 matches,
262 followed by Lesotho, Rwanda and Botswana. Malawi, Uganda and South Africa had no level

263 3 matches. Level 2 matches were highest in Botswana, followed by Malawi, Lesotho,
264 Namibia and Rwanda. There were very few level 2 matches in Uganda and South Africa.
265 South Africa, Uganda, Malawi and Botswana have mostly level 1 matches, followed by
266 Rwanda, Lesotho and Namibia.

267 **Inclusion of relevant content**

268 The second research question addresses whether the African syllabi were contextualised for
269 each country. All the African syllabi presented a western science perspective without
270 mentioning African worldviews.

271 Figure 2 shows the percentage of units in each syllabus that are generic or relevant to the
272 country. Clearly, South Africa and Uganda prioritised relevant content, where other countries
273 had more generic than locally relevant content. Namibia, Lesotho and Malawi rarely
274 mentioned local context, while Rwanda and Botswana had more than a quarter of their units
275 relevant to the local context.

276 [Figure 2 here]

277 Table 6 explores the proportion of generic and relevant content by topic. In Namibia, Lesotho
278 and Botswana, all units in Topic 19 were generic, while Malawi and Rwanda had more
279 generic than relevant units. Uganda had about half of its units generic and half relevant,
280 while South Africa had more relevant units than generic. In topic 21, Malawi had all generic
281 units, while Namibia and Lesotho had mostly generic units. Rwanda had somewhat more
282 generic than relevant units, while Botswana had half of its units generic and half relevant.
283 Uganda and South Africa had far more relevant than generic units.

284 [Table 6 here]

285 Two examples of how units were generic or relevant to local context are shown below.

286 Example 1:

287 Reference list outcome 19.4.6 'Define ecosystem as a unit containing the community
288 of organisms and their environment, interacting together, e.g. a decomposing log, or
289 a lake'²⁸.

290 Namibia³¹ and Lesotho³³ closely matched the wording of outcome 19.4.6, including
291 the decomposing log and lake as examples of ecosystems.

292 Uganda contextualised the outcome as: 'Look at a map showing the main physical
293 features of East Africa and identify at least five ecosystems; stating their
294 distinguishing features'^{36(p.45)} and 'Investigate an ecosystem close to the school'^{36(p.33)}.

295 Example 2:
296 Two reference list outcomes mention discarded waste :
297 Outcome 21.3.2: ‘State the sources and effects of pollution of water (rivers, lakes and
298 the sea) by chemical waste, discarded rubbish, untreated sewage and fertilisers.’
299 Outcome 21.3.4: ‘Discuss the effects of non-biodegradable plastics in the
300 environment, in both aquatic and terrestrial ecosystems’.
301 Botswana re-phrased outcome 21.3.2 generically as ‘describe the undesirable effects
302 of water pollution by sewage and inorganic waste’^{35(p. 26)}.
303 South Africa contextualised water pollution, eutrophication, the effect of mining on
304 water quality and thermal pollution by requiring students to observe an example of
305 human influence on the local environment^{34(p.51)}.

306 **Missed opportunities and inappropriate choice of examples**

307 There are numerous missed opportunities in the African syllabi as well as inappropriate
308 choice of examples. The decomposing log and lake are inappropriate examples of
309 ecosystems for Namibia (an arid country) and Lesotho (a mountainous country), both of
310 which have interesting and unique local ecosystems. Neither Rwanda nor Malawi prescribed
311 study of a local ecosystem, which is a missed opportunity in both countries. South Africa and
312 Uganda provided opportunities to investigate biomes and/or local ecosystems in their
313 countries. Malawi chose non-local camels, polar bears and sharks to illustrate adaptations to
314 various environments, thereby missing an opportunity to highlight local species. No country
315 prescribed that countries should identify food chains and food webs in their local
316 environment.

317 Pollution by waste and littering is identified as an environmental problem in southern African
318 countries²⁷. Lesotho and Botswana did not contextualise the outcome, while Namibia,
319 Uganda and South Africa did so through activities.

320 The subtopic conservation provides opportunities to highlight endangered plants and
321 animals and efforts to protect them in each country. Lesotho and Malawi did not identify
322 endangered species in their own countries, while Rwanda prescribed that students research
323 endangered species in Africa broadly. Botswana contextualised the concept by suggesting
324 that students investigate local threatened species and the need to conserve them. Both
325 Rwanda and Uganda omitted the threatened mountain gorilla populations in their countries,
326 a missed opportunity for this charismatic species. Namibia and South Africa used local
327 contexts by suggesting that students investigate rhinoceros poaching in their countries and

328 South Africa listed elephants in the Kruger National Park as an example of culling.
329 Sustainable harvesting for food, building materials and traditional medicines should be
330 included in each syllabus but is not.

331 Indigenous knowledge was rarely mentioned in any of the African syllabi. South Africa listed
332 indigenous knowledge related to sustainable use of plants in the local environment, while
333 Botswana had a statement relating to local knowledge about conservation: 'Find out from the
334 local community which plants and animals have become scarce and why.'^{35(p25)}. Uganda did
335 not mention indigenous or traditional knowledge specifically but asked students to 'discuss
336 what steps farmers and gardeners in their locality take to maintain the fertility of their
337 soils'^{36(p.23)}. Malawi asked students to Identify organisms using local and scientific names,
338 giving the examples lion, leopard, cow, dog, mango, maize, housefly, cockroach, bees³⁷.

339 **Discussion**

340 Findings give the following interpretations of CIE influence on African curricula:

- 341 • Namibia and Lesotho were strongly influenced by CIE as indicated by a relatively
342 high proportion of matches with the reference list, most of the matches being at
343 levels 2 and 3, and a small number of non-matching units. Both countries had few
344 units that are relevant to their context. They have reduced the breadth of CIE syllabi.
345 The syllabi were co-developed with CIE⁶ but very little adaption has taken place.
- 346 • Rwanda matches CIE's content selection, with a large proportion of its matches at
347 levels 2 and 3. Many CIE outcomes are replicated almost verbatim. Departure from
348 CIE is indicated by the large number of non-matching units. About a quarter of its
349 units are relevant to the context, particularly the human influence topic. Rwanda's
350 syllabus is an adaption of CIE syllabi to its context⁶ but it also departs from CIE with
351 additional units.
- 352 • Botswana has a much narrower syllabus than the reference list, but most of its units
353 matched CIE outcomes with only one non-matching unit, indicating strong CIE
354 influence on selection of content. It re-worded CIE outcomes, half of which are
355 assigned to levels 2 and 3 and contextualised a significant proportion of the human
356 influences topic. The Botswana syllabus adapts the CIE syllabus to its local context⁶.
- 357 • Malawi has a much narrower syllabus than the reference list and 40% of its units do
358 not match the reference list. Nevertheless, 36% of its 14 matches are at level 2,
359 indicating some CIE influence. Most of its syllabus is generic. Despite some similarity
360 to CIE syllabi, it does not appear to be an adaption of CIE syllabi, nor is it relevant to
361 the local context.

- 362 • Uganda has few matches with the reference list and 57% of its units not matching.
363 Very few of its matches are at level 2 and its content is mostly relevant to its context.
364 Its syllabus appears independent of CIE influence, yet it acknowledges assistance
365 from Cambridge Education and Curriculum Foundation³⁶. It is consistent with co-
366 development between CIE consultants and local curriculum developers.
- 367 • South Africa matches almost half of the reference list indicating similar selection of
368 content to CIE. All but one match is at level 1, and South Africa adds a significant
369 proportion of non-matching units. Most of its units are relevant to the country's
370 context. South Africa's syllabus is independent of CIE influence.

371

372 None of the syllabi mention indigenous ways of understanding ecosystems^{9,14,19}. All seven
373 syllabi support western scientific epistemology, meaning that they have not decolonised. The
374 continued influence of CIE in some African syllabi might be interpreted as neocolonialism⁴ or
375 a device to perpetuate cultural imperialism³⁸ and the privileged status of western
376 science^{3,10,13}. 'Neocolonial mind-snatching'³⁸ and 'curriculum epistemicide'³⁹ describe subtle
377 processes which cause indigenous peoples to devalue their own epistemologies in favour of
378 western science and may account for adherence to western science in African syllabi. The
379 'ghost of colonialism past' could account for CIE's influence in countries which followed
380 Cambridge syllabi after independence (e.g. Lesotho and Botswana) but does not account for
381 CIE influence in non-British colonies such as Rwanda and Namibia, nor departure from CIE
382 in Uganda and Malawi.

383 Each syllabus included in this study was locally constructed by curriculum developers with or
384 without assistance from CIE or other organisations from the global North. CIE cannot be
385 assumed to have promoted western science at the expense of African epistemologies since
386 its adaption principles promote relevance, meaningfulness, respect and responsiveness to
387 students' culture and worldviews⁸. It is more likely that African countries willingly subscribe to
388 western scientific worldviews which are incompatible with indigenous epistemologies²³, and
389 which provide access to powerful knowledge. This accounts for the adoption of CIE-like
390 syllabi in at least four of the seven African countries studied here. The silence regarding
391 African epistemologies does not assist African students who claim to feel alienated from
392 western science^{3,19,40}.

393 Guidance principle 4 recommends including local IK, as distinct from epistemology, in the
394 curriculum⁷. Relevant IK could equip students with knowledge and appreciation of their
395 natural environments, skills and attitudes to appreciate and improve sustainable use thereof.
396 A relevant curriculum offers rich and authentic contexts for learning science¹⁵ in a hybrid
397 science syllabus^{10,13,20}. However, there are very few examples of local IK and hybrid science

398 in the African syllabi analysed in this study. Difficulties with prescribing African IK include its
399 local, culturally-specific, and orally transmitted nature³ and its inaccessibility due to lack of
400 written documents. Rapid urbanisation, modern medicines, materials and foods, the mingling
401 of different cultures²⁶ and exponential advances in information technology have detached
402 many African students from their traditional roots, rendering local IK obsolete in modern
403 contexts¹⁴. Scientific research and technological development underpin future prosperity and
404 quality living in African countries and western science is recognised as the vehicle to achieve
405 economic development^{3,10,14}.

406 Guidance principle 3 advises that syllabi should include locally relevant examples^{6,8}. Five of
407 the seven African syllabi gave more attention to generic than to local contexts. South Africa
408 leads the way, followed by Uganda, in using local, relevant examples to illustrate ecology
409 and environmental issues. It is most unfortunate that so few countries teach students about
410 their local environment and environmental issues.

411 None of the seven countries analysed here have decolonised their biology syllabus by
412 incorporating African worldviews. Four syllabi show close affinity with CIE, supporting
413 continued CIE influence in their curriculum development. Five syllabi mostly failed to heed
414 Jegede's¹⁴ call to teach science that is relevant to the sociocultural environment of the
415 student. Learning about local contexts would encourage students to take informed
416 custodianship of their natural environment, thereby addressing the environmental issues that
417 threaten African countries¹⁸. It makes no sense for students to study non-local ecosystems
418 when their own unique ecosystems are vulnerable, nor for students to study foreign plants
419 and animals instead of threatened species in their own countries. Uganda and South Africa
420 provide examples of how a locally relevant syllabus for ecology and the environment might
421 be constructed.

422

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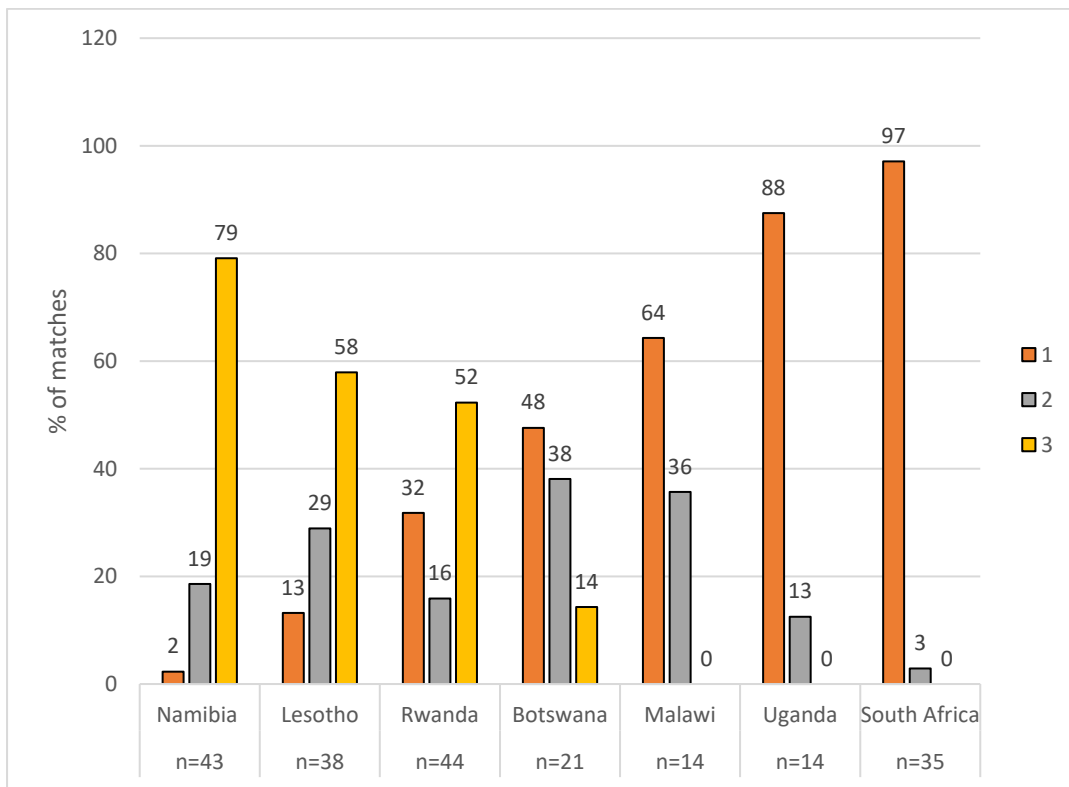
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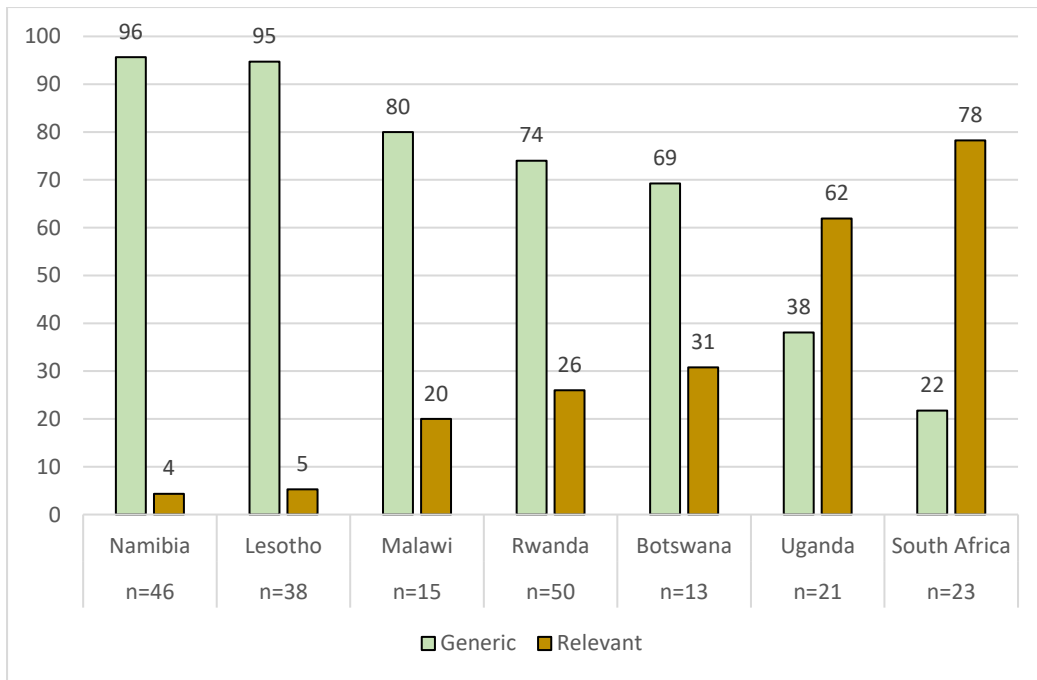
538 **Figures**



539

540 Figure 1: Percentage of matches in each African syllabus at similarity levels 1-3.

541



542

543 Figure 2: Percentage of content units that are generic or relevant in seven African syllabi. n=
 544 number of units per syllabus.

545

546 Table 1: CIE Reference list for ecology and the human impact on the environment.

Topic 19: Organisms and their environment	
	Number of learning outcomes
19.1 Energy flow	2
19.2 Food chains and food webs	21
19.3 Nutrient cycles	5
19.4 Population size (includes definitions of communities and ecosystems)	10
Topic 21 Human influences on ecosystems	
21.1 Food supply	5
21.2 Habitat destruction	4
21.3 Pollution	9
21.4 Conservation (includes sustainability)	15

547

548

549 Table 2: Countries and syllabus documents analysed in this study.

Country	Syllabus	Years of schooling	Qualification	Years in which ecology and environmental issues are taught
Namibia	Namibia Senior Secondary Certificate (NSSC) ³¹	9-11	NSSC O-Level	10 and 11
Rwanda	Rwanda O-Level ³²	7-9	Ordinary Level	8 and 9
Lesotho	Lesotho GCSE ³³	10-11	Cambridge GCE O-Level	10 and 11
South Africa	National Curriculum Statement ³⁴	10-12	National Senior Certificate	10 and 11
Botswana	Botswana General Certificate of Secondary Education ³⁵	11-12	Botswana GCSE	11 and 12
Uganda	Uganda Lower Secondary ³⁶	8-11	O-Level	9 and 11
Malawi	Malawi School Certificate of Education (MSCE) ³⁷	9-12	MSCE	11 and 12

550

551

552 Table 3: Example of coding for similarity between CIE reference list and matching units from
 553 African syllabi.

Syllabus	Matching outcomes/units	Similarity code
CIE reference list	19.4 Identify and state the factors affecting the rate of population growth for a population of an organism, limited to food supply, predation and disease^{29(p.40)}.	
Lesotho and Rwanda	State the factors affecting the rate of population growth for a population of an organism (limited to food supply, predation and disease), and describe their importance ^{32(p.84),33(p.23)}	3
Namibia	State the factors affecting the rate of population growth for a range of living organisms ^{30 (p.32)} .	2
South Africa	Population size: immigration, emigration, mortality, births; fluctuations. Limiting factors and carrying capacity ^{33 (p.49)} .	1

554

555

556 Table 4: Example of coding and terminology used in the study. Highlighted text shows how
 557 matches were detected.

Content unit from an African syllabus	Number of units	Number of matches	Similarity index	Generic / relevant
Discuss how poor agricultural methods result in destruction of the ecosystem , e.g. monoculture , excessive use of fertilisers and pesticides , overstocking , deforestation ^{35,(p.26)} .	1	4		Generic
Matching outcomes from reference list				
21.1.1 State how modern technology has resulted in increased food production in terms of: ... chemical fertilisers to improve yields; insecticides to improve quality and yield; herbicides to reduce competition with weeds.....			1	
21.1.2 Describe the negative impacts to an ecosystem of large-scale monocultures of crop plants			2	
21.1.3 Describe the negative impacts of intensive livestock production .			1	
21.2.4 Explain the undesirable effects of deforestation on the environment.			1	

558

559

560 Table 5: Number and percentage of matches between seven African syllabi and CIE
 561 reference list.

	Namibia	Rwanda	Lesotho	South Africa	Botswana	Uganda	Malawi
Total matching reference list (n=71 outcomes)							
Number of matches	43	44	39	35	21	16	14
% of reference list matched	61%	62%	54%	49%	30%	23%	20%
Topic 19: Organisms and their environment (n=38 outcomes)							
Number of matches	26	23	27	18	7	9	10
% of reference list matched	68%	58%	34%	47%	18%	24%	26%
Topic 21: Human influences on ecosystems (n=33 outcomes)							
Number of matches	17	21	12	17	14	7	4
% of reference list matched	52%	64%	36%	52%	42%	21%	12%

562

563

564 Table 6: Number and percentage of units that are generic and relevant per topic and
 565 country.

	Namibia	Lesotho	Malawi	Rwanda	Botswana	Uganda	South Africa
Total number of units	46	38	15	50	13	21	23
Topic 19: Organisms and their environment							
Generic	27 (100%)	25 (100%)	7 (70%)	27 (82%)	5 (100%)	7 (47%)	5 (36%)
Relevant to context	0	0	3 (30%)	6 (18%)	0	8 (53%)	9 (64%)
Topic 21: Human influences on environment							
Generic	17 (85%)	11 (79%)	5 (100%)	10 (59%)	4 (50%)	1 (17%)	0
Relevant to context	2 (10%)	2 (14%)	0	7 (41%)	4 (50%)	5 (83%)	9 (100%)

566

567