A Case Study of the Rise and Decline of Arabic in the Further Education and Training Phase in Selected KwaZulu-Natal Muslim Schools

By

Shaukat Dawood

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Supervisor: Dr B Campbell

Date submitted: June 2023

Declaration

I, Shaukat Dawood, declare that:

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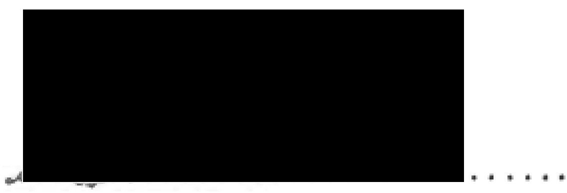

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Statement by the Supervisor

This thesis has been submitted with my approval.

Signature

29 June 2023

Dr Bridget Campbell

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my father, Dawood Abdool Kader, who had humble means but wanted the best for his children. He was the candle that consumed itself to give light to his children; equally, my beloved mother, Sherifa Bibi Dastageer, was the family's pillar and strength. I also acknowledge my teachers from childhood to adulthood. They were indeed faithful servants of their profession. Lastly, all my siblings, colleagues, friends, and family members were always encouraging throughout my doctoral journey.

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Abstract

The rise of Arabic in Kwazulu-Natal is related to the relentless efforts of disenfranchised migrant Muslims who arrived in 1860. They believed a holistic Islamic identity requires balancing Islamic traditions and Academic excellence. Thus, Arabic was included as a school subject to further augment the Muslim school approach in 1975. However, in a period of unequal and segregated Apartheid education, Arabic faced numerous challenges to survive as a school subject. Likewise, post-Apartheid desegregation and the abrogation of state-aided Muslim schools resulted in the proliferation of Muslim schools and the migration of Arabic from public and state-aided to Independent Muslim schools. Concomitantly, Muslim schools pledged at the 1996 Islamisation Conference in Cape Town to renew the early Muslim school approach and transform them into enclaves of incubating an Islamic ethos via Islamic traditions. Despite the conference endorsing Arabic as an integrative component of Islamic traditions, from around 2006, Arabic as a school subject began its decline in South African Muslim schools. This study attempts to unravel the rise and decline of Arabic in KwaZulu-Natal schools, focusing on selected Muslim schools.

Abbreviations used in this study

FET	Further Education and Training – high school, grades 10,11 and 12
AMS	The Association of Muslim Schools was established in 1989 to string Muslim schools together.
SAL	Second Additional Language
NCS	National Curriculum Statement
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
UCT	University of Cape Town
UWC	University of Western Cape
UJ	University of Johannesburg
UP	University of Pretoria
RAU	Rand Afrikaans University
UNISA	University of South Africa
SAW صلي الله عليه و سلم	The Arabic abbreviation for peace and blessings be upon Muhammed
UUCSA	United Ulema Council of South Africa
SPAL	Society for the Promotion of Arabic
AWQAF	A charitable endowment-receiving organization

Glossary of Terms

Ahaadith – prophetic narrations, actions, approvals and disapprovals that Muhammads' companions recorded and later formalised as a science to constitute a primary source of guidance for Muslims apart from the Qur'an, also known as **Sunnah.**

Aligarh - was initially established by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan as the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College in 1875 in Aligarh, Uttar Pradesh, India. Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College became Aligarh Muslim University in 1920, following the Aligarh Muslim University Act.

Apartheid Government - in 1948, the Afrikaner nationalist party won the elections and replaced the Union government. They went on to institutionalise Apartheid and establish segregated rule from 1948 to 1994.

(CAPS) National Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement - a single, comprehensive, and concise policy document introduced by the Department of Basic Education to replace NCS in 2012 for all the subjects listed in the National Curriculum Statement for Grades R – 12

The Circle - the Arabic Study Circle was established in 1954 by a group of Western-educated middle-class Muslims desiring to learn the language of the Qur'an so that they could interpret and understand it in a socially relevant and intellectually creative manner.

The 1952 Conference - The Natal Muslim Provincial Educational Conference was convened in 1952 to obtain a mandate from KwaZulu-Natal's Muslims to promote the Muslim school approach and the Arabic language due to opposition from ultra-conservative Muslims.

Curriculum 2005 - Curriculum 2005 was an attempt to provide an outcomes-based framework for school education in South Africa. Implemented in 1997 from grades 1-12 and repealed by NCS in 2006.

Darul Ulumn – traditional Islamic Seminary institutions that prepare Imams and theologians to serve the Muslim community

Deen – an Arabic word for religion

Islamisation is an Islamic teaching pedagogy that became widespread after the first Islamisation Conference in Makkah in 1977. It entailed the reintegration of Islamic traditions into academic sciences underpinned by an Islamic paradigm based on the Qur'an and Sunnah

The 1977 Islamisation Conference – the first of eight World Education Conferences convened in Makkah to reintegrate Islamic traditions into academic sciences.

The 1996 Islamisation Conference - the sixth World Education Conference convened in Cape Town in 1996. The conference took the form of workshops and focussed on the Islamisation of Muslim schools.

Kithaab – an Arabic word for book

The Madrassa is a traditional Islamic school that teaches children the elementary sciences to practise Islam. Generally, the syllabus employed in these madrassas is called **the Islamiat syllabus**.

Mohammedan or Anglo-Arabic and Franco-Arabic Schools is a colonial project that attempted to include Arabic and Islamic subjects in the academic school day. They were initiated to train an educated native class to serve their colonial masters. In Zanzibar, they were called *Diana*.

The Muslim School Approach - a philosophy of education to promote an Islamic ethos grounded in balancing Islamic traditions with academic subjects

Nashi'in - A communicative syllabus designed in the late 70s by the University of Riyadh to teach non-Arabic speaking learners the skills of listening, speaking, reading, and writing

Qalam - pen

The Qur'an - the Islamic canon revealed to Muhammad either out of necessity, incident, or context over 23 years in Arabic verses via the Archangel Jibraeel. His companions memorised these verses, compiling them in a holy book called the Qur'an.

Qur'anic Schools -traditional schools that teach the recitation, memorisation, writing and explanation of the Qur'an and the Arabic language

The Schools Act - the South African Schools Act 84 of 1996 - was promulgated by the new democratic government to equalise the distorted Apartheid schooling system.

Shajarah - tree

Sunnah – during his lifetime, Muhammad's companions noted his words, actions, approval or disapproval. These nuances were later canonised as science and compiled by notable Islamic scholars.

Ulema - Muslim theologians and Imams

Ulum al Juz'iyyah – a branch of Islamic education that taught specific sciences like mathematics

Geometry, astronomy and practical philosophy

Union Government - A union government of the British and Afrikaner republics comprising the Cape, Natal, Orange Free State, and Transvaal that governed South Africa from 1910 to 1948

The Urdu language - Urdu is an Indo-Aryan language spoken chiefly in South Asia. It is the national language and lingua franca of Pakistan.

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Chapter One

Overview of study

1.1 Introduction to the Study

This study on the Arabic language in selected Muslim schools in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa (the research site) explores the rise and decline of Arabic in the Further Education and Training (FET) phase (grades 10,11 and 12) within the context of selected Muslim schools as dual providers of academic education and Islamic traditions. Furthermore, it envisions teaching and learning Arabic as an integrative component of Islamic traditions and a significant variable of the integrated Muslim school approach. As a result, the teaching and learning of Arabic in the research site take place for its Islamic utility, and learners select it as a second additional language (SAL). Further, it has a foreign language status, given that the local community on the research site does not speak Arabic.

As an Islamic foreign language, Arabic gained prominence with the spread of Islam from 7th-century Arabia (Dawood, 2008; Ryding, 2005). Research studies explain that while Europe was in the dark ages from the 7th to the 12th century, Islam and Arabic flourished from the Iberian peninsula in the West to Central and South Asia in the East (Bloom, 2020; Meri, 2018; Ryding, 2005). For instance, the arrival of Arab tribes into North Africa provoked significant movement and mixing of Arab and local Berber tribes, resulting in Arab territorial expansion and the diffusion of Islam, the Qur'an and the Arabic language across the entire North African region (Holes, 2004; Pereira, 2017; Tilmatine, 2015). Others, like the Indian, Persian, and sub-Saharan nations, employed Arabic as a Lingua Franca for literacy and business transactions. For example, written communication and business transactions in East and West Africa took place in Arabic (Launay, 2016; Tiliouine & Estes, 2016), and the recent discovery of libraries containing vast amounts of manuscripts written in the Arabic language is a clear indication of the significance of Arabic as a language of literacy in sub-Saharan Africa (Lliteras, 2017; Shuriye & Ibrahim, 2013). Such was the influence of Arabic that numerous countries in sub-Saharan Africa and Central and South Asia substituted the Arabic writing system for their native languages (Dawood, 2008; Hassane, 2008; Naz et al., 2013). As a result, Islam became a world religion (Asad, 1993; Denny, 2015; Küng & Bowden, 2007; Lewis & Churchill, 2008). Subsequently, Muslim converts learnt Arabic for religious and literacy purposes, resulting in Makkah, Madinah, Damascus, Baghdad, Cairo and Cordoba in the West becoming global centres of learning and knowledge dissemination from the 7th to the 12th centuries (Dawood, 2008; Tiliouine & Estes, 2016).

On the other hand, Ernst (2013) postulates that Arabic gained prominence due to the Arab conquests that projected Arabic as an educational, social and political language in the emerging Muslim Empire.

In contrast to the above postulations, research shows that the prominence of Arabic was due to its contribution to translating and preserving the ancient documents of the previous nations, mainly the Greek and Persian manuscripts. As a result, Arabic became an indispensable knowledge production language in the Arts, Culture and Sciences (Renima et al., 2016; Tiliouine & Estes, 2016). Furthermore, the spread of Islam also created a substantial need among new converts in sub-Saharan Africa, Europe and Central and South Asia to learn Arabic as a religious language (Launay, 2016; Retnawati et al., 2020).

For instance, almost two billion people globally articulate Arabic as a language of religion, education and culture (Bashir et al., 2022; Versteegh, 2014). However, only approximately 450 million people are Arabic mother-tongue speakers (Versteegh, 2014), meaning that most Arabic users employ Arabic as a foreign language. Thus, the widespread use of Arabic as a foreign language mainly for religious purposes further verifies the symbiotic relationship between Arabic and Islam (Al Allaq, 2007; Al Shlowiy, 2022).

Given the foreign language status of Arabic, it is pertinent to distinguish between a second language and a foreign language. Kramsch (2000) explains that second language teaching and learning takes place by migrants wanting to learn the local community's language. In contrast, foreign language teaching and learning occur where the local community do not speak the target language, but there is a significant demand for learning it. Thus, as an Islamic foreign language, the teaching and learning of Arabic spread throughout the Islamic world, driven mainly by parents wanting their children to preserve their Islamic identity and for liturgical purposes (Mohamed, 1997; Ryding & Allen, 2013; Timani, 2006).

More recently, research shows that the latter part of the 20th century witnessed the mass migration of Arabs and Muslims to Western countries (Abdalla et al., 2018; Elannani, 2014; Timani, 2006). While the search for better living conditions prompted this migration, research also shows that Muslims in the Western diaspora faced numerous challenges (Elannani, 2014). These challenges include providing Islamic education for their children (Rifai & Sandy, 2019). To counter the loss of Islamic identity in their children, Muslims in the West increasingly set up various institutions like weekend madrassas and Islamic schools (Abdalla et al., 2018; Elannani, 2014; Rifai & Sandy, 2019). Often, these institutions offer a model of education that integrates Islamic traditions with academic education (Abdalla et al., 2018), and the Arabic language is an integral part of Islamic traditions (Elannani, 2014; Rifai & Sandy, 2019).

Similarly, migrant Muslims arrived in Kwa-Zulu Natal between 1860 and 1911. To preserve their children's Islamic identity and ethos, they established community self-help projects like madrassas and Muslim schools to teach Arabic for liturgical purposes of communicating, reading, writing, and

understanding sacred texts. In this vein, Muslim schools in KwaZulu-Natal vigorously promoted Arabic in the Apartheid and immediate post-Apartheid period. However, since 2008, the Arabic language (thereafter, FET Arabic) has shown a marked decline in the FET phase in Muslim schools. This study explores the rise and decline of FET Arabic in selected Muslim schools, focusing on why learners' FET-level subject choices led to this decline. Furthermore, how this decline impacts Muslim schools to promote an integrated education between academics and Islamic traditions, I frame this rise and decline within the Muslim school approach by deconstructing the events that led to the inauguration of the Muslim school approach and the subsequent promotion of the Arabic language as an integrated Muslim school subject from 1975.

This chapter explains the background of the study and provides a brief overview of this case study by engaging the background knowledge, purpose, and significance. What follows is the problem statement. After that, the research objectives, critical research questions, and methodological overview are presented. Finally, the chapter concludes with the study's rationale, significance, contributions, and outline.

1.1.1 Background of School Arabic in the Research Site

Regarding teaching and learning Arabic in South Africa, historically, two distinct migrant Muslim communities promoted Arabic as an integral component of their educational attainment: enslaved Cape Malays and migrant Indians.

The Dutch were the first to bring Muslim political prisoners, enslaved people and support staff (Cape Malays) from the Malay Archipelago to the Cape of Good Hope from 1658 to 1834 (Bangstad, 2004; Davids & Waghid, 2021; Fataar, 2010). Later, the British transported indentured labourers and free passengers from British India to KwaZulu-Natal from 1860 to 1911 (Bhana & Vahed, 2011; Davids & Waghid, 2021). Hence, two distinct Muslim communities settled in South Africa: Cape Malays on the Western Coast (Western Cape) and migrant Indians on the Eastern Coast (KwaZulu-Natal). Research shows that the Arabic language was intrinsic to these disparate Muslim communities (Mohamed, 1997), and since their arrival, they strove to preserve and promote it in informal settings, traditional madrassas, and Muslim schools (Mall & Nieman, 2002; McDonald, 2018; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015; Versteegh, 2015).

In addition to preserving Islamic traditions and the Arabic language, under colonial rule, the disenfranchised migrant Muslims were also concerned about occupational mobility, mainly as a survival tool to counter the dominant Western worldview that propounded educational attainment as a prerequisite of occupational mobility (McKeever, 2017; Rugunanan, 2020; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). In line with these developments, public schooling became a global phenomenon at the beginning of the

20th century (Burger, 2014). Here in South Africa, the scarcity of public schools prompted the British government to make provisions for state-aided schools in their Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal colonies (Haron, 2016; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Cape Malays and KwaZulu-Natal Muslims took advantage of this provision, establishing numerous state-aided Muslim schools to provide integrated education between Islamic traditions and the academic sciences (Haron, 2016). The first Muslim schools were founded in 1913 and 1947 in the Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, respectively (Davids, 2019; Esau, 2014; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Moreover, Muslim schools were dual providers of Islamic traditions and academic education, teaching the Arabic language as an integrative component of Islamic traditions. Furthermore, due to the scarcity of schooling provisions up to 1970, Muslim schools were primary education providers for Muslim and non-Muslim denominations (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015).

In 1910, the Afrikaners and British colonial governments jointly ruled KwaZulu-Natal under a Union government. However, in 1948, the Afrikaners won the election and established an Apartheid state. In line with grand Apartheid policies, the Apartheid government divided education into four unequally financed and segregated streams of white, Indian, coloured, and black education (Hunter, 2019; Mouton et al., 2013; Spaull, 2013). In this system, the government categorised Muslim schools as either coloured or Indian-segregated religious schools, propounding an Islamic ethos (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). However, despite their religious status, Dangor (2014) explains that Muslims were unhappy with the limited teaching time the government allowed for Islamic traditions. For instance, Sheik's (1994) study on Muslim schools records a mere one and a half hours per week for religious education at the Lockhat Islamia school in 1992. In a strategic move to circumvent this deficiency, KwaZulu-Natal Muslim schools and the Arabic Study Circle (the Circle), an organisation for promoting Arabic, successfully petitioned the Apartheid government to institutionalise Arabic as an official school subject (Jeppie, 2007; Mohamed, 1997). Thus, from 1975, learners could choose Arabic as one of their elective subjects in secondary school (Dawood, 2008; Mohamed, 1997). In essence, the changing status of Arabic from a religious subject to an official school subject was a tactical move as it almost doubled the educational time for religious studies. As a result, many Muslim learners selected Arabic as an elective subject (Dangor S, 2022). Thus, FET Arabic was a popular subject in the Apartheid and the immediate post-Apartheid period, with learners sitting for the Matric Arabic exam by 1979 (Medar, 1987).

Jeppie (2011) further explains that by 1987, at least three hundred learners were sitting for the FET Arabic exam. I was one of those three hundred learners. I recalled FET Arabic creating tremendous hype on community platforms like mosques and traditional madrassas, calling Muslim parents to encourage their children to take Arabic as a matric subject. Research studies record that by 1993, Arabic was offered in 8921 state Primary and 1124 secondary schools (Davids, 2019; Mohamed, 2002). As a result, FET Arabic became an established school subject in segregated Muslim state-aided, public and

a handful of Independent Muslim schools during the Apartheid period (1975-1994). However, the transition from Apartheid to democracy in 1994 resulted in widespread educational transformation.

Driven by constitutional imperatives, the post-Apartheid government inaugurated the South African Schools Act 84 of 1996 (The Schools Act) (du Plessis & Mestry, 2019). The Schools Act redistributed school provisions from a model that disproportionately financed white schools while marginalising black schools to an equal educational attainment model (du Plessis & Mestry, 2019; Linda, 2012). As a result, post-Apartheid educational transformation rearranged the South African schooling landscape, heralding a new chapter for FET Arabic. The Schools Act abrogated state-aided schools (Davids, 2014). Since state-aided schools were the primary providers of integrated Muslim education, these reforms significantly impacted FET Arabic.

For example, the Schools Act gave state-aided Muslim schools the option of maintaining their state-funded public school status but with no religious provisions or opting for privatisation as independent schools with the freedom of promoting religious education (Dangor, 2014). To maintain their integrated status between Islamic traditions and academics, numerous state-aided Muslim schools chose privatisation over public status (Dangor, 2014; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015), resulting in hundreds of former state-aided Muslim school learners being classified overnight as independent Muslim school learners (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). In addition, the Schools Act desegregated all historically public schools. However, historically, black schools were dysfunctional, leading to an influx of black learners from township schools into historically segregated white, Indian, and coloured government schools (Hill-Jackson, 2017; Soudien, 2004; Vally & Dalamba, 2002).

Desegregation policies, on the other hand, created perceptions of overcrowded classrooms, ill-discipline, racial profiling and a drop in standards, prompting an exodus of learners from historically segregated schools (Davids, 2014, 2019; Fataar, 2003; Hill-Jackson, 2017; Niehaus, 2008). In short, the cause and effect of desegregation resulted in an exodus of mainly coloured and Indian learners from historically segregated government schools (Naidoo, 1996; Vally & Dalamba, 2002) into Independent and Model C schools (Davids, 2019), resulting in the further depletion of Arabic learners from historically segregated government schools. Research shows that desegregation and privatisation of Muslim state-aided schools were causal factors for the proliferation of the Muslim school concept post-Apartheid (Davids, 2019; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). A significant by-product of this proliferation was the migration of Arabic learners from public schools to independent Muslim schools post-apartheid. Thus, Arabic found a new home in Independent Muslim schools post-Apartheid.

1.1.2 Background to the Integrated Muslim School Approach

Regarding the integrated Muslim school approach, Haron (2016) describes Muslim schools as providers of integrated education between Islamic traditions and the academic sciences. However, recent studies have criticised Muslim schools for failing to balance academic subjects with Islamic traditions (Abdalla et al., 2018; Davids, 2019; Davids & Waghid, 2021; Othman et al., 2017; Sahin, 2018; Tayob, 2012). For instance, Tayob (2012) asserts that Muslim schools overly emphasise academics while affording insufficient notional time to Islamic traditions. Similarly, Abdalla et al. (2018) also postulate that Muslim schools are increasingly associated with academic excellence compared to Islamic traditions. On the other hand, Lubis et al. (2009) assert that simply adding Islamic traditions to academics in a hybrid model is insufficient. Moreover, a dearth of researchers believes that integrating Islamic traditions and academics must occur on a model that nurtures an Islamic ethos in the learner (Abdalla et al., 2018; Adam, 2004; Khan, 2006; Lubis, 2015; Lubis et al., 2009; Niyozov & Memon, 2011; Othman et al., 2017; Sheik, 1994). In line with these research studies, this study defines integrated Muslim schools as schools *that promote an Islamic ethos grounded in the teaching and learning of Islamic traditions while at the same time striving to achieve academic excellence.*

Regarding the Muslim school approach, historically, state-aided South African Muslim schools were dual providers of Islamic traditions alongside academic education. In this system, the teaching and learning of Arabic took place under Islamic traditions. Therefore, from inception, they were integrated educational providers of Islamic traditions and academic education (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015), commonly known as the integrated Muslim school approach (Davids & Waghid, 2021).

1.1.3 Background to the Arabic Language as a Component of the Islamic Traditions

Regarding the Arabic language as a component of Islamic traditions, the early migrant Muslims desired a balanced education for their children between academics and Islamic traditions. Accordingly, they pioneered a costly Muslim school approach that integrated Islamic traditions and Academic subjects. Vahed and Waetjen (2015) explain that to support this initiative, they convened the Natal Muslim Provincial Educational Conference in 1952 (The 1952 conference). The 1952 conference produced two landmark resolutions: one, to promote the Muslim school approach; two, to promote the Arabic language as the lingua franca of migrant Muslims in KwaZulu-Natal (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). In line with the 1952 conference resolutions, KwaZulu-Natal's Muslim schools have relentlessly promoted the integrated Muslim school approach and the Arabic language as an integral component of this approach (Adam, 2004; Mohamed, 1997; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015).

In line with the integrated schooling vision, from 1947 to 1959, they established five Muslim schools in KwaZulu-Natal. These schools became primary providers of integrated education for KwaZulu-

Natal's migrant Muslims (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Furthermore, to promote the Arabic language, co-members of Muslim schools established the Arabic Study Circle in 1954 (Jeppie, 2007). Research studies show that co-members of the Circle and Muslim schools played a symbiotic role in promoting Arabic in KwaZulu-Natal (Jeppie, 2011; Mohamed, 1997; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). For instance, the Circle created their first milestone by establishing an Arabic chair at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in 1971 (then the University of Durban Westville). To complement this initiative, the Circle created their second milestone by successfully petitioning the Department of Education to declare Arabic an official school subject in 1975 (Haron, 2014; Jeppie, 2007; Mohamed, 1997; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015).

Furthermore, to support school Arabic, the Circle, in conjunction with Muslim schools, spearheaded numerous provincial courses, workshops and seminars to facilitate the teaching and learning of Arabic as a Matric school subject (Dangor et al., 1990; Dawood, 2008; Mall & Nieman, 2002). Likewise, in the post-Apartheid period, when the Schools Act compelled them to choose between public and independent status, they chose independent status to preserve the integrated Muslim school approach. Lastly, in line with the above events, the Sixth World Education Conference in Cape Town endorsed Arabic as one of the eleven subjects integral to the integrated Muslim school approach (Khan, 2006).

The above suggests that Muslim schools relentlessly promoted Arabic as part of the integrated Muslim school approach and strategically employed it during Apartheid to double the allocation of Islamic subjects (Jeppie, 2007; Mohamed, 1997; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). On the one hand, Mohamed (1997) states that the Apartheid government granted Arabic official school status because it was sacred to Muslims and integral to their cultural and religious identity. On the other hand, Rakometsi (2008) asserts that it was Apartheid policy to promote the cultural uniqueness of disparate race groups. Thus, he alludes that the Apartheid government only approved Arabic as a school subject because it conformed to the greater scheme of Grand Apartheid that propounded cultural diversity within segregated spheres. Nonetheless, Muslims worked relentlessly to promote the Arabic language as a component of Islamic traditions and a variable of the Muslim school approach (Jeppie, 2007; Mohamed, 1997).

1.1.4 The Focus and Purpose of the Study

From my practitioner experience, the migration of Arabic to Independent Muslim schools between 1996 and 1998 (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015) created tremendous hype among Muslim school stakeholders. Many in the Muslim community were optimistic that the Arabic language would reach new heights in its new home. I argue that these sentiments were encouraged by the integrative Muslim school approach that promoted Islamic traditions alongside academics. In a strategic move to adopt this approach, the Association of Muslim Schools (AMS) convinced the organisers of the 6th World Education Conference (The 1996 Islamisation Conference) to convene it in Cape Town, South Africa. The conference

subsequently focused on the integrative Muslim school approach and endorsed Arabic as an integrated subject (Khan, 2006).

Regarding the relationship of Arabic to Islamic traditions and Muslim schools, Alshaer and Sabry (2012) explain that Muslims love Arabic because it is the language of the Qur'an and heaven. However, contrary to these expectations, the sceptical paradox is well-known amongst Muslim school stakeholders. FET Arabic enrolment is experiencing a significant decline in South African Muslim schools post-Apartheid, mainly in KwaZulu-Natal, particularly after 2008 (AMS, 2021).

This study explores the rise and decline of FET Arabic in four selected Muslim schools in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, with a particular focus on the subject choices of learners since 2008 in the FET phase, exploring why learners select academic subjects instead of Arabic. Through open-ended interviews with Muslim school principals and Arabic teachers, I conducted a case study of the four Muslim schools in KwaZulu-Natal to solicit their experiences, perceptions, and views, exploring the reasons for this rise and decline.

This study further explores how this decline impacts Muslim schools to promote an integrative Muslim school approach that balances academic subjects and Islamic traditions. In this vein, I frame this rise and decline within the Muslim school approach by deconstructing the events that led to the inauguration of the Muslim school approach and the subsequent promotion of the Arabic language as an integrated Muslim school subject since 1975.

1.1.5 Background Terminology

1.1.5.1 The Muslim School Approach

This study defines the independent Muslim school approach as an educational pedagogy that promotes a Muslim school ethos grounded in the teaching and learning of Islamic traditions while striving to achieve academic excellence. With this view in mind, Tan (2014) defines Muslim schools as educational institutions that transmit Islamic knowledge while inculcating Islamic values and ethos.

1.1.5.2 An Islamic Ethos

Regarding the inculcation of an Islamic ethos in learners, Lubis (2015) describes it as the equilibrium in mind, body, and spirit, aiming to obtain richness of the heart and brilliance of the mind. Yaacob

and Embong (2008) assert that when this ethos is embedded in an individual, it results in his 'thoughts, actions, and attitudes manifested toward an Islamic way of life' (p. 3).

1.1.5.3 Arabic: an Integrative Component of Islamic Traditions

For this study, I consider FET Arabic an integral component of Islamic traditions instead of an academic subject. In Abdalla et al. (2018), leading scholars of education define the Islamic tradition as the educational concepts, ideas and perspectives that have been lived, written about, and discussed by the Muslim scholars present and past within the expansive tradition of the Qur'an and Sunnah. In this light, this study draws from the definition of Islamic traditions suggested by Abdalla et al. (2018) above to include the Arabic language as a branch of traditional Islamic traditions.

1.1.5.4 Islamic Education

Since Islamic education aims to nurture the mind, body and soul, several scholars reject restricting educational attainment solely to Islamic traditions. Instead, they offer an integrated approach to what constitutes the nature of knowledge in Islam by taking cognisance of human agency. Othman et al. (2017) sum up the holistic view by offering Al Ghazali's definition of two categories of knowledge: the revealed sciences and the acquired sciences, embodied in Mohamed Amin's study of Ibn Khaldun that reveals an interplay of expertise dealing with worldly life and after death needs and aims. Thus, Islamic education integrates academic education with Islamic traditions in an integrated approach that aims to nurture an Islamic ethos based on disciplining the learner's spiritual, moral, and intellectual development. A dearth of scholars supports this view (Abdalla et al., 2018; Davids & Waghid, 2021; Hashim & Jemali, 2017; Lubis, 2015; Lubis et al., 2009; Othman et al., 2017).

1.1.5.5 FET Arabic

FET Arabic focuses on inducting learners from the grade ten school level to write the grade twelve matric exam. Consequently, schools that intend to prepare their learners to write the Matric exam will structure the Arabic syllabus from grade seven to grade twelve, preparing learners to sit for the grade twelve Matric exam. While FET Arabic focuses on the four language learning skills: mainly listening, speaking, reading, and writing, it has inculcated components of the Qur'an, Hadith and stories of the prophets.

1.2 Problem Statement

Public schools mainly prioritize academics for educational attainment purposes. On the other hand, Muslim schools endeavour to promote a balance between academic education and Islamic traditions (Abdalla et al., 2018). Researchers often refer to this approach as the integrated Muslim school approach (Abdalla et al., 2018; Davids & Waghid, 2021; Lubis, 2015).

Regarding the integrated Muslim school approach, in the later Apartheid and early post-Apartheid periods, Curriculum 2005, which the education department pioneered in 1997, facilitated the promotion of Arabic as a seventh compulsory subject. For example, Curriculum 2005 mandated six subjects at the matric level. Most Muslim schools took advantage of the six-subject limitation and added FET Arabic as a seventh compulsory subject (AMS, 2021). Muslim schools that mandated Arabic as a seventh subject compelled their learners to take it as a mandatory subject. However, in 2006, the Department of Education rescinded Curriculum 2005 and replaced it with the National Curriculum Statement (NSC) syllabus.

Contrary to the 2005 curriculum, the NCS curriculum required all learners in grades 10, 11, and 12 to learn at least seven subjects instead of six (Gumede & Biyase, 2016). Hence, the NCS curriculum compelled Muslim schools to move Arabic to an eighth additional subject or relegate it to an elective from one of the seven mandatory subjects. From my practitioner experience, most Muslim schools opted for Arabic as an elective subject. I argue that the changing status of Arabic from a compulsory subject to an elective subject was the primary catalyst for the decline of FET Arabic enrolment from 2008 onwards. A September 2021 Association of Muslim Schools report confirmed this marked decline since 2008 (see Table 1.1 below). As a practitioner, I taught at least 90 learners yearly from 2004, 2005, 2006 and 2007 at the Lenasia Muslim School in Johannesburg. In 2008, when the first cohort of NSC matric learners wrote the matric exams, less than 20 learners selected Arabic as an elective subject. A similar situation was prevalent in all Muslim schools throughout the country that positioned Arabic as an elective subject.

The decision to relegate Arabic from a compulsory subject to an elective one rested not so much with the department as with Muslim schools. For instance, it meant increasing the already extended school day by half an hour and employing extra Arabic teachers. In short, most Muslim schools relegated the Arabic language as an elective subject, where learners could choose between Arabic and an academic school subject. However, most learners did not elect Arabic. Thus, this study is about the rise and decline of FET Arabic and why Muslim school learners did not elect Arabic post-NCS. The first cohort of NCS grade 10 learners elected Arabic in 2006 and wrote the Matric exam in 2008. Therefore, based on Matric Arabic statistics, I regard 2008 as the starting point of this decline.

In contrast to KwaZulu-Natal, Western Cape (AMS) made Arabic compulsory, and the statistics speak for themselves. For example, from 2008 to 2021, Western Cape Muslim schools fielded 62% of all Arabic learners nationally, as indicated in Table 1.3 below. Interestingly, this is despite having fewer Muslim schools than the Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal provinces, respectively. Therefore, I argue that a significant catalyst for the decline of FET Arabic since 2008 is the relegation of Arabic by most Muslim schools from a compulsory subject to an elective one. However, even as an elective subject, Arabic is declining in Muslim schools, which must be cause for concern for Muslim school stakeholders. Furthermore, this declining Arabic enrolment was particularly pertinent in KwaZulu-Natal, as indicated in the statistics in Table 1.1 below:

Table 1.1

Learners Participating in the Grade 12 FET Matric Exams

KwaZulu-Natal Learner Stats from 2008 to 2021													
2008	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**2018**	**2019**	**2020**	**2021**
73	95	92	80	48	95	51	35	15	41	47	25	18	11

Note, adapted from the AMS report on the health of Arabic in Independent Muslim schools (AMS, 2021).

Regarding the FET Arabic enrolment for KwaZulu-Natal, Table 1.1 indicates an average of fewer than 90 learners per year from 2008 to 2011. However, this average dropped to less than 50 from 2012 to 2018. Subsequently, from 2019 to 2021, it fell to an even lower average of fewer than 20 learners. Thus, the declining Arabic language enrolment suggests a massive decline compared to learner enrolment before 2008 (AMS, 2021).

I was unable to obtain statistics on Matric Arabic enrolment before 2008 due to the unavailability of records by the Department of Education. However, in an interview with two senior KwaZulu-Natal Arabic language teachers, I. Amod and I. Kader (Personal communication, March 27, 2021; May 20, 2022) established that at least 300 learners were sitting for the Matric Arabic exam in KwaZulu-Natal before 2006. These figures tally with Jeppie's (2011) study that at least 300 learners had sat for the Arabic matric exam by 1987. They further tally with Medar's (1987) study, indicating that 70 % of Arabic learners were from KwaZulu-Natal during the 80s.

Moreover, Muslim schools participating in the Matric exams have shrunk in KwaZulu-Natal. While at least 15 schools participated in the matric examinations in 2008, only five schools were fielding candidates for the matric exams by 2021, as indicated in Table 1.2 below:

Table 1.2

KwaZulu-Natal FET Matric Arabic Statistics per School

No	NAME OF SCHOOL	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	Total	% of Total
1	AL-FALAAH COLLEGE	22	30	41	45	30	44	30	15	8	30	24	23			342	47%
2	CRESCENT GIRLS` HIGH	25	25	24	12	11	15	7	4	3	4	8	1	2	2	143	20%
3	UMZINTO ISLAMIC	4	3		3	5	10	4	5		4	5		10	4	57	8%
4	ORIENT ISLAMIC SCH.		5	7	5		10	5	8			5		3		48	7%
5	IHSAAN GIRLS` COLLEGE		15	13	6		11									45	6%
6	PORT SHEPSTONE ISLAMIC		6	7	4	2		3	3	4	3	5		2	3	42	6%
7	ZAKARIYYA MUSLIM SCH.	5	2		3		4	2								16	2%
8	VERULAM ISLAMIC	8	4													12	2%
9	NIZAMIA ISLAMIC SCH.	7	1													8	1%
10	IHSAAN BOYS` COLLEGE	2	2		2											6	1%
11	STAR COLLEGE												1	1	1	3	0%
12	GLENHOOD HIGH														1	1	0%
13	CENTENARY SECONDARY		1													1	0%
14	ICESA MATRIC SCHOOL		1													1	0%
15	RAISETHORPE SECONDARY						1									1	0%
	TOTAL	73	95	92	80	48	95	51	35	15	41	47	25	18	11	726	

Note, adapted from the AMS report on the health of Arabic in Independent Muslim schools (AMS, 2021).

Thus, based on the available statistics, the number of learners and participating schools has been declining since 2008, which is a cause for concern for promoting FET Arabic in KwaZulu-Natal's Muslim schools.

1.2.1 The Decline of FET Arabic Nationally

While the statistics confirm a drastic decline in FET Arabic in KwaZulu-Natal, a similar pattern is evident in the other central provinces that offer Arabic. For example, Table 1.3 below shows a marked decrease in FET Arabic in Gauteng, Western Cape, and Eastern Cape. For instance, nationally, FET Arabic enrolment was below 300 learners in 2008 and has fluctuated ever since. However, a marked increase was prevalent between 2013 and 2019, partly due to the Western Cape AMS enforcing the compulsion of Arabic for its learners. However, by 2020, they also rescinded the compulsion of Arabic in their schools (I. Dolly, personal communication, March 26, 2021). A similar situation was predominant in other provinces where individual Muslim schools promoted Arabic for a while, only to give it up completely. Perhaps, for this reason, the statistics below showed a 50% decline from 470 learners in 2017 to 247 in 2021. Nevertheless, Kwa-Zulu Natal recorded the most glaring decline of approximately 700% from 2008 to 2021, as evident in Table 1.3 below:

Table 1.3

National FET Matric Arabic Statistics per Province

PROVINCE	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	TOTAL	% of Total
WESTERN CAPE	138	120	196	177	172	197	212	262	273	316	290	275	214	166	**3008**	**61.8%**
GAUTENG	34	32	33	68	68	51	87	90	61	95	77	93	83	58	**930**	**19.1%**
KWAZULU-NATAL	73	95	92	80	48	95	51	35	15	41	47	25	18	11	**726**	**14.9%**
EASTERN CAPE	21	23	22	13		7	10	9	17	18	11	13	15	12	**191**	**4%**
MPUMALANGA	1			4		1			2		1				**8**	**0.2%**
FREE STATE			1			1	1								**3**	**0.1%**
LIMPOPO					1										**1**	**0.0%**
NATIONAL	**267**	**270**	**344**	**342**	**289**	**352**	**361**	**396**	**368**	**470**	**426**	**406**	**330**	**247**	**4867**	**100%**

Note, adapted from the AMS report on the health of Arabic in Independent Muslim schools (AMS, 2021).

1.2.2 The Decline of Arabic in Africa

The decline of Arabic is also evident in the African continent. Launay (2016) postulates that through the proliferation of Qur'anic schools, sub-Saharan Africans widely employed Arabic as a language of literacy and communication. Accordingly, it was typical for learners graduating from Qur'an schools to write Arabic letters to their parents. In addition, archives show that Mozambican chiefs communicated with the Portuguese in Arabic (Launay, 2016). Similarly, many recently uncovered West African manuscripts on various topics like arts, literature, and science indicate that Arabic was a prolific African language. In this vein, Langohr (2005) asserts that, like Latin was the lingua franca of Europe, Arabic was the lingua franca of Africa. In contrast, Launay (2016) argues that the Arabic language in Africa began to show a marked decline in the 20th century. Research studies attribute this decline to a few factors: the hegemony of colonial languages, Western education, and the globalisation of English (Dang et al., 2013; Huda, 2016; Muro, 2019).

1.2.3 The Decline of Arabic Globally

Arabic became a prolific world language of art, culture, and science from the eighth to the twelfth century. Afterwards, it continued to project itself as a world language even during the Ottoman Empire (Asad, 1993; Ernst, 2013; Küng & Bowden, 2007). Ernst (2013) refers to the golden age of Islam that witnessed the translation of ancient Greek, Persian, and Indian manuscripts that later became the basis for the rise in the West's arts, literature, and science. Given the aforementioned, Ernst (2013) asserts

that classical Arabic literature is not exclusively the enduring property of Arabs and Muslims but is civilisation's legacy for the world. However, since the Second World War, European languages began to impact Arabic's prominence, resulting in English becoming a global language since the second world war (Al-Issa & Dahan, 2011; Crystal, 2013; Rao, 2019). For instance, Launay (2016) posits that when the British mandated English proficiency for job opportunities in Nigeria, it resulted in a massive decline in Arabic enrolment.

Similarly, even prolific Arab countries like the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Saudi Arabia relentlessly promote compulsory English teaching instead of Arabic in higher education institutions and workplaces (Al-Issa & Dahan, 2011; Al-Jarf, 2008; Al Allaq, 2007; Barnawi, 2017; Muro, 2019). Hence, the teaching and learning of Arabic are in decline globally. Likewise, the global fall is congruent with the chosen research site. The statistics in Tables 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3 confirm this decline in KwaZulu-Natal within a broader decline in African and Arabic countries.

1.3 Statement of Purpose

The discussion in the previous section confirms that the decline of FET Arabic enrolment has been problematic in Muslim schools since the NCS curriculum rescinded Arabic's seventh subject privilege in 2006. Thus, this study focuses on the rise of Arabic from 1975 to 2005 and the decline from 2006 to 2021. As mentioned, the 2006 NSC cohort of grade ten learners wrote the 2008 Matric exams. Hence, I allude to the 2008 Matric exams as the starting point of the decline. Therefore, to explore the rise and decline of FET Arabic, particularly why learners do not elect FET Arabic, I conducted a case study of four Muslim schools that have offered Arabic as an elective subject since 2006, where the learner can choose between Arabic and an academic subject.

This study's main thrust was first to explore the rise and decline of FET Arabic at selected Muslim schools. Given the Islamic ethos of these schools, I framed the study within the integrative Muslim school approach, where the Arabic language has been considered an integrated Muslim school subject that nurtured an Islamic ethos since 1975. I explored why learners in Muslim schools predominantly selected academic subjects over the Arabic language at the FET level. Thus, the relevance of this study lies in ascertaining why learners' subject choices towards academic subjects resulted in a de-emphasis on FET Arabic and, consequently, a de-emphasis on the integrative Muslim school approach. Consequently, to explore how learners' subject choices at the FET level constrained the selected Muslim schools from implementing a holistic, integrated approach. To explore this research problem, I interviewed eight Muslim school principals and senior Arabic language teachers in four Muslim schools in Kwa-Zulu Natal with the following objectives in mind:

1.4 Research Objectives

1.4.1 To explore the rise and decline of FET Arabic enrolment as an elective subject from 1975 to 2021 in selected Muslim schools in Kwa-Zulu Natal.

1.4.2 To explore why learners in selected Kwa-Zulu Natal Muslim schools at the FET level chose academic subjects over the Arabic language.

1.4.3 To understand how learners' academic subject choices over Arabic impacted the selected Muslim schools to implement a balanced approach between the Islamic traditions and academic subjects.

1.4.4 To interrogate how the selected Muslim schools can overcome the challenges of this rise and decline.

1.5 Research Questions

1.5.1 What factors contribute to the rise and decline of FET Arabic enrolment in the selected Muslim schools in KwaZulu-Natal?

1.5.2. Why do learners' academic subject choices over FET Arabic lead to declining FET Arabic enrolment in the selected Muslim schools?

1.5.3. How do learners' academic subject choices over FET Arabic challenge the selected Muslim schools to implement a balanced approach between academic subjects and Islamic traditions?

1.5.4. How can the selected Muslim schools overcome the challenges of this rise and decline?

1.6 Research Design and Methodology

This study employs an interpretive paradigm within a qualitative methodology as the study's research design. The design then discusses the methods and instruments employed in explaining the data generation and analysis processes and stages.

1.6.1 The Participants and the Rationale for this Choice

I employed inclusion and exclusion criteria to determine which target population members could or could not participate in the study. For example, the participating school principal must have served in a Muslim school for at least 20 years to ensure principals have a historical background of Arabic's rise and decline. Further, the school must have offered Arabic in the last five years. According to the AMS (2021) report, only four Muslim schools met all the above criteria.

Thus, the participants in this study comprise four principals and four Arabic teachers drawn from four independent Muslim schools in the KwaZulu-Natal province. I maintain that Muslim school principals are visionary leaders of their schools, planning and implementing the shared vision of the schools (Mzangwa, 2019; Niemann & Kotzé, 2006). Thus, they construct and organise policies that guide the implementation of the Arabic language. In this light, they are the primary participants in this study. Their selection was purposeful because they were knowledgeable about the study's interest and could recount their experiences implementing FET Arabic at Muslim schools during the Apartheid and post-Apartheid periods.

Furthermore, they were willing to participate in the study (Palinkas et al., 2015a). Regarding Arabic language teachers, they are first-line implementers of Arabic policies and programmes. Thus, their inputs were essential to reflect on Arabic school policies and to moderate, verify or negate principals' views.

1.6.2 Research Site

The research site is four Independent Muslim Schools in the Kwazulu-Natal province of South Africa. Between 1947 and 1959, five privately owned state-aided Muslim schools were established, forming the crux of the Muslim school approach in KwaZulu-Natal. From 1984, Muslim state-aided schools were supplemented by privately owned and funded Muslim schools (Adam, 2004; Sheik, 1994), and by the end of Apartheid, Sheik (1994) records five state-aided Muslim schools and eight independent Muslim schools in KwaZulu-Natal.

Most learners in Kwazulu-Natal's Independent Muslim Schools are of migrant Indian ancestry. They are the 4th and 5th generation offspring of migrants who arrived between 1860 and 1911(Haron, 2021). However, since independence in 1994, many Muslims from West Africa, East Africa, West Asia, and Arab-speaking countries have migrated to South Africa (Vawda, 2017). Thus, despite learners in KwaZulu-Natal's Muslim schools coming from diverse backgrounds, most are of the historically Indian migrant population. Nevertheless, despite these differences, the common denominator that binds them is the Arabic language and the Muslim faith. Islam is a minority religion in South Africa, with more than 750,000 adherents (Abduroaf, 2020).

1.6.3 Methodology

This study employed a single case study method. The case is the rise and decline of FET Arabic within the context of Muslim schools in Kwa-Zulu Natal from 1975 to current. Heale and Twycross (2018) allude that a case study method is beneficial when intending an in-depth understanding of a single phenomenon. Furthermore, this study employed a purposeful sampling technique to identify willing

participants. Palinkas et al. (2015b) maintain that purposeful sampling is ideal for increasing depth rather than breadth.

Furthermore, it enables the researcher to target knowledgeable and experienced participants willing to articulate their experiences reflexively about the phenomenon (Creswell & Clark, 2017).

1.6.4 Data Analysis

This study employs content and thematic analysis of interviews, as well as content analysis of reports and narrative review analysis of literature documents to make sense of the interview data. Regarding thematic analysis, while it relied on the techniques of Braun and Clarke (2006) to code the interview transcripts, it does not rigorously stick to one technique to code the data; instead, it follows a combination of techniques. For instance, Braun and Clarke's techniques are augmented with the five-step process of Yin (2015) and Nowell et al. (2017).

In the first phase, I assembled and transcribed the interviews (Yin 2011) onto a single-dimensional word document for each participant using a word-for-word and line-by-line transcription process. After the initial transcription was completed, an editing process was undertaken to ensure that the process was completed accurately.

I converted the data into a simple two-dimensional matric in the second phase. Each participant was assigned a separate matric. Hence, I produced eight separate two-dimensional matrices. Moreover, I placed the data on the left-hand column of the matric, and the right-hand side was assigned to label the data. Next, I began to disassemble the data by breaking the data into smaller units on the right-hand column of the matric, directly adjacent to the data. I repeated the process many times as a process of trial and error until the data was broken down into different categories and topics (Yin, 2011). After that, matching colour codes were assigned to these categories and topics and their corresponding data.

The third phase was to identify matching categories and topics across the participants into related labels and theoretical concepts (Yin, 2011). A simple four-dimensional matric was developed to array the data of the four principals and the four Arabic language teachers. The rows represented the different participants, and the columns represented the categories and topics that emerged in the disassembling process. Each four-dimensional matric enabled me to match the categories and topics across the participants with corresponding categories and topics where they existed and noting where no match existed. It also enabled me to scan and sample categories and topics across the participants in the open-ended interviews. The aim was, firstly, to identify matching themes across participants, developing them into level one themes and codes; and secondly, to progress the themes and codes to advanced level two themes; and after that, developing level three themes, representing the primary and critical themes of the study (Yin, 2011).

The categories and concepts were developed and labelled as level-one themes during the fourth phase. In the previous phase, they were reassembled into the two-dimensional participant matric with its data. This stage entailed matching themes with their corresponding data. Care was taken to replace the initial label with a reformulated label representing the level-one themes. Secondly, the reformulated level one themes were matched with its data set, and this was achieved by employing a well-organized colour coding system formulated in the previous phase. Care was taken to ensure that the two-dimensional single-participant data-label matric and the four-dimensional across-participants matric were synchronized regarding data-label matching and colour coding.

Fifthly, I accurately portrayed each school case across different school cases, including their settings and the major themes and categories (see Stake, 1995; Wolcott, 1994). Further, I built a complex analysis to refine the themes by creating a narrative that interconnects the various themes in the research study. Lastly, I used labels to redefine the level-one themes to a smaller number. Moreover, the themes will be used as my headings in the final report section, representing the significant findings of my study (Creswell, 2014).

1.6.5 Trustworthiness Techniques

Guba and Lincoln (1985) describe trustworthiness in qualitative studies as credibility, dependability, conformability and transferability. Elo et al. (2014) further describe trustworthiness as the process of preparing, organising, and reporting data. One of the techniques I employed to ensure trustworthiness is purposeful sampling, allowing me to select participants with the best knowledge of the research phenomenon. Elo et al. (2014) explain that employing an appropriate data generation method is vital to establishing trustworthiness. Secondly, to improve the credibility of the data, I repeatedly went back to the data to ensure that the unit analysis was in line with the research aims and questions. Furthermore, the comprehensibility of the study was maintained by following an iterative process of reading the data multiple times. In addition, the report was structured systemically to show the relationship between the data and the report.

Thirdly, a complete description of the coding process was given. Thus, the thick description of the context and techniques I employed indicates a high possibility of transferability.

Fourthly, to establish confirmability, I established a repository of raw data in electronic archives by maintaining an audit trail of the source (e.g., participant code, type/name of document or meeting) and the date created initially. Thus, raw data were stored in a central repository (a secure network location with folders for each type of raw data) and were archived with dates to provide an audit trail and a means of confirming our data analysis and interpretations for adequacy.

Lastly, by employing content analysis of reports, narrative review analysis of documents and thematic and content analysis of interviews, I confirmed the validity of evidence through triangulation of sources and methods.

1.6.6 Ethical Considerations

As a practitioner in Muslim schools, I was considered an insider. In this regard, it was well-known amongst the participants that I supported promoting the Arabic language as an integral component of Muslim schools. Hence, I allayed fears that I would paint a one-sided picture of the study's focus.

I obtained acknowledgement from the Association of Muslim Schools to conduct this study. Furthermore, Informed consent was acquired from every participant to maintain the participant's anonymity, and the information generated from the interview would not intentionally reveal the participant's identity.

1.6.7 Delimitation of Study

The study's findings may not be generalised to other contexts because it is a case study. However, the goal was to understand from teachers and principals why Muslim school learners selected academic subjects over Arabic and how the declining FET Arabic enrolment impacted the selected Muslim schools to implement a balanced approach between Islamic traditions and the academic sciences.

Another limitation of this study is researcher bias. Galdas (2017) suggests that to maintain the study's rigour, quality, and validity, the researcher must be transparent, critical, and self-reflective on his preconceived notions, relationship dynamics and analytic focus in collecting, analysing, and presenting the data. Given the above, my values and outlook towards Arabic could influence the research site. Thus, I took the utmost care to be emotionally detached from the research site and participants. I managed this by maintaining social and emotional distance from the research site and participants (Greene, 2014). However, I also took cognisance of the view of Luciani et al. (2019) that the researcher's social location, personal experiences, professional knowledge, and political beliefs are integral to the quality control of the research process.

Shenton (2004) alludes that the closeness of the researcher to the research site may prevent participants from freely articulating ideas and experiences that would pit them against the school's management. To avert this, at the beginning of the interview process, I assured participants that as part of good ethics, I did not have the liberty to divulge any information that may implicate the participant. Furthermore, I assured the participant that during my research write-up, I would use a pseudonym to refer to the participant to protect the participant's identity.

1.6.8 Positionality of the Researcher

I have been teaching FET Arabic at Muslim schools for almost twenty years. During this period, I have been a matric exam marker and portfolio moderator for the IEB and the Department of Education and an auditor of the National Matric Arabic paper for Umalusi from 2015 to 2019. Additionally, I have held positions as a senior Arabic teacher, Arabic subject head, curriculum developer, staff developer and principal at Muslim schools. Moreover, I have promoted Arabic at numerous forums, including community radio (CII, Al Ansar) and television programs (ITV). In addition, I advocate for promoting the Arabic language in Muslim schools. For instance, at the 2019 AMS national conference, I chaired a session on methodological approaches to teaching Qura'nic Arabic. In the closing statements, I called for a renewed discussion on the decline of the Arabic language in Muslim schools.

As an Arabic educator in public and Muslim Schools for the past 20 years, I know stakeholders' opinions about the status of the Arabic language are divided. For instance, while some stakeholders acknowledge the centrality of the Arabic language to the Muslim school approach, they are prepared to sacrifice it. In contrast, a second group does not see the relevance of the Muslim school approach without the Arabic language as an essential component. On the other hand, a third group prefers an arbitrated solution between these two extremes. Nonetheless, the researcher views the Arabic language as integral to the Muslim school approach and aligns his thoughts with the second and third groups. In contrast, acknowledging the researcher's bias as natural, to portray a fair and balanced picture, the researcher applies control measures like probing negative instances and peer-reviewing (Showalter & Mullet, 2017).

1.7 Rationale of the Study

Research studies show that there is a considerable body of research that focuses on the need, relevance, and rapid rate at which Independent Muslim schools in the research site are increasing (Adam, 2004; Dangor, 2014; Davids, 2014; Fataar, 2003; Haron, 2016; Khan, 2006; Tayob, 2011). However, only the studies of Dawood (2008); Medar (1987); Mall and Nieman (2002); and Mohamed (1997) have given much attention to the study of Arabic in Independent Muslim schools. Furthermore, the limitations of the studies mentioned above are that researchers conducted these studies more than a decade ago. Secondly, they focus on the history and methodology employed in teaching the Arabic language. Additionally, recent studies by (Davids & Waghid, 2021; Tayob, 2011) are critical of Muslim schools, claiming that they deviate from the holistic, integrative Muslim school approach.

Therefore, by exploring the rise and decline of FET Arabic and its impact on the integrative approach between academics and Islamic traditions, I endeavour to add to this voice by critically examining the traditional Islamic status and educational value of Arabic as a component of Islamic traditions. In this

regard, studies that critically scrutinize the Arabic language as a variable of the integrative Muslim school approach have never been conducted at the research sites at this level.

Given that the Muslim school approach aims to develop a balanced Islamic ethos in Muslim school learners by grounding them in Islamic traditions while striving for academic excellence, I have identified a gap in employing FET Arabic as a variable to appraise the Muslim school approach.

1.8 Chapter Outline

Chapter One

Chapter 1 provides an orientation to the study by introducing the reader to the symbiotic relationship between the spread of Islam and Arabic. After that, the study highlights the importance of Arabic as a language of Arts, Culture, Science and Islamic traditions. Next, the study offers an overview of Arabic's adoption in the research site as an integrative component of the Islamic traditions within the Muslim school approach, detailing the rise and decline of FET Arabic enrolment. The rise and decline of Arabic are then interrogated in terms of its utility to foster an Islamic ethos in learners and how it impacts Muslim schools to balance Islamic traditions and academics, underpinned by the framework that guides this study.

Chapter Two

Chapter 2 traces the genesis of the Muslim school approach as the co-joiner of Islamic traditions and academic studies, first in the sub-Sahara and then in South Africa. Then, it compares Muslim schools as alternative educational providers to colonial-imposed Western education in sub-Saharan Africa and KwaZulu-Natal. Chapter 2 provides a research background of the early state-aided Muslim school as a primary education provider in Apartheid South Africa, distinguishing it from the latter independent Muslim school approach that calls for the holistic integration of Islamic traditions and Academics.

Chapter Three

Chapter 3 provides a research background of KwaZulu-Natal Muslim schools' pioneering role in adopting and promoting Arabic at school and university levels, highlighting the context of the rise and decline in KwaZulu-Natal Muslim schools.

Chapter Four

Chapter 4 maps the Muslim school approach as a model of Bourdieu’s Cultural Capital Theory as the conceptual framework underpinning this study.

Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight

While Chapter 5 details the research design and methodology employed in analysing the data, Chapters 6 and 7 employ the key themes and categories that emerged from the data analysis as an organisational tool to narrate the story. Finally, Chapter 8 provides conclusions to the findings while concluding the study with the recommendations, limitations, and prospects for future study.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the research problem and rationale for the study were detailed, and the value of this research is sought in interrogating the rise and decline of Arabic in the selected Muslim schools, considering the reality that Arabic is an integrative component of Islamic traditions and therefore an integral component of the Muslim school approach.

Hopefully, this research will address the decline of Arabic and recommend measures to resuscitate Arabic in the research site.

The next chapter considers Muslim schools as promoters of a balanced education between academics and Islamic traditions, of which Arabic is an integrative component of the Islamic traditions.

Chapter Two

Muslim Schools as Integrated Providers of Islamic Traditions and Academic Education

2.1 Introduction

The focus of this study is to explore the rise and decline of Arabic and its impact on the Muslim school approach within the context of Muslim schools as integrative providers of academics and Islamic traditions and the Arabic language as an integral component of Islamic traditions. Thus, I framed the study within the Muslim school approach by deconstructing the events that led to the inauguration of the Muslim school approach and the subsequent promotion of the Arabic language as an integrated Muslim school subject since 1975. Chapters 2 and 3 interrogate the two central themes of this study: namely, Muslim schools as integrative providers of Islamic traditions and academic education and Arabic as an integrative component of Islamic traditions. Accordingly, this chapter explores Muslim schools as integrative providers of Islamic traditions and academic education in sub-Saharan Africa, then in the research site during the Apartheid and the post-Apartheid periods. Subsequently, the next chapter explores the second context: Arabic as an integrative component of the Islamic traditions during Apartheid, the rise of Arabic in Muslim schools in the Apartheid and early post-Apartheid period, and the subsequent decline of Arabic from 2008.

Drawing from (Snyder, 2019), I employ a historical literature review that relies on historical research documents to trace the present study to the ongoing debates relevant to the literature and to identify knowledge gaps. Boote and Beile (2005) explain that probing the existing research improves our collective understanding of what needs to be done. Perhaps, for this reason, Ojermark (2007) asserts that the historical approach enables the researcher to explore the relationships between cause and effect and agency and structure. In this vein, this chapter scrutinises the historical evolution of Muslim schools as integrated education providers of Islamic traditions and academic education by comparing sub-Saharan Muslim schools and Muslim schools in KwaZulu-Natal. After that, the chapter contrasts the colonially influenced state-aided Muslim schools with independent Muslim schools born after the first of the eighth World Conferences on Muslim Education (the 1977 Islamisation Conference). This landmark conference gave hope to renew the state-aided Muslim approach that was underpinned by a Western philosophy of education to an Islamic philosophy that holistically integrates academics and Islamic traditions. Additionally, this chapter provides the research background for Chapters 3 and 4.

2.2 The Genesis of Muslim Schools in Colonial sub-Saharan Africa

This section argues that colonial governments innovated the initial Anglo-Arabic and Franco-Arabic schools between academics and Islamic education to counter low attendance at academic schools in sub-Saharan Africa. This section further argues that the Muslim elite in the sub-Saharan region reformulated the Anglo-Arabic and Franco-Arabic model of education as an alternative to the Western philosophy of academic education to become the genesis of the Muslim school approach in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The sections covered are the introduction of Islam to Sub-Saharan Africa; the role of Qur'anic schools and madrassas as traditional education providers; academic education competes with Qur'anic schools and madrassas as education providers; academic education triumphs as primary education providers; the inauguration and proliferation of Muslim schools as an alternative to academic education; Western education bifurcates the Islamic concept of education.

2.2.1 The Introduction of Islam to sub-Saharan Africa

Sub-Saharan Africa encompasses West Africa, East Africa, and Central Africa. Of the three regions, West Africa and East Africa have more than 50% and 20% of the regions' Muslims, respectively, with central Africa housing close to 10% of Muslims in the sub-region (Kobo, 2016; Tiliouine & Estes, 2016). While estimates put more than half of Africa’s population professing the Muslim faith (Kobo, 2016), most African Muslims concentrate in Africa’s western, eastern and central regions (Janson, 2018). Hence, the sub-Saharan region houses the majority of African Muslims.

Janson (2018), a researcher on African colonial and postcolonial history, records that Berber tribes who converted to Islam in the 7th and 8th centuries mediated the initial entry of Islam to West Africa. As a result, they implanted and still share its Maliki school of law and legal reference (Janson, 2018; Kamaluddin et al., 2021). Regarding the Maliki school of law, as Islam began to spread to different regions, Muslim scholars developed criteria, principles and rules to interpret and develope the sacred texts into law (Gulam, 2017). As a result, the Maliki School of Law became one of the four leading schools that gained acceptance by all Muslim scholars, and most adherents and scholars of this school are from Africa (Kamaluddin et al., 2021); hence, African scholars played a significant role in canonising the sacred texts.

In addition to the Berber tribes mentioned above, by the 11th century, the Almoravids of North Africa established an Islamic state in Northern Ghana. Similarly, from the 12th to the 18th century, the Muslim Mali and Songhay kingdoms were centres of arts, trade, and learning in the entire West African region (Janson, 2018; Kobo, 2016; Tiliouine & Estes, 2016). As a result, by the 14th century, Islam was a

significant religion in Northern Nigeria and Ghana (Bano, 2009). However, history also records that these kingdoms fell due to internal leadership struggles, loss of trade routes due to colonial penetration and rebellious tribes (Conrad, 2010; Drame & Othman, 2013; Ly-Tall, 1984; Mamoudou, 2021). Nevertheless, Muslim traders continued to play a prominent role in trade and the propagation of Islam in the entire sub-Saharan region (Ayuba, 2012; Kobo, 2016). A case in point is the Fula people responsible for making Islam a majority religion in Sierra Leone and numerous coastal regions of West Africa (Jalloh, 1997; Kobo, 2016). In this light, the primary medium of education and literacy for West Africans from the 12th to the 19th century was the Arabic language (Kobo, 2016; Ogunmodimu, 2015; Tiliouine & Estes, 2016). For instance, it is well-recorded that the official language of communication between the colonial powers and West African chiefs was Arabic (Bano, 2009; Jalloh, 1997; Kobo, 2016; Launay, 2016; Tiliouine & Estes, 2016).

Similarly, Arab traders, the Omani culture, and the Arabic language profoundly influenced the East African coastal regions. For example, from these established Islamic hinterlands (Lewis, 2017; McDow, 2018; Sperling & Kagabo, 2015; Thomas & Chesworth, 2022), Muslim traders spread Islam to the interior and down to Mozambique (Janson, 2018; McDow, 2018; Michalopoulos et al., 2012; Sperling & Kagabo, 2015). Launay (2016), a leading social science researcher of Islam in Africa, explains that official records in Portuguese archives show that Arabic was used to communicate between Portuguese generals and African chiefs from the 15th century.

Research studies further argue that Islam and the Arabic language became a significant part of African values, culture, languages and traditions centuries before the colonist's arrival (Abdurrahman, 2012; Iliffe, 2017; Lydon, 2009; SPARKS, 2021; Thomas & Chesworth, 2022). A recent study by d'Aiglepierre and Bauer (2018) that relies on household surveys from 9 countries (Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire, Mauritania, Gambia, Burkina Faso, Senegal, Chad, Somalia and Comoros) reveals that this is still the case. The study found that parents in many rural areas preferred registering primary school children in Qur'an schools instead of academic schools. Additionally, the findings indicate that African parents in these Muslim-majority sub-Saharan countries still rely on the Arab-Islamic education model for religious and spiritual education to inculcate values and skills in their children.

Regarding the arrival of colonial nations in Sub-Saharan Africa, they initially arrived to plunder trade opportunities (Janson, 2018; Ogunbado, 2012), which cascaded into internal competition, rivalry, and war amongst themselves, and in due course, the scramble for Africa before and after the 1884-85 Berlin conference (Launay, 2016; Spolsky, 2018). As a result, colonial governments systematically controlled Africa by the end of the 19th century (Chamberlain, 2014; Hoffman, 2015). Nevertheless, some researchers argue that the colonisation of Africa had some constructive effects on African economies by introducing them to international trade and initiating modernisation by building road and railway

networks and providing infrastructure for social amenities like hospitals and electricity (D'Souza, 2002; Heldring & Robinson, 2012; Ogunbado, 2012; Reid, 2020). However, Reid (2020) states that while colonialism introduced Africa to global markets, it did more to empower Europe than Africa. Therefore, many scholars assert that the negatives outweigh the positives (Arowolo, 2010; Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012; Reid, 2020). For example, Hrituleac and Nielsen (2011) assert that the colonial hegemony and intrusion over the African population obstructed the internal process of state formation, leaving scars of mismanagement and political instability. Perhaps for this reason, Arowolo (2010) laments that colonialism precariously contaminated African culture, education, tradition and values.

Regarding education, I argue that perhaps the most severe threat for sub-Saharan Muslims has been Western education's displacement of the Arabic language, Quranic schools and madrassas from a primary education provider to a secondary education provider (Bano, 2009; Hassane, 2008; Kobo, 2016; Launay, 2016). The following sub-sections deliberate how this happened.

2.2.2 The Role of Qur'anic Schools and Madrassas as Traditional Education Providers

It is essential to understand that the Islamic traditions were revealed in Arabic and are the basis of Islamic law and theology (Fatma et al., 2022; Haleem, 2005; Mohammed, 2005). Thus, Arabic is the primary medium for learning Islamic traditions in learning centres like Qur'anic schools, madrassas, and Muslim schools (Coffman, 1995; Retnawati et al., 2020). Therefore, some competency in Arabic is a prerequisite for the recitation, memorisation, study, and interpretation of Islamic traditions (Launay, 2016; Reetz, 2010; Retnawati et al., 2020). Thus, Qur'anic schools-traditional madrassas and the Arabic language have a symbiotic relationship due to the centrality of Arabic to Islam (Al Allaq, 2007; Al Shlowiy, 2022).

Prolific authors on the historical background of the Islamic world and its intellectual achievements, like Tiliouine and Estes (2016), assert that Islam's golden age nurtured Arabic as a language of arts, science, and literacy in three strategic geographical areas: Baghdad in the east, Cordoba in the west, and Egypt in the Mediterranean. Recently, the vast number of Arabic manuscripts on the arts, science, and literature uncovered in sub-Saharan Africa show that the proximity of these learning centres to the African continent profoundly influenced sub-Saharan scholars and learning centres. A case in point is the Timbuktu Manuscripts (Lliteras, 2017; Shuriye & Ibrahim, 2013), which reveal that Islam and Arabic as a language of arts, culture and education were profoundly part of literacy and knowledge production in the African continent, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa.

Given the symbiotic relationship between Arabic and Islamic educational institutions, the profound effect of Arabic in sub-Saharan Africa resonates in the proliferation of traditional learning centres like Qur'anic schools and madrassas, which became the main form of educating Muslims on Islamic

traditions via the Arabic language (Launay, 2016). In this light, Bano's (2009) study presents an in-depth analysis of how Qur'anic schools and Madrassas occupied a strategic position, producing rulers, reformers, judges, administrators, clerics, and scholars, resulting in the state, Qur'anic schools and madrassas mutually co-existing in sub-Saharan Africa. Moreover, all state transactions, including business dealings, were transacted in the Arabic language in sub-Saharan Africa (Bano, 2009; Jalloh, 1997; Kobo, 2016; Launay, 2016). Thus, the Arabic language, Qur'anic schools and madrassas occupied a central position in preparing state officials, scholars, and the elite. However, the colonial subjugation of Africa (Arowolo, 2010), the subsequent banning of the Arabic script as a form of literacy (Abdurrahman, 2012), and the imposition of academic schools on sub-Saharan Africans have proved to be a severe impediment to the mutual coexistence between the Arabic language, Quranic schools, madrassas, and the state (Launay, 2016). Thus, by the beginning of the 20th century, academic education became a significant competitor of the traditional Qur'an schools and Madrassas.

2.2.3 Academic Education Competes with Qur'anic Schools and Madrassas as Education Providers

Given the above, this section will show that the imposition of colonial academic and missionary schools proved to be a significant competitor to traditional Qur'anic schools and Madrassas.

A series of studies have indicated that missionary societies were state agents serving the interests of the colonial governments (Abdurrahman, 2012; Bano, 2009; Comaroff & Comaroff, 1986; Frankema, 2012; Launay, 2016; Nkomazana & Setume, 2016; Ogunmodimu, 2015; Thomas & Chesworth, 2022). In this vein, it is well documented in the literature that the primary motivation of the church was to increase Christian converts (Frankema, 2012; Nunn, 2010; Owusu-Ansah & Iddrisu, 2008). On the other hand, Brock-Utne and Skattum (2009) assert that colonial governments erroneously viewed Africans as savages, systematically employing academic education to civilise them, indicating that the church and colonial governments employed academic education for different reasons. While the church desired to promote Christianity, colonial governments intended the subjugation of Africans for economic benefit (Bala, 2019). Perhaps for these reasons, Arowolo (2010) asserts that missionary societies and colonial governments were complicit in selfishly tarnishing African values, culture and traditions. Nevertheless, academic education was a powerful tool for the coloniser and missionary to forge a new educated class (Bano, 2009).

Bassey (1999) comments that the imposition of academic education was a double-edged sword. While attempting to educate Africans, academic education had the opposite effect of preparing the African mind to demand and eventually obtain independence. For example, in British India, it resulted in the ‘Indian Mutiny’ (Blunt, 2000; Hutchins, 2015). Thus, colonial governments were also wary about

creating an educated class that would become restless of foreign rule (Bano, 2009). So, they embarked on what became known as Anglo-Arabic and Franco-Arabic schools to prepare junior state officials and clerks to serve the empire and forge a new Western-orientated elite (Abdurrahman, 2012). To serve this purpose, the British established the famous Katsina College and the Kano Law School in Northern Nigeria in 1922 and 1934, respectively (Abdurrahman, 2012; Kobo, 2016; Tiliouine & Estes, 2016).

Similarly, the French established Franco-Arabic schools as early as 1906 in French Mali, Senegal's St Louis in 1908, and Timbuktu in 1911 (Kobo, 2016; Tiliouine & Estes, 2016). Launay (2016) posits that the British pioneered this hybrid form of education between academic education and the Islamic traditions in Egypt and Sudan and then successfully employed it in East and West Africa. Research also shows that the British began experimenting with the Muslim school model in Sierra Leone and India in the early 19th century (Jalloh, 1997; Masani, 1978), and was frequently called Muhammedan schools (Kobo, 2016; Mahmood, 1895; Owusu-Ansah & Iddrisu, 2008). However, Bano (2009) asserts that the 19th-century Muhammedan models were not as successful as the later Anglo-Arabic and Franco-Arabic schools of the early 20th century. Nevertheless, the colonial innovation of blended education between academics and Islamic traditions did not occur voluntarily. On the contrary, research shows that the low uptake of academic education compelled the colonial governments to innovate a more palatable model for their Muslim subjects who viewed academic education with much suspicion.

The fact that Sub-Saharan Muslims viewed academic education with much suspicion is well-documented (Bano, 2009; Jalloh, 1997; Launay, 2016; Owusu-Ansah & Iddrisu, 2008; Tiliouine & Estes, 2016). Primarily because they feared proselytisation by the primary missionary school providers (Babou & Launay, 2016; Brock-Utne & Skattum, 2009; Owusu-Ansah & Iddrisu, 2008); therefore, they preferred the traditional Qur'anic schools and madrassas (Launay, 2016).

For instance, in 1920, British Northern Nigeria boasted 31,313 Qur'anic schools and madrassas with 205,872 learners in attendance. In contrast, colonial authorities could only muster 26 schools with 1,283 learners attending. Nonetheless, missionary schools mustered a comparatively higher number of 123 schools with 2,857 learners (Abdurrahman, 2012; Kobo, 2016; Tiliouine & Estes, 2016). East Africa witnessed a similar situation. In Zanzibar, Muslims boycotted government schools in preference for Qur'anic schools, resulting in poor attendance and the imminent closure of government schools. However, the British improvised by including the Islamic traditions taught by reputable local scholars within the regular school timetable (Launay, 2016). This improvision led to a hybrid approach of combining academic and Islamic education, which began to gain traction in sub-Saharan Africa by the beginning of the 20th century.

2.2.4 Academic Education Triumphs as Primary Education Providers

Kobo (2016), a principal researcher of Islamic education in post-colonial Africa, establishes how the Anglo-Arabic and Franco-Arabic schools successfully created a new elite for the local administration of the colonies. Perhaps, for this reason, Panjwani (2004) asserts that academic education had the effect of totally eclipsing Muslims intellectually, politically, and spiritually. Likewise, Owusu-Ansah and Iddrisu (2008) assert that the colonial motive was to delineate Muslims from traditional Qur'anic schools and madrassas that connected them to the Islamic worldview. Additionally, Launay (2016) asserts that the concession of blended education was never equal, as the ultimate aim was to induct sub-Saharans into a new Western educational philosophy.

For instance, in the early colonial period, British officials in Nigeria were eager to bring Qur'anic schools under control and, desiring to boost attendance in government schools, strategically included Arabic and Islamic studies in the school curriculum. However, British officials also wanted to promote English, making English a prerequisite for educational and occupational mobility from 1882 (Abdurrahman, 2012; Ogunmodimu, 2015). Accordingly, colonial schools taught academic education in European languages (Launay, 2016), and to this effect, Bano (2009) states that this forced the local Muslim population to learn European languages. Likewise, Launay (2016) posits that for Nigerians, job opportunities became the privy of those who had a good command of English, forcing parents to focus on English and neglect Arabic.

The latter colonial period was also analogous to the European industrial revolution (Mendes et al., 2014; Owusu-Ansah & Iddrisu, 2008). Colonial schools, colleges and universities issued certificates required for occupational mobility (Bano, 2009). As a result, academic education, colonial administration, commerce and industry became agents of power by the 1930s (Abdurrahman, 2012), and academic education became a large part of that order (Launay, 2016; Nunn, 2010). In contrast, the Arabic language and Qur’anic schools were peripheral (Abdurrahman, 2012; Launay, 2016).

Additionally, many studies record that colonialism disrupted traditional trade centres (Arowolo, 2010; Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012; Tiliouine & Estes, 2016). Numerous sub-Saharan Africans traditionally relied on trade and agriculture for subsistence, and colonial hegemony altered these traditional trade patterns, including supply and demand. For instance, colonial export trade diverted traditional north-south trade patterns between the Savannah and the Sahel to the coastal regions, leaving numerous West Africans in this supply chain without subsistence (Tiliouine & Estes, 2016). Arowolo (2010) asserts that as a knock-on effect of colonial trade in Africa, Africa began to produce more of what it did not need instead of what it needed. Thus, stripped of their traditional trade sustenance patterns, numerous sub-Saharan Africans were compelled to acquire academic education as a means of occupational mobility.

Given the above, the colonial subjugation and dominance of Africa driven by economic interests altered Africa's traditional, political, social, economic and educational landscape (Abdurrahman, 2012). Regarding education, after failing to attract Muslim learners to academic schools in Muslim-populated areas (Launay, 2016; Ogunmodimu, 2015), the colonists skilfully employed, among other things, a hybrid approach between academic education and Islamic traditions to induct a selected class of sub-Saharan elite (Launay, 2016; Ogunmodimu, 2015). I argue that while the stratagem to teach Islamic education alongside academics was intended to induct an educated class to serve the needs of the colonial administration, it gave rise to the adoption and transformation of this model by Muslim communities into the early Muslim school approach.

2.2.5 The Inauguration and Proliferation of Muslim Schools as an Alternative to Western Education by sub-Saharans

For the reasons mentioned above, the proliferation of Western-orientated academic schools resulted in traditional madrassas and Qur'anic schools losing ground. Nevertheless, the situation did not pass without a cause-and-reaction effect. Launay (2016) explains that fearing a dissolution of Arabic and Islamic studies, a dearth of religious scholars, Western-educated elites, Arab-educated scholars, and Emirs began negotiating with British officials in Northern Nigeria. Extensive research indicates that these negotiations resulted in reforming academic education models into a model that blended Islamic studies and Arabic in sub-Saharan Africa (Bano, 2009; Dangor, 2014; Izama, 2014; Launay, 2016; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). The genesis of the Muslim school approach thus had its roots in offering an alternate model to the Western school model.

I argue that the sub-Saharan Muslim elite wanted to afford their children a balance between academic and Islamic education. To achieve this, they adapted the Anglo-Arabic and Franco-Arabic school model underpinned by the Western worldview to a model underpinned by an Islamic worldview. These attempts gave birth to the integrated Muslim school approach. However, research shows that the British and French were seemingly calculating. While they agreed to concessions, they overtly laid the foundation for a new British-inspired education order in sub-Saharan Africa (Bano, 2009; Jalloh, 1997; Launay, 2016; Owusu-Ansah & Iddrisu, 2008; Tiliouine & Estes, 2016). Hence, I maintain that the integrated Muslim school approach was a concession colonial governments afforded Muslim communities only to promote the newly instituted Western education system (Launay, 2016). While Muslims desired an integrated approach in which an Islamic education paradigm underpinned the integrative approach of teaching Islamic traditions alongside academics, what panned out was a hybrid approach underpinned by a Western-orientated paradigm (Dangor, 2014; Davids & Waghid, 2021; Launay, 2016). Nevertheless, colonially sanctioned Muslim schools featured regularly in sub-Saharan

Africa from the beginning of the 20th century (Bano, 2009; Haron, 2016; Izama, 2014; Jalloh, 1997; Tiliouine & Estes, 2016; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015).

2.2.5.1 The Proliferation of Integrated Muslim Schools in sub-Saharan Africa

In West Africa, for example, as early as 1940, Nigerian elites trained in Western-styled secular and Islamic institutions within the sub-Saharan region and abroad and began establishing integrated Muslim schools (Launay, 2016). The initiators of these schools intended to meet the overwhelming demand for integrated education. However, Izama (2014) and Launay (2016) explain that traditional scholars and hereditary authorities initially rejected these schools. Furthermore, they explain that traditional scholars saw in this model a modernisation of Islamic Education from a teacher-centred traditional model to an institutional-centred Western model.

On the other hand, numerous scholars embraced the early Muslim school approach. For instance, Tiliouine and Estes (2016) explain that the Nigerian scholar Muhammad Nasir Kabara was impressed with a similar model in Sudan and returned to establish one of the pioneering Muslim schools in Nigeria in 1955. In Sierra Leon, the Fula, desiring an alternative to Western schools, accepted state grants to establish and run Muslim schools (Jalloh, 1997). Notwithstanding these endeavours, the hybrid Muslim school model continued to blossom, politicising Muslim Education. For example, in the Nigerian context, Bello and future president Shehu Shagari set up the modernised Nizamiyya School in 1947. Not long after that, in 1950, the anti-colonial opposition leader Aminu Kano set up an Arabic school. As expected, the newly established Muslim schools drew large enrolments due to Islamic traditions being taught alongside academics (Launay, 2016). However, d'Aiglepierre and Bauer (2018) assert that their popularity was more prominent in city centres than rural areas, where many parents still preferred Qur'anic schools.

Subsequently, the Muslim school approach was carried over to post-colonial Nigeria, where politicians used them as one of the benefits they offered to their constituencies (Launay, 2016). Hence, it gained prominence in numerous West African countries as an alternative to Western schools. Given the above, this study argues that while the British reinvented Muslim schools to serve their needs, the Muslim elite subsequently attempted to transform this approach, resulting in a blended or hybrid Muslim school approach. A similar trend appeared in numerous British colonies in the East of Africa. For example, in Zanzibar, Muslim schools profoundly shaped government schools by offering Islamic traditions alongside academics. After failing to attract learners to state schools, the British government reformulated the school curricula to incorporate the 'Diana' Qur'an syllabus and its teachers into the school system.

Furthermore, to make the 'Diana' components attractive to local Muslims, the British went to great lengths to improve the quality of the 'Diana' syllabus. Launay (2016) asserts that many Muslim learners took to this hybrid form of education, resulting in Zanzibari learners becoming one of the best-educated populations in Sub-Saharan Africa. Hence, in Zanzibar, a hybrid education model between Islamic and academic sciences brought the best results for the British colonisers. However, a noticeable difference in these models is that these schools were grounded in the state-aided school model rather than the independent school model. Nevertheless, the concept remained the same: an attempt to integrate secular and Islamic education, resulting in a hybrid model (Launay, 2016).

Another example is Zaire, where the Catholic Church held a monopoly over the country's schools, resulting in most of Zaire's schools, by default, being Christian-orientated and independently run. Christian control of Zaire's schools was made possible via an agreement between the government and the Catholic Church, and the status quo continued after independence. As a result, after independence, Muslim learners were marginalised and forced to change religions or suffer the consequences of being denied education (Launay, 2016).

In 1974, Zaire's post-colonial government attempted to free their education from the church's influence. However, the government failed dismally to run the country's schools and, in 1977, handed them back to the Catholic missions. Subsequently, the government involuntary gave churches added autonomy to manage public schools independently under the churches' domain. However, under the impetus of the post-colonial government, Muslims were subsequently included in the agreement. Thus, the government paved the way for formalising Muslim public schools in Congo-Zaire.

Furthermore, they resulted in Congolese Muslims playing significant roles in educating the masses. Statistics in 2012 show that, in the Maniema province alone, there are 132 Muslim public primary schools and 86 Muslim secondary schools. Hence, the proliferation of blended or hybrid Islamic schooling in Congo is increasing (Launay, 2016).

2.2.6 Western Education Bifurcates the Islamic Concept of Education

Research studies indicate that the British pioneered the hybrid Muslim school model in India (Langohr, 2005), Sudan, and Egypt before employing it in numerous British colonies like Nigeria and Zanzibar Launay (2016) and South Africa (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Initially, the French rejected this hybrid model, imposing a strict French secular worldview in their colonial schools (Izama, 2014). However, Launay (2016) and Tiliouine and Estes (2016) assert that low attendance also compelled them to adopt a hybrid model with Islamic traditions alongside academics.

As a result, I argue that colonialism successfully bifurcated the Islamic education system into two separate domains of Western and Islamic education by the end of the 20th century. Hence, Islam's integrated educational worldview, established in the 7th century and reinforced during Islam's golden age between the 8th and 13th century and subsequently adopted by sub-Saharan Muslims from the 12th to the 18th century, was in a crisis during the 19th and 20th century and was entirely subdued by the middle of the 20th century.

Because of the above, this study argues that the 19th and 20th-century inclusion of Arabic and Islamic traditions alongside academic education was a product of colonialism that served the colonial administration. They were initially called Mohammedan and subsequently Anglo-Arabic and Franco-Arabic schools. Sub-Saharan Muslims subsequently embraced this model to circumvent the impact of Western education by blending academic education with Qur'anic schools and madrassas, giving life to a new approach to Muslim Education called Muslim schools or Islamic schools. However, the Western worldview underpinned these models, and the status quo remained post-colonialism until the 1977 World Education Conference in Jeddah (Bano, 2009; Yaacob, 2018). The 1977 conference was a landmark event that transformed the early Muslim school approach into an independent one, discussed in detail in section 2.4 below.

Nonetheless, these early hybrid models became known as Islamic or Muslim schools to differentiate between pure academic schools (Launay, 2016). Therefore, for definition purposes, I refer to these Muslim schools as early or state-aided Muslim schools for this study. On the other hand, I refer to Muslim schools established after the 1980s as Independent Muslim schools, thus distinguishing between two types of Muslim schools.

2.3 Muslim Schools as Integrated Educational Providers in South Africa

The previous section revealed that the need for occupational mobility drove sub-Saharan Muslims to strive for educational attainment through Western education. Moreover, fearing proselytisation and the influence of the Western philosophy of secular education, they innovated the Muslim school approach as a primary alternative to the Western academic approach. This section shows that a similar trend occurred in the British colonies of KwaZulu-Natal and Cape at the beginning of the 20th century.

In line with the above focus, this section engages the colonial rule of South Africa, the arrival of Muslims of Malay and Indian origin to South Africa, Muslim schools became primary education providers in South Africa, the adoption of KwaZulu-Natal as a homeland for migrant Indians, the Apartheid Government institutes four streams of segregated education, academic education a scarce commodity for migrants Indians up to 1970; the inauguration of Muslim schools as primary education providers in KwaZulu-Natal; the role of the Muslim elite in patronising Qur'anic schools and madrassas;

the first Muslim school attempt drew inspiration from the Aligarh model; educational attainment, the inauguration of state-aided Muslim schools as primary education providers.

2.3.1 The Colonial Rule of South Africa

The beginning of the 20th century marked South Africa as four distinct regions of colonial rule. The Dutch were the first colonial power to annex the Cape Colony in 1652, colonising it for almost a century and a half until the arrival of the British (Fourie, 2013). The British subsequently wrested the Cape from the Dutch in 1795 and later colonised the Natal Colony on the east coast of Africa in 1843 (Gwaindepi & Fourie, 2020; Martens, 2015). After defeating the Dutch, the British government had a firm grip on the Cape and Natal colonies.

On the other hand, the Afrikaners (descendants of mainly Dutch, German, and French settlers) became dissatisfied with British rule. As a result, they migrated towards the interior (Butler, 2017), forming the Afrikaner republics of the Orange Free State and Transvaal to maintain their Afrikaner identity and way of life (Gwaindepi & Fourie, 2020; Martens, 2015).

The British subsequently waged numerous wars against the Afrikaner republics to subdue them. Although the British gained technical victories in these wars, Corder and Hoexter (2017) allude that the Afrikaners were far from subdued. As a result, In 1910, the British agreed to form a unified government with the Afrikaners to consolidate white political rule, which joined the Cape, Natal, Orange Free State, and Transvaal regions. This government became known as the Union of South Africa.

2.3.2 The Arrival of Muslims of Malay and Indian Origin to South Africa

After engaging the Afrikaner and English colonial consolidation in what became known as South Africa, this section presents an overview of the literature on the arrival of enslaved people and indentured labourers of Malay and Indian origin to South Africa.

Research studies indicate that The Dutch and the British played crucial roles in transporting Muslims to their respective colonies in South Africa. For instance, the 1652 Dutch colonists brought Malay Muslims to the Western Cape (Thomas & Chesworth, 2022), and the British brought Indians to KwaZulu-Natal. Amongst the migrant Indians were Muslims, resulting in two significant groups of Muslims being a settled community in South Africa. (Fataar, 2010; Saayman, 1993; Thomas & Chesworth, 2022).

Western Cape Muslims have intermarried with the local population to constitute a reformulated Coloured-Malay Muslim population, commonly known as Cape Malays (Mesthrie, 2012). In contrast,

Muslims in KwaZulu-Natal are descendants of indentured and free passenger Indian migrants and, having maintained their ethnicity, are known as South African Indian Muslims (Mesthrie, 2010).

In line with the focus of this study, this chapter focuses primarily on Muslim schools in KwaZulu-Natal. Often for representability, this study refers to the east coast of South Africa as the Natal Colony, the Natal Province and KwaZulu-Natal, all referring to the same region in different periods of rule. The British considered the Natal Colony as their colony until 1911. It transformed into the Natal province under Union (1911-1948) and Apartheid rule (1948-1994) and was renamed KwaZulu-Natal by the new democratic dispensation in 1994.

2.3.3 Muslim Schools Became Primary Educational Providers for Non-Whites

Glücksmann (2010) asserts that despite the Union government of South Africa joining the Cape, Natal, Orange Free State, and Transvaal provinces, these regions were not truly independent as each province had leverage to formulate laws and policies separately. For instance, the racial segregation policies of the Orange Free State and Transvaal barred Indians from *domicilium* in these provinces (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). As a result, Indians were restricted to the Cape and Natal provinces, resulting in state-aided Muslim schools only gaining licences to operate in the Cape and Natal regions.

Regarding the Muslims of the Cape, they established the first Muslim schools in the Union of South Africa. Muslim schools came about when Christian missionary schools barred Muslim learners due to their religious affiliations (Haron, 2016). To counter these social and educational challenges, where Muslim learners were commonly labelled as '*Slamse Gevaar'* (Muslim danger), Dr Abdullah Abdurahman, a medical practitioner and civic leader, established the Rahmaniyeh Muslim School in 1913 (Davids (2014). Niehaus (2008) explains that Muslim schools were critical education providers for the educational attainment of people of coloured, Indian, and black backgrounds during that period. Moreover, they were choice schools for Muslim parents wanting to maintain their children's Islamic identity due to academics being taught alongside Islamic traditions.

Additionally, they were an effective means of occupational mobility for Muslim teachers who struggled to secure jobs at mainly Christian missionary schools (Davids, 2014; Haron, 2016; Niehaus, 2008). As a result, Muslim schools in the Cape became widespread from 1913 until 1956 (Davids, 2014). However, the Union government ended in 1948, and the National Party won the elections and established the Apartheid state that lasted from 1948 to 1994 (Butler, 2017; Christopher, 2002; Mair, 2003).

Niehaus (2008) explains that the Apartheid policies compelled many Cape Muslim schools to close due to the forced removal of communities to racially segregated areas in the early 1950s. The remaining

schools were incorporated into the segregated government system. Nevertheless, Haron (2016) maintains that many who studied at these schools acquired tertiary education.

The above provided a general outline of the state-aided Muslim schools in the Cape and their subsequent transformation to segregated public schools when the Apartheid government was established in 1948. Muslim schooling in the Western Cape was revived when the Islamia College was established in 1983 and became widespread after independence in 1994 (a more detailed discussion on the Independent Muslim school approach follows in section 2.4). As mentioned earlier, during Apartheid, Muslims were barred from living in the Orange Free State and Transvaal provinces. Thus, Muslim schooling only became widespread in these provinces after the fall of Apartheid as Independent Muslim schools. The fourth province - KwaZulu-Natal, has a rich history of Muslim schooling that was intrinsically shaped by the educational attainment aspirations of migrant Muslims, who arrived between 1860 and 1911.

In line with the focus on exploring the rise and decline of Arabic and its impact on the Muslim school approach, the following subsections focus on the role KwaZulu-Natal's migrant Muslims played in inaugurating state-aided Muslim schools as dual providers of academic and Islamic traditions.

2.3.4 The Adoption of KwaZulu-Natal as a Homeland for Migrant Indians

After a brief overview of the arrival of Malays and their educational experiences in the Cape, this section examines the literature that engages migrant Indians adopting KwaZulu-Natal as their homeland, explicitly focusing on migrant Indians of Muslim origin.

Regarding the arrival of Indians to KwaZulu-Natal, the British Parliament abolished slavery in 1833, prompting labour shortages in British colonies (Lal & Vahed, 2013; Mesthrie, 2008) that resulted in the British transporting 152,641 Indian indentured labourers between 1860 to 1911 to KwaZulu-Natal (Vahed et al., 2010).

Almost 60 per cent of indentured labourers, amounting to more than 90,000, were dispatched as manual labourers in the sugar cane fields; the rest filled the labour market by working as gardeners, housekeepers, cooks, clerks, bartenders, and food servers (Vahed & Bhana, 2015). After serving an initial five years of indentured labour, it was nominative to serve an optional five years; after that, either accepting a free return passage to India or assuming a free migrant status in the Natal colony (Vahed et al., 2010). Vahed (2010) further asserts that about 40% returned to India, while 60% remained in the colony as free migrants to build a new life here.

Vahed (2003) further explains that free migrants flourished throughout Natal, taking up market gardening and hawking fruit and vegetables (Vahed, 2003). Others took up fishing, establishing fishing

villages in Salisbury Island until the Durban City Council relocated them to Fynnlands, then Bayhead. When the apartheid state created the township of Chatsworth, they forcefully moved these fishermen to Chatsworth (Desai & Vahed, 2013). Hence, most former indentured migrants lived outside the city centres, creating spheres of clustered Indian settlements in Clairwood, Merebank, Cato Manor, Riverside, Overport, Sydenham and Clare Estate (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015; Vahed, 2003). Others rented or bought farms and practised small-scale farming in areas like Chatsworth (Desai & Vahed, 2013).

Vahed (2006) estimates the number of indentured Muslims to be approximately 10 to 15 thousand. However, a later study by Lal and Vahed (2013) revised this number to more than 80 per cent of Hindus, 15 per cent of Muslims and Christians making up less than 5 per cent. Based on these estimates, Muslim indentured labourers accounted for more than 22 thousand, suggesting that while a small percentage of indentured labourers were Muslims, the majority were of the Hindu faith, with a small sprinkling of Christian followers.

By 1879, a second stream of migrants began to arrive in KwaZulu-Natal. Dadoo (2017) asserts that the British sea passenger routes circulated a small but influential group of Indian traders and merchants, followed by a more significant stream of opportunity seekers. Most opportunity seekers worked as shop hands, warehouse managers, bookkeepers, lawyers, teachers, spiritual leaders, property builders, and free-market traders (Dadoo, 2017; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015; Vahed & Bhana, 2015).

Regarding the second stream of traders and opportunity seekers, Vahed (2003) explains that Swan estimates their number to be two thousand between 1890 and 1910. However, Vahed (2006) puts their composite estimate to four thousand free migrants arriving from the mid-1870s to 1911; he also explains that two-thirds of traders and opportunity seekers were Muslims.

Vahed and Waetjen (2015) explain that the second stream of migrants lived in the city centres. However, this situation changed after 1920 when industrialisation drew many former indentured migrants to the Durban city centre, resulting in Durban's Indian population of 17,015 in 1911, soaring to 123,165 in 1949 (Lal & Vahed, 2013). This emerging Indian proletariat in city centres increased the demand for schooling.

Hence, by the beginning of the 20th century, an established community of migrant Muslims co-existed with their Hindu and Christian counterparts among the white settler and indigenous communities in KwaZulu-Natal.

2.3.5 The Apartheid Government Institutes Four Streams of Segregated Education

After an overview of the literature on establishing a distinct Muslim community in KwaZulu-Natal, this section briefly reviews the body of work related to the legislature that paved the way for four racially segregated societies. After that, the limited educational attainment provisions for non-whites under colonial and Apartheid governments are detailed.

While the colonial government put the shackles of segregated education into place, the Apartheid government institutionalised it. For example, the Bantu Education Act of 1953 was promulgated and culminated in tandem with the 1950 Group Areas Act, the 1954 Resettlement Act, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, the Population Registration Act, the Homeland Act (Abrahams et al., 2018; Alexander, 2011), and numerous other apartheid legislature and policies. These acts aimed to divide South Africa into four distinct socio-economic societies. As a result, it paved the way to facilitate four racially segregated and unequally financed streams of education in South Africa (Chisholm, 2012).

Learners classified as Indian attended segregated Indian schools. Likewise, black, coloured, and white learners attended segregated schools. While the Apartheid government afforded certain concessions to the Indian and coloured population by creating numerous control structures like the Indian and Coloured Affairs Act and the Tri-Cameral Parliament, the Apartheid state did little to improve the quality and quantity of black Education (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Instead, they established four unequally funded sub-education departments to ensure white supremacy.

For instance, in 1968, 13 learners out of 100,000 blacks completed secondary education compared to 866 whites, 322 Indians and 74 coloureds in the same cohort (Linda, 2012). Furthermore, to maintain white superiority and dominance in the economy and state, the Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 was promulgated to cater for ten territorial Bantustan reserves from 1968 onwards (Abrahams et al., 2018; Ehrenreich-Risner, 2018; Farsakh, 2005). In the next three decades, South Africa witnessed the systematic removal of blacks from prime areas reserved for whites to remote segregated reserves based on ethnicity, tribe and language (Abrahams et al., 2018). The forced removal and displacement of the black population to rural Bantustans further added to the lopsided lack of mass education for the black majority. Similar Bantustans in the form of segregated townships were created on the peripherals of the city to ensure the separation of white, black, coloured and Indian city dwellers (Abrahams et al., 2018; Desai & Vahed, 2013).

Regarding Indian education before 1970, Lal and Vahed (2013) describe it as an uneven patchwork, with initiatives from missionary societies, changing governmental bodies, and community self-help projects. Thus, until 1970, the government made no provision for free or compulsory Indian schooling (McKeever, 2017).

2.3.6 Academic Education, a Scarce Commodity for Indians up to 1970

A large body of work discusses the systematic methods the Apartheid government employed to marginalise the black and coloured population from education and polity. However, this section limits the discussion to the marginalisation of migrant Indians from attaining academic education, making educational attainment a scarce commodity for Indians up to 1970. Furthermore, this section highlights the seminal role migrant Indians played in establishing community self-help projects to provide educational attainment for their children.

Regarding educational provision for Indian learners from their arrival in 1860 to 1970, in the Durban, Tongaat and Umgeni areas, only two government schools served 350 learners in 1894. In contrast, 24 missionary schools served 1,582 learners. Thus, up to 1899, the government provided sparse Indian schooling up to standard four. However, driven by the fear of proselytisation in missionary schools and frustrated by the lack of government provisions for their children, Hindu and Muslim traders patronised the first state-aided community school, catering for learners up to grade seven. By 1906, this school in Carlisle Street had 206 learners with 45 girls. Despite these efforts, more than half of all Indian children were still below grade four and by 1909, there were five government schools compared to 31 community state-aided schools, and of the 31 state-aided schools in 1911, 29 were missionary schools (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Thus, missionary schools were the largest provider of educational attainment by 1909.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, then a resident lawyer of Natal, advocated the concept of self-help schools, arguing that 'if the government does nothing for our education, the responsibility of the Indian community becomes all the greater' (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015, pg, 27). Hence, spurred by Gandhi's notion that education would counter discrimination and improve their social mobility status, traders and educated class professionals responded to Gandhi's call.

Amongst the many projects they undertook, the Durban Indian Educational Institute (1911) and Sastri College (1930) deserve special mention. Both were the only Indian high school providers in the Natal province (Guest, 2016). Therefore, Muslim and non-Muslim communities throughout Natal supported these initiatives (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). For example, Sastri College was a significant milestone, becoming a conduit for learners wanting to pursue tertiary studies. Furthermore, I argue, given that blacks, coloureds and Indians were socio-economically discriminated against, both the Hindu and Muslim communities viewed these schools as opportunities to acquire educational attainment and perhaps better their chances of social mobility, thus placing them in a better position to broker with colonial rule (Haron, 2016). Notwithstanding these efforts, there was a dire need to expand educational attainment for migrant Indians. In contrast, McKeever (2017) posits that the government reserved the best schools for the white population, forcing Muslims to send their children overseas for school and tertiary Education (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015).

To counter this deficiency, trader and professional class communities established a network of educational opportunities for their children via trade links and overseas travel. As a result, India (Aligarh, Lahore and Hyderabad) and England were common choices for learners from trader and professional class families (Vahed, 2010; Vahed & Bhana, 2015). Vahed and Waetjen (2015) explain that by 1947, a stream of South African Indian Muslims was studying at Aligarh in India. He also explains that while some attended university education there, most studied school education. Many would further their tertiary education at other Indian universities, while others gained entry to English and South African universities. For example, Vahed (2010) records an agreement in 1946 between Sorabjee Rustomjee, a prominent Parsee Merchant, and the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland. Following this agreement, Gujarati trader class students were the main benefactors between 1950 and 1980. Seemingly, trader-class families were the primary recipients of secular education until the 1970s (Vahed et al., 2010). Schooling was costly, requiring school fees, uniforms, books and transportation, and out-of-town learners required lodging expenses (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). For many working-class families, this was out of their reach. As a result, high school and university education remained mainly the privilege of the trader-merchant and educated professional-class families up to 1970.

2.3.7 The Inauguration of Muslim Schools as Primary Education Providers in KwaZulu-Natal

This section highlights the inspiration to pursue the Muslim school approach, motivated by three interrelated factors. Mainly due to their successes in establishing the initial community self-help schools, their interaction with the Aligarh Institute in India, and their desire to give their children the best of academics and Islamic traditions.

2.3.7.1 The Role of the Muslim Elite in Patronising Qur'anic Schools, Madrassas and Muslim Schools

Vahed and Waetjen (2015) explain that traders and professional-class Muslims were generally modernists (Dadoo, 2017; Vahed, 2006). Nonetheless, like their sub-Saharan counterparts, they wanted their children to benefit from Western education alongside religious and traditional instructions (Dadoo, 2017; Haron, 2016). Therefore, they patronised the traditional madrassa system.

For instance, Urdu and Gujarati were the primary forms of literacy, and the madrassa offered Arabic when a teacher was available (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Vahed et al. (2010) explain that up to the 1960s, Urdu or vernacular was the first language of most migrant Indians, using English only to communicate with English speakers. Hence, traditional Qur'anic madrassas were a primary source of instruction for Muslim children in the Natal Colony from 1860 to 1970. Consequently, very few students pursued Western education, and those that did were mainly from the trader and professional classes (Vahed, 2010; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015).

Given the above, I posit that KwaZulu-Natal Indian Muslims show stark similarities with the educational attainment experiences of sub-Saharan African Muslims. However, while both relied profoundly on Qur'anic schools and traditional madrassas to educate their children, they show contrasting reasons for their initial low academic education attainment. To this effect, sub-Saharan Muslims boycotted the Western philosophy of academic education by choice, considering it an infidel philosophy and the work of Satan (Bano, 2009; Kobo, 2016; Owusu-Ansah & Iddrisu, 2008). In contrast, KwaZulu-Natal Muslims desired Western academic mobility, but government provision was sparse, except for missionary schools, which they held in great suspicion like their sub-Saharan counterparts (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015).

Nonetheless, Muslims who could not afford overseas education sent their children to traditional Qur'an schools and madrassas. However, even overseas schooling was impractical as it catered for a few learners and entailed separation from the family unit. Therefore, the Muslim elite began to look for alternatives, and impressed with Aligarh’s approach of combining academics with Islamic studies, they began conceptualising an Aligarh-styled institute in KwaZulu-Natal (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015).

Interestingly, while British experiments in Egypt and Sudan inspired the Muslim school approaches in sub-Saharan Africa (Launay, 2016; Tiliouine & Estes, 2016), the KwaZulu-Natal Muslim school approaches drew inspiration from Aligarh in India (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015).

2.3.7.2 The First Muslim School Attempt Drew Inspiration from the Aligarh Model

Intrigued by the Aligarh education model and concerned about the lack of academic educational attainment opportunities for Muslims, the Anjuman Trust attempted to create the first Muslim school on the Aligarh integrated model. Vahed and Waetjen (2015) explain that in April 1927, MAH Moosa communicated a plan to buy an existing white school facing closure, wanting to convert it into an Aligarh-style secular-Islamic school. However, like the Ulema (Muslim theologians) in sub-Saharan Africa who issued *fatwas* (religious verdicts) condemning Western schools (Launay, 2016), Vahed and Waetjen (2015) explain that KwaZulu-Natal’s ultra-conservative Ulema opposed the merger of Western education and Islamic traditions and therefore blocked the plan.

Remarkably, in August of the same year, Sir Srinivasa Sastri, the Indian Consul to South Africa, announced the plans for an Indian high school community project, resulting in Sastri College in Durban opening its doors on the 27th of January 1930 (Bhana & Vahed, 2011; Vahed et al., 2010). Again, Muslim traders were the major donors in the Sastri project. Vahed & Waetjen (2015) posit that the inauguration of Sastri College as a high school precluded the need for a Muslim-secular school. However, this did not deter Natal’s Muslim elite from pursuing the Muslim school project. In defiance of ultra-conservatives within the Muslim community and amid significant resentment from the Hindu

and Christian elite who wanted Muslims to remain major partners in community self-help projects, they proceeded further.

In 1929, the Muslim elite formally approached the city council for land adjacent to Sastri College to build an Aligarh-style Muslim high school. The city council initially approved the land application and then rescinded it due to panic from white ratepayers who viewed this as 'Indian penetration' into a segregated white area (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Due to pressure from white settlers, the government's official policy was to repatriate the majority of Indians and to maintain a minimal number in the Natal province (Desai & Vahed, 2019; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015; Vahed et al., 2010); failing that, to limit their socio-economic and educational rights (Desai & Vahed, 2019).

For instance, by 1911, indentured labour and free passenger immigration were terminated (Vahed & Bhana, 2015). Furthermore, the Union Government enforced economic limitations on Indian business activity. Additionally, they began to enforce segregated educational attainment, which was already sparse for non-whites. As a result, very few Indians attended school, and even fewer attained a university education (Bhana & Vahed, 2011).

In contrast, defiance, growing activism, and opposition to white settler laws and policies characterised this period; hence, Gandhi's legacy continued after his departure in 1914. The political elite formed the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) to represent discrimination against Indians. Initially, the (NIC) followed a brokered policy and expressed Indian repatriate grievances at the landmark Cape Town conference in 1927 (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). However, Amid fierce defiance, the repatriation of Indians failed miserably (Thakur & Sundaram, 2019).

2.3.7.3 The Inauguration of State-Aided Muslim Schools as Primary Education Providers

Moreover, in defiance of the 1927 deliberations, prominent traders linked to the West Street, Grey Street Mosques, and the Anjuman Trust formalised the ongoing 1929 application by establishing the Orient Islamic Educational Trust (The Orient Trust) in 1943. The Orient Trust pursued the Aligarh-style Muslim school application with Durban's city council with such dedication, perseverance, and resolve that it resulted in a trajectory of meetings, applications, negotiations, and standoffs between the trust and the city council that spanned 30 years.

The first Muslim school initiative met with opposition from three separate quarters for various reasons (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Firstly, from ultra-conservative Ulema, who believed that Muslim traders planned to use interest funds from modern banks to finance the teaching of Islamic traditions in Muslim schools. (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). On the other hand, white settlers perceived these developments as Indian penetration into traditionally white areas. In contrast, The Hindu-Christian traders and

professional classes feared losing their wealthy Muslim co-partners in establishing community self-help projects like Sastri College. Nevertheless, like their sub-Saharan counterparts, the Muslim elite of KwaZulu-Natal remained unsettled, vigorously pursuing the Orient Trust project and other Muslim educational options (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015).

While negotiations, petitions and applications were ongoing with the Durban City Council to buy land for the Aligarh-style school, the Muslim elite pursued other related projects. For instance, prominent businessmen A. M. Moolla and E. M. Paruk joined hands with the Clairwood Muslim community to procure land and erect a school building in the area of Clairwood (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Then, Clairwood was a densely populated, segregated Indian area; hence, the project did not face significant opposition. At the same time, the Lockhat Wakuff (Charitable Trust) built a mosque and madrassa in memory of their pioneer, A. M. Lockhat. Vahed and Waetjen (2015) explain that A. M. Moolla convinced them to add a school building on the property (Hansa, 2004; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Therefore, in 1947, the first two Muslim schools opened in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. Muslim traders established the South Coast Madrassa state-aided Indian school in June 1947 and the Ahmedia state-aided Indian school in July 1947 (Mahida, 1993).

Vahed and Waetjen (2015) explain that establishing the Clairwood and Ahmedia Muslim schools once more stirred debate on the permissibility of Muslim schools to use interest-tainted funds for Islamic Education, triggering the 1952 Natal Muslim Provincial Educational Conference. Vahed and Waetjen (2015) explain that the conference adopted unanimously to vigorously promote the Muslim school approach and the Arabic language. As a result, the conference organisers unremittingly pursued the above resolutions, culminating in the Anjuman Islam converting their madrassa into a state-aided Muslim school in 1953. After that, the Grey street mosque trust established the Juma Masjid state-aided girls' school in 1955 (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Thus, from 1947 to 1955, four significant Muslim schools were established to cater to the academic educational attainment of Indians of all denominations.

Regarding the Orient Trust project, almost 30 years after lodging the first application in 1929, the Orient Islamic School was opened as a Muslim state-aided school in 1959. During this period, the trust negotiated with the city council for numerous alternative proposals to the original land offer. However, negotiations would end in a stalemate. At one point, the Orient Trust purchased a privately owned building site in Isipingo. Once again, racial segregation influenced the city council to deem the site inappropriate, forcing the trust to abandon the Isipingo project conditionally. Finally, the city council agreed on the original location next to the Botanical Gardens with reduced square meterage from the original 1929 application (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Hence, during the first apartheid period (1948-1970), community self-help projects and the five Muslim schools played a significant role in educating

Muslims and non-Muslims in KwaZulu-Natal, accounting for 84% of Indian schooling by 1949 (Vahed et al., 2010).

Despite the threat of repatriation, limited educational and economic opportunities, and a 1942 Education Ordinance that put a moratorium on state-aided religious schools, the Muslim lobby was highly influential (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Regarding the moratorium on religious state-aided schools, the Union and later Apartheid government were suspicious that missionary schools were a breeding ground for black nationalist sentiments. Hence, they placed a moratorium on state-aided religious schools. Nevertheless, the Muslim elite relentlessly brokered with the Apartheid government, resulting in the government granting five religious school permits between 1947 and 1959 (Kader, 1981). Beyond 1959, the government was pressured to implement the 1942 Ordinance, and no further integrated Muslim school permits were granted. To circumvent this restriction, Muslims established numerous academic state-aided schools that provided religious education after school hours.

Nevertheless, integrated Muslim state-aided schools were integral providers of Muslim Education from 1947 until they were abrogated in 1996 by the South African Schools Act (Dangor, 2014; Davids, 2014; Haron, 2016). Remarkably, these schools provided equal schooling opportunities for Muslims and non-Muslims.

Given the above, the primary purpose for establishing Muslim schools was to promote an integrated syllabus between Islamic traditions and academics, thus giving rise to the Muslim school approach. However, the apartheid government allowed limited time for Islamic teachings and the Arabic language. Therefore, KwaZulu-Natal’s Muslim elite constantly sought to improve the Muslim school approach. For example, in 1971, the Orient state-aided Islamic school (the Orient Islamic School) recommended that Arabic be taken up as a school subject (see further discussion in the next chapter). Subsequently, the Circle and Orient school's co-members relentlessly pursued this recommendation until the Apartheid government conceded to include Arabic as a normal school subject (Dawood, 2008; Jeppie, 2007; Mohamed, 1997). This study reasons that including Arabic as a regular school subject was a significant milestone. Firstly, it institutionalised Arabic and, more importantly, almost doubled the notional time for Islamic traditions. Hence, state-aided Muslim schools were at the forefront of promoting the teaching and learning of Arabic in South African schools. Moreover, Chapter 3 showed that Muslim schools, the Arabic Study Circle, and the Society for the Promotion of Arabic were at the forefront of developing Arabic as a school subject.

2.4 The Inauguration of Independent Muslim Schools during the Later Apartheid Period (1984-1994)

This section discusses the educational philosophy underpinning the independent school approach to gauge how much this approach enhanced the integration between Islamic traditions and academic subjects and, by extension, the Arabic language.

What follows is a discussion of the significance of the Independent Muslim school approach to this study, factors that contributed to renewing the Muslim school approach, introduction to the Integrated Muslim school approach, the Inauguration of independent Muslim schools in the West, independent schools in South Africa, and chapter conclusions.

2.4.1 The Significance of the Independent Muslim School Approach to this Study

In line with the rise and decline of FET Arabic and its impact on the Muslim school approach, this study distinguishes between the state-aided Muslim school approach and the Independent Muslim school approach. In sections 2.2 and 2.3 above, we argued that the Western worldview influenced the state-aided Muslim school approach, making it a dominant form of Muslim Education during the colonial and post-colonial periods. An extensive body of literature further confirms that the first Islamisation Conference in Makkah in 1977 called for a renewal of Muslim education from a Western educational paradigm to a paradigm grounded in Islamic traditions, commonly known as the integrated Muslim school approach.

In keeping with the spirit of the integrated Muslim school approach that characterises this chapter, this section appraises the renewal of the state-aided Muslim school approach to an Independent Muslim school approach based on the balanced integration of the academic and Islamic traditions.

2.4.2 Factors that Contributed to Renewing the Muslim School Approach

Scholars are unanimous that the colonisation of Islamic Education began at the beginning of the 19th century (Panjwani, 2004), and by the middle of the 20th century, the Western philosophy of education had eclipsed the Islamic philosophy of Education (Al-Attas, 1980; Bano, 2009; Hashim & Rossidy, 2000; Khan, 2006; Panjwani, 2004; Tiliouine & Estes, 2016). Gunandar et al. (2018) explain that Darwinism profoundly influenced Western educational philosophy, and the reliance on Western education for occupational mobility diminished reliance on religious education.

Consequently, Muslim schooling approaches in the post-colonial period perpetuated a colonial-influenced bifurcated education model, as argued in sections 2.2 and 2.3 (Davids & Waghid, 2021;

Lubis, 2015; Lubis et al., 2009; Othman et al., 2017). In this light, Aziz (1996) posits that numerous Muslim schools unwittingly promoted a Western educational philosophy. Therefore, despite their Muslim name tag, the Western philosophy of education influenced them, making them incompatible with the ideals of the Islamic worldview based on the Qur'an and Sunnah paradigm, as outlined in Chapter 5. As a result, numerous scholars maintain that Western cultural and educational influences dominated early Muslim schooling (Anzar, 2003; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2004; Othman et al., 2017; Shah et al., 2015). On the contrary, Haron (2016) argues that they served as a springboard for educational attainment in the research site, arguing that the Independent Muslim schooling approach complemented the early state-aided Muslim schooling. Nevertheless, Embong et al. (2013) opine that traditional Muslim educational models had systematically reached a state of backwardness during this period, producing unmarketable graduates with deficient skills to face the challenges of the 21st century. Numerous studies support this view (see, for example, Davids & Waghid, 2021; Othman et al., 2017; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015).

2.4.3 Introduction to the Integrated Muslim School Approach

The above discussion essentially highlights the cause of disagreement with Western education. In contrast, Islamic education is premised on an integrative approach between Islamic traditions and Academics, as outlined in Chapter 4. Thus, the central conflict with Western education is its ethnocentric secular philosophy. Gunandar et al. (2018) and Khan (2006) explain that this contradiction of Islamic knowledge philosophy produced a counter-movement among Muslim thinkers and scholars.

For instance, Indian scholars like Sayyid Ahmed Khan and Amir Ali in the latter part of the 19th century, and Hassan al Banna, Mohamed Abduh, Jamaluddin Afghani and Syed Qutb in Egypt began addressing the colonisation of the Islamic educational approaches at the beginning of the 20th century (Gunandar et al., 2018; Hashim & Jemali, 2017; Hatina, 2003; Khan, 2006; Madani, 2016). This counter-movement became known as the Islamisation of knowledge movement and gained significant momentum from the 1940s onwards, leading to a global resurgence of Islam in various Muslim communities in response to modernity (Hashim & Rossidy, 2000; Madani, 2016). As a result, it culminated in the Islamisation Conference in 1977 (Davids & Waghid, 2021; Niehaus, 2008). The resolutions of this conference were unanimous; scholars identified the need to transform the Western philosophy of education, which was overtly biased toward Western education and subverting the Islamic philosophy of knowledge.

Commenting on this subversion, Sahin (2018) asserts that the Western worldview of education has turned education into a quasi-market for individual and personal gain, limiting knowledge production to intellectual and material gain (Enríquez, 2018; Othman et al., 2017; Ressia et al., 2017). In contrast, the Islamic worldview promoted a holistic, integrated curriculum, targeting personal and individual

holistic development (Attas & Ashraf, 1979; Davids & Waghid, 2021). Furthermore, the Islamic philosophy of education recognises the importance of academic knowledge for human agency and thus promotes its integration with the Islamic traditions to form one unison (Lubis et al., 2009). For this reason, Islamic education rejects the Western philosophy of bifurcating Islamic education into two separate academic and Islamic education streams, commonly called Dualism (Hashim & Jemali, 2017; Othman et al., 2017).

The rejection of Dualism resulted in an alignment of scholars towards the Islamic philosophy of knowledge premised on integrating academic sciences with Islamic sciences (Hashim & Jemali, 2017; Lubis et al., 2009; Niyozov & Memon, 2011; Othman et al., 2017; Syaifuddin, 2022). Thus, there is a general view that the renewal of the state-aided Muslim school to an Islamic philosophy of education was part of fundamentalist sentiments that have engulfed the Muslim world since the 1970s (Sahin, 2018; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). In this light, many scholars considered the revolution in Iran (1978 - 1979) and the Russian invasion of Afghanistan (1979-1989) as significant turning points to this agenda (Campo, 2009; Pargeter, 2008; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Nonetheless, numerous scholars believe that the proliferation of independent Muslim schools was a response to modernity and the suppression of the Islamic worldview due to the hegemony of Western education over Islamic education (Abdalla et al., 2018; Embong et al., 2013; Lubis, 2015; Othman et al., 2017).

Mabud (2016b) explains that the 1977 Islamisation Conference was crucial in institutionalising the Integrative movement. Researchers commonly refer to this ideology as the Islamisation of modern knowledge, that is, debates, discussions, and educational models aiming to transform Western education since the 1977 conference (Davids & Waghid, 2021; Nasution & Holid, 2023). On the other hand, Sahin (2018) argues that Islamisation supporters have grudgingly dropped this term for a more watered-down term, integrative education. Davids and Waghid (2021) assert that the latter is a more politically appropriate term. Nonetheless, a dearth of research indicates that the integrative movement gave birth to a worldwide phenomenon called independent Muslim schooling in the 1980s (Abdalla et al., 2018; Berglund, 2010; Davids, 2014; Davids & Waghid, 2021; Mabud, 2016a). For instance, research studies show that the pioneering Independent Muslim schools in South Africa, Islamia College in Cape Town and Lockhat Islamia in Durban were motivated by global trends in the Islamisation of knowledge movement (Dangor, 2014; Haron, 2016; Mohamed, 2002; Waghid, 2013). Thus, post-1977 Muslim schools grew at an exponential rate as I discuss in the section that follows.

2.4.4 The Inauguration of Independent Muslim Schools in the West

Research shows that the renewal of arts, culture and science was the focus of Muslim scholars from the eighth to the thirteenth century, resulting in numerous knowledge production centres in the Muslim

world, attracting students and scholars from all over the world (Günther, 2020; Renima et al., 2016; Tiliouine & Estes, 2016). However, since the European Enlightenment and the advent of colonialism, it has shifted to the West (Banerjee & Arjaliès, 2021). As a result, since World War Two, many Muslims from Arabic and Islamic countries in Asia and Africa have been migrating to Western countries, searching for better jobs, education, and cultural experiences (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2020; Driessen & Merry, 2006). Similarly, Indians migrated via the British Empire's international trade routes to KwaZulu-Natal in 1860 (Lal & Vahed, 2013; Mesthrie, 2017).

Research shows that Muslims in host countries are unceasingly setting up various institutions to receive these migrant Muslims, such as mosques, religious institutions, cemeteries, and butcheries (Collins et al., 2020; Shadid & Van Koningsveld, 1991). One such institution is the establishment of Muslim schools. Research further indicates that during the latter part of the 19th century, Muslims in the Western world set up Muslim schools at an unprecedented rate. For example, by the early 2000s, approximately 200 to 600 Muslim Schools were founded in the United States (Timani, 2006). Meer (2007) mentions that Britain recorded as many as 100 Muslim schools in 2007. Likewise, in the Netherlands, by 2006, there were 46 Muslim primary schools (Driessen & Merry, 2006). Canada portrays a similar picture: Zine (2006) says that during the same period, across the Ontario province alone, there were 35 Muslim schools.

Similarly, Australia's most populous state, New South Wales, recorded 12 Muslim schools in 2012: nine in Western Australia, two in Queensland, one in South Australia and one in the Australian Capital Territory (Abdalla et al., 2018). Timani (2006) argues that the *Raison de 'entre* for establishing these Muslim schools is the reconstruction of Muslim identity. Rifai and Sandy (2019) explain that the Holy Qur'an's recitation in Arabic is at the heart of this identity. As a result, Arabic language teaching took prime focus in these Muslim schools (Kelly, 1999; Sai, 2017). Hence, Muslim schools' proliferation provides a vehicle for learning and teaching Islamic traditions alongside academics in numerous non-Arabic-speaking countries where a migrant Muslim community exists.

Hence, responding to the 1977 Islamisation Conference and in line with changing world events, a new model of private Muslim schools, known as private or independent schools, emerged in numerous Muslim and Western countries with a substantial Muslim population. However, Abdalla et al. (2018) explain that notwithstanding their private or independent status, numerous Muslim schools still rely on government grants to supplement school fees. Hence, fully private Muslim schools are few.

2.4.5 Independent Muslim Schools in South Africa

In line with global trends, Islamia College was established as the first Independent Muslim school in Cape Town, South Africa, in 1983 (Haron, 2016), followed in 1985 by the Lockhat Islamia Trust in

KwaZulu-Natal (Haron, 2021; Khan, 2006; Sheik, 1994). By independence in 1994, Independent Muslim schools operated alongside colonial state-aided Muslim schools (Haron, 2016), and according to Sheik (1994), there were nineteen Independent Muslim schools and five state-aided Muslim schools by the time of Independence (1994). Tables 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4 provide details of such.

Table 2.1

KwaZulu-Natal Muslim State-Aided Schools during Apartheid

State-aided Muslim schools with religious status in KwaZulu-Natal			
No	School	Place	Year established
1	South Coast Madrassa	Clairwood, Durban	1947
2	Ahmadiyyah Muslim School	Mayville, Durban	1947
3	Anjuman Islamic School	Central Town, Durban	1952
4	Juma Masjid Trust	Central Town, Durban	1953
5	Orient Islamic School	Botanical Gardens, Durban	1959

Note, adapted from Muslim private schools in South Africa: present and future (Sheik, 1994, p. 23)

Table 2.2

Independent Muslim Schools during Apartheid

INDEPENDENT MUSLIM SCHOOLS – SOUTH AFRICA – FROM 1983 TO 1994			
Name of school	District / Town	Province	No
Gauteng Province			
Al Huda Muslim school	Klerksdorp	Gauteng	1
Azaadville Muslim school	Azaadville	Gauteng	2
Central Islamic School	Laudium, Pretoria	Gauteng	3
Johannesburg Muslim school	Crown Mines, Johannesburg	Gauteng	4
Lenasia Muslim School, High	Lenasia, Johannesburg	Gauteng	5
Nur-ul-Islam Muslim school	Lenasia, Johannesburg	Gauteng	6
Pretoria Muslim Trust School	Laudium, Pretoria	Gauteng	7
Roshnie Muslim school	Roshnie, Vereeniging	Gauteng	8
Mpumalanga Province			
Nelspruit Muslim School	Nelspruit	Mpumalanga	1
Cape			
Habibiyyah Islamic College	Rylands, Cape Town	Western Cape	1
Mitchells Plain Muslim School	Mitchells Plain, Cape Town	Western Cape	2
KwaZulu-Natal			

As-Salaam Private School	Braemar, Umzinto	KwaZulu-Natal	1
Lockhat Islamia College	Mayville, Durban	KwaZulu-Natal	2
Newcastle Muslim School	Newcastle	KwaZulu-Natal	3
Nizamia Muslim School	Pietermaritzburg	KwaZulu-Natal	4
Siraatul-Haq Islamic School	Estcourt	KwaZulu-Natal	5
Stanger Muslim School	Stanger	KwaZulu-Natal	6
Portshepstone Muslim school	Portshepstone	KwaZulu-Natal	7
Umzinto Muslim School	Umzinto	KwaZulu-Natal	8
		Total Number of Schools	19

Note, adapted from Muslim private schools in South Africa: present and future (Sheik, 1994, p. 73)

Eight of these nineteen Independent Muslim schools were in KwaZulu Natal (see Table 2.2 above). Research shows that two factors brought about an unprecedented increase in Muslim schools post-Apartheid. Firstly, the new democratic dispensation after 1994 promulgated the South African Schools Act 84 of 1996 (Badat & Sayed, 2014; du Plessis, 2020), which intended to address the ills of Apartheid (Alexander, 2011). The Schools Act abrogated all state-aided schools, giving them a choice of opting for independent status or remaining as public schools with no religious status. As a result, most state-aided Muslim schools transformed into Independent Muslim schools between 1996 and 1998 (Dangor, 2014; Davids, 2014, 2019; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015).

Secondly, the Schools Act also made provision for the desegregation of all South African schools. Research shows that the influx of township learners into historically segregated schools created panic amongst segregated coloured, Indian and white schools, resulting in an exodus of learners to Independent schools (Hunter, 2010a; Msila, 2009; Naidoo, 1996; Soudien, 2004).

Regarding KwaZulu-Natal, I argue that the exodus of historically segregated learners and the privatisation of state-aided schools caused a demand for Independent Muslim schools. For instance, a study by Khan (2006) indicates that the number of Muslim schools had spiked to twenty-five by 2006. Furthermore, statistics supplied by the AMS indicate that Independent Muslim schools are increasing in KwaZulu-Natal. For instance, table 2.3 below indicates that 32 Muslim schools were affiliated with

AMS by 2020, serving at least 11,725 learners. I argue that there are at least another ten unregistered Muslim schools in KwaZulu-Natal, bringing this number to approximately 42.

Table 2.3

Muslim Schools in Post-Apartheid KwaZulu-Natal

Association of Muslim Schools - KwaZulu-Natal Role – Grades R to 12 (2020 Statistics)					
No	**Name of School**	**District**	**Boys**	**Girls**	**Total**
1	Al-Azhar School of Durban	Durban Central	176	223	399
2	Al -Falaah College	Springfield, Durban	535	492	1027
3	Anjuman Primary School	Durban Central	321	287	608
4	As-Salaam Private School	Braemar, Umzinto	166	131	297
5	Crescent Girls High School	Parlock, Durban		232	232
6	Hartley Road Primary School	Overport, Durban	508	516	1024
7	Ihsaan Boys College	Chatsworth, Durban	115		115
8	Ihsaan Girls College	Chatsworth, Durban		252	252
9	Inchanga Muslim School	Inchanga	114	121	235
10	Islamia Muslim School	Pietermaritzburg	196	217	413
11	Islamic College Newcastle	Newcastle	136	142	278
12	Islamic Education Centre, Ladysmith	Ladysmith	126	116	242
13	Madrasah Islahul Muslimaat	Sherwood, Durban		360	360
14	Madrasah Islahul Muslimeen	Sherwood, Durban	221		221
15	Maritzburg Muslim School for Girls	Pietermaritzburg		300	300
16	Masakhane Girls Secondary School	Verulum		118	118

17	Mohamed Ebrahim Islamic School	Chatsworth, Durban	219	227	446
18	Nizamia Islamic School	Pietermaritzburg	202	142	344
19	Nxamalala School	Imashingeni	115	122	237
20	Orient Islamic School	Durban	579	420	999
21	Phoenix Muslim School	Phoenix	278	306	584
22	Port Shepstone Islamic	Portshepstone	162	176	338
23	Shoukatul Islam	Overport Durban			0
24	Siraatul Haq Islamic School	Estcourt	176	141	317
25	South Coast Madressa	Clairwood, Durban	301	298	599
26	Umzinto Islamic School	Umzinto	126	160	286
27	Verulam Islamic School	Verulum	231	259	490
28	Zakariyya Muslim School	Stanger	224	216	440
29	Wonder Kids Primary	Sydenham, Durban	72	62	134
	TOTAL		**5299**	**6036**	**11335**
	INTRODUCTORY SCHOOLS				
30	AL Khalil –DBN	Durban	62	74	136
31	Al Khalil -PMB	Pietermaritzburg	58	54	112
32	HSBP Institute of Learning	Kenville, Durban	67	75	142
	TOTAL NUMBER OF LEARNERS		**5486**	**6239**	**11725**

Note, adapted from statistics from the Association of Muslim Schools, 2020.

While the statistics above indicate that KwaZulu-Natal Muslim schools have expanded considerably since independence, a similar trend is prevalent in the other central provinces, mainly Gauteng and Western Cape. For instance, the number of Muslim schools in Gauteng increased from eight in 1994 to

thirty in 2020. Similarly, Western Cape Muslim schools have expanded from three to seventeen. Thus, nationally, Muslim schools have increased from nineteen in 1994 to eight seven in 2020 (see Tables 2.2 above and 2.4 below). In addition, there are probably another 30 non-affiliated or unregistered Muslim schools nationally, bringing the total number to approximately 120. Furthermore, based on the average statistics of KwaZulu-Natal, these 120 Muslim schools could well be serving at least 40,000 Muslim school learners.

Table 2.4

Muslim Schools in South Africa

South African Muslim Schools Registered with AMS in 2020	
Province	**Number**
KwaZulu-Natal	32
Gauteng	30
Western Cape	17
Eastern Cape	3
Mpumalanga	2
Northwest	2
Orange Free State	1
Total number of Muslim schools	87

Note, statistics adapted from the Association of Muslim Schools' 2020.

Given the above, and in line with the rise and decline of FET Arabic and its impact on the Muslim school approach post-Apartheid, I maintain that democracy and the proliferation of Muslim schools had various consequences for the Arabic language. Firstly, it instigated the migration of Arabic from state-

aided and public schools to independent schools. This migration meant it became Muslim schools' responsibility to finance Arabic teaching and learning in Muslim schools post-Apartheid. Furthermore, I argue that since Muslim schools have migrated to the independent sector, they have earned their place as well-performing schools. While this is an accolade for Muslim schools, I argue that parents and learners select Muslim schools more for their academic utility than for their Muslim school approach of balancing Islamic traditions with academics.

Nevertheless, teaching academic education alongside Islamic traditions in Muslim schools has a historically symbiotic relationship. Furthermore, they align with the definition Chapter 1 proposed for Muslim schools. Namely, Muslim schools promote an Islamic ethos grounded in Islamic traditions while striving for academic excellence. In line with this definition, Muslim schools have historically promoted the Arabic language as a component of Islamic traditions.
While the rise of Arabic aligns with the Muslim school approach, I argue that the decline challenges the Muslim school approach that endeavours to strike a balance between academics and Islamic traditions. Therefore, in line with the focus of exploring the rise and decline of Arabic, this study employs the Arabic language as a variable of the Muslim school approach to show to what extent this decline of Arabic challenges Muslim schools as integrative providers of balanced education between academic subjects and Islamic traditions. Furthermore, to probe to what extent learners' subject choices at the FET level led to this decline, I frame this study within the Muslim school approach by deconstructing the events that led to the inauguration of the integrative Muslim school approach. In this light, the following chapter tracks the Arabic language as an integral component of the Islamic traditions in Muslim schools from 1975 to 2021.

2.5 Chapter Conclusions

This chapter argued that the colonial Anglo-Arabic and Franco-Arabic model of blending Islamic education and academic education that colonial governments pioneered in Egypt, Sudan, and India intended to foster an educated Western elite subservient to colonial rule. Instead, paradoxically, it influenced the early Muslim school approach, leading to numerous Muslim communities adopting this model as a substitute for Western schools. By engaging the sub-Saharan approach of Muslim schools, this study revealed that local-initiated Muslim schools were an alternative education provider to the Western-influenced academic model.

While sub-Saharans imported their model from the Anglo-Arabic Franco-Arabic model, KwaZulu-Natal's migrant Muslim community drew inspiration from Aligarh in India to circumvent a scarcity of educational attainment opportunities in the Natal colony. Thus, Muslims relentlessly promoted the state-aided Muslim school approach to education during the subsequent Colonial, Union, and Apartheid periods, focusing on providing a balanced education between Islamic traditions and academic

education. However, the Western philosophy of education influenced this approach, namely the bifurcation of education into academic and Islamic streams. Furthermore, research shows that Western philosophy favoured academic education over religious education. A case in point is the limited teaching time for religious education in this model. Nevertheless, Muslim school stakeholders constantly negotiated with the government to increase notional teaching time for Islamic traditions, resulting in Arabic's adoption as an official school subject in 1975.

Around this time, the 1977 landmark conference in Makkah inspired an independent approach to Muslim schooling, calling for a holistic integration of Islamic and academic sciences. Inspired by this approach, the first two Independent Muslim schools were inaugurated in Cape Town and KwaZulu-Natal in 1983 and 1984, respectively. Subsequently, the Independent Muslim school approach to education grew phenomenally. When the new democratic government abrogated state-aided schools in 1996, most Muslim schools chose privatisation over public status, resulting in the Arabic language migrating to Independent Muslim schools. Paradoxically, the Arabic language began to decline in independent schools, which will be the focus of the following chapter.

Chapter Three

Muslim Schools and the Arabic Language

Arabic as an Integrative Component of the Islamic Traditions

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 provided a research background of Muslim schools as providers of integrated education between Islamic traditions and academic subjects. This chapter engages the research background of FET Arabic as an integrative component of Islamic traditions from 1975 to 2021, focusing on the history and approaches to teaching Arabic in KwaZulu-Natal Muslim schools. Accordingly, this chapter employs a historical analysis of the literature by locating it on the educational aspirations of Muslim parents during colonial, Apartheid, and post-Apartheid rule in South Africa. This methodology was best suited to analyse the literature and identify the research gaps.

Thus, it brings to the fore the ground-breaking role the Arabic Study Circle, historically Muslim state-aided schools, and selected universities played in institutionalising the Arabic language as a component of the Islamic traditions at the school level. This approach demonstrates the integral nature of Arabic to Islamic traditions and, therefore, the Muslim school approach. Thenceforth, we interrogate the language approaches to unravel how the curriculum, teaching methodologies, and conflicting theories have transformed over time to influence the Arabic language approaches in Muslim schools.

The following research questions guide this study’s research purpose:

3.1.1 What factors contribute to the rise and decline of FET Arabic enrolment in the selected Muslim schools in KwaZulu-Natal?

3.1.2 Why do learners' academic subject choices over FET Arabic lead to declining Arabic enrolment in the selected Muslim schools?

3.1.3 How do learners' academic subject choices over Arabic challenge the selected Muslim schools to implement a balanced approach between academic subjects and Islamic traditions?

3.1.4 How can the selected Muslim schools overcome the challenges of this rise and decline?

3.2 The Inauguration and Rise of Arabic as a School Subject

This section highlights the ground-breaking role selected universities, the Arabic Study Circle, and historically Muslim state-aided schools played in institutionalising the Arabic language as a component of the Islamic traditions at the school level.

Given the above focus, this section presents university Arabic as a prelude to school Arabic; the *modus operandi* for Sematic Studies; the role of the University of KwaZulu-Natal as the initial protagonist of Arabic; the role of the Arabic Study Circle in developing Arabic in KwaZulu-Natal; the Arabic Study Circle and Orient Islamic school's role in inaugurating Arabic in South African schools; the rise of Arabic in KwaZulu-Natal's schools during Apartheid.

3.2.1 University Arabic as a Prelude to School Arabic

Research has shown that the following historically segregated white universities were the initial promoters of Arabic at the university level: the University of Pretoria (UP) in 1955; the University of South Africa (UNISA) in 1963; the Rand Afrikaans University-RAU (now the University of Johannesburg-UJ) in 1969; the University of Durban Westville (now University of KwaZulu-Natal-UKZN) in 1971/1975; and the University of Western Cape (UWC) in 1975/1982 (Dawood, 2008; Haron, 2014; Mohamed, 1997).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Afrikaners/Dutch won the elections over the English in 1948 and established an apartheid state (Butler, 2017; Christopher, 2002; Mair, 2003). Thus, UP, RAU, and UNISA were Afrikaans' medium universities (Binikos & Rugunanan, 2015; Mzileni & Mkhize, 2019; Suttie, 2005). Therefore, Apartheid segregation policies restricted registration to these universities to mainly white Afrikaners (Mzangwa, 2019). Furthermore, Mohamed (1997) explains that the early Arabic lecturers at these universities were White Afrikaners/Dutch. For example, the first academic to introduce Arabic at UP and later at UNISA was a Dutch scholar, Prof Adrianus van Selms. Later, Prof J. A Naude, one of Van Selm's students, introduced Arabic to the Department of Semitics at RAU. Moreover, UNISA has offered the Hebrew language since 1955 and approved Arabic as an examination subject in 1963 under the department of Semitic studies, and Professors J J Gluck, A H van Zyl and van Selms played crucial roles in imparting Arabic tuition (Mohamed, 1997).

However, Mohamed (1997), a foremost Arabic researcher, explains that drastic changes occurred in 1964 when the Arabic department at UNISA began accommodating distance learning. As a result, numerous Muslim students of Indian and Malay origin became the majority, resulting in those classified as whites occupying a small minority. Interestingly, before 1964, students who took Hebrew also

studied Arabic under Semitic studies (Dawood, 2008). Hence, it is interesting to note the connection between Arabic and Hebrew.

3.2.1.1 The Modus Operandi for Semitic Studies

Given the above, Yusuf Dadoo in Mohamed (1997) states that the modus operandi for establishing Arabic under the Department of Semitics and the Department of Oriental Studies was to promote Biblical theology and the resurrection of the Hebrew language (Dawood, 2008; Hylton, 2016; Kaltner, 2019; Mohamed, 1997). Research shows that European universities taught Arabic from the tenth century onwards as an offshoot of Semitic studies (Dawood, 2008; Zammit, 2002). Likewise, white Christian academics at the UP, RAU, and UNISA taught Arabic purely for philological reasons (Haron, 1991; Haron, 2014; Mohamed, 1997). Furthermore, Haron (2014) maintains that these academics purposely focused the study of Arabic and Islamic studies on an Orientalist agenda compared to a phenomenological approach. As a result, they tailored it to inform missionaries and priests about the false truths of Islam (Haron, 2014).

In contrast, Muslim academics at the Universities of UKZN, UNISA and UWC set up Arabic and Islamic studies departments to preserve the Islamic traditions in a mainly Christian environment (Haron, 1991; Haron, 2014; Jeppie, 2007; Mohamed, 1997). Furthermore, UWC and UKZN were historically segregated universities catering to segregated coloured and Indian learners. During the Apartheid period, Muslim learners from the Cape Malay and Indian communities were the primary recipients of Arabic at UWC and UKZN. On the other hand, UNISA catered for distance learners (Haron, 2014; Mohamed, 1998). As a result, UNISA, UWC and UKZN evolved into leading universities to train Arabic language teachers for South Africa's segregated schools (Haron, 2014; Mohamed, 1997).

3.2.1.2 The Role of the University of KwaZulu-Natal as the Initial Protagonist of Arabic

The above sections established that teaching and learning Arabic at South African universities occurred in two phases: first, on an orientalist-Semitic agenda before the 1970s and after the early 70s from a heightened traditional Islam perspective (Haron, 2014; Hashim & Rossidy, 2000; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Research scholars explain that from the 40s, Islamic scholars like Hassan al Banna, Mohamed Abduh, Jamaluddin Afghani, and Syed Qutb began openly challenging the Eurocentric hegemony of Western educational philosophy over Islamic approaches (Hashim & Rossidy, 2000; Khan, 2006; Madani, 2016). Perhaps motivated by this resurgence and in line with a growing trend in Western countries, from the 70s, numerous Muslim academics began to call for the reconstruction of the archaic departments of Oriental Studies and Semitic Studies into separate departments of Arabic, Islamic, or Religious Studies (Haron, 2014; Mohamed, 1997). The first university to break away from Oriental Studies and initiate a separate department of Arabic and Islamic studies was UKZN, and the experiences

of UKZN gave impetus to encourage similar models at the Universities of UCT, UNISA, UWC, and, to some extent, UJ (Haron, 2014, 2021). Importantly, this impetus spread to other universities via the graduates of the UKZN (Haron, 2014).

Haron (2014) explains that upon graduation from UKZN, Muhammed Haron, Yasien Mohamed, Abdul Kader Tayob, Suleman Dangor, and Yusuf Dadoo authored numerous published articles, chapters and books on Islam, Arabic and Muslim schools in South African research space. They substituted oriental scholarship to become leading academics in the South African research space. Moreover, they all went on to gain full professorship. With their experiences at UKZN, they played leading roles in reconstructing and directing Arabic, Islamic and religious studies departments at prominent South African universities of UKZN, UCT, UWC and UNISA. For example, Muhammed Haron and Yasien consecutively chaired the Arabic departments at the UWC and their iconic Arabic grammar workbook, *The First Steps in Arabic Grammar,* is a prescribed workbook at Muslim schools (Haron, 2014; Jeppie, 2007; Mohamed, 1997). Likewise, Abdul Kader Tayob's interest in African Islam led him to establish a National Research Foundation chair in "Islam, African Publics, and Religious Values." at UCT. Yusuf Dadoo, on the other hand, played a pivotal role in reconstructing the Arabic and Islamic departments at UNISA (Haron, 2014).

At the UKZN in Durban, Mohsin Ebrahim, Ayub Jadwat and Suleiman Dangor served in crucial positions in the Arabic and Islamic studies departments. Both Suleiman Dangor and Mohsin Ebrahim became accomplished professors. Suleiman Dangor, on the other hand, was the first PhD graduate at UKZN's Islamic studies department and is known for his research on South African Islam, particularly Shaykh Yusuf al-Khalwati (d. 1699) (Haron, 2014). Another stalwart, Mahmood Dawood, joined the university before the Arabic and Islamic studies chair. He subsequently honed his teaching skills at UKZN's Arabic department and became its most prolific lecturer (Mohamed, 1997). Additionally, he was on the 1975 committee that petitioned the government to institutionalise Arabic in KwaZulu-Natal's schools (Medar, 1987). In addition to this list, numerous graduates served as teachers of the Arabic language, heads of departments, markers, examiners, moderators, principals, and others occupied positions at Islamic banks and numerous other positions of note.

Judging from the above, the Arabic and Islamic studies departments at the UKZN were significant protagonists in the proliferation of the Arabic language at the South African school and university levels. However, Mohamed (1997) criticises UKZN for failing to promote the Arabic language. He cites the poorly attended 1993 Arabic conference held at the university as a case in point. In contrast, he alludes that the Riyadh and Saudi Arabian graduates took the lead role in overhauling the classical Arabic syllabus by promoting the communicative *Nashi'in* approach at the school, university, and community levels. Hence, while the Arabic department of UKZN was the preliminary protagonist of

Arabic, Mohamed (1997) criticises them for failing to maintain this momentum. Perhaps this lack of urgency contributed to its downsizing and reabsorption into the religious studies department in the late 90s.

Due to post-apartheid restructuring policies and dwindling numbers, UKZN's once iconic Islamic studies and Arabic departments were downsized in the late 90s. Nevertheless, the universities of UWC and UNISA continue to produce Arabic language graduates to this day, undertake research and convene seminars, workshops, and conferences (Dawood, 2008; Haron, 2014; Jeppie, 2007; Mohamed, 1997). Notwithstanding these efforts, the University of Cape Town and UJ also played complementary but peripheral roles in producing Arabic language graduates (Haron, 2014). Additionally, graduates qualified in Muslim seminary institutions (Durul Ulumn's) and Arab graduates from Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Sudan complemented these efforts. From my practitioner experience, Darul Ulumn graduates have always been the substrata of Arabic teaching and learning at the school and community levels. In recent years, they have outnumbered foreign-qualified and local university graduates at Muslim schools.

To conclude this section, the historically segregated white universities of UP, UNISA and RAU preceded the historically segregated coloured and Indian universities of UWC and UKZN, respectively, in offering Arabic and Islamic studies programs. Nevertheless, the main protagonists in constructing Arabic and Islamic studies departments were the graduates of UKZN, resulting in these universities teaching Arabic for phenomenological reasons compared to philological reasons in the middle seventies (Haron, 2014). In this regard, Haron (2014) posits that UKZN may be seen as a pioneering university and has made its mark in the Southern African region, particularly in South Africa. However, research also shows that the Arabic and Islamic studies departments at the UKZN only became a reality through the efforts of the Arabic study Circle (the Circle). Therefore, any discussion of Arabic in KwaZulu-Natal would not be complete without mention of the Circle.

3.2.2 The Role of the Arabic Study Circle in Developing Arabic in KwaZulu-Natal

Given the above, the following sections will demonstrate that Circle was the main initiator and supporter of the pioneering Arabic and Islamic studies departments at UKZN. Further, the Circle was indelible at the university, community, and school levels from 1950 to 2000.

The Circle was established in 1950 in the city of Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, by a group of Western-educated middle-class Muslims desiring to learn the language of the Qur'an so that they could interpret and understand it in a socially relevant and intellectually creative manner (Dadoo, 2009; Esack, 1991; Jeppie, 2007). Sai (2017) explains that Muslims recite the Qur'an in Arabic (Qur'an, Chapter 2; Verses 5). As a result, the Circle members dedicated much of their attention to learning and teaching

the Arabic language. Initially, the Circle remained a nascent organisation. However, Vahed and Waetjen (2015) explain that the resolutions of the 1952 Natal Provincial Islamic Education Conference (the 1952 Conference) led to the circle redefining its activities.

The conference produced two landmark resolutions: one, to promote the Muslim school approach, and two, to promote Arabic as the lingua franca of Muslims in South Africa. As far as the first resolution is concerned, it gave legitimacy to those who supported the integration of Islamic traditions and academics and stifled conservative elements who opposed it, claiming that interest-based money was impermissible for Islamic education (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Nevertheless, the promotion of the Arabic language redefined the Circle, and for five decades, they relentlessly pursued this vision and became a stalwart in promoting the Arabic language in the KwaZulu-Natal province (Dadoo, 2009; Jeppie, 2007; Mohamed, 1997).

The task of the Circle was never simple. Promoting the language of the Qur'an in the 1960s was a formidable task, given that, amongst KwaZulu-Natal's migrant Muslim population, the Urdu language was widely spoken and given preference by the local Indian population (Green, 2012). This status quo was widespread by the man on the street and the local Muslim theologians (Jeppie, 2007). Vahed et al. (2010) explain that Rajend Meshtrie, a professor of languages, reveals that up to the 1960s, English was the second language of most Indians. Hence, the norm was for people of Indian descent to communicate with each other in Indian vernacular and only use English when communicating with colonial English speakers.

On the other hand, presently, English is the first language of the fourth-generation Indians in South Africa. Moreover, the British colonial government and the subsequent Union and Apartheid state considered people of Indian descent as migrant people, excluding them from citizenship until 1961 (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). More than likely, for this reason, Indians considered the Indian subcontinent their homeland, making every effort to maintain the homeland's customs, traditions, and language.

Despite these obstacles, the relentless efforts of the Circle began to yield results. In addition to Arabic language classes for children and adults and the Circle's iconic Qur'anic discussion groups, the Circle produced their first milestone by establishing two Arabic language and Islamic studies chairs at the UKZN (Haron, 2014; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). With the successful institutionalisation of the Arabic language at the university level in 1971 (Dawood, 2008; Jeppie, 2007; Mohamed, 1997; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015), the Circle then turned its attention to institutionalise the Arabic language at the school level.

3.2.3 The Arabic Study Circle and the Orient State-aided Islamic School Inaugurate Arabic at South African Schools

This section posits that endorsing Arabic as a school subject was a joint project between the Circle and the Orient Islamic School.

Most researchers credit the Circle for inaugurating the Arabic language in South African schools (Dawood, 2008; Mall & Nieman, 2002; Mohamed, 1997). However, a study by Vahed and Waetjen (2015) revealed that Orient Islamic School was the first institute to apply to the joint matriculation board requesting that the Arabic language be declared a school subject. Hence, I argue that the Orient Islamic School was pivotal in institutionalising Arabic at the school level. Moreover, the Circle's members were co-members of the Orient's Islamic studies committee (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). To this effect, any discussion of the Orient Islamic School's role in endorsing the Arabic language is synonymous with the Circle's role in promoting the Arabic language.

Vahed and Waetjen's (2015) study further demonstrates that Orient Islamic School's application to the education department to recognise Arabic as a school subject aligns with the 1952 Conference in Durban. Vahed and Waetjen (2015) explain that the founding members of KwaZulu-Natal's Muslim schools convened the 1952 conference primarily to clarify the permissibility of combining Islamic and academic education due to opposition from conservative elements in the Muslim community. Moulana Abdul Aleem Siddiqui, a visiting religious authority from India, passed a religious decree favouring the integration of Islamic traditions and academic education in the Muslim school approach. Further, he encouraged the adoption of the Arabic language as the lingua Franca of the KwaZulu-Natal Muslim community (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). As a result, the conference promoted Muslim schools and the Arabic language.

Perhaps, for this reason, the founding members of Orient Trust, who were co-members of the Circle, namely Dr A.M. Moolla, M.A.H Moosa, Daud Mall, M.A. Mohamedy, Cassim Lakhi and A.M Rajab, worked relentlessly to approve Arabic a school subject in 1975 (Mohamed, 1997; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Regarding A.M. Moolla, Vahed and Waetjen (2015) explain that he played a vital role in establishing the Arabic and Islamic studies chair at the UKZN, donating large sums of money to ensure the success of these departments (Jeppie, 2007). Likewise, he also played a pivotal role in endorsing the Arabic language as a school subject (Jeppie, 2007). Similarly, M.A.H. Moosa, another pioneering stalwart member of the Orient Trust, was passionate about the Arabic language. As chair of the Islamic traditions sub-committee to promote the Arabic language, he advocated equal pay opportunities for Arabic and Islamic subject teachers (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015).

Notwithstanding the above, research shows that various other members of the Orient's Islamic committees were vociferous promoters of the Arabic language. For instance, Vahed and Waetjen (2015) explain that prominent Circle members Daud Mall, M.A. Mohamedy, Cassim Lakhi and A.M Rajab served on Orient's Arabic/Islamic subject committees. M.A.H. Moosa chaired the committee, and collectively, they deliberated the Arabic language, prepared reports, and made numerous submissions to the Orient Trust board. Despite the lack of Arabic resources, outdated teaching methods, and lack of clarity regarding the appropriate school-level outcomes, the committee relentlessly promoted the Arabic language. Moreover, the Islamic subject committee ensured that the Arabic language remained when Urdu was phased out (Haron, 2014; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015).

For example, in 1966, Cassim Lakhi, a university academic, introduced G.R. Smith, a lecturer at University College, to the Orient Trust board to assist in preparing an Arabic language syllabus. G.R. Smith mooted the idea of Arabic becoming a school subject. He argued that it would bolster the University College Arabic program. Encouraged by the success of the Arabic language program at the University College, Cassim Lakhi prepared a comprehensive report on the way forward for Arabic at Muslim schools. Based on Cassim Lakhi's report, in January 1968, the board resolved that Cassim Lakhi, Dr Mall and A.M Rajab should vigorously pursue the recognition of Arabic as an optional examination subject at the Orient Islamic School. Although unsuccessful, the application created the impetus for further applications with the Joint Matriculation Board. Finally, after numerous petitions, discussions, and submissions, Orient Islamic School and the Circle co-members passed Arabic as a school subject in 1975 (Haron, 2014; Jeppie, 2007; Mohamed, 1997; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015).

The above discussion confirms that Orient Islamic School pioneered the application to the Joint Matriculation Board to recognise Arabic as a school subject. Moreover, co-board members of the Orient Islamic School and the Circle were the main protagonists in advocating for Arabic to gain school subject status. In the years to come, this symbiotic relationship between the Orient Islamic School and the circle would become the nexus of promoting Arabic, convening numerous Arabic workshops, seminars, and teacher development programs. (Adam, 2004; Jeppie, 2007; Mall & Nieman, 2002; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015).

3.2.4 The Rise of Arabic in KwaZulu-Natal's Schools

Persuant to the above, in line with the 1952 conference resolutions that endorsed the Muslim school approach and the Arabic language, the Circle and the Orient Islamic School created their second milestone by successfully applying for the Arabic language to be declared a school subject. However, implementing Arabic at the school level would prove a more significant challenge for the Circle. For

instance, the school project encompassed a much wider area and scope. Nevertheless, the aim was to institutionalise Arabic in multiple schools in multiple cities.

A seminal study by Medar (1987) shows that by April 1975, the Department of Education dispatched an Arabic syllabus to the Orient Islamic School to become the first South African school to pilot Arabic as a school subject from grade 8 (Medar, 1987). Regarding this pioneering 1975 Orient Islamic School class, Medar (1987) records that 57 learners opted for Arabic out of a grade 8 class of 87. Five years later, 13 Orient Islamic School learners made history by sitting for the first Matric Arabic exam in 1979. Jeppie (2011) records five schools teaching Arabic by 1977, four in KwaZulu-Natal and one in Gauteng. Thus, the Arabic language began rising, as shown in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1

Schools offering Arabic in 1982

				Grade						
No	Province	City	Name of school	8	9	10	11	12	Total	%
1	KwaZulu-Natal	Durban	Durban Girl's High	87	53	19	24	21	204	
2	KwaZulu-Natal	Durban	Orient Islamic School	45	41		17	20	132	
3	KwaZulu-Natal	Ladysmith	Windsor High	31	32				63	
4	KwaZulu-Natal	Verulum	Mount View	39	18				57	
5	KwaZulu-Natal	Pietermaritzburg	Raisthorpe High	31	25				56	
6	KwaZulu-Natal	Stanger	Stanger High	38		17			55	
7	KwaZulu-Natal	Stanger	M. L. Sultan, Stanger		34				34	
8	KwaZulu-Natal	Dundee	Dundee High	24					24	
9	KwaZulu-Natal	Port Shepstone	Port Shepstone High		19				19	
10	KwaZulu-Natal	Durban	Phoenix Unit 13		15				15	

	Total no of learners for KwaZulu-Natal			295		45	41	41	**659**	71
11	Western Cape	Cape Flats, Rylands	Rylands High	33					**33**	4
12	Northwest	Potchefstroom	Potchefstroom High	14	13				**27**	3
13	Gauteng	Lenasia	Lenasia High	70	33				103	
14	Gauteng	Pretoria	Laudium High	53	47				100	
									203	22
			Grand Total	465		45	41	41	**922**	100

Note, adapted from (Medar, 1987, p. 82)

Medar's (1987) study shows that the most significant rise was recorded in KwaZulu-Natal. For example, from 13 Matric learners in 1979, it rose to 41 in 1982, all from KwaZulu-Natal. Moreover, from 4 participating schools in 1979 (Jeppie, 2011), it rose to ten schools in 1982, with 659 Muslim learners learning Arabic from grades 8 to 12. Moreover, the statistics further reveal that more than 70% of the learners were from KwaZulu-Natal schools. Thus, it took less than a decade for Arabic to become an established school subject in KwaZulu-Natal. Jeppie (2007) further records that by 1987, approximately 300 learners had sat for the matric exam. I was one of those 300 learners. Thus, there was a phenomenal rise from 13 learners in 1979 to 41 in 1982 to 300 learners in 1987. Given the figures above, I estimate that at least 200 of the 300 learners who sat for the 1987 matric exam were from KwaZulu-Natal.

An interview with Zainol Kajee, a graduate of UKZN and founder of AWQAF South Africa, explains that unique house visits were conducted throughout the country to encourage parents to motivate their children to elect Arabic as a Matric subject (Z. Cajee, personal communication, February 20, 2022). I also interviewed the incumbent Arabic language teachers, Irshaadh Amod, Nasir Ebrahim and Idris Kader, during the 80s (personal communication, March 27, 2021; May 24, 2021; May 20, 2022). They

concurred that several university graduates, academics, professionals, businesspeople and even ordinary well-wishers worked tirelessly to promote Arabic at the school level.

Vahed and Waetjen (2015) explain that Professor Salman Nadvi, the founder and director of UKZN's Islamic studies department, put together the initial Arabic language syllabus. N. Ebrahim posited that the Circle initiated the preliminary Arabic subject committee. He explains that the committee was highly specialised, consisting of teachers, principals, subject advisors, inspectors, academics, and businesspeople. He further explains that in consultations with Arabic language specialists within and out of the country, they convened numerous seminars, workshops and teacher development training courses to prepare a syllabus, identify appropriate resource material and agree upon teaching methodologies (Mall & Nieman, 2002).

3.2.5 The Rise of FET Arabic in South African Schools during Apartheid

These achievements heralded the beginning of a prosperous and gainful period in the Arabic language's history, firstly in the Durban area and then in the KwaZulu-Natal province, resulting in Muslim learners electing Arabic as a school subject where no such opportunities existed before (Mohamed, 1997). Nasir Ebrahim, Idris Kader and Irshaadh Amod explained that where a substantial Muslim population existed, parent associations submitted to school governing bodies requesting the department to provide for the teaching and learning of Arabic. They explained that where schools met the minimum criteria for learner numbers, the department acceded to their request, creating Arabic teaching posts at various schools. Nasir Ebrahim explained that most graduates of UKZN filled these Arabic teaching positions.

An interview with Moulana Imran Khamissa, the incumbent FET Arabic teacher and principal of Port Shepstone Islamic School, revealed that in the 90s, Darul Ulumn graduates complemented university graduates in teaching Matric Arabic in Kwazulu-Natal schools (I. Khamissa, personal information, March 23, 2021). Idris Kader further explains that UKZN and Riyadh graduates Idris Kader, Irshaadh Amod and Zubeda Docrat headed the Arabic subject committees and were later supported by Moulana Imraan Khamissa and Goolam Hoosen Peerbhai. The Gauteng province repeated similar experiences, and subsequently, numerous schools in Gauteng (formerly Transvaal province) were offering the Arabic language. For example, although Rylands Secondary taught Arabic by 1982 (Medar, 1987), according to Mohamed (1997), Spine Road Secondary School in Cape Town convened the first Matric Arabic exams In 1992.

Idris Kader explains that by the early 90s, Arabic was a growing subject in South African schools, and numerous schools offered the Arabic language as a Matric subject. Due to high demand, Irshaadh Amod adds that the Department of Education appointed subject advisors, examiners, moderators, and markers. For example, Ayyub Jadwat and Mahmood Dawood, both UKZN lecturers, headed the KwaZulu-Natal

province's examination committee (A. Jadwat, personal communication, October 22, 2019). Idris Kader and Irshaadh Amod joined the examination team as markers and moderators (M. Dawood, personal communication, February 20, 2020).

Idris Kader explains that the department appointed Zubeida Docrat as Arabic subject advisor in the early 90s, and during this period, she championed Arabic in KwaZulu-Natal schools. He further explains that in addition to Zubeida Docrat being the tutor of numerous Arabic teachers and academics, she also was an advisor for the Association of Muslim Schools (AMS) and numerous Muslim schools. In the post-Apartheid period, the department appointed Mr Rahman as a subject advisor to supervise Arabic and Urdu in the KwaZulu-Natal schools.

While the Arabic language was experiencing upward mobility in KwaZulu-Natal schools, Gauteng Province (then Transvaal Province) had a similar uptake of Arabic in historically segregated schools (Medar, 1987). Consequently, the Arabic language grew exponentially, warranting a separate examination committee in Gauteng. Hence, the Gauteng province convened the Arabic Matric exams independently from KwaZulu-Natal. In Gauteng, the UKZN graduates Ahmed Vawda, Abdul Majied Mohamed, and Abdul Salaam Khan headed the examination committee. In the 2000s, Hashim Kathrada and Shaukat Dawood took on portfolio moderation duties. Regarding Arabic in Cape Province, they wrote their first matric exam in 1992 (Mohamed, 1997) and convened their exams independently of KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng. In the South African schooling system, matric exams were convened provincially until 2007.

Nasir Ebrahim explains that in the 70s, 80s, and early 90s, most Arabic language learners were in segregated public and Muslim state-aided schools. Furthermore, he postulates that the Independent Muslim school concept was in its early stages, resulting in a smaller group of Arabic learners at independent Muslim schools. Medar's (1987) study confirms this (see Table 3.2). Therefore, Arabic was established in Muslim state-aided, independent, and segregated public schools during Apartheid. Mohamed (1997) also explains that the Apartheid government placed Arabic under the Department of Eastern Languages. Hence, the government provided Arabic teaching and learning at segregated public and Muslim state-aided schools with teachers, textbooks, administration, examination, and certification. Finally, Irshaadh Amod explains that although independent schools were self-funded, they still benefitted from the state regarding administration, curriculum supervision, examination, and certification of the Arabic language. Hence, for the Arabic language, it was a win-win situation.

3.3. Arabic Language Approaches Before Independence

The previous section confirmed that Arabic was established in KwaZulu-Natal's state-aided Muslim schools, public schools, and privatised Independent Muslim schools in the mid-80s. This section

engages colonial and post-colonial language approaches and syllabus selection, intending to gauge to what extent these approaches have, if any, contributed to the rise and decline of Arabic in KwaZulu-Natal schools.

Thus, this section engages the historical transformation of the grammar-translation methodology to the post-modernist communicative and intercultural approaches to second and foreign language teaching.

3.3.1 Colonialism and the Historical Transformation of the Grammar Translation Methodology

Regarding second and foreign language teaching, the grammar-translation methodology was a common approach to language teaching until the 1970s (Chang, 2011; Kramsch, 2013; Matamoros-González et al., 2017). However, researchers postulate that this methodology was synonymous with colonialism as a vehicle to teach the culture, customs and traditions of the nation-state colonising country (Kramsch, 2013; Macedo, 2019). A case in point is the demographic division of Africa, mainly into Francophone, Anglophone or Portuguese speaking (Skattum, 2018). Thus, there is hardly a country in sub-Saharan Africa whose first language is not European (Brock-Utne & Skattum, 2009; Kohnert, 2022). In this light, Byram and Wagner (2018) and Kramsch (2013) argue that the proliferation of colonial languages in Africa and elsewhere occurred via the grammar-translation approach.

Regarding language teaching, wa Thiong'o (2015) explains that the grammar-translation approach has two distinct components: language and literature. While the language component focuses on teaching grammar, the literature component deliberately focuses on the target language's culture by teaching the histories, arts, monuments and institutions of the target language, also commonly referred to as the big culture approach (Big C) (Prah, 2012). Thus, colonial governments effectively used the Culture-literature component to acculturate societies into a Eurocentric worldview (Cheyfitz & Harmon, 2018; wa Thiong'o, 2015). Holliday (2010), cited in Byram and Wagner (2018), calls it methodological nationalism, selfishly used by the colonisers to reduce the host nation's behaviour, culture, traditions, and even beliefs to that of the dominant nation.

Regarding religion, research shows that language education played a significant role in stripping natives of their language and culture and an equally significant role in attempting to convert the indigenous African population to Christianity (Pennycook & Makoni, 2005; Spring, 2021). Generally, white missionaries who were well-trained linguists led these initiatives supported by their bilingual black counterparts from the local population (Brock-Utne & Skattum, 2009). Brock-Utne and Skattum (2009) and Nunn (2010) argue that many converted not for belief alone but for access to colonial resources like education, medicine, and libraries. Hence, using cultural constructs, language was a powerful tool for the nation-speaking linguist who could influence the learner's identity (Byram & Wagner, 2018; Kramsch, 2013). The South African context is no exception, and to this day, the colonial languages of

English and Afrikaans still dominate South African media, education, trade and even parliamentary discussions (McCormick, 2006; Mkhize, 2018). Hence, the linguistic colonisation of South Africa has left a lasting mark on our language choices and policies.

3.3.2 The Post-Modernist Approach to Second and Foreign Language Teaching

As mentioned earlier, colonial languages were imposed on the local population via the grammar-translation approach, leaving a distinct mark on the colonised country. However, by the 1970s, colonialism was on the peripheral, and as it began to be rooted out, the grammar-translation approach fell into antiquity. In retrospect, in the 1970s and 80s, foreign and second-language pedagogy turned toward the communicative approach. According to Demirezen (2011), the revolution of the communicative approach as the most relevant teaching approach was ongoing. Despite grammar-translation's utility for centuries (Mohamed, 1997; Spahiu & Kryeziu, 2021), the communicative approach has instigated a plethora of research in language teaching since the 1980s (Spahiu & Kryeziu, 2021), focusing on sociolinguistic appropriateness and the cross-cultural pragmatics of language use in its authentic cultural context (Canale, 2014; Leung, 2005; Savignon, 2018).

Regarding the sociolinguistic concept of language teaching, it occurs as a second or foreign language (Leung, 2005). Therefore, this is an essential consideration, as learning and teaching Arabic in KwaZulu-Natal is taught as a foreign language. Kramsch (2000) defines the difference between a second language and a foreign language as follows: as a second language, the learner has the advantage of a natural context, as in the case of immigrants; as a foreign language, the learner learns outside of contact with native speakers. Generally, culture is a natural process of socialisation taught through the traditional literacy print medium (Kramsch, 1998).

3.3.2.1 The Communicative Competence Approach

In the communicative approach, linguists sought to use language to communicate about the daily pragmatic occurrences of life, commonly known as the small culture approach (small c). Furthermore, it moved away from language as a means of acculturation (grammar-translation approach) to language use that articulated the simple everyday way of life and behaviours of speech communities (Leung, 2005; Savignon, 2018). Grounded in the socio-cultural pragmatics of daily language use, it was synonymous with standard practices, experiences, and memories associated with daily fundamental issues like food, clothing, belief, and way of life (Kramsch, 2000; Savignon, 2018).

While the communicative approach revolutionised language teaching, like its predecessor, speech communities were still grounded in promoting the nation-state philosophy, the national context in which a homogeneous national citizenry speaks a national language. Nevertheless, Kramsch (2013) credits it

for bringing to the fore the cultural pragmatics and socio-linguistic appropriateness of language in its authentic cultural use. However, she alludes that maintaining focus on national characteristics and the nation-state is still deeply embedded in this approach. Thus, language researchers began to search for a third approach that defocuses on the one-language equals one culture approach, giving birth to the intercultural approach.

3.3.2.2 The Intercultural Competency Approach

The intercultural competency approach was essentially born as an alternative to the native speaker approach, with the latter being contested and deliberated by language researchers (Byram & Wagner, 2018; Moeller & Catalano, 2015; Pegrum, 2008). Byram and Wagner (2018) and Moeller and Catalano (2015) explain that the focus is not on attaining cultural knowledge about the target language's literature, philosophy, and arts in the intercultural approach. Instead, the ideal is to attain cultural competence, foster a reciprocal relationship with the other culture, be an equal partner in mediating cultural experiences, and be free to critically evaluate the opposite culture and one's own culture (Canale, 2014; Moeller & Catalano, 2015). In other words, the salient feature of this approach is the sharing of ideas in the process of negotiating language without losing identity. Newton et al. (2010) posit that it shifts away from the narrow focus of the one-language one-culture approach towards intercultural competency. While grammar-translation emphasises cultural knowledge, what is required here is intercultural competency. Byram and Wagner (2018) state that the intercultural approach embodies the ability to reflect, negotiate and reconcile between two cultures.

On the other hand, the grammar-translation approach promotes the nation-state culture. A case in point is the colonisation of South Africa. As discussed earlier, Afrikaans and English still hold more prominence than indigenous languages due to their compulsion in education, administration, and the job sector. Most South Africans employ two or more languages. This norm reflects the post-Apartheid school curriculum, which mandates a home and a first additional language. Most white, coloured and Indian schools still offer English and Afrikaans as their home and first additional languages. Although the intercultural approach may seem an impossible ideal to achieve, in the South African context, it is a reality millions experience daily. For instance, in the post-apartheid context, with South Africa having eleven official languages, the intercultural approach may be an essential tool to acquire a second or foreign language without losing one's identity.

When employing the intercultural approach, Pegrum (2008) posits that the competency of knowledge, attitudes, and skills is fundamental in negotiating between two or more cultural and linguistic contexts to foster understanding and empathy. Therefore, if employed correctly, the intercultural approach is a powerful tool for achieving social justice and equity in language teaching (Byram & Wagner, 2018).

However, Byram and Wagner (2018) state that intercultural competence is not a natural by-product of language teaching. Therefore, the teacher, curriculum and outcomes must be aligned to achieve this goal.

Regarding Arabic, the grammar-translation approach was initially employed in South African schools to teach Arabic. After that, in line with the global reformation of language teaching (Kaharuddin, 2018; Newton et al., 2010), Dawood (2008) explains that the Arabic syllabus transformed from a grammar-translation approach to a communicative approach. Perhaps, to some extent, to an intercultural approach. However, this transformation was slow and sometimes erratic (Dawood, 2008). Thus, despite the communicative approach taking centre stage since the seventies and eighties (Kramsch, 2013), the grammar-translation approach is still at the forefront of Arabic language teaching in South African schools.

Interestingly, a study by Mall and Nieman (2002) on 33 Muslim schools in South Africa and Botswana indicates that more than 80% of learners study Arabic for religious reasons. While most learners can recite the Qur'an fluently, none have any competency in understanding the text of the Quran and its whole meaning. As a result, most learners understand very little of the Quran. Therefore, based on Mall and Nieman’s (2002) study, I argue that while learning the Arabic language to understand the text of the Qur'an, the grammar-translation approach does not achieve this aim.

On the other hand, Mohamed (1997) maintains that wanting to understand the Qur'an is a noble goal for any Muslim. However, he contends that this is only achievable at community colleges and seminary institutions, where a student spends at least eight hours a day, four or five days a week than at the school level. A study by Dawood (2008) supports this view, contending that the teaching and learning of the Arabic language at the school and university level should focus on gaining language proficiency in the four language learning skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing in the least.

3.4 South African Schools Embrace the Communicative *Nashi’in* Syllabus

As outlined in section 3.2.5, in the seventies and eighties, the KwaZulu-Natal province was the hub of Arabic language teaching at the school level due to the efforts of the Circle (Jeppie, 2011). However, due to many learners dropping Arabic at the senior secondary level, there were calls to revise the Arabic teaching methodology (Mall & Nieman, 2002; Mall, 2001). As a result, the Orient Islamic School hosted an Arabic teacher development workshop in 1984. Then, Nasir Ebrahim, a senior Arabic teacher, presented a paper on the approaches to teaching the Arabic language and called for revising the grammar-translation approach. He suggested the thematic approach as an alternative, claiming it would arouse a greater interest, love and appreciation for the language (Mall & Nieman, 2002).

Subsequently, by the early eighties, the complexities of the grammar-translation approach prompted another Arabic orientation course in 1985 for Arabic teachers at the Stanger Madressa School in KwaZulu-Natal (Mall & Nieman, 2002). Ismail Kathrada, a language Inspector and subject advisor for the education department, facilitated the course. Mall and Nieman (2002) explain that deliberations at the course revisited the aims of teaching Arabic at the school level and proposed that since most people employ Arabic for political, social, cultural, and scientific purposes, an approach that relies on a parroting of syntax and laws of grammar was outdated. Therefore, deliberations at the course suggested that an alternate to the grammar translation approach should be probed.

In line with the above, the Orient Islamic School convened a communicative workshop in 1986 (Mall & Nieman, 2002). Nasir Ebrahim once again championed the workshop and presented a paper proposing the communicative approach. He questioned the purpose of learners studying the Arabic language for several years yet remaining deficient in making sense of Arabic texts or unable to communicate in Arabic (Mall & Nieman, 2002).

The KwaZulu Natal workshops resulted in three National workshops to deliberate an alternative to the grammar-translation approach. The Society for Promoting Arabic (SPAL) mooted the *Nashi'in* syllabus and invited its author, Prof Mahmoud Ismail Sieny, the head of the Arabic language institute at the King Saud University in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, to promote it at two national workshops in Gauteng and Capetown. The syllabus gained widespread approval and was further discussed at two National conferences at UKZN in 1993 and UCT in 1994. (Mohamed, 1997) explains that the 1994 workshop clarified the new aims of communicative competency for school teachers, stressing language proficiency reinforcement in listening, speaking, reading and writing skills (Dawood, 2008). Moreover, it identified the *Nashi'in* syllabus as the most appropriate means of attaining these aims (Dawood, 2008; Mohamed, 1997). Hence, the delegates of the 1994 workshop unanimously agreed to implement the communicative *Nashi'in* approach at South African schools, universities, and community colleges for the first time.

3.4.1 Outcomes of the *Nashi'in* Syllabus

The introduction of the *Nashi'in* syllabus in the mid-nineties injected significant stability in curriculum provision. In this sense, Arabic teachers employed a graded curriculum for the first time in two decades. However, the unprecedented disagreement of purpose by the graduates of Riyadh and seminary institutions, coupled with deficient levels of communicative skills in the graduates of UKZN and UNISA, further complicated the problem. In my practitioner experience, the conflicting views on the aims and approaches to teaching the Arabic language consumed many hours of debate. Perhaps also depleting the energy of those looking for a solution. I postulate that while the above deficiencies were

not the only factors that demotivated senior management and Muslim school board members to promote the Arabic language, they dampened the movement to promote Arabic in Muslim schools post-Apartheid. Furthermore, Muslim schools were already grappling with a hastily implemented Outcomes Curriculum (Curriculum 2005) imposed by the new democratic dispensation post-Apartheid. Unexpectedly, organisations like the Arabic Study Circle and the Society for Promoting Arabic (SPAL) have become dormant in promoting the Arabic language since the early 2000s.

Further, from my practitioner experience, the change of approaches also created conflict within schools. For example, Arabic teachers within a single school had different training backgrounds and, therefore, different orientations in teaching the Arabic language. As a result, the different approaches employed by Arabic teachers confused learners when they progressed from grade to grade, often facing a new teacher with a different language approach than they were accustomed to, leading to frustration and confusion among learners. As a result, it became a norm for learners to appraise the Arabic language as a complex language to learn.

3.5 Independence and the Migration of Arabic to Independent Muslim Schools Post-Apartheid

This section aims to show that desegregation, privatisation, and the 1996 Islamisation Conference were causal factors for the proliferation of Muslim schools post-Apartheid. However, more importantly, for this study, it resulted in the migration of the Arabic language to Independent Muslim schools. Thus, this section frames the rise and decline of Arabic within the proliferation of Muslim schools post-Apartheid by locating them within the challenges of post-Apartheid school transformation.

To achieve the above aims, I focused on the following topics: desegregation and a new norm for post-Apartheid schools; the exodus of Muslim learners from historically segregated Indian schools; causes that explain the migration of Muslim learners from public to independent Muslim schools in KwaZulu-Natal; Privatisation and the proliferation of Muslim schools; the 1996 Islamisation Conference; privatisation of Muslim schools an Islamist or academic agenda.

3.5.1 Desegregation: A New Norm for Post-Apartheid Schools

In 1994, South Africa transformed from an Apartheid state to a democratically elected government. Research shows that the democratically elected government was driven by the imperative to overcome the devastation of Apartheid education (Mzangwa, 2019; Tewari & Ilesanmi, 2020). As a result, they made equal education provisions for all its citizens within a system that redressed past inequalities (Alexander, 2011; Tewari & Ilesanmi, 2020).

However, Davids (2019) asserts that Muslims post-Apartheid had to negotiate a new norm. For example, Apartheid policies promoted cultural exclusivity, affording the Muslim minority numerous concessions (Yengde, 2021). Amongst them are state-aided Muslim schools, the Arabic and Islamic studies departments at the universities of UKZN, UNISA, UWC and the endorsement of Arabic as a school subject (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). In contrast, the post-Apartheid period witnessed a massive change in educational policies that significantly influenced Muslim schools and the Arabic language.

As outlined previously in Chapter 2, section 2.4.1, the Apartheid government created four streams of segregated education in the historically classified white, Indian, coloured, and black areas (Hunter, 2019; Lear, 2017; Msila, 2009; Soudien, 2004). In contrast, the new dispensation made provisions via legislation and education policies to desegregate all historically segregated schools (Tabane & Human-Vogel, 2010). The right to equal education was afforded to all citizens, resulting in South African schools witnessing an unprecedented influx of black learners from the townships into previously segregated public schools (Mouton et al., 2012; Msila, 2009; Naidoo, 1996; Soudien, 2004).

The influx of learners from the townships into inner-city public schools was motivated by the fact that township schools were grossly ill-equipped and mostly dysfunctional due to Apartheid laws (Msila, 2009). On the other hand, schools in historically white, Indian, and coloured areas were well-established, functional, and adequately staffed (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Davids & Waghid, 2015; Msila, 2009). However, the transition from Apartheid to democracy was fraught with challenges. For example, research shows that black students wanting to experience social cohesion and diversification experienced significant acrimony in former segregated white schools (Msila, 2009). Similarly, numerous former white schools employed language policies and fee structures to maintain their socio-economic and racial profiles (Davids & Waghid, 2015; Hunter, 2010b; Spaull, 2019).

On the other hand, black learners found integration and social cohesion less daunting in former segregated Indian and coloured schools (Tabane & Human-Vogel, 2010). As a result, black learners were more inclined to migrate to a historically segregated Indian or coloured school than a white one (Soudien, 2004). In addition, the Apartheid government strategically placed historically segregated coloured and Indian settlements between black and white areas to serve as buffer zones if blacks resorted to an uprising, further augmenting the desegregation of historically coloured and Indian schools. Hence, in the aftermath of the South African democracy, due to desegregation, historically segregated schools underwent drastic demographic changes in the composition of learner populations from a segregated racial mould to a desegregated diversified mould (Carrim, 2006; Davids, 2019; Msila, 2009). However, this diversification did not occur without a cause-and-effect reaction (Alexander, 2011), triggering the exodus of learners from mainly coloured and segregated Indian public schools to historically Model C and independent schools (Sayed, 2016). In this light, Davids (2019) posits that

Muslim learners migrated to the Independent sector, causing the proliferation of Muslim schools in the post-Apartheid period

Hence, implementing the South African Schools Act of 1996 (the Schools Act) and Curriculum 2005 in 1997 were the most significant legislature intended to overhaul the schooling sector, yet the most controversial. Significant because it ensured that equal education is available to all its citizens; controversial because it contributed, to a certain extent, to widen the gap between the poor and wealthy (Sayed, 2016; Van der Berg et al., 2011).

Given the above, I employ the Arabic language as a case in point to show how desegregation and diversification of education policies transformed the learning and teaching spaces of historically segregated Indian schools, resulting in the migration of the Arabic language from public schools to independent schools post-Apartheid. Essentially, the discussion is premised on a study by Davids (2019) that argues that the desegregation of historically segregated schools had a causal effect on the proliferation of Independent Muslim schools. I broaden this notion to show that in KwaZulu-Natal, desegregation and the privatisation of Muslim state-aided schools expanded the Muslim schooling sector, resulting in the migration of the Arabic language to Muslim schools.

While Davids's (2019) study claims that the desegregation of historically coloured and Indian public schools was a causal factor for the proliferation of Independent Muslim schools post-Apartheid, I proffer that this phenomenon had a lasting impact on Arabic. However, first, let us probe Davids's (2019) claim concerning KwaZulu-Natal.

3.5.2 The Exodus of Muslim Learners from Historically Segregated Indian Schools

I begin the discussion by reviewing a study by Naidoo (1996) on post-independence desegregation patterns in historically segregated Indian schools conducted five years after independence. The sample included 41 high schools and 28 primary schools in 5 cities in the Kwazulu-Natal province. This study indicates that a mere five years into independence, historically segregated Indian schools had a more than 30% black learner population. Similarly, a study by Soudien (2004) showed that historically segregated Indian schools in Gauteng and the Cape Province witnessed a similar trend. In Gauteng, former segregated Indian schools revealed a more than 40% black learner population. Five of the six schools in the sample of former segregated Indian schools presented an 80% black learner population in Cape Town. Hence, a mere five years into independence, due to the desegregation legislature and policy initiatives (Alexander, 2011; Msila, 2009; Tabane & Human-Vogel, 2010), former segregated Indian schools were significantly desegregation and, in other cases, considerably desegregated (Chisholm & Sujee, 2006; Davids & Waghid, 2015; Soudien, 2004).

In addition, numerous studies confirm that desegregation in the post-apartheid period occurred rapidly (Chisholm & Sujee, 2006; Hunter, 2010a, 2010b; Meier & Hartell, 2009; Shilubane & Moila, 2001; Vally et al., 1999). Given that these schools, by previous Apartheid law, catered for Indian learners, based on Naidoo's 1999 study, we may conclude that more than 30% of Indian learners exited historically segregated Indian schools in the KwaZulu-Natal province within five years after independence. In other words, more than 30% of Indian parents did not prefer to send their children to historically Indian schools. Begging the question, where did they seek alternate education?

Based on the above, I postulate that Muslim learners who exited historically segregated public schools sought alternate education in Independent Muslim schools. I support this assumption by the unprecedented spike in Muslim schools in the middle 90s. For instance, Sheik (1994) recorded them as eight in 1994. However, this number spiked to 20 in the mid-90s (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015), and by 2006 they had further increased to 25 Muslim schools (Khan, 2006).

Based on cause and effect, this study postulates that Muslim learners who exited public schools sought alternative education in Muslim schools. Hence, the Muslim schooling sector expanded from the mid-nineties to 2006. Moreover, recent research by Hunter (2010b) and Vahed and Waetjen (2015) further confirmed that KwaZulu-Natal's historically segregated schools have experienced rapid desegregation since Naidoo's (1996) study. Therefore, it intrigues me to investigate why learners of Muslim origin exited historically segregated Indian schools and, secondly, what were their choice of education.

3.5.3 Causes that Explain the Migration of Muslim Learners from Public to Independent Muslim Schools in KwaZulu-Natal

Regarding post-Apartheid desegregation and the subsequent exodus of Muslim learners from historically segregated public schools, Dangor (2014) posited that a study by Niehaus (2008) showed that Muslim parents were primarily concerned about a drop in standards and ill-discipline in public schools. Davids's (2014) study adds that parents perceived public schools as crowded because of high teacher-learner ratios, resulting in inferior education and ill-discipline. Additionally, a study by Fataar (2003) showed that parents were concerned about the racial profiles of their schools.

(Davids, 2014) further argued that Muslim parents, seemingly discouraged by the negative perceptions of desegregation, took advantage of the new legislature to establish Independent Muslim schools. In support of this notion, Dangor (2014) and Haron (2016) argue that Muslims established Muslim schools to practice their faith freely and inculcate morals and values in line with their faith. Several researchers support this view (for example, Adam, 2004; Haron, 2016; Khan, 2006; Sheik, 1994; Tayob, 2011). However, Tayob (2011) viewed the establishment of Independent Muslim schools as a perpetuation of Apartheid ideology; he argues that it promotes distinction based on race, language and social position.

Nonetheless, Msila (2009) argues that choice of school is entrenched as a right by the National Education Policy Act (NEPA) and the Schools Act, resulting in parents voting with their feet and sending their children to schools serving their best needs.

Additionally, there is a widespread notion among Muslim school researchers that the proliferation of Muslim schools post-Apartheid was motivated by the need to foster an Islamic identity in their children within the Muslim school approach (see, for example, Adam, 2004; Dangor, 2014; Haron, 2016; Khan, 2006; Sheik, 1994). However, while this perception may have merit, the narrative above shows that it was not the only factor. Instead, researchers like Dangor (2014); Davids (2014); Fataar (2003); Niehaus (2008) and Tayob (2011) suggest other interrelated factors like the drop in standards, ill-discipline, racial profiling and overcrowded classroom spaces in public schools play an equally significant factor in the proliferation of Muslim schools.

Additionally, studies by Carrim (2006), Davids (2019) and Soudien (2004) show that the new dispensation did not anticipate the unpreparedness of the learners, teachers, and the country to willingly relinquish their deeply embedded racial moulds and embrace social diversity, cohesion and cultural tolerance. To this effect, Davids (2019) argues that the imposition of decades of racist ideologies, separation, and isolation by the Apartheid government detached Muslims in Apartheid South Africa from mainstream civil society. Perhaps Muslim parents acted intuitively, attending exclusively to their cultural-specific identities and practices by migrating to Muslim schools when desegregation penetrated these racial moulds.

In support of the above notion, Rakometsi (2008) asserts that racial moulds were previously encouraged by the apartheid state as they conformed to the grand Apartheid ideology of cultural uniqueness and separate development of the four racially differentiating groups. Rakometsi (2008) further explains that the authorities commonly used the 'divine will' argument to substantiate the segregation of the four racially differentiating races. Msila (2007) argues that the Apartheid state employed education to control power and privilege. Given the above, Davids (2019) alludes that the accrual of rights and privileges post-Apartheid forced Muslims to think of themselves in terms of multiple layered identities, resulting in an internal conflict to reconcile their deep-seated cultural specific identity with the new liberal democracy that replaced decades of indoctrination.

In line with the above discussion, I maintain that when desegregation unsettled Muslim learners at public schools, they found an alternate education provider in Independent Muslim schools. Therefore, this study concurs with Davids's (2019) notion that the desegregation of historically segregated schools has a causal link to the proliferation of the Muslim school concept in South Africa. Additionally, in the next section, I expand on Davids's (2019) notion, arguing that the privatisation of state-aided Muslim

schools played an equally influential role in the proliferation of the independent Muslim schooling sector in post-Apartheid KwaZulu-Natal.

3.5.4 Privatisation of State-Aided Muslim Schools

The previous discussion showed that the desegregation of historically segregated Indian public schools was a significant causal factor for the proliferation of Muslim schools post-apartheid. This sub-section expands on the above notion by arguing that the privatisation of historically Muslim state-aided schools played an equally significant role in the proliferation of Independent Muslim schools post-Apartheid. This phenomenon is essential for this study as the proliferation of Muslim schools instigated the involuntary migration of Arabic from state-aided to Independent Muslim schools.

Regarding state-aided Muslim schools, Vahed and Waetjen (2015) state that during Apartheid, they functioned as public schools with religious status. The government paid for teachers' salaries and the curriculum roll-out. In return, the host organisation maintained the school's physical structures. However, more importantly, Dangor (2014) and Vahed and Waetjen (2015) state that Muslim schools could teach the Arabic language and Islamic traditions during school time (Dangor, 2014; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015).

However, the Post-Apartheid Schools Act disrupted this arrangement, compelling Muslim state-aided schools to choose between public and independent status (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). The Orient Islamic school pleaded with the Minister of Education to make special provisions to retain the teaching of religious subjects; however, they received no reply (Adam, 2004; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Similar applications were made by the Christian Missionary schools, also without success (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015).

On the other hand, Chisholm (2012) says the government positioned the new legislature to have a transformational role. Thus, to equalize the South African schooling landscape (Jansen & Taylor, 2003; Naong, 2008; Wium & Louw, 2015), the newly elected democratic government of Nelson Mandela abrogated all historically state-aided schools (Chisholm, 2019). Dangor (2014) states that while the Act obliged state-aided Muslim schools to choose between public and independent status, choosing a self-funded independent status placed numerous Muslim schools in a financial dilemma. Dangor (2014) further points out that numerous Muslim state-aided schools opted for independent status, seemingly on the assumption that public school status gave them no guarantee to maintain the integrated syllabus between academic and Islamic traditions. On the other hand, independent schools offered hope to foster their children's Islamic identity within the integrated Muslim school approach (Adam, 2004; Dangor, 2014; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Additionally, Vahed and Waetjen (2015) explain that maintaining the

integrated vision of the founding members was an essential factor that tipped the scales toward privatisation.

The affected schools were the Ahmedia state-aided school (1947-1984), the Orient Islamic School (1959-1997), the Anjuman Islamic School (1953-1997), the Juma Masjid girls school (1957-1997); and the South Coast Madrassa (1947-1997) (Kader, 1981). Three of these five schools opted for privatisation: the Orient Islamic and the Anjuman Islam in 1998, and the Ahmedia state-aided school in 1984 (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). On the other hand, Vahed and Waetjen (2015) explain that the Juma Masjid Trust and South Coast Madrassa chose to remain as public schools.

Moreover, all three schools that opted for privatisation were leading Muslim schools; both The Orient and Ahmedia state-aided schools were primary and high, while Anjuman Islam was only a primary school. Furthermore, the Ahmedia state-aided school transformed into the Al Falaah primary and high schools and the Crescent Girls High School. However, the privatisation of Ahmedia took place earlier in 1984. Nevertheless, six schools, three primary schools and three high schools followed the privatisation route. On the other hand, only two primary schools remained as public schools. Hence, research suggests that most Muslim state-aided schools followed the privatisation route. (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015).

Regarding the Ahmedia state-aided school, Vahed and Waetjen (2015) explain that the Apartheid state forced it to close due to the relocation of learners to Chatsworth's newly created segregated township (Hansa, 2004; Sheik, 1994). On the other hand, the Orient Islamic school and the Anjuman Islamic schools experienced a different scenario. In the case of Orient, parents from lower-income brackets opposed privatisation, claiming that the founding members intended Orient to be a community school. As a result, they argued that privatisation would only serve the schooling needs of the affluent while marginalising lower-income learners (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Based on this assumption, affected parents attempted to block the privatisation of the Orient by engaging the Orient Trust board in a public and legal battle. Thus, while some parents believed that Muslim state-aided schools should maintain their public status, another section voluntarily supported privatisation by agreeing to pay private school fees to keep their children at the school. In short, despite the objection that privatisation would marginalise lower-income learners, several state-aided schools opted for independent status (Adam, 2004; Dangor, 2014; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). The act took effect in January 1998, resulting in several state-aided Muslim schools overnight assuming independent status.

Given the above, the privatisation of Muslim state-aided schools was another significant factor in the proliferation of Muslim schools, the first being desegregation and the second privatisation. Hence, I argue that the six schools that followed privatisation contributed to the proliferation of independent Muslim schools post-apartheid from eight to twenty by the mid-nineties (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015).

Additionally, as we argued earlier, Muslim learners who exited public schools due to desegregation also entered the independent schooling sector. Thus, by the time Khan concluded her study, there were 25 Independent Muslim schools in KwaZulu-Natal (2006). Therefore, I argue that the privatisation of historically Muslim state-aided schools and desegregation are interrelated causal factors for the proliferation of the Muslim school concept in KwaZulu-Natal.

Given the above, research also suggests that by marginalising lower-income learners, privatisation served the educational needs of middle-class and wealthy parents (Adam, 2004; Haron, 2016; Tayob, 2011). Hence, the perception that transforming historically Muslim state-aided schools into Independent Muslim schools was an elitist agenda. That is, to provide education for those who could afford private school fees. However, on the other hand, supporters of privatisation claim that the privatisation route was necessary to preserve the school's Muslim school approach.

Nevertheless, in conclusion, the desegregation of historically segregated Indian public schools, as shown in the previous section, and the privatisation of Muslim state-aided schools were significant causal factors in promoting the proliferation of Muslim schools and the migration of the Arabic language to Independent Muslim schools.

3.5.5 The 1996 Islamisation Conference in Cape Town

The previous sections established that while Muslim learners exited historically segregated public schools due to segregation, at about the same time, the Schools Acts compelled historically state-aided Muslim schools to choose privatisation or remain as ordinary public schools. In this light, Khan (2006) explains that the association of Muslim Schools, wanting to be part of the integrative movement, dispatched Moulana Ali Adam to Jeddah, the founder of Islamia College in Cape Town, to convince the organisers to host the sixth Islamisation Conference in Cape town. The conference was dedicated to Muslim schools and took the form of workshops deliberating the most appropriate approaches to renew the archaic integrated Muslim school approach. In this light, Haron (2014) and Khan (2006) comment that conference participants disagreed on what constitutes Islamic education and, therefore, the most appropriate integrated approach best suited to reach the desired aims. Nevertheless, AMS agreed to prototype a renewed integrated Muslim school syllabus as part of the conference resolutions in the Southern African cohort of Muslim schools.

Accordingly, the plan was to renew the apartheid Muslim school model by prototyping an integrated model that included nine academic subjects, including Arabic and Islamic studies (Khan, 2006). The idea was to develope a blueprint for Muslim schools. However, Dangor (2014) and Khan (2006) explain that integrating academic subjects as envisaged by the conference participants never got off the ground, resulting in a compromised model limited to Arabic and Islamic studies. However, Dangor (2014)

asserts that the conference's outcomes, namely, to prototype an integrated syllabus, convinced numerous state-aided Muslim schools to privatise.

Perhaps the timing of the conference was opportune. Dangor (2014) asserts that the conference was convened when numerous state-aided Muslim schools were disillusioned with the state's limited time for Islamic traditions. Thus, it was a strategic move by the organisers to hold the conference in Cape Town. Nevertheless, numerous Muslim schools opted for Independence status, encouraged by AMS's resolve to renew the archaic integrated approach. The Orient Islamic school is a case in point (for example, Adam, 2004; Fataar, 2003; Khan, 2006; Niehaus, 2008; Sheik, 1994). I posit that the South African Muslim school movement viewed the 1996 Islamisation Conference as an opportunity to escalate the transformation of the integrated Muslim school approach.

To conclude the discussion on the causes of the proliferation of Muslim schools and the migration of Arabic to Independent Muslim schools, I also contend that the Islamisation of Muslim school ideology, desegregation, and privatisation influenced the proliferation of Muslim schools, resulting in the migration of the Arabic language to Independent Muslim schools and, paradoxically, the subsequent decline of FET Arabic in KwaZulu-Natal’s Muslim schools.

3.5.6 Privatisation of Muslim Schools an Islamist or Academic Agenda

The privatisation of Muslim schools, an Islamist or academic agenda premises on the privatisation of Muslim schooling, particularly from the mid-1990s to the mid-2000s, that was seemingly an agenda to renew the integrated Muslim school concept (Khan, 2006; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). However, the previous section indicated that the proliferation of Muslim schools was also influenced by post-apartheid desegregation that prompted an influx of black township learners into previously segregated white, Indian and coloured schools (Naidoo, 1996; Soudien, 2004; Vally & Dalamba, 2002). Thus, Muslim parents perceived public schools as crowded spaces perpetuating ill-discipline and substandard academic standards (Davids, 2014, 2019; Niehaus, 2008; Tayob, 2011).

Furthermore, a study by Fataar (2003) suggests that Muslim school parents were also concerned about the changing racial profile of their historically segregated schools. Perhaps, for this reason, Carrim (2006) describes the historically segregated Indian schooling as purposely created insulated spaces. In short, Davids (2014) alludes that to counter these perceptions, Muslim parents' took advantage of the new legislature and opted for independence status.

Given the above, I argue that while there was a need to preserve the legacy of the Muslim school approach, the erosion of apartheid privileges and the negative factors of desegregation played an equal or more significant role in the proliferation of Muslim schools post-Apartheid. Therefore, I argue that

it combined an Islamist motive and the desire for academic excellence. In short, Muslim schools also desired to maintain low classroom ratios and high education quality while at the same time preserving their religious and cultural affinity in the post-apartheid period. Davids (2019) explains that the Bill of Rights enshrines these rights in the Constitution. However, Muslim schools are increasingly becoming amenable to middle-class and affluent parents who can afford premium school fees. Thus, low-income learners are, by default, excluded from an Islamically-based education as defined by the vision of the Association of Muslim Schools (AMS, 2023). Another contentious issue is the racial and class profiling of Muslim schools. For example, Tayob (2011) is critical of this approach, warning that maintaining racial profiles in post-apartheid Muslim schools is perhaps a perpetuation of Apartheid segregation.

Therefore, I argue that KwaZulu-Natal's Muslim schools have become agents of educational attainment and social mobility in the post-apartheid period. I argue that while they purport to offer a balanced education between Academics and Islamic traditions, they increasingly align themselves with academic education rather than Islamic education. However, the findings will shed more light.

3.6 Critically Engaging the Challenges Independent Muslim Schools Faced to Promote FET Arabic Post-Apartheid

In line with the rise and decline of FET Arabic in KwaZulu-Natal, this section critically engages how post-Apartheid educational transformation and multiple curriculum reforms impacted Muslim schools to promote FET Arabic as an integral component of the Islamic traditions and, therefore, as a variable of the Muslim school approach.

This study engages the following challenges that Muslim schools faced post-Apartheid: Introduction to post-Apartheid challenges on Arabic-the impact of the new Outcomes-based syllabus (Curriculum, 2005) on Arabic; challenge one-the Department of Education outsources Arabic to the Independent Examination Board (IEB); challenge two-the NCS curriculum abrogates Arabic’s seventh compulsory privilege; challenge three-the financial and notional time implications for implementing Arabic; Swot analysis of FET Arabic’s health in KwaZulu-Natal Muslim schools.

3.6.1 Introduction to post-Apartheid Challenges on Arabic

The Impact of the New Outcomes-Based Syllabus (Curriculum, 2005) on Arabic

The Outcomes Based syllabus (Curriculum 2005) had positive and negative instances on FET Arabic. Regarding the positive instances, it mandated six subjects at the FET level. As a result, most Muslim schools took advantage of this gap and offered Arabic as a seventh compulsory or elective subject. For instance, schools like Al Falaah, Umzinto Islamic and Crescent Girls in KwaZulu-Natal followed this

model; others like Orient and Portshepstone Islamic offered it as an optional seventh subject during the regular school timetable. Still, others offered Arabic as an elective subject for learners wanting to include Arabic within the six mandatory subjects of Curriculum 2005. Broadly, these arrangements sustained interest in Arabic at the school level.

Regarding the negatives of the outcomes-based syllabus, research shows that the new dispensation hurriedly implemented it in 1997, naming it Curriculum 2005 (Jansen & Taylor, 2003). From the onset, Curriculum 2005 came under massive criticism from researchers, academics and practitioners, asserting that it was complex and unsuitable for the South African landscape, concluding that it was intended for well-equipped schools with well-trained teachers (Chisholm, 2012; Jansen & Taylor, 2003; Mouton et al., 2013). Furthermore, Themane and Mamabolo (2011) claim that the government haphazardly implemented Curriculum 2005, resulting in teachers at all levels experiencing varying levels of confusion, stress and uncertainty in unpacking the curriculum and in some schools leading to poor results (Adu & Ngibe, 2014). Additionally, researchers are unanimous that Curriculum 2005 has weighed heavily on a system already plagued by years of unequal education (Carrim, 2006; Chisholm, 2012; Jansen & Taylor, 2003; Masalesa, 2019). Chisholm (2012) explains that Curriculum 2005 unravelled as fast as the government implemented it, forcing them to repeal and replace it with the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) in 2006 and, subsequently, the CAPS syllabus in 2012 (Mouton et al., 2013; Naong, 2008)

Given the above, the researcher posits that the migration of Arabic to Independent schools, educational transformation and curriculum reform post-Apartheid took place simultaneously. Moreover, Muslim schools underwent a massive transformation from state-aided to independent status. I contend that these changes from multiple fronts constrained Muslim schools and retarded their ability to promote the Arabic language. Therefore, in the following sections, I deem it necessary to discuss these challenges and how they influenced Arabic's rise and decline.

3.6.2 Challenge One

The Department of Education Outsources Arabic to the Independent Examination Board (IEB)

While the previous section showed that Curriculum 2005 put undue pressure on teachers and learners, its abrogation by the NCS curriculum was welcomed. However, the NCS curriculum also came with challenges. For instance, the education department outsourced Arabic to the Independent Examination Board (IEB), an accredited South African examination board offering the school leaving national senior certificate (NSC) examinations (Mouton & Strydom, 2014). Furthermore, it transformed the provincial matric exam into a national one. Secondly, the IEB revised the format of the Arabic paper and appointed new examiners with no previous matric examination experience. Thirdly, and perhaps the most

compelling challenge for Arabic, was the introduction of a seven-subject matric exam to replace the old six-subject system inherited from Apartheid (Dlomo et al., 2011). Lastly, promoting Arabic in the post-Apartheid period had a substantial financial cost.

I contend that the changes that the onset of NCS brought impacted the Arabic language. For instance, the IEB reformulated the structure of the Matric exams, school-based assessments (SBA portfolio tasks) and Oral assessments. Secondly, they appointed a new set of examiners with no previous experience to set the Matric examinations. Thirdly, they reformulated the format of the Arabic paper.

Regarding the appointment of examiners, this study notes that the IEB excluded the previous KwaZulu-Natal and the Cape provincial examiners despite having at least twenty years of Arabic examination experience at the Matric level. Instead, the IEB appointed a new set of examiners and moderators with no previous provincial examination experience besides school experience. In this regard, Irshaadh Amod, a senior Arabic teacher and KwaZulu-Natal examination committee member, insinuates that the IEB ignored the previous examiner's wealth of experience. He asserts that the IEB overlooked their pedagogical content knowledge of Arabic and years of experience and competence to set Matric papers that test appropriate outcomes by balancing learner cognitive levels with assessment standards. In this regard, he asserted that the previous examiners were cognisant that learners in South Africa were foreign and second additional language learners (SAL) and, therefore, set the examinations considering learners' foreign language skills. (I. Amod, personal communication, March 27, 2021)

Regarding the new format of the paper adopted by the IEB in 2008, Irshaadh Amod and Idris Kader question the lack of consultation with the incumbent examiners. In this light, they allude that KwaZulu-Natal submitted suggestions to the IEB. However, the IEB provided no feedback. Nevertheless, the IEB contracted Ahmed Vawda, a previous examiner in the Gauteng province, to design the current format. The findings discussed the impact of this challenge on the rise and decline of Arabic in the selected Muslim schools.

3.6.3 Challenge Two

The NCS Curriculum Abrogates Arabic's Seventh Compulsory Privilege

As mentioned earlier, the problematic Curriculum 2005 had some advantages. For instance, it mandated six compulsory subjects at the FET level, and numerous Muslim schools took advantage of this gap to promote Arabic as a seventh compulsory or a seventh elective subject. In addition, my practitioner experience informs that numerous Muslim schools catered for Arabic by increasing the school day by half an hour. However, the abrogation of Curriculum 2005 by the NCS curriculum in 2006 took away this privilege. Instead, the NCS curriculum mandated seven subjects instead of six, and Muslim schools

had to move Arabic to an eighth compulsory subject. I argue that this was a significant setback for FET Arabic as most Muslim schools did not opt for Arabic as an eighth compulsory subject as it had financial and notional time constraints. The analysis and discussion of the findings put this challenge into perspective in Chapters 6 and 7.

3.6.4 Challenge Three

The Financial and Notional Time Implications for Implementing Arabic

Regarding financial implications post-Apartheid, Muslim schools lost government funding by choosing Independent status except for a meagre subsidy paid once a year to non-profit schools that complied, subject to the availability of funds (Fiske & Ladd, 2004; Languille, 2016). As a result, while the Apartheid government financed the teaching and learning of Arabic in government schools (Mohamed, 1997), the migration of Arabic to Muslim schools post-Apartheid shifted this responsibility to Muslim schools. To compensate for these losses, Muslim schools generally charge fees and rely on generous donations and endowments from the community. However, from my practitioner experience, fee collection is insufficient to cover running expenses, and donations vary yearly.

While the Apartheid government made provisions for Arabic teachers, textbooks, and curriculum supervision, the post-Apartheid government did away with these services for Arabic. Hence, the onus fell on Muslim schools to employ suitable Arabic teachers, provide textbooks, and manage curriculum supervision and development. To circumvent this gap, Muslim schools arbitrarily implemented curriculum supervision and development. In this sense, each school could choose a syllabus and set assessments according to that syllabus. Subject heads took over the responsibility of curriculum development to expedite syllabus implementation, and the duties of the specialist subject advisor became obsolete. The AMS website indicates that AMS has a vision 'to deliver ‘an Islamically based education of the highest standard and quality’. Accordingly, AMS must aim to establish, drive, and maintain subject and professional committees aligning with this vision. From my practitioner experience, Muslim schools consult a subject specialist on a need basis. However, in my practitioner experience, most Muslim schools bundled Arabic under the department heads of Islamic studies, who were not trained Arabic language specialists in most cases.

Regarding proper procedures, Wentzell (2006) explains the importance of convening a syllabus review committee to plan, develope, implement and evaluate the syllabus. In this light, Chigona (2017) explain that the specialist knowledge, skills and attitudes that subject advisors provide are necessary for the sustainable growth of teachers. Furthermore, the new outcomes-based syllabus demanded a process of standardising the outcomes. In this light, Christie and Monyokolo (2018) argue that the key to achieving outcomes is curriculum coverage. Further, they allude that the key to curriculum coverage is behaviours

associated with monitoring and reporting so schools can take supportive action to solve problems. The researcher argues that the nonexistence of a central body meant the absence of central monitoring and reporting to ensure schools can take sustainable, supportive action. This study maintains that the above were vital factors that AMS and independent Muslim schools failed to address sufficiently and perhaps were factors that contributed to retarding the growth of the Arabic language in Muslim schools.

Given the above, the challenges of offering the Arabic language as a compulsory or elective subject had numerous financial, logistical, and administrative implications. While the Apartheid government previously provided these services, post-Apartheid educational transformation placed this burden on the shoulders of Muslim schools. In addition to this challenge, school management spent hours deliberating the new Outcomes-based syllabus, which was problematic from the start (Jansen & Taylor, 2003). To counter these deficiencies, the education department attempted to reform the curriculum by introducing a watered-down version of the previous syllabus called the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) in 2006. However, like its predecessor, Curriculum 2005, NCS presented further challenges in promoting the Arabic language, resulting in the decline of Arabic in Independent Muslim schools.

3.7 Chapter Conclusions

Given the above, Arabic was on a firm footing in the Apartheid period, primarily in public and state-aided schools. However, desegregation and the overnight reclassification of state-aided school learners to independent school learners in January 1998 accelerated the migration of FET Arabic to Independent schools. AMS (2021) confirms that by 2008, more than 98% of Arabic language learners were in Independent Muslim schools. This scenario is a massive change compared to the Apartheid period when the Arabic language featured mainly in public and state-aided Muslim schools (Medar, 1987), with a minority of learners in the few Independent schools from 1984 (see discussion and statistics in section 3.2.4).

Furthermore, numerous educational and curriculum reforms characterised the post-Apartheid period. For instance, the legislature abrogated provincial exams, instituting central examination bodies for all subjects. Moreover, state funding for Arabic was minimal. Additionally, the department outsourced Arabic to the IEB, which changed the format of the matric exams and appointed new examiners.

In the post-Apartheid period, Muslim schools have committed to the Muslim school approach that balances academics with the Islamic tradition. The Arabic language is integral to Islamic traditions and the Muslim school approach. While Matric Arabic enrolment was on the rise in the Apartheid period, since 2008, it has been declining in Muslim schools, indicating that learners select academic subjects over Arabic. Thus, I interviewed four Muslim school principals and four Arabic teachers to unravel why learners elect academic subjects over Arabic. Further, how learners' subject choices challenge

Muslim schools to balance Academics with Islamic traditions, and therefore, the integrated Muslim school approach as a lens through which to view this study.

Chapter Four

Conceptual Framework

The Integrated Muslim School Approach:

A Model for Bourdieu's Reproduction of Cultural Capital into Educational Attainment

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapters discussed Muslim schools as integrative providers of Islamic traditions and academic education and Arabic as an integrative component of Islamic traditions as this study's primary themes. This chapter identifies the lens through which this study views these themes so that it has direction by providing an in-depth analysis of the models and theories that frame this study. Accordingly, the integrated Muslim school approach underpins this study. Second, I draw from Bourdieu and Passeron's (1979) theory that proposes reproducing cultural capital into educational attainment. Third, I offer the Muslim school approach as a cultural capital model of Bourdieu's educational attainment.

First, I explain the concept of frameworks and the differences between theoretical and conceptual frameworks. Next, I explain the importance of a framework in guiding a scholarly piece of work. After that, I present an introduction to Bourdieu's cultural capital theory. First in general terms and then the three components of this theory: the habitus, the field and educational attainment. After that, I provide a detailed analysis of the parameters that underpin the integrated Muslim school approach. Finally, I conclude the chapter by arguing for the Muslim school approach as a model for Bourdieu's reproduction of home culture (cultural capital) into educational attainment.

Regarding the roots of frameworks, Tewksbury and Scheufele (2019) assert that researchers embed them in psychological, sociological and explanatory approaches to research. For instance, Edelman (1993) in Baeza (2023) defines the social world as a 'kaleidoscope of potential realities, any of which can be readily evoked by altering how observations are framed and categorised' (p. 2). Likewise, research explains the psychological roots as frames of reference by deliberate framing of situations or the 'appraisal and evaluation of a social situation, reflected in the perceptions and judgments of the individual' (Wei, 2017, p. 382). Lastly, regarding the explanatory approach, Tewksbury and Scheufele (2019) posit that irrespective of the disciplinary approach, frameworks play a fundamental role in explaining how researchers interpret an issue or from which perspective they perceive the world. In

short, scholars liken frameworks to worldviews or our assumptions about the world (Kivunja, 2018; McMillan, 2015; Osanloo & Grant, 2016).

Regarding the utility of frameworks to research, Currie and Walsh (2019) posit that frameworks have the effect of foregrounding certain historical information while backgrounding others, asserting that it is inescapable in research, particularly when limiting the study to a particular perspective of the phenomenon. For these reasons, Osanloo and Grant (2016) suggest articulating the framework early in the research.

Regarding its importance, frameworks provide a structure for the researcher to gauge whether the findings are relative to the framework and whether the researcher can employ them to explain the result (Imenda, 2014). While the above provides a brief understanding of the role of frameworks in guiding the study, it is imperative to note that at the core of frameworks are theories, models, and concepts, giving rise to the term's theoretical framework or conceptual framework.

4.2 Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

Gleaning the literature on theoretical and conceptual frameworks shows that some authors use these terms interchangeably, while others distinguish them as two frameworks (Green, 2014; Imenda, 2014; Rocco & Plakhotnik, 2009; Varpio et al., 2020). Among researchers who differentiate between theoretical and conceptual frameworks are Rocco and Plakhotnik (2009); they explain that a theoretical framework in qualitative studies serves to ground, frame, structure, and scaffold the analysis in a specific theory. In contrast, conceptual frameworks employ theoretical concepts and models by 'building a case for the importance of the study through a presentation and critique of the concepts, terms, definitions, models, and theories found in a literature base and seen through a particular disciplinary orientation' (p.126). In other words, while a theoretical framework investigates theory, a conceptual approach shows the relationship between theoretical concepts and models to illustrate the importance and purpose of the study (Varpio et al., 2020). In this light, Bordage (2009) describes a conceptual framework as a combination of theories, models and evidence-based practices. For example, this study employs the relationship between Bourdieu's cultural capital theory and the integrated Muslim school approach. In this light, I view this study through the lens of the integrated Muslim school approach by foregrounding Muslim schools as reproduction sites for converting Bourdieuan cultural capital into educational attainment.

Regarding the definition of a theory, Imenda (2014) explains that the defining characteristics of a theory are interrelated propositions, concepts, and points of view that project a specific systematic view to making predictions about events. Likewise, Garrison (2000) describes the theory as the ordering of concepts, ideas, and events to formulate meaning to interpret, explain, and shape practice. In line with

the definition of a theory above, Camp (2001) describes a theoretical framework as a framework that employs a single theory to elucidate a large mass of observations based on a model that assists in making predictions. Further, he postulates that frameworks organise theories according to pre-confirmed principles and propositions. On the other hand, researchers develop models from theories, observations, concepts, and evidence-based practices from the outcome and compelling studies. Hence, I describe a theoretical framework as theory-based, where the theory is the primary defining factor of the framework. In contrast, I describe a conceptual framework as a combination of interrelated factors such as theoretical models and practices. Considering this view, I constructed a conceptual framework based on the Muslim school approach as a model of Bourdieu's social reproduction theory. Thus, Muslim schools are the sites for reproducing Bourdieuan cultural capital to educational attainment.

4.3 Bourdieu's Cultural Capital Theory

Bourdieu's reproduction of cultural capital into educational attainment is relevant to the research question of why Muslim school learners' academic subject choices over FET Arabic contribute to the declining FET Arabic enrolment. Further, how do these subject choices challenge the Muslim school approach? When viewed through Bourdieuan culture, it lends to the view that Muslim school learners employ Muslim schools as reproduction sites for educational attainment. This view further aligns with the discussion in the literature review section, indicating that migrant Muslims have historically employed educational attainment as a means of occupational and social mobility since they arrived at the research site in 1860. For example, the desire for educational attainment drove them to establish community self-help schools when education was scarce.

Further, they sent their children overseas for tertiary education when doors were closed inside South Africa due to Apartheid discriminatory policies. However, in a strategic move to provide for their children's academic education alongside Islamic traditions, they established Muslim schools in the 1940s. Thus, the rationale for employing the Muslim school approach as a model for Boudieu's reproduction of cultural capital into educational attainment.

Regarding Bourdieu and Passeron's (1979) reproduction of cultural capital theory, Bourdieu posits that cultural capital accumulated in the home environment dominated educational institutions in the early 20th century and was a critical factor in explaining social stratification. Accordingly, cultural capital determines social stratification. Bourdieu further argued that educational institutions were reproduction sites to convert home culture into educational attainment. Thus, educational attainment became a key factor for social stratification (Bunn et al., 2020; Tzanakis, 2011).

Savage et al. (2005) explain that by the 1980s, traditional social class stratification was in a crisis based on the division of labour or economic capital. Primarily because capitalism was institutionalised as a

mode of production by the end of the 19th century (Jacobs, 2023), resulting in the accumulation and conversion of economic capital into commercial enterprises and industry. Further, the subsequent rise of a new middle class from the beginning of the 20th century and the proliferation of educational institutions added to the complexity of social stratification (Larson, 2017; Perkin, 2003).

A key factor for this complexity was the reliance on commercial enterprises and industry for skilled labour (Bohle & Greskovits, 2007). This reliance resulted in the institutionalisation of educational institutions (Burger, 2014), museums, art galleries, libraries, and numerous other institutions. Thus, educational attainment accumulated and transmitted in museums, libraries, art galleries, theatres, schools, universities, and colleges became critical deciders, distinguishing between the privileged and the lower classes (McCulloch, 2006). Tzanakis (2011) explains that, according to Bourdieu, educational institutions became agents for reproducing the culture of the middle and higher classes through their pedagogic actions. On the other hand, due to the dominant class culture dominating educational institutions, lower classes were excluded from education due to unfamiliarity. In short, educational institutions became agents of reproduction and exclusion (Anyon, 2017).

Savage et al. (2005) explain that social scientists began to conceptualise these recent changes, resulting in numerous theories on social stratification based on social capital as a resource to complement the traditional economic culture. Within this tradition, Bourdieu developed his social reproduction theory with Passeron. The key to this theory was that educational institutions were reproduction sites of cultural capital, leading to educational attainment becoming a key factor of class stratification (Bourdieu, 2018).

4.3.1 Bourdieu's Habitus: The Home Background and Locality

Ignatow (2009) simplified habitus as the varied cultural settings that shape an individual's moral reactions and judgments. Similarly, Ringenberg and McElwee (2009) view the habitus as the values through which individuals see the world and then align their actions to it. On the other hand, Savage et al. (2005) view the habitus or the field as the theoretical framework to eternalise cultural capital. Kisida et al. (2014) further describe it as the attitudes that orientate one's expectations and aspirations. While the habitus, cultural setting, or field varies, for this study, I limit the discussion of habitus to the home environment and educational institutions, where it is acquired through family settings and socialisation within families and social groups (Barrett & Martina, 2012).

Regarding the home environment, Bourdieu regarded it as a crucial habitus and initially built his theory around it. For example, Goldthorpe (2007) explains that the socially transmitted dispositions an individual acquires early in life guide his worldview and how he interacts with it. Therefore, I subscribe to the view of Goldthorpe (2007) and Ringenberg and McElwee (2009) that emphasises the home environment and family setting as essential accumulation sites for cultural capital. Tan (2017) further

draws a link between the home environment and educational institutions by asserting that the importance of the home habitus lies in employing it to maximise the desired outcomes like academic education. In this study, I focus on the family setting as an integral habitus to inculcate competencies later valued and rewarded in educational institutions as educational attainment, resulting in occupational and social mobility (Barrett & Martina, 2012).

4.3.2 Forms of Cultural Capital: Embodied, Objective, and Institutional

Bourdieu conceptualised three forms of cultural capital: embodied, objective, and institutional. In line with the focus of this study, the family setting cultivates the habitus in the embodied state as the accumulation and transmission of cultural practices by the child's parent, home background, or locality (Bourdieu, 2018). Similarly, the objective is the acquisition of cultural possessions like books, art and items that complement the habitus. In comparison, the institutional form is cultural capital embodied and objectified as educational attainment, leading to middle-class occupational and social mobility (Barrett & Martina, 2012). In other words, Bourdieu conceptualised the accumulation and transmission of cultural capital within the realm of the habitus, which he outlined as a fundamental construct for reproducing cultural capital in the field (educational institutions) into educational attainment (Oncini & Guetto, 2018).

I contend that the family cultural settings played a massive role in the upward mobility of migrant Indians from the beginning of the 20th century. For example, a study by Prabhakaran (1997) shows that by the 1940s, those with superior educational attainment were stratified by occupational mobility among Indians. The Apartheid government further perpetuated these class differences by providing segregated housing settlements based on class. For instance, working-class people from the city suburbs were forcefully removed to low-cost housing townships of Chatsworth and Phoenix on the periphery of Durban (Maharaj, 2020; Vermeulin & Khan, 2012). On the other hand, traders and the educated class were allocated land to build their homes in prime areas close to the city centres in areas like Westville, Reservoir Hills and Clare Estate (Vahed, 1995).

Initially, the founding members built most Muslim schools close to the city centres to serve the masses that lived in the city centres irrespective of class (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). However, from the 1960s, Apartheid segregation policies positioned the upper class closer to the city centres. In contrast to the intentions of founding members, Muslim schools became more amenable to trader and professional class children than working-class children. Likewise, before the 1970s, university education was the privilege of the trader and professional class who could afford to send their children overseas (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). In this vein, I argue that traders and professional class learners were the primary recipients of locally segregated universities constructed for Indian learners in the 60s and 70s. For

example, a study by Louw et al. (2006) shows that during the 80s, Indian matric educational attainment equalled that of whites.

In contrast, during the same period, the study indicated that Indian tertiary education was far short of white tertiary attainment. The low number of Indians attending tertiary institutions compared to whites could be attributed to universities' substantial tuition fees being affordable to traders and professional-class learners. Nonetheless, a study by Aubrey (2017) articulates that Indian parents appreciate professional school services and happily pay for them. This educational trajectory indicates the relentless desire for educational attainment amongst Indians.

Thus, I argue that the cultural capital of traders and professional-class Muslims during the Apartheid period was reproduced as educational attainment in Muslim schools and universities. A similar situation is prevalent today. Muslim schools charge fees only amenable to the trader and professional class parents. For these reasons, I deem the integrated Muslim school approach a model of Bourdieuan cultural capital reproduced as educational attainment in Muslim schools.

4.3.3 The Field: The Reproduction of Educational Attainment in Educational Institutions

While cultural capital was acquired in the habitus, it required a field to convert it into rewards. Therefore, converting cultural capital acquired in the habitus into educational attainment was the key to this temporal process. Accordingly, the salient feature of cultural capital was its reproduction, and the sites for this reproduction were educational institutions like schools, universities, libraries, museums, and art galleries. Based on statistical data from French schools in the 1960s, Bourdieu argued that the site for reproducing cultural capital was significantly educational institutions. In particular, he posited that cultural capital accumulated and transmitted in privileged homes was converted into educational attainment in schools, colleges, and universities. (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979; Goldthorpe, 2007). For this study, educational attainment is crucial for the Bourdieuan cultural capital acquired in the habitus and reproduced in educational reproduction sites.

On the other hand, since the inception of Bourdieu's reproduction of cultural capital theory, numerous researchers have reviewed cultural capital, offering an in-depth and critical explanation of its salient forms and operationalisation. For instance, Cincinnato et al. (2016) explain that the concept of cultural capital operates in a socially stratified society where resources are economic, social and cultural. Regarding cultural resources, they argue that they play a complex role in social differentiation and social stratification. Nonetheless, Goldthorpe (2007) alludes that all forms of capital have the potential for accumulation, transmission, and convertibility. For instance, economic capital is generally converted to money and institutionalised by property rights. Similarly, cultural capital is reproduced in educational attainment (Xie & He, 2023). Accordingly, the temporal operationalisation of cultural

capital occurs within the habitus in three forms, as I outlined in the previous section: the embodied, objective, and institutionalised conditions.

Bourdieu asserted that this process occurs over a temporal period by a systemic method of transmitting cultural capital from one generation to another, from one site to another within the habitus. Hence, he draws a fundamental link between family background and educational institutions, regarding them as critical agents in transferring embodied and objective forms of cultural capital to the academic field (Cincinnato et al., 2016). Accordingly, Prieur and Savage (2011) posit that cultural capital is institutionalised as educational attainment and validated by occupational and social mobility as a product of cultural capital.

Given the above, Abel (2008) defines cultural capital as the operational skills, linguistic styles, values and norms one accrues through education and lifelong socialisation (Lareau & Weininger, 2003). In addition, Prieur and Savage (2011) allude that children acquire these habits, skills and attitudes from their origin, including family and location, only to internalise them later in their pursuit of social and educational recognition. Accordingly, Kisida et al. (2014) hold that cultural capital acquired in the home is essential for determining social reproduction, especially children's future academic and social attainment. Hence, the family background is a central theme in Bourdieu's conceptualisation of cultural capital.

Conversely, Gunn (2005) argues that numerous studies have questioned the terms of reference to Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital. For instance, Goldthorpe (2007) criticises Bourdieu's insistence on the family location as the dependable transmitter of cultural capital. In this argument, he draws support from studies conducted by De Graaf et al. (2000); DiMaggio (1982) and Sullivan (2001) that argue for modifying Bourdieu's cultural capital to cultural mobility. For example, DiMaggio (1982) postulates that while familial background does play a mitigating role in acquiring cultural capital, individual ability and skills play equally important roles, especially in individuals bereft of Bourdieu's definition of familial cultural capital. The above researchers seemingly argue for a relative application of Bourdieu's cultural capital.

Cultural capital's most crucial variable, educational attainment, is essential to this study. In this regard, Bourdieu argued that educational attainment inequality results from institutions perpetuating an elite culture. Therefore, children of the elite enter educational institutions already primed with a home culture congruent with the standards, pedagogy, and assessment procedures in their new academic field. However, on the other hand, children of working-class families find themselves alien to this dominant academic culture, which excludes them or forces them to exclude themselves by unfamiliarity. Hence, Bourdieu argues that the educational instances perpetually reinforce the 'high-brow' cultural capital

acquired in privileged homes, resulting in schools and educational institutions functioning as the cultural agents of the elite (Goldthorpe, 2007; Tzanakis, 2011).

In short, the crux of Bourdieu's cultural capital suggests that modern educational institutions are modelled on high-brow culture, thus favouring the privileged while marginalising the working class (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Prieur & Savage, 2011). Accordingly, privileged children enter educational institutions already primed with cultural capital.

4.4 The Integrated Muslim School Approach: A Model for Bourdieu's Educational Attainment

The previous discussion indicated that cultural capital accumulated in the home environment dominated educational institutions and is a critical factor in explaining social stratification. By applying Bourdieu and Passeron's (1979) reproduction of cultural capital theory in educational institutions, this study proposes the selected Muslim schools as the field for educational attainment, the home and the surrounding Muslim environment as the habitus for the accumulation and transmission of cultural capital (values, perceptions and attitudes) and the outcomes of the integrated Muslim school approach as the institutionalisation of educational attainment.

When applying the Arabic language as a variable of the Muslim school approach, to test this model, I propose that the ethos of learners as a proxy for cultural capital accumulated and transmitted in the Muslim home is validated as the outcome of a balanced approach between academics and Islamic sciences.

4.5 A Framework for Understanding the Muslim School Approach

In Chapter 2, I argued that Muslim communities initiated the historical Muslim school approach to counter the hegemonic influences that Western educational philosophies and colonialism imposed on traditional Islamic educational systems. Accordingly, this section conceptualises the Muslim school approach within two broad worldviews: the Islamic and Western worldviews, arguing that these worldviews played a leading role in shaping perceptions of Muslim schooling approaches during colonial, Apartheid, and post-Apartheid times.

Regarding the Islamic worldview, I discuss the historical genesis of the Qur'an and Sunnah as the primary sources of Islamic knowledge, resulting in the institutionalisation of Islamic educational models that proffer the nature of knowledge in Islam. After that, I highlight the impact of the 19th-century Western worldview on Islamic education models. In this light, I engage the impact of educational Dualism on Islamic education and the response of Muslims to Dualism, giving rise to early state-aided Muslim school approaches underpinned by Western education. Lastly, I demarcate the goals

of Islamic education in the context of renewing the Independent Muslim school that endeavours to realign Muslim schools to an Islamic education worldview.

For representability, I refer to the transformation of Muslim schools in two phases: early and independent Muslim schools. Early Muslim schools were schools that Muslims initiated during colonialism and the immediate post-colonial period, underpinned by Western education. On the other hand, the 1977 World Education Conference in Makkah and the Islamisation movement propounded a new model of independent Muslim schooling that called for the realignment of Muslim schools to a more holistic integrative Islamic philosophy in the early 80s.

Accordingly, this section outlines the Islamic philosophy of education and provides a framework for understanding the Muslim school approach. Thus, it explores the salient differences between the Islamic and Western worldviews of knowledge as a preamble to the Muslim school approach. Next, I engage in the recent reconceptualisation of Islamic education in response to educational Dualism or the bifurcation of knowledge based on the Islamisation of knowledge approach. Then, I define Islamic education and suggest the goals of Muslim school education. Finally, I complete the section by engaging the Islamisation of knowledge approach as conceptualised by Al Attas and Al Faruqi as a catalyst for an integrative Muslim school approach.

4.5.1 Background to the Islamic Worldview of Knowledge

The prophet Muhammad founded the Islamic faith; he called his people, the pagan Arabs, to worship one God in seventh-century Arabia (Doran, 2002; Watt, 1961). According to Yauri et al. (2013), the Islamic canon was revealed to Muhammad either out of necessity, incident or context over 23 years in Arabic verses via the Archangel Jibraeel (Saeed, 2008). His companions memorised these verses, compiling them in the Qur'an (Warren & Alqudah, 2020). Thus, the Qur'an became a practical tool governing religious, civic, social, educational, political, and economic activities (Hasan, 2009).

Because of the above, Ahmed and Al Amiri (2019) assert that Muhammad's followers lived by the Qur'anic criterion based on moral and ethical standards of peace and justice, memorising his philosophy of Qur'anic submission, which became known as the Sunnah. Hence, the two primary sources of Islam are the Arabic Qur'an and Muhammad's understanding and application of the Qur'an, known as the Sunnah (Douglass & Shaikh, 2004a; Usmani, 2009). On the other hand, Azād and HusainBābar (2016) assert that numerous Orientalists like C. Snouck Hurgrunje, Goldziher and others have raised doubts about the Sunnah's authoritative source in Islamic education. However, he states that the writings of others like Joseph Schacht in Anderson (1952) and Margoliouth (1914) have disproved these claims by referring to extracts from the Qur'an. Nonetheless, scholars in Muslim countries and the Western

diaspora widely use the term Qur'an and Sunnah (Douglass & Shaikh, 2004a; Halik, 2016; Hussain, 2004; Lubis, 2015)

4.5.2 Understanding Islamic Education and the Nature of Knowledge in Terms of Bourdieu's Cultural Capital Theory

Later, Muslim scholars codified Islamic education within the Qur'an and Sunnah paradigms (Shaffat & Baru, 2019). However, what constitutes Islamic education varies among scholars. For instance, Hashim and Jemali (2017) explain that Muslim scholars commonly limit Islamic education to studying the Qur'an, Sunnah, Muhammad biography, Jurisprudence, Qur'an commentary, Islamic culture, and Islamic ethics. However, research shows that numerous scholars regard this understanding of Islamic education as shallow (Abdalla et al., 2018; Davids & Waghid, 2021; Embong et al., 2013; Panjwani, 2004; Sahin, 2018). As a result, the scope and application of Islamic education have recently come under much scrutiny. For example, Panjwani (2004) explains that some scholars have restricted Islamic education to Islamic studies, while others have called for an education system based on Islamic philosophy. Still, others call for the total Islamisation of knowledge based on integrating academics within the Qur'an and Sunnah paradigm (Al-Faruqi, 1987; Embong et al., 2013; Hashim, 1996). Hence, scholarship has proposed numerous models for the Islamic educational field. Abdalla et al. (2018) and Sahin (2018) postulate that nowhere is the field of Islamic education more erratic than in Muslim schools.

Regarding Islamic education in Muslim schools, Othman et al. (2017) and Yaacob et al. (2014b) explain that despite having similar aims, Muslim schools have varying degrees of integration, resulting in diverse curriculum content. For example, Lubis (2015) explains that one possible meaning of integration is co-joining academic and Islamic traditions. This results in some schools positioning academics as dominant, while others join the Islamic traditions with academics simply as filler subjects. On the other hand, scholars posit that what is required is the unison of both sciences into a single system grounded in the Islamic paradigm (Abdalla et al., 2018; Lubis, 2015; Othman et al., 2017; Yaacob et al., 2014a). With these divergent views in mind, Abdalla et al. (2018) posit that the field of integrated education in Muslim schools is highly fluid and erratic, suggesting that it requires renewal. Nevertheless, they identified two models in practice, one purely Islamic and the other integrative of academics and modern education.

Regarding a purely Islamic model, Douglass and Shaikh (2004a) assert that restricting Islamic education to purely Islamic teachings falls short of the ideals of Islam as it restricts interaction outside the Muslim paradigm and, therefore, gives little significance to academic education for human agency needs. In contrast, Tan (2014) posits that Muslim scholars have used reasoning since the early days of Islam,

promoting student-centred methods like problem-solving, dialogue, disputation, and application. In this tradition, Lubis (2015) argues that human cognitive, affective, and psychomotor experiences lead to the acquisition of the worldly sciences. Therefore, he suggests Muslims must accept these experiences and integrate them into Islamic traditions. Research studies further support this view, resulting in many scholars recently calling for an integrative education model that accommodates the worldly sciences (Abdalla et al., 2018; Davids & Waghid, 2021; Othman et al., 2017; Zaman & Memon, 2016). On the other hand, Sahin (2018) argues that simply joining academic education with Islamic traditions is short-sighted. Sahin (2018) postulates an entirely new transformative educational philosophy that nurtures Islamic traditions within a culture of integration and dialogue, claiming that the protagonists of integrative Muslim education have not yet been able to conceptualise, despite convening eight Islamisation conferences thus far.

Nonetheless, this study argues that the integrative approach that co-joins academics with Islamic traditions is congruent with the historical development of the Islamic paradigm. For example, the early Islamic state made great efforts to preserve and study the academic sciences developed by Greeks, Persians, Indians, and other contributing nations, resulting in the golden age of Islam between the 8th and 13th centuries (Alexakos & Antoine, 2005; Bobrick, 2012; Hajar, 2013; Renima et al., 2016). In this regard, Mitha (2020) explains that the early scholars translated the pre-Islamic academic education, paying tribute to them by developing, reformulating and underpinning them in the Islamic worldview based on nurturing the mind, body and soul. Likewise, the later Ottoman universities followed the same tradition and included academic education as Ulum al Juz'iyyah (Tan, 2014).

In contrast, colonialism attempted to bifurcate the historically integrated Islamic educational philosophy, aiming to restrict it to merely Islamic studies. In this regard, Sahin (2018) rightly asserts that the term Islamic studies is a product of Orientalists that aims to restrict Islamic education to a few subjects. Likewise, (Taj, 2023) frames this discussion as the decolonization of religious studies. However, recently, researchers have called for a renewal of Islamic education that nurtures and refines the mind, body, and soul (Abdalla et al., 2018; Embong et al., 2013; Hashim & Jemali, 2017; Hussain, 2004; Othman et al., 2017). I support the view that the field and scope of Islamic education in Muslim schools must lie within the framework of nurturing the mind, body, and soul. In this vein, I argue that nurturing the mind, body, and soul is a process that begins in the home environment and links to Bourdieu's reproduction of cultural capital theory, which posits the habitus as the first influencer of the child.

For instance, researchers commonly define Bordieuan habitus as the cultivator of a person's early dispositional years that influence the individual's social expectations later in life (Barrett & Martina, 2012; Davey, 2009; Huang, 2019). Accordingly, Huang (2019) posits that the habitus plays a critical

role in defining the knowledge, behaviour and skills a child gains from his or her home culture. Huang (2019) further alludes that family history plays a much more significant role in shaping an individual's cultural capital than educational background.

Given the above, I argue that the Bourdieuan concept of habitus as the first influencer of the child is consistent with the Islamic notion that nurturing the mind, body, and soul begins in the home environment. For example, Edy and Jaedi (2022) explain that in the development of Islamic education, the implementation of worship, values, and morality begins at an early age in the home environment and then extends to school. In this way, the child's home environment extends to society. Similarly, Sunarti (2018) posits that from an early age, the home environment teaches Muslim children to memorise the Qur'an as part of Islamic traditions, leading to the suggestion that the acquisition of Qur'anic teachings in early childhood profoundly shapes how the individual negotiates social relations later in life. Reinforcing this notion, Berglund and Gent (2018) assert that 'memorisation of the Qur'an, a highly regarded cultural and spiritual capital within their Muslim tradition, transmutes into a capital in the secular sphere when translated into the language of skills' (p. 136).

Given that Islamic education nurtures the mind, body and soul, numerous scholars reject restricting educational attainment solely to Islamic traditions. Instead, they offer a holistic approach to what constitutes the nature of knowledge in Islam by taking cognisance of human agency. Othman et al. (2017) sum up the holistic view by offering Al Ghazali's definition of two categories of knowledge: the revealed sciences and the acquired sciences, embodied in Mohamed Amin's study of Ibn Khaldun that reveals an interplay of expertise dealing with worldly life and after death needs and aims (Abdalla et al., 2018; Davids & Waghid, 2021; Hashim & Jemali, 2017; Lubis, 2015; Lubis et al., 2009; Matovu, 2020; Othman et al., 2017).

Given that Islamic education caters to material and esoteric needs, I reject the limitation of Islamic education to purely Islamic teachings. Thus, I subscribe to a dearth of scholars who call for reintegrating academic sciences within the Qur'an and Sunnah paradigms. Furthermore, I replace the terms Qur'an and Sunnah with Islamic traditions for this study. Hence, I mean the Qur'an and Sunnah paradigm whenever I use Islamic traditions.

Regarding the Islamic tradition, Abdalla et al. (2018) define them as the educational concepts, ideas and perspectives that have been lived, written about and discussed by the Muslim scholars present and past within the expansive tradition of the Qur'an and Sunnah. In this light, this study draws from the definition of Islamic traditions suggested by Abdalla et al. (2018) above to include the Arabic language as a branch of traditional Islamic traditions.

4.5.3 Reconceptualising Islamic Education in Muslim Schools

Considering the above, this study views Islamic education as blending academics and Islamic traditions in an integrated model, thus offering a reconceptualisation of Islamic education for Muslim schools. I view the above definition of Islamic education as a basis for understanding the field and scope of Islamic education in Muslim schools. However, notwithstanding the above, numerous scholars also criticise the blank use of Islamic education to mean an Islamic educational system. They contend that its blind use blurs the lines between Islamic education as philosophy and Islamic education as a system or pedagogy (see further Abdalla et al., 2018; Davids & Waghid, 2020, 2021).

While numerous scholars widely use Islamic education to refer to an Islamic educational system (Douglass & Shaikh, 2004b; Hussain, 2004; Panjwani, 2004; Talbani, 1996), there is a subtle difference between the two terms: Islamic education and Islamic educational system. Explaining the difference, Davids and Waghid (2021); Douglass and Shaikh (2004b) and Hashim and Jemali (2017) explain that Islamic education is perfect and infallible. However, they contend that an education system developed by human discretion, intellect, and human reasoning is imperfect, lending itself to being influenced by the previous generations' cultural influences, practices, and traditions. Hence, they distinguish between Islamic education as an ideal and the education system as a methodology to teach Islamic education.

Because of the above, Abdalla et al. (2018) suggest replacing Islamic education with the conceptual term Islamic pedagogy, arguing that pedagogy is a methodology of instruction or teaching underpinned by a particular set of educational beliefs, values, and perspectives, thus deserving a more nuanced conceptual term. Similarly, Davids and Waghid (2020) posit that Muslim education as a system or pedagogy is the construction or reconstruction of knowledge that manifests itself in Muslim educational practices and, therefore, is dissimilar from Islam as a way of life that the Qur'an and Sunnah have perfected. Therefore, based on the view that education is a human construct and incommensurable with finality, they also suggest replacing the term Islamic education with Muslim educational practices. Accordingly, the argument above distinguishes Islamic education as an ideal and, in contrast, Muslim educational practice as a pedagogy.

Drawing from the conceptual terminologies of Islamic pedagogy and Muslim educational practices suggested by Abdalla et al. (2018) and Davids and Waghid (2020), this study combines the above conceptual terminologies into a more nuanced conceptual term: the Muslim school approach. Hence, this study employs the conceptual term Muslim school approach when referring to Muslim educational practices, pedagogy and systems that combine academic education and Islamic traditions in Muslim schools. However, it should be underpinned by an Islamic worldview that nurtures the mind, body, and soul (Zaman & Memon, 2016).

In short, this study views Islamic education as an ideal that effectively integrates Islamic traditions with academics and the Muslim school approach as a pedagogy, practice or educational system that exemplifies Islamic education.

4.5.4 The Goals of Islamic Education

Abdalla et al. (2018) suggest that the end goal of Islamic education is disciplining (*ta'dib*), including but not limited to the spiritual, moral, and intellectual development of Islamic ethos in individuals. As a result, they argue that discipline (*adab*) leads to an Islamic worldview that guides an individual's thoughts, sayings, and actions. However, Sahin (2018) is critical of the above definition of Islamic education. He posits that researchers in the Western Muslim diaspora often limit Islamic education to the esoteric spiritual framework. He alludes that they operate within an epistemology of Islamic renewal based on the epistemology of the past pious scholars of Islam. In contrast, Hussain (2004) asserts that most scholars define Islamic education within the parameters of nurturing (tarbiyyah), intellectual (ta'leem) and discipline (adab).

While this study by Sahin (2018) has some merit, this study adheres to the renewal goals of scholars propounding an Islamic ethos from a Western-orientated worldview to an Islamic worldview (Abdalla et al., 2018; Zaman & Memon, 2016). Furthermore, numerous other scholars support the Islamic ethos renewal approach (Embong et al., 2013; Hashim, 1996; Hussain, 2004; Lubis, 2015; Tiliouine & Estes, 2016).

Regarding the Islamic ethos, Lubis (2015) describes it as the equilibrium in mind, body and spirit, aiming to obtain richness of the heart and brilliance of the mind. Yaacob (2018) asserts that when manifested in an individual, it results in his thoughts, actions, and attitudes toward an Islamic way of life. Perhaps, with this view in mind, (Tan, 2014) defines Muslim schools as educational institutions that transmit Islamic knowledge while inculcating Islamic values and ethos.

Regarding renewing the ethos of Muslim schools, Abdalla et al. (2018) argue that renewal can occur if they lay out the principles and character traits they wish to inculcate in their learners with a clear vision and goals. In short, they claim that having a clearly defined plan will act as a compass to search for solutions to the opportunities and challenges in the educational process. Recently, the renewal of Islamic ethos based on the disciplining of the mind, body, and soul has been a dominant form of discussion since the dominance of Western education models in numerous Muslim communities in the West and Muslim countries (Abdalla et al., 2018; Davids & Waghid, 2021).

Given the above, Islamic education aims to nurture an Islamic ethos based on disciplining the learner's spiritual, moral, and intellectual development. In the context of Muslim schooling, the vehicle to

achieve this is an integrated education model underpinned by an Islamic worldview. Abdalla et al. (2018) argue that Muslim schools have successfully negotiated an environment where learners can enjoy the best of both worlds over the past decades. It is now required to renew educational practices to make them congruent with Islamic traditions and worldviews. They suggest that the emphasis must shift from rote Islamic practices to the goals behind these practices, hence disciplining learners' spiritual, moral, and intellectual spheres. However, Othman et al. (2017) assert that efforts to renew educational pedagogies in Muslim schools have resulted in numerous challenges and diverse models of Muslim schools. They posit that, while on the one hand, there are Muslim schools that have a significant focus on academic sciences with none or weak emphasis on Islamic traditions (Tayob, 2012), on the other hand, there are those schools that offer a balanced education between academics and the Islamic tradition.

In comparison, the latter model might seem appealing. However, Abdalla et al. (2018) warn that the current models of Muslim schooling pedagogy come short of an ideal integrated model because they lack clarity of vision and goals that translate principles into practice. Therefore, they call for a renewal of Islamic pedagogy. Similarly, Lubis (2015) postulates that a deliberate unison of academics and Islamic tradition must occur to realise a correct model based on the integrated Muslim school model elaborated above. With this view in mind, Othman et al. (2017) suggest that the way forward for Muslim schools is to gradually disengage from vision and goals that target education for intellectual and material merit to an Islamic ethos that insists on creating a well-balanced individual that premises on disciplining the mind, body and soul.

4.5.5 The Islamisation Approach: Mapping an Integrative Muslim School Approach

While the previous section clarified the goals of Islamic education, this section engages the integrated Muslim school approach that focuses on creating an Islamic ethos by developing the mind, body, and soul, leading to a well-balanced individual. In this light, we anchor this section on the Islamisation (reintegration) movement articulated by Al Faruqi and Al Attas. On the other hand, Sahin (2018) argues that Islamisation supporters have grudgingly dropped this term for a more watered-down term, integrative education. Davids and Waghid (2021) assert that the latter is a more politically appropriate term.

Thus, this chapter uses the terms integration and Islamisation interchangeably for representativity. However, in the rest of the thesis, whenever we use the term integration or reintegration, we mean Islamisation as conceptualised in this section. As mentioned in the previous section, this study attributes the rationale for adopting the integrated Muslim school approach to stakeholders' resolve to adopt Islamisation in the 1996 Islamisation Conference held in Cape Town. At the conference, Southern

African Independent Muslim schools agreed in principle to pilot the integrated syllabus workshopped at the conference. However, despite numerous attempts, Dangor (2014) asserts that the project never got off the ground.

Nonetheless, a study by Khan (2006) assessed the implementation of integrated education in South African Independent Muslim schools. It concluded that they anchor on the 1996 model, with varying degrees of implementation across the different schools. Hence, the rationale for employing the integrated Muslim school approach as a lens to view this study. Several recent studies confirm this view (Dangor, 2014; Davids, 2014; Haron, 2016).

Regarding the integrative movement, Saada and Magadlah (2021) opine that it was articulated as a post-colonial Islamic educational discourse from the 1940s to the 1990s and remains a much-debated topic today. Nevertheless, it gained world recognition after the first Islamisation of Knowledge conference was convened in Makkah in 1977 (Mabud, 2016b). In this light, the initial advocates of the 1977 integrative movement were Al-Attas (1980); Al-Faruqi (1982); Hashim (1996); Nasr (1996) and Rahman (1984), amongst others. On the other hand, Yaacob et al. (2014a) posit that the scholarly works of Al-Faruqi (1982); Al-Attas (1980); and Rahman (1984) made the most significant impact to conceptualise this integrative approach to Muslim education models. For instance, Al-Faruqi (1982) and Al-Attas (1980), perturbed by the malaise of the Muslim world (Hashim & Rossidy, 2000; Mtani, 2022), believed that Western education was neither value-free nor universal. In short, they believed that the root of the problem lay in the hegemonic influences of Western education philosophy over Islamic education (Matovu, 2020; Mtani, 2022). Hence, both argued for the renewal of Islamic education based on reintegrating the modern knowledge ideology with Islamic traditions (Hashim & Rossidy, 2000; Mtani, 2022).

Hashim and Rossidy (2000) explain that reintegration meant re-evaluating, realigning and recasting Western knowledge within the Islamic philosophy of knowledge. Mtani (2022) explains it as the technique that involves 'determining how newly acquired knowledge interacts with existing knowledge, how the old should be understood in light of the new, and how or the new should be updated in light of the old' (p. 6). In this way, Islamisation scholars intended to reorder data, re-evaluate the various disciplines' goals, and realign them to Islam. In other words, while Al-Attas and Faruqi acknowledged the importance of Western education for human agency, they believed that Islamic and Western knowledge must be integrated and remoulded within an Islamic philosophy of knowledge (Hashim & Rossidy, 2000). Further, Al-Faruqi (1987) and Attas and Ashraf (1979) considered *tawhid* (belief in the unity of God as creator and sustainer of the universe) as a unifying principle for reintegration to occur. However, their work plans for reintegration were dissimilar (Douglass & El-Moslimany, 2016).

For instance, Hashim and Rossidy (2000) explain that Al-Faruqi (1987) outlined a five-point work plan that includes mastering modern and Islamic sciences as a prerequisite to addressing Dualism and seeking ways of creating a synthesis between the Islamic and Western philosophies of knowledge. In this outline, he suggests mapping the relevance of each area of Islamic philosophy to modern knowledge as a prerequisite to synthesis and then recasting the Islamic philosophy of education to fulfil the divine plan of Allah.

Based on the above, Faruqi went a step further and spelt out appropriate steps to achieve the above work plan, entailing twelve steps they are (1) mastery of the modern disciplines, (2) surveying the modern discipline, (3) mastery of the Islamic traditions (anthology), (4) mastery of the Islamic legacy (analysis), (5) establishing the specific relevance of Islam to the modern disciplines, (5) critical assessment of the modem discipline, (7) critical assessment of the Islamic traditions, (8) survey of the Ummah's significant problems, (9) survey of the problems of humankind, (10) creative analyses and syntheses, (11) recasting the disciplines under the framework of Islam (the university textbook), (12) dissemination of Islamized knowledge (Hashim & Rossidy, 2000).

On the other hand, Al Attas projects a twofold model: firstly, he suggests isolating modern knowledge areas under the influence of the Western philosophy of knowledge. After that, he suggests filling this gap with concepts aligned with Islamic traditions (Hashim & Rossidy, 2000; Mabud, 2016b). Hashim and Rossidy (2000) postulate that he did not elaborate on a work plan as he envisaged that the subsequent steps would evolve as a natural process in those different contextual locations that demand different work processes. Hashim and Rossidy (2000) opine that both approaches complement each other; however, Al-Faruqi's work plan is much more elaborate.

On the other hand, researchers argue that Al-Attas has clarified reintegration better than Faruqi (Mabud, 2016b). In contrast, Rahman (1988) asserted that drawing maps and schemes would not achieve Islamisation, nor did he approve of laying down rules. On the contrary, he called for the Islamisation of minds in retrospect. Nonetheless, a combination of Attas and Faruqi's work plans and steps lays the foundation for the reintegration of modern knowledge, gaining traction and approval as an educational model in numerous Muslim and Western countries. Based on Islamisation literature, I argue that Muslim schools have embraced this ideology globally since the 1977 conference in Mecca and subsequently at the 1996 Islamisation of Knowledge conference as an approach to Islamic education (Dangor, 2014; Davids & Waghid, 2021). In this light, the movement has convened eight world education conferences (Sahin, 2018), and a dearth of research has either supported, modified, critiqued or outrightly rejected Islamisation (Mabud, 2016b).

For instance, Hashim and Rossidy (2000) state that Hoodboy and Abdus Salaam reject Islamisation's relevance. Similarly, Saada and Magadlah (2021) are critical of reintegration, alluding that Islamisation

natures a one-sided understanding of Islam, leading to blind following of figureheads and doctrine and, in the process, prevents the employment of helpful knowledge. Further, they conclude that it advocates social justice in power-play relationships. Accordingly, they claim that Islamisation can lead to exploitation by powerful groups to maintain hegemony and control. They cite such occurrences in the different periods of Islamic rule. They also claim it leads to a one-sided view of only Islam fostering a monopoly over salvation and heaven.

In addition, Sahin (2018) posits that an imagined glory of the past engulfs the Islamic world, preventing them from conceptualising current challenges. Furthermore, Sahin (2018) argues that the fear of others has put many Muslims in a regressive mode. Moreover, he argues that the Islamic educational crisis predates its encounter with the Western world. Therefore, adopting a reactionary stance will not solve its crisis. Rather renewal and reform must begin from within Islam itself.

Furthermore, Madani (2016) postulates that Euben's (2002) assessment of Islamisation proposed by Al-Faruqi (1987) has epistemological and methodological concerns. This view is supported by Niyozov and Memon (2011), calling for an appraisal of the epistemological and methodological approaches of the reintegration project in light of the inclusive critical reflexive dialogue between self and the other. Lahmar (2020) argues that having technical knowledge of Islam is insufficient. Accordingly, he argues that when learners couple this knowledge with critical reflexive interaction between Muslims and their Western counterparts, it produces holistic curriculum resources and Islamic knowledge in their appropriate contextual settings. In contrast, Davids and Waghid (2021) gives credit to the epistemological and methodological assumptions of the reintegration process. For instance, they assert that if implemented in the way Al-Attas (1980) and Al-Faruqi (1982) envisaged, the Islamisation of knowledge will bridge the gap between religious and Western sciences, leading to harmony between faith and science.

Regarding Muslim schools and reintegration, Davids and Waghid (2021) assert that a minimalist implementation of reintegration in Muslim schools is problematic and, thus, the root cause of the problem. Furthermore, Davids and Waghid (2021) argue that the overt reliance on memorisation and rote learning in Muslim schools ignores the learner's human agency needs. Therefore, they claim that it insufficiently prepares them to face everyday challenges in contemporary contexts. Several studies support this view (Hashim & Jemali, 2017; Othman et al., 2017). Davids and Waghid (2021) critique Muslim education models, not so much in the conceptualisation of reintegration but in its application. In support, Embong et al. (2013) warn that employing an external application of reintegration does more harm than good. In this light, they cite the erroneous trend among Muslim schools to offer a combination of Islamic and academic subjects and then label it integrated education.

Embong et al. (2013) posit that the ensuing confusion in Muslim schools is attributed to scholars and proponents of Muslim schools interpreting the philosophy, objectives, content and methodologies of the reintegration ideology according to their specific needs and goals (Othman et al., 2017). When looking at it from this angle, perhaps Sahin (2018) is justified when he asserts that despite a dearth of scholarship on Islamisation, defining the Muslim school field is inconsistent and erratic. Sahin (2018) further opines that Muslim schools erroneously confuse Islamic studies with Islamic education. While the latter combines the revealed and modern sciences (see discussion in section 3.2.2 above), the former, Sahin (2018), rightly qualifies as a product of the Eurocentric discourse of Orientalism.

Although scholars above have articulated different understandings and approaches to reintegration, Abdalla et al. (2018) and Lubis (2015) assert that they share a common focus: to nurture the learner's intellectual, spiritual, and material realms. Moreover, a dearth of literature shows that modern Muslim schools rely mainly on the Islamisation model to underpin Islamic education pedagogies. Generally, these models are grounded in producing a balanced individual anchored on an Islamic worldview. Thus, the Muslim educational response to Dualism, conceptualised in the 1977 conference and commonly referred to by researchers as the reintegration of modern knowledge ideology, gave rise to the modern integrated Muslim school approach (Davids, 2014; Embong et al., 2013).

Paradoxically, Muslim school scholars argue that they are far from emulating the work plans of Al-Faruqi (1982) and Al-Attas (1980). For instance, a study by Sahin (2018) postulates that the obstacles to reintegration in Muslim schools are pertinent. He advances that Muslim schools first blur the lines between Islamic education and Islamic studies. Secondly, they lack a rational educational hermeneutic tradition when appraising the past and present Islamic traditions regarding relevance for appropriate Muslim educational practices. Thirdly, empirical evidence is absent to guide future educational practices. Given Arabic's rise and decline as a case in point, I agree with Sahin (2018) that Muslim schools have a limited understanding of integrative education. Despite these blatant shortcomings, Muslim schools were still a novelty in the latter part of the 20th century (Davids, 2019). On this basis, I see this study's relevance in appraising the relevancy of the Arabic language as an essential part of the Muslim school approach.

For instance, the discussion above leads to the notion that Muslim schools have adopted reintegration to renew the Islamic educational pedagogies in their schools. However, they also show a latent deficiency in implementing the philosophy of reintegration in their schools (Sahin, 2018). Hence, this study aims to use Arabic as a Muslim school variable to confirm or reject this notion. In this light, we define the modern Muslim school approach as an educational pedagogy that promotes a Muslim school ethos that is grounded in the teaching and learning of Islamic traditions while at the same time striving to achieve academic excellence. Therefore, as an integral part of Islamic traditions, Arabic is pertinent.

In this light, the Islamic traditions were revealed, inspired and transmitted in Arabic, forming the basis of the fundamental doctrine of Islam (Hourani, 2013; Yahaya & Sani, 2022). Therefore, Muslims commonly view the Arabic language as inseparable from Islam (Al Allaq, 2007).

Hence, when this study defines the integrated Muslim school approach, we mean approaches since the 1977 Makkah and 1996 Cape Town conference, when the Association of Muslim Schools of South Africa (AMSSA) institutionalised Islamisation as an ideology to inform Muslim school ethos at the 1996 conference. Accordingly, Muslim schools agreed to transform their schools in line with the Islamisation ideals of the conference resolutions (Khan, 2006). In short, Muslim schools guided by AMSSA were to prototype academic school curriculum’s Islamisation, aiming to transform Muslim schools into Islamic educational institutions aligned with the Islamisation ideology as understood by (Al-Faruqi, 1987) and (Attas & Ashraf, 1979).

4.6 Chapter Conclusions

To conclude the discussion of Muslim education, the 1977 Islamisation Conference and seven conferences convened after that attempted to realign and renew Muslim educational approaches based on the integrative approach (Abdalla et al., 2018). Hence, Muslim schools worldwide and in South Africa promoted the integrative Muslim school approach. However, the extent to which Muslim schools integrate academics and Islamic traditions varies from school to school. Furthermore, recent local and abroad studies lead to the view that Muslim education is in crisis. For example, in a recent study, Stellenbosch University professors Davids and Waghid (2021) deliberated on this issue. This study aims to add to this body of knowledge by employing the rise and decline of FET Arabic as a variable to gauge the effectiveness of the integrated Muslim school approach in promoting a balance between academic education and Islamic traditions. Thus, viewing this study through the lens of the Muslim school approach is relevant.

Regarding the relevance of Bourdieu's cultural capital to this study, Bourdieu proposes that the values, perceptions, and attitudes (cultural capital) a child acquires in the home environment are reproduced in educational institutions and converted to educational attainment. Thus, through the lens of Bourdieu and Passeron’s (1979) reproduction of cultural capital theory, I explore to what extent learners are reproducing home culture into academic attainment, reflected in the academic subject choices of Muslim school learners. Moreover, if that is the case, how does the decline of Matric Arabic enrolment impact Muslim schools to promote a balance between academics and Islamic traditions?

Thus, when applying the Arabic language as a variable of the Muslim school approach to test this model, I propose that the ethos of learners as a proxy for cultural capital accumulated and transmitted in the

Muslim home and ideally validated as the outcome of a balanced approach between academics and Islamic sciences.

Chapter Five

Research Design and Methodology

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters, I interrogated the literature on the rise and decline of Arabic in Sub-Saharan and KwaZulu-Natal's Muslim schools. After that, I identified Bourdieu and Passeron's (1979) reproduction of cultural capital theory as the most appropriate theoretical framework to guide this study.

This chapter adopts an interpretive paradigm as the study's philosophical framework and discusses the paradigmatic dispositions that underpin this paradigm. After that, the research design, including the research questions, research setting and researcher bias, is discussed; next, I explain the site, the recruitment process, the participants, and the ethical considerations that influenced data generation. Lastly, I detail the instruments employed and stages in data generation, analysis, trustworthiness, limitations, and study delimitations.

5.2 Paradigmatic Disposition

Scotland (2012) states that researchers' paradigmatic dispositions to conduct educational research are one of three major research paradigms: scientific, interpretive, and critical, underpinned by the philosophical assumptions of ontology, epistemology, methodology, and methods.

Regarding the paradigmatic dispositions of this study, ontology refers to our beliefs about reality, mainly whether single or multiple realities exist. Correspondingly, epistemology is the process through which this reality is understood, premised on the assumption that the researcher's beliefs, assumptions, and worldview are crucial to interpreting reality (Rehman & Alharthi, 2016). Congruently, research methodology entails how to go about discovering this realty. In other words, how are the data generation and interpretation components structured to validate the findings and conclusions? In this regard, I drew on Crotty and Crotty (1998), who asked four essential questions. What philosophical stance or paradigm informs the methodology? What epistemology will inform the research paradigm? What methodology is employed, and what methods will be used? These four themes will form the crux of this chapter and will be broken down into smaller units to detail the paradigmatic disposition and research design that guides this study.

5.2.1 Social Contructivism/Interpretivism

As mentioned earlier, the interpretive paradigm was deemed the most appropriate because it allows the researcher to view the world through the participant's perception and experience of the phenomena, adopting the view that participants socially construct reality (Thanh & Thanh, 2015; Walsham, 1993). Thus, I considered the participant's experiences as the subjective reality of the natural world (Bradshaw et al., 2017; Walsham, 1993; Willis, 1995). Accordingly, researchers stress an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon to analyse the relationship between the related constructs in the field (Ridder, 2017; Walsham, 1993). In contrast to scientific assumptions, in the interpretive paradigm, there is no right or wrong, no objective reality discovered by researchers and replicated by others (Benz et al., 2008). Instead, knowledge is regarded as fluid and changing, jointly constructed by the researcher and the participant by seeking common patterns of meaning (Grbich, 2012; Owen, 2014). Therefore, considering that the scientific paradigm assumes that reality exists independently of humans (Rehman & Alharthi, 2016), I did not consider it.

On the other hand, critical theorists believe that the researcher is an active facilitator or instigator of change (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). I believe that this is a preliminary study that requires understanding and explanation. My position was not to facilitate change but to understand and explain the phenomenon (Patton, 2002). Hence, the critical paradigm was also ruled out. Additionally, the interpretive paradigm enabled me to set aside my research bias about the topic under investigation by accurately describing the participants' lived experiences (Chan, Fung, & Chien, 2013; Merriam, 2009).

In short, I assumed that reality is multiple and socially constructed compared to a single reality independent of humans. Therefore, I considered the interpretive paradigm most appropriate to explore eight Arabic language teachers' and principals' views and perceptions in four selected Muslim schools. In this sense, I engaged the participants to understand and explain the rise and decline of FET Arabic, particularly learners' academic subject choices over Arabic, and how these choices impact the holistic implementation of balancing academic subjects with Islamic traditions.

5.2.2 Methodological Assumptions

This study employs a qualitative case study design that supports an inductive and deductive approach, focusing on what social practices the participants create and what meaning these practices have in the context of the Muslim school approach (Foley & Timonen, 2015; Reeves & Hedberg, 2003). Accordingly, it involves conducting an in-depth study of a phenomenon (Dworkin, 2012; Ezzy, 2013).

5.3 Research Design

Having clarified the paradigmatic dispositions that underpin this study, I now outline the research design components of this study. Yin (2017) stresses that every empirical research must have an implicit, if not explicit, research design to connect the study's research questions to the empirical evidence and its conclusions. Therefore, based on Maxwell's (2012) recommendations, in the following sections, I present a step-by-step guide highlighting the critical design issues that create a coherent and workable relationship among the design components of this study.

5.3.1 A Case Study

Regarding design components, a case study was deemed most appropriate. One of the most prolific case study writers is Merriam (1988), and drawing from Merriam (1988), Brown (2008) explains that the most salient feature of a case study is to limit the study to a single unit or entity. In this regard, Heale and Twycross (2018) allude that a case study method is beneficial when intending an in-depth understanding of a research problem in the context of a phenomenon. Mohajan (2018) describes the case as the problem and the context as the issues and lessons learnt. In this study, the case is the rise and decline of the Arabic language within the context of the Muslim school approach from its inception as a school subject in 1975. Therefore, the rationale was to understand and explain the case, aiming to highlight issues and draw lessons.

Additionally, Runeson and Höst (2009) influenced my case study choice, asserting that the case study method was historically employed for exploratory research. In this light, I employed a historical understanding to explain the case since the arrival of migrant Muslims to the research site from 1860 to 1910. Moreover, Merriam's (1988) case study approach supports a theoretical and ideological framework to guide the definition of the problem. Thus, to bolster my theoretical framework, I employed the ideological framework of the Muslim school approach by sampling the case and the participants within the case (Brown, 2008).

5.3.2 Research Questions

5.2.1 What factors contribute to the rise and decline of FET Arabic enrolment in the selected Muslim schools in KwaZulu-Natal?

5.2.2. Why do learners' academic subject choices over FET Arabic lead to declining FET Arabic enrolment in the selected Muslim schools?

5.2.3. How do learners' academic subject choices over FET Arabic challenge the selected Muslim schools to implement a balanced approach between academic subjects and Islamic traditions?

5.2.4. How can the selected Muslim schools overcome the challenges of this rise and decline?

5.4 Research background

I conducted this case study in KwaZulu-Natal, one of the nine provinces of South Africa, the adopted home of Indian migrants who arrived between 1860 and 1910 to work as indentured labourers. In Chapters 1 and 3, I provided a detailed background of their transportation, struggle for permanent residency and educational choices. Regarding educational choices, Chapters 1 and 3 also highlighted that their Islamic traditions and educational ethos played a vital role in adopting the Muslim school approach in 1947, resulting in the Arabic language becoming an official South African school subject in 1975 (Jeppie, 2011).

5.4.1 Researcher Bias

Given my close association with the research site, I deem it necessary to declare my research bias. I align with the viewpoint that advocates for Muslim schools to promote FET Arabic as an integrative subject for religious, social, cultural, economic, and academic reasons.

Pannucci and Wilkins (2010) define bias as a systemic error of selecting one outcome over the other. On the other hand, Galdas (2017) views it as a distortion of the results. Nevertheless, Chenail (2011) postulates that researchers are instruments for data generation. As a result, they are susceptible to researcher bias, which threatens trustworthiness. On the other hand, Roulston and Shelton (2015) assert that researchers can manage bias by applying rigorous data generation methods, analysis and reporting. In this regard, I consider myself an integral part of this study and its final product (Galdas, 2017). Therefore, to maintain this study's rigour, quality, and validity, I have endeavoured to be transparent, critical, and self-reflective of my preconceived notions, relationship dynamics and analytic focus in collecting, analysing, and presenting the data. In section 5.7 that follows, I gave a detailed description of how I have achieved this. In addition, another kind of bias is human error, affecting the study's validity. To avoid this, I conducted a pilot study to test the quality of the study (Chenail, 2011).

5.5 The Recruitment Process

5.5.1 The Participants

The participants were four Principals and four Arabic language teachers drawn from four Independent Muslim schools within a radius of 150 kilometres of the city of Durban in the KwaZulu-Natal Province in South Africa, bringing the total number of participants to eight.

I employed inclusion and exclusion criteria to select the participants. For example, all the participating principals and Arabic teachers must have served for at least 20 years in a Muslim school so that they could reflect on the challenges and opportunities of implementing Arabic. Furthermore, the participating school should have a history of offering Arabic as a FET subject for at least 20 years. Therefore, not every school or principal was selected unless they met the above criteria. According to AMS (2021), only five Muslim schools have fielded FET Arabic learners for the past five years. One of the five schools has been excluded because the principal was recently promoted to principal. Furthermore, the Arabic teacher was unavailable due to COVID-related reasons.

5.5.2 Ethical Considerations

Arabic is an exceedingly accepted Muslim language (Rifai & Sandy, 2019). As a liturgical language (Bishop, 1998), Muslims employ it for Qur'an recitations in their five daily prayers, including supplications and socio-cultural sacraments (Rifai & Sandy, 2019). Consequently, from a young age, Muslim parents teach their children to recite the Arabic Qur'an and understand relevant verses and chapters for instruction and conforming purposes or when a person reverts to Islam (Fafunwa, 2018; Sardar, 2017). For these reasons, Arabic is integral to a Muslim's life. In this vein, the early migrants to South Africa played a vociferous role in promoting the Arabic language in the research site.

Given the above, this study infers that the decline of FET Arabic teaching and learning in Muslim schools is problematic. This insinuation might sound offensive to those managing Muslim schools. However, I am considered an insider, located as a senior Arabic teacher in Muslim schools for almost twenty years. Therefore, I consider my insider position to explore the rise and decline of FET Arabic in Muslim schools as opportune.

Regarding my insider status, Edwards (2002) considers the insider a privileged status, and Nzembayie (2017) considers it a pragmatic design choice for understanding the phenomenon. On the other hand, Toy-Cronin (2018) explain that insider information can be fraught with challenges. In this light, Hurley (1999) alludes that closeness to the research site predisposes the researcher to bias. Nevertheless, he qualifies that the final effector is rigour in the verification and validation procedure to establish the

quality of the analysis (Hurley, 1999). Further, Arber (2006) claims that inside experts have a greater degree of acceptability within their communities or circles. However, the subject is susceptible, especially considering a recent article by Stellenbosch University researcher Davids (2021). In her research article, she alluded that Muslim schools in South Africa have become increasingly distinguished as isolated institutions perpetuating the practices of Apartheid in terms of exclusivity to the Indian and Malay communities. As a result, she questioned Muslim schools' utility in preparing their learners for interaction with the broader multicultural, pluralistic society. Her article sparked disagreement among the Muslim school community. In a Radio Islam interview, Ebrahim Ansur and Abdulla Sujee representing AMS contended that her article painted a general picture that was not the reality in numerous Muslim schools (Ravat S, 2021).

For this reason, I made every effort to meet with principals, board members and stakeholders in Muslim schools to explain the study and allay any fears of malicious intentions. Because of these continuous discussions and positive encouragement from numerous Muslim school stakeholders, those contacted echoed that the study was long overdue. Therefore, I am confident that dealing with negative religious and cultural sensitivity instances will not put any participant or school in a compromised position.

Informed consent was obtained from the participants to maintain anonymity and confidentiality using pseudonyms (Ketefian, 2015). However, Coffelt (2017) states that it is not easy to maintain anonymity when exploring a research problem that is publicly displayed. In this light, the research problem was the focus of discussion at several meetings, conferences, and community forums in recent and past times.

Wiles et al. (2006) assert that researchers must report on their findings, which can sometimes reveal the participant's anonymity. However, Arifin (2018) posits that any research study must protect participants by appropriate ethical principles. Hence, while acknowledging that protecting anonymity may pose challenges with information dissemination (Tilley & Woodthorpe, 2011), I made every endeavour not to disclose identifiable information that would lead to the identification of the research participant.

5.6 Data Generation Methods

I employed three data generation methods: thematic and content analysis of interviews, content analysis of reports and narrative review analysis of historical literature documents.

5.6.1 Content Analysis of Reports

The documents I analysed were reports published by AMS, unpublished workshop reports, information obtained on the AMS website, and statistics obtained directly from AMS.

Hsieh and Shannon (2005) identified three types of content analysis: conventional, direct, and summative. Conventional analysis employs an inductive approach, allowing the categories to flow from the data. On the other hand, direct analysis is deductive, validates existing theory and knowledge, and employs a pre-existing framework to code the data. In comparison, latent analysis refers to interpreting that focuses on uncovering underlying meaning.

I employed direct content analysis, mainly using reports to validate existing knowledge by comparing and confirming evidence. In this vein, Hsieh and Shannon (2005) explain that researchers are challenged to manage research bias due to the evidence being supportive instead of non-supportive. However, I managed this bias by being self-reflective and maintaining an audit trail described in section 5.7.6. In general, I adhered to the coding scheme in section 5.7.2.1 below. However, instead of developing matrices, I immersed myself in the data as a first process using intuition. I continuously went back and forth to the data, comparing, analysing, and checking whether the parts matched the whole, commonly called the hermeneutic circle (Erlingsson & Brysiewicz, 2017).

5.6.2 Narrative Review Analysis of Literature

Boote and Beile (2005) explain that probing the existing research improves our collective understanding of what needs to be done. Perhaps, for this reason, Ojermark (2007) asserts that the historical narrative approach enables the researcher to explore the relationships between cause and effect and agency and structure. For these reasons, I employed narrative literature review analysis to complement the empirical evidence, adding value to it by synthesising the findings with the literature analysis. Ferrari (2015) defines the non-systematic or narrative review as 'identifying and summarizing what has been previously published, avoiding duplications, and seeking new study areas not yet addressed' (p. 230). In this vein, in responding to the research questions, literature review analysis was a perfect tool for theory building and providing policy guidelines (Juntunen & Lehenkari, 2021).

Snyder (2019) identifies three types of literature review analysis: meta-physical, narrative and integrative. While metaphysical is employed when there are many studies to explain a hypothesis, narrative analysis is helpful to put together different topics for reinterpretation and interconnection. Conversely, integration is to critically analyse the literature by pulling together information to explain the phenomena.

While I used all three types, I mainly relied on the semi-systemic narrative research strategy to overview the research documents and track the phenomenon over the colonial, Apartheid, and post-Apartheid timelines. The sample characteristics were research articles, PhD and master's theses, and books from the South African, sub-Saharan, Western diaspora, and Malay Archipelago research space.

The analysis was qualitative, and the contribution was comparing the research phenomena in different settings to collate all the available information to complement the findings and compare research phenomena. Additionally, I relied on this method to build my conceptual framework. In this regard, Juntunen and Lehenkari (2021) explain the utility of narrative review analysis as 'sequential steps to collect, know, comprehend, apply, analyse, synthesize, and evaluate quality literature to provide a firm foundation to a topic and research method' (p. 1).

Secondly, narrative review analysis was proper to identify a theoretical framework and build a conceptual framework to bind the study. Regarding the conceptual framework, the narrative method enabled me to evaluate, compare and select the most appropriate theory to support the findings. Further, by analysing the research documents, I framed the study within the Muslim school approach as a model of Bourdieus' reproduction of cultural capital theory. In this way, I clearly defined the field so the reader could interpret the assumptions underpinning this study.

Further, I employed a framework by Ferrari (2015) that suggested an effective searching strategy that relied on databases, keywords, and Inclusion/exclusion criteria based on my study and different periods. The framework verified the availability of the selected studies, which I retrieved, including citing and listing the references.

Additionally, I discussed and evaluated the data in response to the research questions. After that, I summarised each data set concerning the research query, followed by a conclusion. I highlighted the main points that connected each summarised section with the research objectives. I repeated this for every document until I developed a thick description of the salient points that enabled me to tell a story that interconnected the research questions, literature review, conceptual framework and findings.

5.6.3 Thematic and Content Analysis of Interviews

I employed a semi-structured open-ended interview method to generate a thick description of the data. Owen (2014) defines methods as researcher techniques and processes to generate and explain data related to a research question or hypothesis. Qualitative methods include document analysis, questionnaires, statistical analysis, focus groups and interviews (Gill et al., 2008). Semi-structured interviews were most appropriate for this study. As for semi-structured open-ended interviews, their usefulness lies in their flexibility to obtain specific information across cases using an interview protocol (Knox & Burkard, 2009). Furthermore, because of my prior insight into the research site, research problem, and participants, semi-structured interviews enabled me to develop a research protocol that probed the participants and clarified emerging ideas to explain the phenomenon clearly (Gill et al., 2008).

Thus, face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted using an open-ended method. All the participants were asked the same questions. If there was a need to follow a lead during the interviewing process, I subtly prompted the participant or requested clarification when necessary. As I progressed from participant to participant, the questions fielded were refined to improve the interview process by substituting one word for another or altering the order of the questions. The logic behind refining the questions was to improve the interview process and to ensure clarity (Small, 2009). I remained a passive listener most of the time, allowing the participants to speak uninterruptedly. However, when the participant drifted off the topic, I interjected and refocused the discussion on the study. Further questions were asked to follow additional information pertinent to the phenomenon. Also, data analysis paralleled the data generation process, resulting in an emerging theoretical and conceptual framework to elucidate the relationship between emerging concepts and categories that explained the rise and decline of FET Arabic enrolment in Muslim schools.

All the interviews were conducted for one to one and a half hours and took place on school premises, in closed office spaces with little or no disturbances or disruptions, except for an odd incoming call. It was common for the participant to answer the call and resume the interview after apologising to the caller. A week before the interview, I consistently sent each participant an e-mail or made direct telephone calls to confirm the interview by prior arrangement. This process was followed by forwarding an e-copy of the study's interview guide containing the research title, a summary of the study, and the research questions. Where necessary, I followed that up with a direct telephone call explaining the purpose of the study, or a face-to-face meeting was held with the participant to explain the purpose of the study. Therefore, before the interview, all participants were well-informed about the focus and purpose of the study. In addition, before commencing the recorded interview, I routinely created a preliminary discussion about the study to ensure that the participants understood the focus and purpose of the study.

5.6.3.1 Sampling

The study employed a purposeful sampling technique. Palinkas et al. (2015b) explain that purposeful sampling obtains information-rich cases with limited resources. Furthermore, the technique enabled me to target well-informed and experienced participants willing to articulate their experiences reflexively about the phenomenon (Creswell & Clark, 2017). On the other hand, random sampling would have reduced the potential for bias. However, due to the low number of schools employing a FET Arabic program and for the practical purposes discussed above, purposeful sampling was the best option to achieve the research objectives.

5.6.3.2 Transcription of Interviews

Transcription refers to reproducing the participant's exact words in written form (Halcomb & Davidson, 2006). All interviews were voice recorded with the participant's permission and later orthographically transcribed (Braun & Clarke, 2012a). In addition, all participants appended their signatures on the participant accent form. The transcription process is discussed below.

5.6.3.3 Coding

The core idea of coding is that keywords, phrases, mnemonics, or numbers are indexed/tagged so that codes are assigned to text segments (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In addition, I also drew from the following techniques:

1. Putting data into different arrays.
2. A matric of categories.
3. Data display (flowcharts)
4. Tabulating the complexities of such tabulations.
5. Exploring the complexities of such tabulations.
6. Categorising information into chronological order

Regarding Microsoft Word document matrices, I used this technique extensively by putting data into different arrays to identify and observe common categories.

5.7 Semi-structured Interview Data Analysis

In sections 5.6.1 and 5.6.2, I described the first two data generation methods. This section outlines semi-structured open-ended interviews as a third data generation method using content and thematic analysis to make sense of the interview data.

Thematic analysis is essentially a method for identifying and analysing patterns in qualitative data (Clarke & Braun, 2013; Terry et al., 2017). Merton (1975) first named it as an approach in the 1970s (Clarke & Braun, 2013; Dusi, 2022). Accordingly, Braun and Clarke (2006) and Nowell et al. (2017) explain that it is a method for identifying, analysing, organising, describing, and reporting themes within a data set. Additionally, to better understand and implement (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2012a, 2019, 2021) six-phase approach, I relied on the studies of Nowell et al. (2017); Kiger and Varpio (2020); Moser and Korstjens (2018) and Maguire and Delahunt (2017) in the different levels of analysis below.

As for content analysis, research studies describe it as an analysis method to transform several forms of data, including transcribed interview transcripts reports, artefacts, photographs, videos, websites, and

e-mail correspondence into textual format (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Erlingsson & Brysiewicz, 2017; Vaismoradi et al., 2016a). I focused on textual analysis using reports and transcribed interview texts. Therefore, I define the unit analysis as chunks of data that align with this study's research questions and conceptual framework.

Content analysis can be employed both manifestly and latently. Generally, I employed manifest content analysis inductively and latent content analysis deductively. Elo and Kyngäs (2008) explain that inductive and deductive content and thematic analysis entail preparation, organising and reporting. Kleinheksel et al. (2020) describe this process as the 'abstraction of data, at each step of the analysis, from the manifest and literal content to latent meanings' (p. 94).

Regarding manifest content analysis, Kleinheksel et al. (2020) explain that it assists researchers in employing their lived experiences to describe a dynamic reality of what is visible and apparent. On the other hand, they describe latent content analysis as a higher abstraction level to collate categories into themes. In addition to the scholars mentioned above, I drew from the seven-step process of describing the data analysis in the first five steps, forming the general analysis, followed by the last two specific steps of interpreting and reporting (Creswell, 2014, 2021). Similarly, (Yin, 2015) gives a complete process of breaking and rebuilding the data into concepts, categories and topics. In short, I combined the above approaches with the six-phase approach of Braun and Clarke (2006) listed below to form the framework of this study's content and thematic data analysis:

Phase 1: familiarisation with data.

Phase 2: breaking the data into initial codes.

Phase 3: searching for themes.

Phase 4: reviewing defining the themes.

Phase 5: Analysis and discussion of themes

Phase 6: producing the report.

5.7.1 The First Phase – Familiarisation with Data

In the first phase, I assembled and transcribed the interviews (Yin 2011) onto a single-column word document (Matric 1) using a word-for-word and line-by-line transcription process. Each participant was assigned a separate matric. Care was taken to carefully include all field notes, such as memoing and observations recorded during the open-ended interviews (Creswell, 2014, 2021). Braun and Clarke (2012a) do not recommend cleaning up the data in thematic analysis. However, in line with content analysis, I cleaned up the data by condensing sentences to remove any cognitive burden and verbal ticks

(e.g., ' Well umh…). Nevertheless, I adhered to Kleinheksel et al. (2020) recommendation of cleaning the data provided the original meaning is maintained. Thus, the first phase of compiling sought to achieve some order so that the finished compilation resembled a database (Yin, 2011).

Thus, I completed the first phase by listening to the voice recordings multiple times to verify accuracy and familiarise myself with the data (Vaismoradi et al., 2013). I also made notes on each participant during the transcribing phase. Vaismoradi et al. (2013) explain that researchers must get close to the data through immersion. Thus, through immersion, I contemplated possible codes, themes, and emerging concepts instead of viewing transcription as a simple clerical task (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Halcomb & Davidson, 2006; Nowell et al., 2017). In line with Nowell et al. (2017), I began to speculate possible meanings and patterns even at this stage. However, they also encourage researchers to be vigilant and reflective of their pre-existing thoughts, perspectives, and beliefs to ensure trustworthiness.

Nevertheless, I only began the second phase once I became familiar with the data. Braun and Clarke (2006) and Nowell et al. (2017) explain that during this phase, the researcher should have a clear idea of what is in the data and what is interesting about them. Hence, observations were recorded on each participant via a Word document journal. I began to develop an audit trail from the initial stages of the analysis process. Section 5.7.6 below gives a detailed description of how I maintained an audit trail.

At this stage, I divided the data into two sets of principals and teachers so that I could work with each dataset independently. However, during this phase, I transcribed the data of all the participants.

5.7.2 The Second Phase – Breaking the Data into Initial Codes

5.7.2.1 Outlining the Coding Scheme

Firstly, I employed a combination of inductive and deductive content and thematic analysis. Inductive as I developed an inductive coding scheme based on the actual data. Moser and Korstjens (2018) explain that this occurs when the researcher immerses in the data to develop open codes into categories and themes. Deductive as I drew on the scholarship of the integrated Muslim school approach as a model of educational attainment. Thus, I broadly interpreted the data within the Islamic educational paradigm as an ideological framework compared to the Western educational paradigm detailed in the conceptual framework chapter.

Secondly, I did not employ line-by-line coding; instead, in line with content analysis, I coded segments (unit analysis) of the data relevant to the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2012b). Maguire and Delahunt (2017) explain that coding segments of the data are beneficial when employing specific research questions. Kiger and Varpio (2020) also support this approach, explaining that this phase must

generate the initial codes (labels) corresponding to the data segments reflecting the study's research question and focus.

Thirdly, due to financial constraints, I did not use computer-assisted software applications to code the data; instead, I manually developed it. I relied extensively on Microsoft Word document matrices to develop codes into categories and themes. Maguire and Delahunt (2017) and Moser and Korstjens (2018) believe that Microsoft Word and Excel are excellent tools for initiating open coding and developing them into categories and themes.

Fourthly, I employed the comparative method in line with content and thematic analysis. Kiger and Varpio (2020) explain that themes do not just emerge from the data. Instead, researchers develop them by organising, combining and comparing the codes. Vaismoradi et al. (2016b) state that comparing data within a single piece of data or across the data set enables the researcher to 'revise codes, detect negative cases and connect codes to delineate themes' (p. 105). They further suggest comparing as an iterative process to suggest emerging themes. However, Elo and Kyngäs (2008) warn that during coding, several exciting points may detract the researcher from the purpose of the study. Therefore, they caution that focusing on the research questions is paramount in selecting appropriate units of analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2012b; Kiger & Varpio, 2020; Moser & Korstjens, 2018; Roulston, 2014).

Roulston (2014) also explains the comparative method as reflecting on the perceptions, thoughts, and assumptions behind the participants' views. Therefore, I began to ask questions like why the participant mentioned these issues or recalled particular developments (Braun & Clarke, 2012b, 2019). I also queried the purpose of mentioning these issues or developments or what the participant intended to achieve by articulating specific details relating to the research question (Moser & Korstjens, 2018). Researchers suggest repeating this process several times as a process of trial and error to ensure that the data on the left-hand side of the matric was broken down into relevant unit analysis on the right-hand side of the simple two-dimensional matric. In addition, they suggest labelling the unit analysis into conceptual or topic labels (Creswell, 2014, 2021).

I divided the participants into two groups: Principals and Arabic teachers. I used the Principals as the pilot group to develop the initial coding scheme and then applied them to the teacher's data set as an iterative process during the coding (Kiger & Varpio, 2020). Further, I developed this scheme on two principals I believed presented a thick description of the data and then applied them to the rest of the principals to see the difference (Simon et al., 2006). These processes were helpful as they revealed negative instances. For example, when the coding scheme was applied to teachers, it at times augmented and at other times produced varied reasons for the rise and decline of Arabic. Thus, it contributed to making the narrative thicker.

Additionally, the teachers' data set added more codes to the principals' data set, refining it further. Thus, developing the pilot coding scheme on the principal data set and then applying it to the Arabic teachers' data set increased the credibility of the coding process. Additionally, they confirmed that the codes were based on the research questions and the conceptual framework underpinning this study. Thus, it helped to reduce researcher bias. Lastly, Marshall (1996) explains that during the interpretation of the data, it is vital to consider subjects who support emerging explanations and, perhaps more importantly, subjects who disagree - confirming and disconfirming samples.

5.7.2.2 Generating the Initial Codes

In line with the above coding scheme, I began the coding process by transforming the single-word document matric, developed in phase one, into a simple two-dimensional Word document matric for each participant (Matric 2). First, the transcribed data was assembled on the left-hand column. Then, in line with content analysis, only texts (unit analysis) relevant to the research questions and objectives were extracted from the data source and placed on the right-hand column of the matric adjacent to the original data source. The main aim of this phase was to break the data on the left by meticulously extracting the unit analysis from the data and assigning a code to it on the right-hand column.

Thus, by the end of this phase, I produced four two-dimensional matrices with the personal data of the participant on the left-hand side of the matric and the extracted data (unit analysis) reflecting the emerging conceptual codes assembled adjacent to it on the right-hand side of it. Furthermore, the unit analysis was labelled to reflect the participant's perceptions, thoughts, and assumptions (Kiger & Varpio, 2020; Maguire & Delahunt, 2017; Moser & Korstjens, 2018).

Additionally, to make sense of the data, I assigned matching colour codes to the initial codes and their corresponding data to ensure that the concepts and topics were easily identifiable within the data source. Hence, every code had a corresponding colour code to the source data on the left-hand column. At this stage, no specific colour-coding system was developed. Instead, I distinguished between the codes by alternating the colour-coding label and data match. Then, the process was repeated for each participant on a separate two-dimensional matric.

Hence, by the end of this phase, I produced a simple two-dimensional Word document matric for each of the four principals. I repeated the same process for the Four Arabic language teachers. The matric represented the data on the left and codes on the right-hand side. The coded unit analysis and its matching data source were also matched with colour codes.

5.7.3 The Third Phase - Searching for Emerging Themes and Categories

Braun and Clarke (2006) and Nowell et al. (2017) explain that this phase begins when data has been labelled and collated, and a list of codes can be identified across the data set. Braun and Clarke (2006) further explain that this phase entails sorting and collating all matching codes into emerging categories and themes. Moreover, they state that in the same way, bricks are the essential elements of a house, and then codes are the essential elements of thematic analysis.

I attempted to achieve the following during this phase: first, to assemble all four principal's codes onto a single four-dimensional matric. Second, to count the number of times the same codes appeared across the participants, a high degree of repetition meant that participants reflected the same thoughts. Third, organising, combining, merging, and collating similar labels into an emerging theme or category.

5.7.3.1 Merging the Codes into Emerging Themes or Categories

Clarke and Braun (2013) explain that themes do not come from the data, but researchers intuitively derive them from codes. Thus, guided by the coding scheme outlined in phase two, the research questions, and the conceptual framework (Yin, 2011), I assembled the codes developed in the previous phase onto a four-column matric (Matric Three).

I developed Matric 3 with the coded unit analysis of the four participating principals side-by-side in separate columns. The arrangement of the labels enabled me to glean the data and cross-analyse it. However, before the process of cross-analysis, I began to organise, combine, and compare the initial codes of each column separately, searching for similarities. Then, by matching concepts and topics, co-related codes were bunched on the same line and reduced to a single category. This process reduced the codes by almost half, representing an emerging level-one theme or category (Yin, 2011).

I repeated this process separately for each of the four principals. Whenever I merged two more codes in a single column, I ensured the original code was collated below the emerging theme or category for later reassembly and relabelling.

Next, I began to merge and collate across the data set. I employed a pilot participant method by purposely beginning this merging and collating process with the principal that presented the richest data. Then I moved to the second. While merging and collating between Principal One and Principal Two, I continuously reflected on the emerging themes developed in the pilot column, organising, comparing, and merging, often reviewing and renaming the level one theme in column one. While working with columns one and two, I also reflected on the data in columns three and four, and thus, similar codes were compressed into a single category. Eventually, via an iterative process, I assembled

the codes by organising, merging, and collating similar codes into emerging themes in columns one, two, three, and four concurrently. I repeated this process several times, searching for further similarities between the two categories until similar emerging themes were reduced to a redefined level-one theme.

Secondly, I counted the occurrence of the theme among the participants. A high degree of collusion was noted if the theme appeared in all four participants. Secondly, I counted the number of times the same code appeared across the participants for a single theme. For example, *Social Mobility* as a theme appeared unanimously in all four participants. Secondly, I noticed many codes under this theme for each participant. Thus, I identified it early as a significant theme.

Thirdly, once a level one theme was identified, it was colour-coded to represent that category, and a single colour-coded label was assigned. This way, diverse topics (initial codes) were categorised and coded with a specific colour representing a unified theme. In short, initial codes were by processes of identifying similarities, compression and matching reduced to emerging themes and categories, represented in the table below:

Table 5.1

Emerging Themes and Categories

Challenges	**Opportunities**
1. Social mobility (human agency) **Categories** - **the Arabic language as a means of boosting the quality of learner's promotion mark** - **educational mobility and learners' Arabic** - **subject choice dilemma** - **university admission, careers, and social mobility**	**6. Creating an Islamic heritage based on the Islamic traditions** **Categories** - **the role of Arabic as a significant component of the Islamic traditions** - **Arabic as a vehicle to understand the Qur'an** - **Arabic as a means of creating a well-balanced human being**
2. The Arabic language as an integrated Muslim school subject **categories** - **the rising period-the Honeymoon period** - **the declining period- the post-honeymoon period**	**7. The Arabic language as a means of creating a well-balanced individual**

3. **FET Arabic vs Qur'anic Arabic** **categories** - **interrogating the utility of FET Arabic in Muslim Schools.** - **realigning the outcomes of the Arabic language program at Muslim Schools**	8. **The reasons parents send their children to Muslim schools**
4. **revision of the Arabic curriculum depending on the focus** **categories** - **analysis of Arabic learners and schools participating in the grade 12 Matric exams from 2008 to 2021** - **KwaZulu-Natal enrolment average per Four-Year Period** - **analysing learner enrolment in matric exam per school 2008-2021** - **reviewing FET Arabic Enrolment for Muslim Schools 2008-2021**	9. **A balance between academic education and Islamic traditions** **categories** - **the role of parents in promoting the Arabic language in Muslim schools** - **the role of principals and board of governors in promoting Arabic** - **the role of the Association of Muslim Schools in promoting the Arabic language**
5. **subject choices in grade ten**	10. **The utility of the Muslim school approach**

5.7.3.2 Reassembling and Colour-Coding the Data on the Participant's Matric

By the end of this phase, I had identified ten emerging themes under two categories of challenges and opportunities, represented in Table 5.1. Care was taken to meticulously collate the initial code label under the emerging theme so that the label could be identified and relabelled on the original transcript of the participant. Relabelling was an iterative process that I diligently performed throughout the coding process. Thus, by quickly scrolling down the four columned Matric 3, I identified each participant's emerging theme with the initial codes collated below.

Additionally, the emerging level one theme was colour-coded with a specific colour. Thus, the emerging themes were ready for reassembly on Matric 2, where I converted the initial codes into the newly developed themes. The reassembly of the emerging themes entailed relabeling the initial codes (unit analysis) to the newly developed emerging theme. The emerging themes above corresponded to at least one, two or multiple labels (unit analysis) on the personalised participant Matric 2. The emerging category on the right-hand matric was also colour-matched with its corresponding data segment that captured the category. During the reassembly, the two-dimensional participant matric was reformulated into a well-organised colour-coded system representing the emerging themes on the right column and its data segment on the left column.

I engaged with the principal's data set during the initial coding process. Once I obtained conceptual clarity in the codes, I duplicated the same processes with the teachers' data set. My initial observation was that frequency code saturation was achieved by working with this data set. In other words, after engaging with the principal's data set, I believe with some clarity that the emerging themes identified in Table 5.1 best answer the research questions. However, Hennink et al. (2017) explain that the criteria used to judge saturation were the frequency and richness of data. Thus, when I applied the emerging themes to the teachers' data set, I found distinct levels of congruency and variation in the story during the relabelling process.

Furthermore, while the theme told the same story in the teachers' data set, their reasons were similar and varied, sometimes producing negative instances. These different variations in the data contributed to its richness and told a compelling story. Thus, complete saturation was only achieved once the emerging themes were applied to the teachers' data set. Thus, coding was applied to the principal data sets and converted to categories and emerging themes. These categories and themes were then deductively applied to the teachers' data set to achieve congruency in the categories and themes.

5.7.4 The Fourth Phase – Reviewing, Defining and Organising Emerging Themes around a Central Concept.

In the previous phase, the emerging themes and related categories were identified. This phase entailed reviewing emerging themes. At the beginning of this phase, Terry et al. (2017) call this phase reviewing the 'candidate themes', meaning themes may be promoted or discarded. At this stage, explaining the notion of a theme is prudent. Drawing from Braun and Clarke (2012b, p 63), numerous researchers assert that a theme represents the essence of the data concerning the research questions, representing 'some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set' (Castleberry & Nolen, 2018; Dawadi, 2020; Tyler & Abetz, 2022).

Furthermore, in content and thematic analysis, scholars recommend that themes be bound by a central concept or topic that organises or underpins it (Braun et al., 2016; Terry et al., 2017; Vaismoradi et al., 2016a). For example, Terry et al. (2017) explain that a central organising concept synchronises the themes to tell a story about the research questions. In this light, early in the data analysis process, I identified two contrasting data categories of challenges and opportunities. They are the challenges and opportunities of implementing and teaching FET Arabic in selected Muslim schools. Based on the challenges and opportunities, I further defined, organised and underpinned the emerging themes deductively by drawing on the scholarship of the integrative Muslim school approach and the reproduction of the cultural capital theory of Bourdieu and Passeron (1979). Further, I reviewed, defined, labelled, and organised the themes to align with the study's critical research questions. A

detailed discussion of the processes employed to organise and review the emerging themes into the five central themes that form the analysis and discussion in Chapters 6 and 7 is illustrated in Figures 6.1 and 7.1 in Chapters 6 and 7, respectively.

5.7.5 The Analysis and Discussion of Themes and Subthemes

In the previous phases, I built a complex thematic data analysis to refine the codes into themes by creating a narrative around the research questions to connect the various themes (Braun & Clarke, 2021). To further enhance the findings, I substantiated these findings with content analysis of the transcripts and reports. Additionally, I complimented the findings by interconnecting them with narrative literature analysis in Chapters 6 and 7. Thus, Chapter 6 analyses and discusses the challenges of implementing FET Arabic in selected Muslim schools, while Chapter 7 analyses and discusses the opportunities of teaching FET Arabic in selected Muslim schools. Then, I concluded the findings, interrogating critiques and recommendations for implementing FET Arabic in Muslim schools in chapter eight.

5.7.6 Trustworthiness

Guba and Lincoln (1985) describe trustworthiness in qualitative studies as credibility, dependability, conformability and transferability. O Elo et al. (2014) further unpack trustworthiness as the process of preparing, organising and reporting data. Morrow (2005) explains that credibility means communicating what we have done to others. Some methods of ensuring credibility are participant checks, thick descriptions, prolonged engagement with the research site, negative analysis, researcher reflexivity (Morrow, 2005), and triangulation (Shenton, 2004). There are many triangulation methods, like triangulation of sources, sites or methods (Gunawan, 2015). By employing a combination of content and thematic analysis to analyse the interviews, the aim was to increase the credibility of the interview data analysis process (Vaismoradi et al., 2013). The credibility was further enhanced by triangulation of sources and methods, by complementing the analysis of interviews with the content analysis of the reports, and the narrative review analysis of research documents.

Second, Elo et al. (2014) explain that employing appropriate data generation methods and techniques is vital to establishing trustworthiness. One of the techniques I employed to ensure trustworthiness is purposeful sampling. In line with the methodology and topic, purposeful sampling was used to target participants who can articulate their rich experiences. Furthermore, it assisted me in remaining focussed on the analysis unit and obtaining thick descriptions of the research problem. Furthermore, the sample size was appropriate to obtain saturation of data.

Third, to improve the credibility of the data, I spent the time-consuming task of repeatedly going back to the data to ensure that the unit analysis was in line with the research aims and questions. Further, to increase comprehensibility and improve coding, I followed an iterative process of reading and rereading the data multiple times. In addition, I used member checks to ensure congruency among the participants in the selection unit of analysis.

Fourth, to establish confirmability, an audit trail was established to document all phases adequately. Memos and notes added to the credibility of this technique. For example, I established a repository of raw data in electronic archives by maintaining an audit trail of the source (e.g., participant code, type/name of document or meeting) and the date created initially. Thus, raw data were stored in a central repository (a secure network location with folders for each type of raw data) and archived with dates to provide an audit trail and a means of confirming our data analysis and interpretations for adequacy. In addition, regarding conformability as objectivity, I presented the findings as actual quotations to ensure that the findings reflected the participants' voices. In addition, narrative literature analysis was employed to show the interconnection between the findings, the data, and the research questions. Furthermore, I interrogated the categories to ensure that there were no similarities in the context, hence ensuring that a complete understanding of the context was achieved.

Fifth, a complete description of the coding process was given. Thus, the thick description of the context and techniques I employed indicates a high possibility of transferability. Finally, the report was structured systematically to show the relationship between the data and the report. For example, I presented a descriptive analysis of the findings before discussing them in Chapters 7 and 8. Additionally, the findings were presented vividly to ensure themes were highlighted adequately using tables, figures and graphs to explain the categorisation process. Thus, the context and the techniques I employed indicate the possibility that the results are transferable to other groups while being dependable.

Sixth, comparing principals' and teachers' datasets created numerous negative instances of the data. Principals reflected on the phenomenon from a planning, policy, and cost-effective paradigm, while teachers were the implementers seeking maximum output. This contrast created numerous negative instances and plausible alternative explanations, reported in the findings, and helped to create a thick narrative and improve the study's rigour (Anney, 2014).

Lastly, being an insider meant that I had pre-knowledge of the phenomenon. However, to counter researcher bias, I maintained a self-reflective attitude. For instance, I asked whether I manipulated the participants while conducting the pilot studies. Was the line of questioning too broad? I maintained this attitude throughout the preparation, organising, and reporting stages to ensure the processes were not manipulated.

5.7.7 Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

This study has one delimitation and two limitations. Regarding the delimitation, the study's findings may not be generalised to other contexts because it is a case study. However, the goal was to understand from teachers and principals why Muslim school learners selected academic subjects over Arabic and how the declining FET Arabic enrolment impacted the selected Muslim schools to implement a balanced approach between Islamic traditions and the academic sciences. Furthermore, while this study highlights that this decline is a national problem, Muslim school communities in other provinces have different socioeconomic dynamics. Therefore, the reasons for this decline could be different.

The first limitation of this study is researcher bias. Galdas (2017) suggests that to maintain the study's rigour, quality, and validity, the researcher must be transparent, critical, and self-reflective on his preconceived notions, relationship dynamics and analytic focus in collecting, analysing, and presenting the data. Given the above, my values and outlook towards Arabic could influence the research site. Nevertheless, I took the utmost care to be emotionally detached from the research site and participants by maintaining social and emotional distance from them (Greene, 2014). However, I also took cognisance of the view of Luciani et al. (2019) that the researcher's social location, personal experiences, professional knowledge, and political beliefs are integral to the quality control of the research process.

The second limitation of this study is my insider status. Shenton (2004) alludes that the closeness of the researcher to the research site may prevent participants from freely articulating ideas and experiences that would pit them against the school's management. To avert this, at the beginning of the interview process, I assured participants that as part of good ethics, I did not have the liberty to divulge any information that may implicate the participant. Furthermore, I assured the participant that during my research write-up, I would use a pseudonym to refer to the participant to protect the participant's identity.

Chapter Six

Analysis and Discussion

The Challenges of Implementing FET Arabic in the Selected Muslim Schools

6.1 Introduction

As detailed in the methodology chapter and depicted in Figure 6.1 below, I explored the relationship between several themes and categories grouped under two central themes of challenges and opportunities. Together, they formed a lucid and meaningful picture to tell a story by elucidating the factors contributing to the rise and decline of Arabic in the selected Muslim schools. However, due to the voluminous nature of the data, the analysis and discussion of these two central themes are presented in two separate chapters. Thus, Chapter 6 presents the challenges of implementing FET Arabic in the selected Muslim schools, and Chapter 7 presents the opportunities for teaching and learning Arabic in the selected Muslim schools.

Concerning the challenges, the findings are analysed and discussed within the framework of Muslim schools as integrated providers of academic education, Islamic traditions and Bourdieu and Passeron's (1979) reproduction of cultural capital theory, responding to the first three research questions, namely:

6.1.1 What factors contribute to the rise and decline of FET Arabic enrolment in the selected Muslim schools in KwaZulu-Natal?

6.1.2. Why do learners' academic subject choices over FET Arabic lead to declining FET Arabic enrolment in the selected Muslim schools?

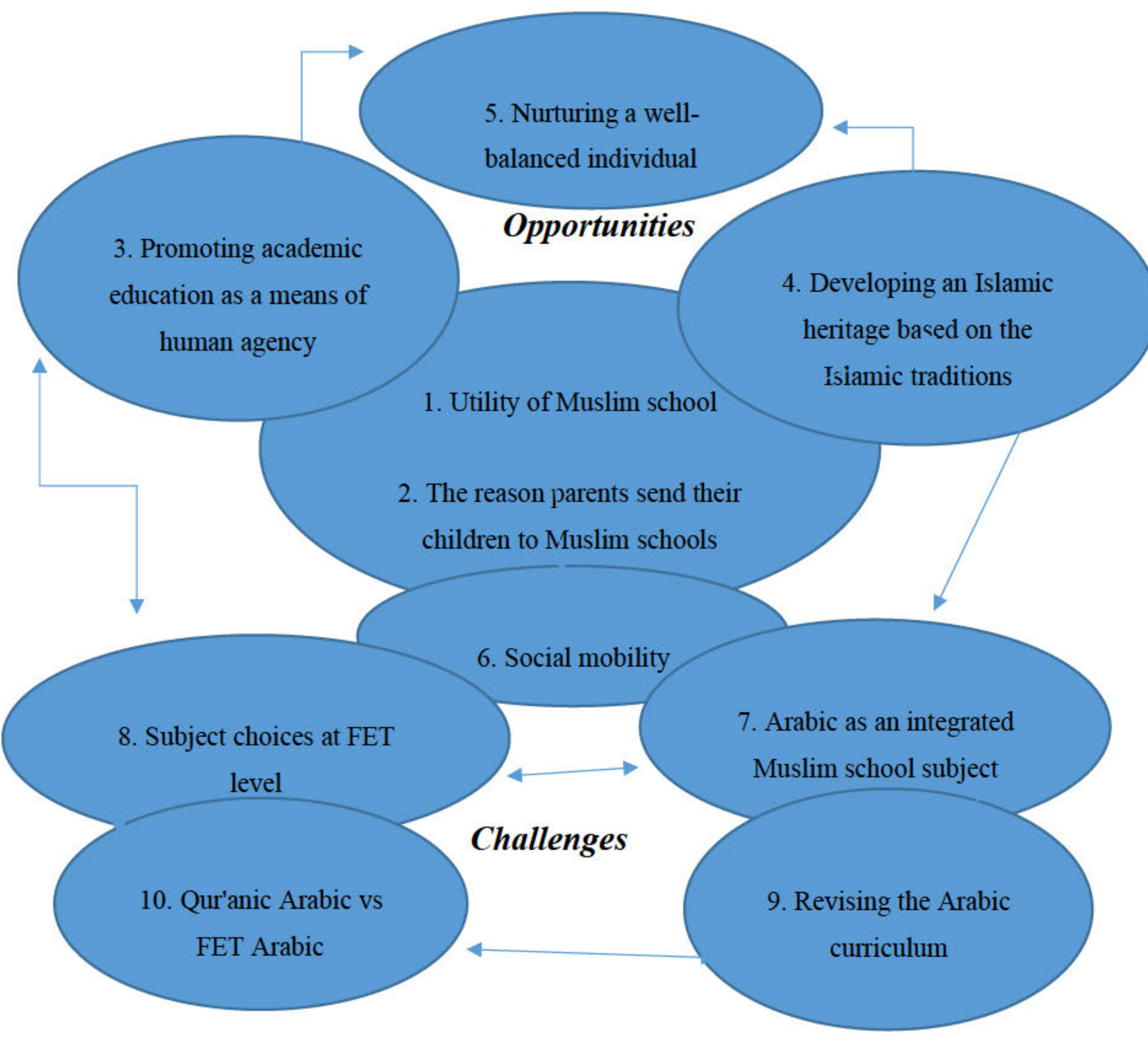
6..3. How do learners' academic subject choices over FET Arabic challenge the selected Muslim schools to implement a balanced approach between academic subjects and Islamic traditions?

As a result, the findings are defined, considered, and interpreted deductively to show how they manifested in response to this study's critical research questions and the research background, leading to suggestions, implications, and recommendations.

The five main themes of the challenges depicted in Figure 6.1 below formed the crux of the challenges. However, they were further refined, in line with the research questions, into three main themes to guide the analysis and discussion of the findings in this chapter. They are the rise and decline of Arabic, learners' academic subject choices over FET Arabic and other factors that caused the decline in FET Arabic enrolment.

Figure 6.1

Challenges and Opportunities



6.2 The Rise and Decline of Arabic

Regarding the rise of Arabic, the literature section established that it began in the Apartheid period (1975-1994) when Arabic was taught mainly in segregated public schools, state-aided Muslim schools, and a few Independent Muslim schools. However, the post-Apartheid legislature reconfigured Arabic learning and teaching spaces. For instance, desegregation, the abrogation of state-aided Muslim schools, and an unprecedented increase in Independent Muslim schools resulted in the migration of Arabic to Independent Muslim schools (see Chapter 3, section 3.5 for a detailed discussion).

In line with the above, and congruent with this study's focus on exploring the rise and decline of FET Arabic in Muslim schools, this section delimits the evaluation and interpretation of the findings to

Arabic's migration to Independent Muslim schools corresponding to the post-apartheid period. Meanwhile, Chapter 3 explains that Arabic's rise was significant during the Apartheid period (1975-1994). Congruent to this rise, this section deals with factors contributing to FET Arabic being a widespread Muslim school subject from 1994 to 2007.

6.2.1 The Arabic Language, a Popular Muslim Schools Subject (1994-2007)

'Initially [1994-2007], there was great excitement about the Arabic language, especially when the subject was part of the mainstream curriculum…So, there was a considerable demand for the Arabic language.' (Principal 1)

The findings indicate that from 1994 to 2007, all the participating Muslim schools featured the Arabic language as an integrated Muslim school subject. As a result, Arabic was a popular subject in KwaZulu-Natal's Muslim schools. Also, this period coincided with the implementation of the outcomes-based syllabus called Curriculum (2005), which stipulated six compulsory subjects at the FET level, paving the way for numerous Muslim schools to offer Arabic as a seventh additional subject from 1994 to 2007. With this in mind, this section responds mainly to the rise of Arabic in research question one: what factors contribute to the rise and decline of Arabic enrolment as an elective subject at the FET level?

Regarding the rise of Arabic, Principal 4 explained the status of FET Arabic at School A in this period:

In fact, in the earlier days [1994-2007], you only needed six subjects at the matric level (FET). For example, at School A, we made Arabic compulsory in the FET phase. Learners took six subjects, and Arabic was compulsory, so they did it as their seventh subject.

Similarly, Principal 1 affirmed that Arabic was not only a popular subject amongst learners during this period but also part of the mainstream curriculum at School B:

Initially [1994-2007], there was a great deal of excitement about Arabic, especially when the subject was part and parcel of the mainstream curriculum; in this case, learners who took Arabic in matric invariably got outstanding results in the matric exam. So, there was a considerable demand for the Arabic language.

Likewise, Principal 2 stated that learners showed a similar passion for the Arabic language at School D:

Our first matriculants here at School D were in 2002. Out of the 12 students in that class, 11 had taken Arabic. One was a new student from another school with no [Arabic] background. So, we did not compel him to do it.

Teacher 3 also described a similar situation at School C, with the Arabic language being part of the mainstream curriculum from as early as 1994:

From 1994, Arabic was a core subject at our school and being a Muslim school, it made sense to prefer the language of the Qur'an, Fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence), and Tafsir (exegesis of the Qur'an). So, our then HoD of Islamic studies, Moulana Abdur Rahim Khan (may Allah protect him), made the Arabic language part of our syllabus from grades one to twelve.

The above finding indicates that all the participating Muslim schools regarded Arabic as a core language of the mainstream curriculum, suggesting that it was a significant component of the integrated Muslim school approach. They imply that Muslim schools teach Arabic because of its utility in nurturing an Islamic ethos in their learners. Thus, the finding aligns with this study's conceptual framework, which defines a Muslim school as promoting an Islamic ethos rooted in Islamic traditions while striving for academic excellence. I probed the data further, searching for the reasons behind the popularity of the Arabic language from 1994 to 2007.

The probing of the findings indicated that learners obtained excellent grades in Arabic, which motivated them to take a keen interest in the Arabic language, implying that it was a win-win situation for the learners and Muslim schools. For the learners, it bettered their chances of being accepted at a tertiary faculty of their choice, and for the school, it improved its overall aggregate pass mark.

However, Principal 1 was concerned that learners selected Arabic only because it boosted their matric pass marks:

At School B, for example, on average, if ten learners took Arabic, at least six or seven would get distinctions, and the others would get B's. So, there was a demand for Arabic. However, perhaps for the wrong reason: these bright learners took Arabic as a seventh or eighth subject. However, maybe it is wrong to ascribe why they took the subject.

The above finding suggests that Muslim schools promoted Arabic as a component of Islamic traditions to foster an Islamic ethos. However, learners, on the other hand, employed Arabic to boost their aggregate, implying that learners viewed Arabic more for its academic utility than for its Islamic value of fostering an Islamic ethos.

Principal 1 goes on to describe the mindset of learners at School B towards Arabic:

Many learners took Arabic in the early years [1994-2007]. The motivation was to get a good matric pass to enhance their aggregate. So, it was a matter of expedience rather than intrinsic motivation, not because they wanted to study Arabic. We may be wrong. On the other hand, a

percentage of learners took the subject for the right reason. Perhaps to improve their understanding of the Qur'an and converse in Arabic.

On the one hand, Principal 1 acknowledged that some learners selected Arabic to foster an Islamic ethos by understanding sacred texts. However, on the other hand, he strongly felt that its academic utility was more prominent than its Islamic utility.

This view is apparent in his statement below:

The numbers speak for themselves. The factor that drove many learners to take Arabic in the old days was the allure of an A symbol, of getting 5% or two or 3% more in their matric aggregate.

In line with the above, Principal 4 described a similar scenario at School A:

There was a time when universities had no qualms about accepting the Arabic language as a school subject. Moreover, they gave learners credit for additional subjects. So, we took advantage of the opportunity. Why let it go? We grabbed it because Arabic contributed to the matric results and university admission.

Principal 4 is explicit that learners viewed Arabic as a subject that boosted their matric results. This finding suggests that Arabic's academic utility was more prominent than its Islamic utility of promoting an Islamic ethos. Further, they align with the findings of learners from School B above.

Similarly, at School C, the Arabic language was also viewed in terms of its utility in boosting the learner's marks. Principal 3 confirmed this view in the following statement:

When the learner is aspiring for a top position in the district or nationally, the department will select the best six subjects, excluding Life Orientation; Arabic can be one of the six subjects. The same applies to university admission.

The above finding further endorses the view that the academic utility of Arabic during this period was overwhelming. Likewise, School D further confirmed these findings below.

Principal 2 expressed the following:

It is more about academics in grades ten, eleven, and twelve. It is a question of symbols, grades and gaining entry to university studies; they are not concerned about Arabic's Dini (religious) value.

Thus, the findings suggest that All four Muslim schools promoted Arabic as a component of Islamic traditions to foster an Islamic ethos. However, learners, on the other hand, employed Arabic to boost

their aggregate, implying that learners viewed Arabic more for its academic utility than its Islamic utility of fostering an Islamic ethos.

The findings above confirm that Arabic was a widespread integrated subject in Muslim schools. The three to four hundred learners who sat for the matric exam during this period support this notion. Again, these are estimated values without the availability of statistics from the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education. However, at least three participants in this study corroborated this estimate.

For example, Principal 4 corroborated these figures when the researcher suggested these numbers during the interview:

So, we had 90 learners from School A, one school contributing to the numbers you gave 300.

Likewise, Teacher 1 also endorsed the above figures. Although he mentioned a much larger number, the testimony of Teacher 1 is significant as he was a senior Arabic teacher and matric marker during the 1994-2007 period. While he corroborated the above-estimated figures, he also sarcastically alluded to the drastic decline in FET Arabic enrolment in the following statement:

So currently, KwaZulu-Natal has 20 learners sitting for the matric exams [2020]. Compare this to when we had almost 400 learners sitting for the matric exams.

These figures are further corroborated by Principal 3 in the following statement:

We are looking at 300 learners in 2008 and 20 learners in 2020. So, something has gone wrong.

Moreover, these figures align with a study by Jeppie (2011). In his research, 'The Arabic Study Circles Role in Promoting the Arabic Language in KwaZulu-Natal,' he mentions 300 learners sitting for the matric exams by 1987. Medar's (1987) study further shows that more than 70% of Arabic learners were from KwaZulu-Natal. The above prompted me to term this period the Honeymoon Phase (1994-2007).

To conclude this section, the findings above show that, despite the selected Muslim schools promoting Arabic as an integrated Muslim school subject, learners in the participating Muslim schools selected the Arabic language to boost their matric aggregate. Thus, the findings suggest that while some learners selected Arabic for its utility to nurture an Islamic ethos, the majority were motivated by its academic utility. Moreover, the findings align with Bourdieu's postulations that educational institutions are the reproduction sites of cultural capital accumulated in the home and converted into educational attainment at educational institutions (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979). Seemingly, learners were transmuting home culture that emphasised occupational mobility. Thus, the motivation behind subject choices was a vociferous home culture that primed learners towards occupational and social mobility. Perhaps, for

this reason, learners focussed on the academic utility of Arabic instead of its Islamic value of fostering an Islamic ethos.

Notwithstanding the above, the overall implications were that Muslim schools promoted Arabic as an integrated Muslim school subject at the FET level.

6.3 The Impact of Learners' Academic Subject Choices over FET Arabic

While the above findings show that Arabic was a popular integrated Muslim school subject from 1994-2007), in contrast, the findings in this section show a conflicting picture, particularly in the post-2007 period. Therefore, this section deals mainly with Arabic's decline at the FET level and the role of learners' subject choices in this decline. Accordingly, it would be apt to explain how the participating Muslim schools locate Arabic as a subject choice when learners choose their elective subjects at the grade ten level.

With the promulgation of the NCS curriculum in 2006, learners at the FET level (grades 10, 11 and 12) must take a minimum of seven subjects. Learners take these seven subjects at the grade 10 level and continue with them in grades 11 and 12. Four of these seven subjects are mandatory, and the remaining three are electives. Muslim schools offer English (Home Language), Afrikaans (First Additional Language), Mathematics or Maths Literacy and Life Orientation as the four mandatory subjects (E. Ansur, personal communication, March 30, 2021). As far as the elective subjects are concerned, the four participating Muslim schools mainly offer the following subjects: Arabic (Second Additional Language), Physical Science, Life Sciences (Biology), Geography, Business Studies, Accountancy and Engineering Graphic Design (Y. Karodia, personal communication, March 31, 2021). As a result, a Muslim school will offer six or seven streams of subjects rooted in three subject choices. Essentially, a single-subject choice embeds two streams (paired subjects). However, learners can only select one subject from each paired subject choice. A typical Muslim school offers the following choices: Physical Science or Business Studies, Accounting or Geography, and Life Sciences or Arabic. According to Y. Karodia, numerous Muslim schools pair Arabic with Life Sciences, Accountancy and sometimes Geography (Personal communication, March 31, 2021).

Given the above background on Muslim schools' subject choices, the subthemes that outline this section are as follows: subject choices, careers, and the marginalisation of the Arabic language; the declining FET Arabic enrolment leads to the de-emphasis of the integrated Muslim school approach; parent aspirations vs the integrated approach; the incompatibility of Arabic as an additional eighth subject outside the school timetable; Arabic an additional eighth subject, a burdensome subject.

6.3.1 Subject Choices, Careers, and the Marginalisation of the Arabic Language

'This craziness of secular education above Arabic is prominent among the youth. To the extent that learners believe that if they do not attend university, there is no scope for themselves.' (Teacher 4)

The findings in this section show that participants in this study were of the overwhelming view that learners' grade ten academic subject choices were motivated by their career choices. They suggest that learners at the FET level employed their academic subject choices as a conduit to tertiary education. Consequently, the findings imply that learners' desire for educational attainment contributed to the weak uptake of Arabic at the FET level. Thus, the finding in this section responds to the second part of research question one: what factors contribute to the decline of Arabic enrolment as an elective subject at the FET level? Further, in line with question two: why do learners' academic subject choices at the FET level contribute to the declining Arabic enrolment?

Regarding the declining Arabic enrolment at the FET level, Principal 3 expressed the following:

The response from learners is generally feeble. For example, in grade nine, hardly anyone wants to learn the Arabic language.

Principal 1 indicated that a similar situation is prevailing at School B:

When the learner gets to grade nine, many learners switch off, except those interested in learning Arabic and have an intrinsic motivation or their parents sufficiently motivate them.

Likewise, Teacher 1 confirmed a similar situation at School A:

We have already surveyed Arabic at School A to determine why learners do not want to take it. The demand for academic subjects has increased, so the Arabic language is declining.

Likewise, Principal 2 corroborated the above findings by describing a similar scenario at School D:

In grade nine, the school educates learners about the value of the different subjects, and even when informed about the Arabic language, few learners want to do it. Some of the fears that learners express relate to how Arabic will benefit their future studies and careers. In addition, they probably see it as a Deeni (religious) subject.

Statistics provided in (AMS, 2021) further support the findings above. The report confirms that since 2008 there has been a gradual decline in FET Arabic enrolment (see Table 6.1 below). The 2008 matric enrolment reflects the subject choices of the 2006 grade ten learners, corresponding to the first matric cohort that wrote the revised NSC curriculum.

Table 6.1

The Gradual Decline of Matric Arabic Enrolment since 2008

2008-2011 (NCS)	**2012-2015 (CAPS)**	**2016-2019 (CAPS)**	**2020-2021 (CAPS)**
85 learners	57 learners	32 learners	15 learners
(Average number of learners)	(Average number of learners)	(Average number of learners)	(Average number of learners)

Note, adapted from the AMS report on the health of Arabic in Independent Muslim schools (2021)

Regarding the causes of this decline, participants in this study were of the overwhelming view that once learners entered grade 10, they were predominantly preoccupied with their career choices, motivated by the desire to go to university. For instance, when the researcher probed Teacher 2 on the reasons for the declining enrolment of Arabic as an elective subject, she summed up the discussion in the following words:

Because of the entire outlook of careers in learners' minds when choosing subjects in grade 10, they focus on Science, Technology and Maths.

She further added:

So, speaking specifically about School B, the problem is that parents and learners focus on results in the matric exam.

Because of the above, Teacher 4 described the desire for educational attainment as a craze that has engulfed the youth:

This craziness of secular education above Arabic is prominent among the youth. To the extent that learners believe that if they do not attend university, there is no scope for themselves.

Given the above, Teacher 4 further described how the desire for educational attainment impacted the Arabic language:

There is much pressure on learners to go to university and choose a vocation. The desire to go to university streamlines their minds to think there is no future if they do not become a doctor, a chartered accountant, or something in their life. Therefore, they do not see Arabic contributing to their careers.

The participants in this study unanimously endorsed the findings that once learners entered grade 10, they were predominantly preoccupied with their career choices, motivated by the desire to go to university, suggesting that they viewed academic subject choices as a passport to go to university.

On the other hand, Principal 3 offers an alternative perspective to the educational attainment aspirations of learners. He posits that the desire to pursue tertiary education is perhaps the aftereffect of post-Apartheid transformation from a disproportionate apartheid schooling system to equal education for all. To this effect, McKeever (2017) explains that schools were set up mainly for whites in the early part of the 20th century, with little provision for non-whites. This view is supported by Vahed and Waetjen (2015), explaining that apart from the community self-help projects funded by the elite among the Indian community, government provision for schooling up to 1970 was sparse and disjointed. For instance, by 1949, 84% of all Indian schooling was community self-help initiatives (Vahed et al., 2010).

Research shows that the post-Apartheid government promulgated numerous legislatures and policies to redress past discrepancies and provide equal education for all (Chisholm, 2012; Jansen & Taylor, 2003; Motala, 2020). Considering the above, Principal 3 advanced that the governments' provision for education post-apartheid is inclusive, and seemingly, Muslim school learners are taking advantage of them. He expressed this view in the following words:

We are looking at the transition of people who, in the past, dropped out of primary school to stay at home. Now, the desire to pursue tertiary education has raised the bar. Now, learners want to develop themselves and must look long-term when choosing subjects. So, this may have also impacted why Arabic has declined as a subject.

The findings above suggest that post-apartheid inclusive educational opportunities have resulted in better opportunities for Muslim school learners to advance their careers than in Apartheid. However, they also imply that focusing on academic subject choices at the FET level had a cause-and-reaction effect on Arabic's uptake. That is, Muslim school learners' pursuit of tertiary education had a causal effect on the decline of the FET Arabic enrolment.

Principal 4 corroborated the above findings in the following statement:

For many, the focus is mainly on grades 10, 11 and 12, the bachelor's pass and getting into university. Therefore, they do not choose Arabic. They are saying, sir: 'We are unsure whether we want to do Architecture or Chartered Accountancy. So, we are keeping Accounting or Engineering Graphic Design.' However, no one says that we think Arabic is essential for our career choices.

Related to the above, Principal 3 further supported the finding that the desire for tertiary education had a causal effect on the declining FET Arabic enrolment:

No parent will explicitly say they do not want their child to learn Arabic, but they may qualify that their child wants to do BCom accounting; therefore, they cannot do Arabic.

Furthermore, Principal 2 also concurred with the above finding:

Sometimes, the subject itself is not in line with their career. So, although they like Arabic, they cannot take it because [They] are opting for another subject for their career.

Not surprisingly, Principal 1 also endorsed the finding that the career choices of learners are relegating the Arabic language in the statement below:

They could have taken the Arabic language as an elective subject. However, any child who wants to do medicine will want to do Life Science rather than Arabic. Likewise, a learner wanting to do accounting will take Accountancy or Economics rather than Arabic.

To conclude, all the participating schools revealed similar patterns. The marginalisation of Arabic as an elective subject is related to learners focusing on their careers. In other words, learners at the FET level were driven by the desire for tertiary educational attainment. They imply that the declining Arabic enrolment results from learners selecting academic subjects over the Arabic language in the FET phase.

The above finding emphasising home culture as a significant cultivator of learners' cultural capital aligns with Bourdieu's Cultural Capital Theory, which posits that home-prepped cultural capital significantly influences learners' educational outlook towards social mobility. In this case, I argue that the learners' Bourdieuan home culture reflects their academic subject choices. While learners' Islamic home culture significantly preps them, the findings indicate that learners' academic culture motivated by social mobility is much more significant. A case in point is learners' academic subject choices over Arabic at the FET level, resulting in a low FET Arabic enrolment.

Furthermore, the focus of learners and parents on careers and educational mobility is not recent; instead, it has a historical trajectory in the educational attainment aspirations of early migrant Muslims. Therefore, I argue that the findings are firstly in line with the historical educational attainment aspirations of the early migrant Muslims and their subsequent educational brokerage with the Colonial (1862-1910), Union (1910-1948), and Apartheid (1948-1994) rule. Secondly, it is congruent with the equal education opportunities South Africans experienced during the post-apartheid period (post-1994).

Historically, the Muslim population of KwaZulu-Natal formed part of the migrant Indian population that arrived in the port city of Durban between 1860 and 1911 in two streams: indentured labourers and free passengers. As discussed in Chapter 2, this migrant Muslim cohort relentlessly advocated educational and social mobility (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015).

For instance, Vahed and Waetjen (2015) posit that more than 60% of indentured labourers opted to remain behind, hoping to improve their social mobility status. Many took up market gardening, hawking, and fishing, while others worked as labour hands (Vahed et al., 2010). However, the period

between the First and Second World Wars witnessed the rapid urbanisation of Indians in the city centres. These events align with McKeever (2017), who asserts that by 1948, industry replaced mining and agriculture as the largest employer of labour. The above also ties in with G. Vahed's (2010) and G. Vahed & Waetjen's (2015) studies, showing that Durban's Indian population swelled from 17 015 in 1911 to 123 165 in 1948 (Lal & Vahed, 2013), creating a massive demand for education. However, the government's response to education was sparse and disjointed (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015).

Regarding the educational aspirations of Indians during colonial rule, Vahed and Waetjen (2015) explain that from the beginning of the 20th century, the Hindu and Muslim elite of KwaZulu-Natal brokered with the government to establish numerous self-help educational institutions. For example, they established the Durban Educational College (1913) and Sastri College (1930). To complement these self-help initiatives, the Muslim elite of KwaZulu-Natal established five Muslim state-aided Muslim schools between 1947 and 1959. They built schools to educate their children when government provisions were sparse to promote their occupational and social mobility opportunities (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Adam's (2004) study further strengthens this notion by asserting that the early Muslims in KwaZulu-Natal realised that education was a formidable means to counter the educational inequalities, restrictions and discrimination that migrant Indians were experiencing in KwaZulu-Natal. Thus, the Muslim elite's self-initiated educational projects align with the view that educational attainment predicts better labour market opportunities (Eldridge Moses et al., 2017).

For instance, research shows that before establishing the self-help state-aided schools, many Hindu and Muslim elite sent their children abroad for school and tertiary education, mainly to India and England. A remarkable example is the 1946 agreement concluded by Sorabjee Rustomjee, a prominent Parsi merchant, with the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland. Vahed (2010) explains that the agreement facilitated the studies of numerous South African Indian doctors at this college. However, studies abroad were available to a select few. Thus, to make tertiary education inclusive, the Hindu and Muslim elite partnered with the Apartheid state to establish the University of Durban Westville in 1971 (Johnson, 2022; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). In short, these initiatives further endorse the notion that historically, migrant Indians employed educational attainment to improve their social mobility.

Regarding the educational aspirations of Indians during Apartheid, the Apartheid government introduced compulsory schooling for Indians in the early seventies, and research shows a continuation of this relentless desire for educational mobility. For example, Eldridge Moses et al.'s (2017) calculation of Louw, van Der Berg, and Yu's (2006) statistics show a sharp spike in Indian matriculation attainment after the 1980s (see Figure 6.4 below). Louw, van Der Berg, and Yu (2006) demonstrate that Indians born shortly before 1980 paralleled white matric pass rate attainment of more than 80%. Furthermore, the study shows that by 2001, Indians were achieving the most rapid matric attainment among all race groups, suggesting that Indian parents were much more focused on attaining educational attainment

than any other race group. I argue that this is not surprising as it is congruent to the educational attainment aspirations of the earlier migrant Indian community described above.

Moreover, this section's findings also correlate with the post-apartheid legislation for equal educational opportunities. For instance, Davids (2014) alludes that Muslims took advantage of the South African School Act 84 of 1996 to establish independent Muslim schools, resulting in the proliferation of the Muslim school approach in the post-apartheid period (Dangor, 2014; Davids, 2014, 2019; Khan, 2006; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Research studies show that this was a strategic move by Muslim parents to counter the numerous ills besetting public schools, like ill-discipline, crowded classrooms, drop in standards and racial profiling (Davids, 2014; Fataar, 2003; Niehaus, 2008). While critical of Muslim schools, Tayob (2011) acknowledges the right to ensure quality education and religious freedom. However, he questions whether the proliferation of Muslim schools perpetuates apartheid policies regarding cultural exclusivity. Gumede and Mohautse (2016) support him, asserting that the unintended post-apartheid legislature favoured educational attainment opportunities among previously advantaged communities, thus perpetuating apartheid socio-economic tendencies.

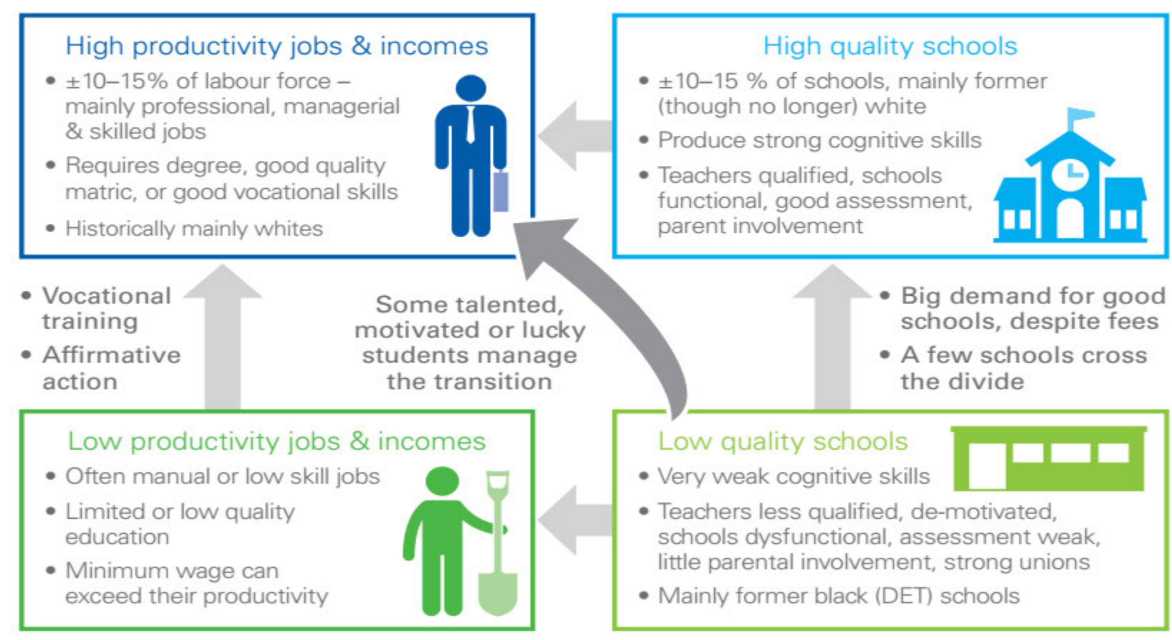
Regarding the unintended ramifications of the post-Apartheid legislature, a dearth of studies show that despite being intended for the majority previously disenfranchised black community, it benefits historically white model C and independent schools. To this effect, a convincing amount of researchers demonstrate that the post-apartheid educational transformation and curriculum reform policies have bifurcated the schooling system into two streams of poor-performing schools and well-functioning schools (Jansen & Taylor, 2003; Linda, 2012; Mouton et al., 2013; Spaull, 2015; Van der Berg et al., 2011). Eldridge Moses et al. (2017) posit that historically coloured and black schools are performing poorly, while historically white and Indian public and independent schools are well-performing. I argue that by locating themselves within the cohort of well-performing independent schools, Muslim schools are advantaging the educational attainment opportunities of their learners.

I argue that the well-performing status of Muslim schools enhances learners' academic subject choices. Therefore, they correlate with the findings that once learners enter grade ten, their career choices motivate their subject choices. They suggest that learners at the FET level were employing the advantage of attending well-performing Muslim schools to advance their tertiary attainment aspirations.

To substantiate that well-performing schools help learners attain educational attainment, I draw on the conceptual models of Van der Berg cited in Eldridge Moses et al. (2017) and Nic Spaull (2015). Van der Berg's model below focuses on the discrepancies between well-performing and low-performing schools regarding job opportunities related to school and tertiary education (see Figure 6.2 below).

Figure 6.2

South Africa's Dualistic System of Education



Note, sourced from Eldridge Moses et al. (2017), A society divided: How unequal education quality limits social mobility in South Africa (p. 1).

Drawing on Van der Berg's conceptual model above, Eldridge Moses et al. (2017) assert that learners who attend a mere 10% to 15% of well-performing schools and then go on to acquire tertiary education have a better chance of obtaining employment in the upper end of the job market. Consequently, better educational opportunities enable them to demand excellent economic mobility and enjoy the benefits of social mobility. Moreover, they postulate that a significant factor between well-performing and poor-performing schools is the quality of education. In this light, well-performing schools impart solid cognitive skills to their learners, making them more productive in the job market irrespective of their socioeconomic background. In contrast, learners who attend low-performing schools with inferior quality schooling access low-income jobs.

Mouton et al.'s (2013) study aligns with the above view. The study found that 10% of South Africa's well-performing school learners are eligible for at least 60% of university admissions. They further assert that in some instances, learners from 20% of well-performing schools meet the minimum requirements for at least 80% of university places.

Therefore, I argue that Van de Berg's conceptual model directly correlates to this study's findings that learners in Muslim schools are driven by the desire for social mobility and, therefore, choose subjects that would scaffold them to tertiary education. Furthermore, I argue that the quality of education in the participating Muslim schools tallies with the 10% to 15% well-performing schools depicted in Van der

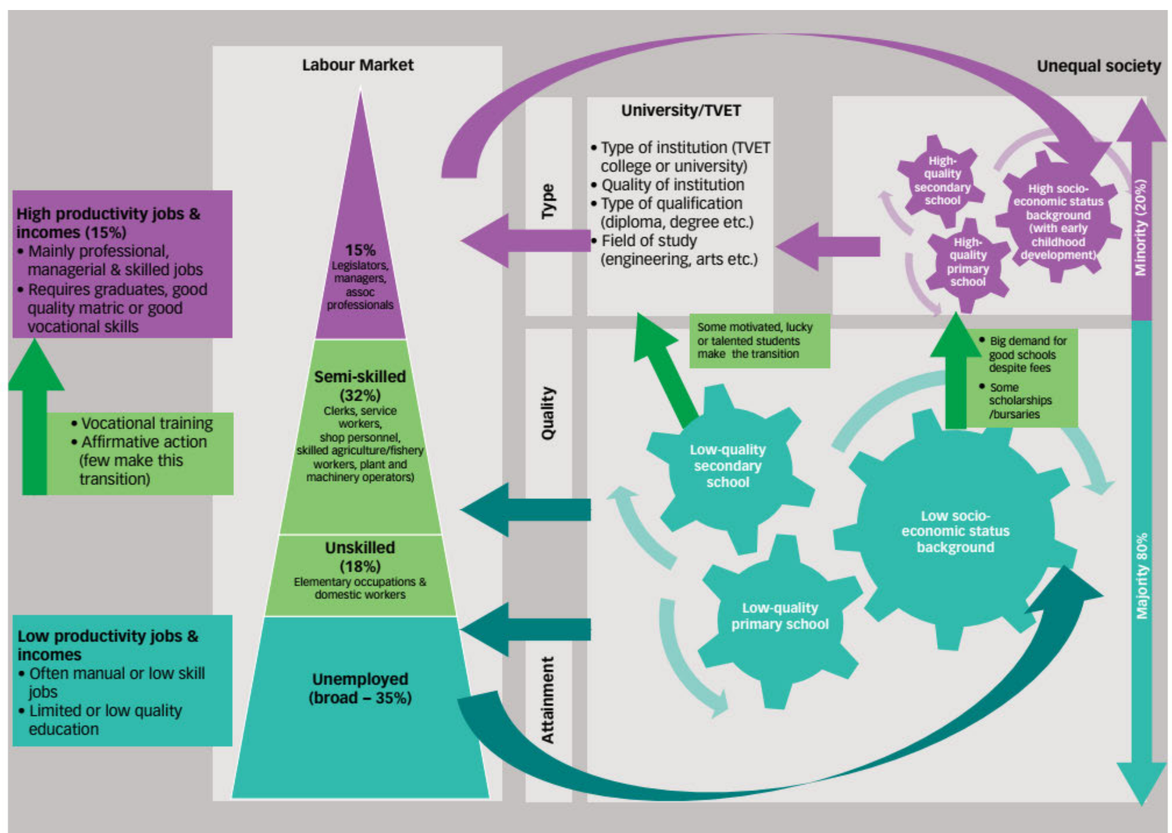
Berg's conceptual model above (Eldridge Moses et al., 2017). Therefore, learners who attend Muslim schools enjoy the benefits of quality education and have increased opportunities to pursue tertiary education due to the well-performing status of Muslim schools.

Regarding the well-performing status of Muslim schools, statistics for the last three years show that Muslim schools dominated the country's matric results. For instance, an article in thesouthafrican.com on the top ten independent schools for 2020 showed that Muslim schools dominated the top five positions (Head, 2021). Similarly, at least one of the participating schools was featured as a top five school in the 2021 matric exam, and four Muslim schools were featured in the top ten positions (Head, 2022). Likewise, a January 27 Mail and Guardian article reported that the country's top achiever in 2022 was a Muslim school learner, Husna Haffejee (Special Reports, 2023). Reflecting on the achievements of Muslim schools, Abdul Vahid, a retired Muslim school principal and current board member of School C, is categorical that the salient feature of Muslim schools is their 100% pass. Reflecting on the failure rate of government schools, he said that while at least 20% of government school learners do not pass the matric exam, it is unheard of for a Muslim school learner to fail. (Personal communication, March 15, 2021)

Given the above, I argue that the participating Muslim schools fall in the bracket of well-performing schools depicted in van der Berg's conceptual model above. Therefore, by default, they give their learners better opportunities to attain tertiary education than learners attending poor-performing schools. Thus, the educational attainment aspirations of learners in the selected Muslim schools tally with Van der Berg's (2015) conceptual model that well-performing schools augment learners' social mobility aspirations. Furthermore, Nic Spaull (2015) also presents a similar conceptual model (see Figure 6.3 below), endorsing the view that learners who attend well-performing schools are advantaged to attain better tertiary education opportunities.

Figure 6.3

The Links between Society, the Education System, and the Labour Market



Note, sourced from Spaull (2015 p. 38) Schooling in South Africa: How low-quality education becomes a poverty trap.

Lastly, in line with the synthesis above, the findings are further in tandem with this study's conceptual framework, namely Bourdieu and Passeron's Cultural Capital Theory. Bourdieu and Passeron (1979) posit that cultural capital accumulated and transmitted in privileged homes is converted and reproduced into educational attainment in schools, colleges, and universities (see Chapter 4). Accordingly, this study argues that Muslim school learners' academic subject choices are a reproduction of learners' cultural capital acquired in the home habitus and institutionalised as educational attainment in Muslim schools.

In short, Muslim schools have become reproduction sites to institutionalise this cultural capital (by promoting educational attainment). Therefore, when learners select academic subjects over Arabic, they are transmuting a home culture that motivates them to pursue educational attainment at tertiary institutions. Finally, in line with Bourdieu and Passeron's Cultural Capital Theory, cultural capital is embodied and converted as occupational mobility when learners are privy to premium jobs. Thus, they

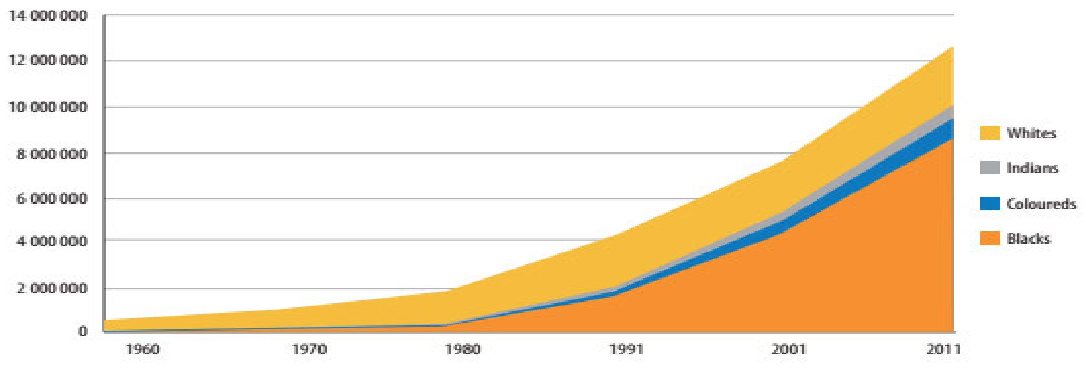
enjoy the benefits of their cultural capital accumulated in the home, converted to educational attainment in the selected Muslim schools and universities and reproduced as premium salaries (economic capital).

They lead to the view that by positioning themselves within the cohort of well-performing schools, the selected Muslim schools promote quality education in line with the Muslim school approach that promotes a balanced education between Islamic traditions and academics. However, the lure of tertiary educational attainment opportunities is leading learners to focus on academic subject choices at the expense of the Arabic language. Thus, the discussion above is in tandem with this section's findings; once learners enter grade ten, their career aspirations dictate their subject choices. They suggest that learners at the FET level were using their subject choices as a conduit to tertiary education, implying that their desire for educational attainment resulted in the weak uptake of Arabic.

Furthermore, (Eldridge Moses et al., 2017) studies found that between 1991 and 2011 (see Figure 6.4 below), Indian matric attainment showed a 168% growth. They suggest that the educational attainment trends that this study found among the learners in the four participating schools align with the historical aspirations of the Indian Muslim population of South Africa, most of whom reside or originate from KwaZulu-Natal (Davids, 2019). Secondly, although the post-Apartheid government intended equal education opportunities for the disadvantaged black cohort of learners, they ironically favoured the white and Indian Former model C and independent school learners in the post-apartheid period (Mouton et al., 2013; Van der Berg et al., 2011). Thus, when learners select academic subjects over the Arabic language, they take advantage of educational attainment opportunities to convert, in line with Bourdieu & Passeron's (1979) Cultural Capital Theory, the cultural capital they accumulated in the home environment into occupational and social mobility.

Figure 6.4

Number of Individuals with Matric from 1960 to 2011 by Race



Note, sourced from E Moses et al. (2017, p. 23), A society divided. How unequal education quality limits social mobility in South Africa.

Based on the above discussion and drawing support from the above-illustrated conceptual models and calculations, the findings indicate that, from the beginning of the 20th century, the Muslim population of KwaZulu-Natal began employing educational mobility to attain social mobility. Consequently, from a people that arrived mainly as indentured labourers and opportunity seekers, educational mobility opportunities have enabled historically migrant Muslims to shed off discrimination, inequality, and marginalisation (see discussion in Chapter 2). As a result, by the latter part of the 20th century, they had gradually migrated into South African society's middle, affluent, and very affluent classes. This notion further tallies with a study by Tonheim and Matose (2013) explaining South Africa's poverty levels. Based on Statistics SA, in 2011, black South Africans comprised 93.8% of people below the poverty line, while Coloureds, Indians, and Whites collectively shared the remaining 6,2% (Tonheim & Matose, 2013). These statistics confirm that the poverty levels of Indians in South Africa are minimal.

6.3.2 The declining FET Arabic enrolment leads to the de-emphasis of the integrated Muslim school approach

'We want to challenge the notion that we must choose between an academic or Islamic school. We can be an Islamic school with academic excellence.' (Teacher 4)

Figure 6.5

Placed in the Top Ten of KwaZulu-Natal Schools

Sourced in Vahed and Waetjen (2015)

So far, the previous findings showed that once learners enter grade ten, they focus on career-related subjects, motivated by the desire to obtain good grades to pursue tertiary education as a means of occupational mobility. Thus, they imply that when Arabic is pitted against academic subjects, the educational attainment focus of learners results in low uptake of Arabic at the FET level as an elective subject. This finding impacts the Muslim school approach in numerous ways, mainly suggesting that it predisposes the selected Muslim schools to focus on academic excellence instead of a balanced, integrated Muslim school approach.

In line with the above, this section's findings show that the selected Muslim schools are involuntarily inclined toward academic excellence, suggesting that the selected Muslim schools are appeasing learners' academic subject choices due to parental and donor pressure at the expense of the integrative approach. This appeasement, in turn, implies a dilution of the integrated Muslim school approach in the selected Muslim schools. In this regard, the finding in this section responds to research question three: How do learners' academic subject choices over Arabic challenge the selected Muslim schools to implement a balanced approach between academic subjects and Islamic traditions?

To evaluate the above findings, the researcher probed the opinions of principals and Arabic language teachers to gauge to what extent learners' quest for academic excellence constrains school management from promoting Arabic as an integrated Muslim school subject at the FET level.

In this regard, Principal 2 candidly expressed the situation at his school in the following words:

We have produced almost the best results in the district. So, we have not fallen short there. However, if we want to market our school, it is easier to market it on academics than Islamic excellence.

Supporting the above view, Teacher 4 criticised board members, positing that they emphasised academic excellence as financial backers of Muslim schools.

Hence, she expressed the following view:

Like most Muslim schools, the board members are doctors, lawyers, or businessmen. They fund the school and need to help the school. So, their attitude is as follows: 'Here is our school; it is called a Muslim school. Our 100% pass rate in grade twelve tells us we are flying our flag high.

In Chapter 4, I established that the integrated Muslim school approach underpins this study's conceptual framework. In line with this approach, Othman et al. (2017) suggest that the way forward for Muslim schools is to gradually disengage from vision and goals that target education for intellectual and material merit to an Islamic ethos that insists on creating a well-balanced individual that premises on disciplining the mind, body and soul.

Accordingly, Teacher 4 suggests a balanced integrated Muslim school education modality. This notion became apparent when she criticised Muslim schools for not sufficiently investing in the Arabic language as they invest in academic subjects.

She endorsed this notion in the following words:

One reason for the decline of the Arabic language is that schools and board members do not give much importance to the Arabic language. Perhaps to avoid getting Arabic experts to teach the Arabic language and pay them high salaries.

Thus, in line with this study's conceptual framework, Teacher 4 explicitly reasons that Muslim schools are overtly biased towards academics, suggesting that this bias impacts the integrated status of Arabic that manifests in the declining FET Arabic enrolment.

On the contrary, the researcher received mixed reactions when probing the principals on the notion that Muslim schools are overtly biased towards academics. For instance, while endorsing the view that Arabic is an integrated Muslim school subject, Principal 1 expounded the following:

Arabic should be integral to any Islamic institution because we can teach it from grade RR to grade 12 in a school like ours. So, we have had them for 13 years.

While Principal 1 confirms the centrality of Arabic to the Muslim school approach, on the other hand, he gravitates toward the view that parents send their children to Muslim schools to attain educational and social mobility. Hence, he asserted:

The average parent wants his child to get into a faculty where he can pursue a well-paid profession to have a better life for himself.

Likewise, Principal 4 also corroborated the view expressed by Principal 1 above, substantiating that Muslim schools are duty-bound to provide quality education as a service to the school community:

One of the many reasons learners come to school is to get a good matric certificate that will allow them to apply to university, get into a faculty of their choice, and pursue a career. So, that is a reality, and learners work towards that.

On the other hand, Principal 2 was explicit when probed about whether Muslim schools focus excessively on academics.

School boards are not doing that by choice. They are driven to keep the numbers in the school because that very same parent who puts his child in a Muslim school is not worried whether a

Muslim teacher or non-Muslim teacher is teaching his child, as long as his child is getting A symbols in matric.

The above findings show that while participating principals recognise the integrative status of the Arabic language to promote an Islamic ethos, they are likewise cognisant that parents expect their children to excel academically at Muslim schools. The findings suggest that this undue pressure drives management to appease learners' subject choices and contributes to the low FET Arabic enrolment.

Given the above, the researcher probed Principal 3 on whether the Arabic language could be positioned strategically in subject choices to counter the low uptake of Arabic and, therefore, afford learners a reasonable chance of selecting it.

However, consistent with the argument above that Muslim schools are driven to place more emphasis on academics, Principal 3, like the previous participants, gravitated towards academics:

Learners are focussing on careers, and Arabic does not offer many opportunities. The Science and Commerce field is generally popular, and when we group it with one of those subjects, we are pitching it next to a stronger competitor. However, Arabic can gain ground if a school strategically moves it around. However, it may be deceiving the child; we do not strategise to benefit the subject but to the child's detriment. We must strategise so that the child wins as well.

Given the above, the views of the participating Principals and teachers are unanimous. While acknowledging the integrative status of Arabic to promote an Islamic ethos, Muslim schools are overtly inclined toward appeasing learners' educational aspirations. Consequently, the findings suggest that the academic expectations of parents and donors are placing undue pressure on school management, leading to them paying less attention to Arabic in the selected Muslim schools. The researcher postulates that the above findings have two implications. One is that the reliance on school fees and donations impacts Muslim schools' policies; the second is the dilution of the integrated Muslim school approach.

Regarding how the reliance on school fees and donations impacts Muslim school policies, the above finding suggests that Muslim schools are susceptible to partisan economic pressure from fee-paying parents and generous donors who demand high-quality education. Hence, the findings indicate that perhaps the financial reliance on fee-paying parents and generous donors puts pressure on Muslim schools to appease learners' educational attainment aspirations.

To substantiate, I argue that the above findings align with Chisholm's (2012) assertions that politics and finances play an overarching role in influencing the quality of education in South Africa. For instance, the post-Apartheid government decentralised school governance and financial sustainability to school governing bodies comprising parents (Sayed & Soudien, 2021). Thus, parents decide on school policy,

set a budget, and decide on school fees. However, the reality is that schools in affluent areas charge more fees than schools in poorer areas (Ndimande, 2016). As a result, a dearth of research supports the view that former model C and independent schools perform better than poor public schools because, amongst other things, they are well-financed (see further studies by Ndimande, 2016; Reddy et al., 2013; Spaull, 2015; Van der Berg et al., 2011). This view is further endorsed by Timms 2011 scores, showing that former model C and independent schools perform at comparable levels (Vijay Reddy et al., 2012; V Reddy et al., 2013) and outperform poor government schools (Eldridge Moses et al., 2017).

I argue that the above suggests that independent and former model C schools perform better than poor-performing government schools because they service mainly middle-class to affluent learners. A study by Spaull et al. (2016) further endorses the view that the fee-paying socio-economic stratification of the school community is linked to the quality of education in South African schools. This notion closely aligns with several research studies, positing that learners' performance is strongly related to the parent's socioeconomic status (Fiske & Ladd, 2004; Ndimande, 2016; Tonheim & Matose, 2013; Yamauchi, 2011).

In line with the above, a study by du Plessis and Mestry (2019) shows that schools managed by poverty-stricken parents in rural areas lack accountability and lead to poor results. The above tallies with Chisholm's (2012) observation that the economic and political environment in which schools operate governs educational development.

I argue that a similar situation is prevalent in Muslim schools, where fee-paying parents and generous donors overtly influence the governance and policies of Muslim schools. In this light, learners' bias towards academic subjects puts pressure on school management to marginalise the Arabic language. I argue that the declining FET Arabic enrolment is a case in point due to the lack of vociferous policies to promote it as an integrated Muslim school subject. As a result, hardly 5 out of 31 KwaZulu-Natal Muslim schools promote Arabic (AMS, 2021). I further draw support from Louw et al.'s. (2006) study that schools may provide quality education in response to parents' economic and political power. Moreover, a study by Aubrey (2017) articulates that Indian parents appreciate professional school services and happily pay for them. In this regard, Jovanovic (2017) states that the neoliberal mindset has reduced education to a commodity sold to the highest bidder. The above finding is further supported by (Maile, 2020), who emphatically states that the affluent view private schooling as a social mobility scaffold. Thus, research studies overwhelmingly supports the finding that a school's fee-paying socio-economic cohort determines its education quality.

Regarding the funding of Muslim schools in the research site, in my practitioner experience, the parent and donor community ensure that these schools offer quality education to their learners through fee structuring and generous donations. Teacher 4 endorsed this notion by saying, ' *The board members are*

doctors and lawyers or people with the money. They fund the school and need to help the school'. Thus, the above further implies that Muslim schools prioritise education in response to parents' and donors' economic and political influence. I argue that this is apparent in the lacklustre approach of Muslim schools to promote Arabic compared to academic subjects. Thus, it contradicts the Muslim school approach and de-emphasises a balanced approach between Islamic traditions and academic subjects.

The findings above imply that Muslim schools are overtly biased towards learners' career choices, mainly due to donor and parent expectations of academic excellence, resulting in the Arabic language being placed on the periphery. On the other hand, this study also found that at least one of the selected Muslim schools employed vociferous school policies to promote Arabic. This suggests that the integrated approach, where Arabic is an integrative Muslim school subject, is attainable in Muslim schools. A case in point is the Arabic policies at School A.

In this light, Principal 4 demonstrated the unwavering commitment of his school to preserve the Arabic language as an integrated Muslim school subject:

Here at School A, with the full support of the board. We have made Arabic compulsory until grade 11. We put in the time, effort, human, and financial resources to employ the teachers. We designed our program because nothing is available in the market. Our commitment to elevating the Arabic language is unwavering.

Further explaining how his school has managed to maintain parity between the Arabic language and secular subjects, Principal 4 articulated the following:

So, this is how we balance it. From grade one to grade eleven, Arabic is compulsory and non-negotiable. Should learners not want to do Arabic, we ask them to leave the school, and not a single child is exempt from Arabic until grade 11. In the grade 12 year, we also recognise the needs of children and parents to get a good matric pass to go to university. So, we focus on their matric results in the matric year. However, for 11 years, we have given them the best we could in terms of Arabic.

School A's success in positioning the Arabic language as an integrated subject is rooted in an integrated Muslim school approach. That is to promote an Islamic ethos that is rooted in Islamic traditions while at the same time providing quality secular education.

In line with this approach, Teacher 1 asserted:

We got total support from the Board of Governors and the different principals, from Idris Khamissa, Dr Karodia, and Yusuf Salot to Zaffar Ahmed. If we can use the word, they are hard-core Arabic supporters.

The findings show that the school's upper management adopted a philosophy of *the integrated approach* vis-à-vis the Arabic language and Islamic education to foster a Muslim school ethos.

Notwithstanding the past efforts of School A, the findings are overwhelming that the school community's desire to achieve academic excellence is placing the participating Muslim schools under undue pressure, manifesting itself in numerous ways. In this instance, it seemingly drives the participating Muslim schools to tailor their curriculum to give learners the advantage of selecting premium secular subjects to achieve academic excellence. Seemingly, learners take maximum advantage of the opportunity presented and focus on secular subjects, resulting in a decreased FET Arabic enrolment. Therefore, another significant implication of this finding is the weakening of the Muslim school approach.

A case in point is that all four Muslim schools have ceased to offer Arabic as a compulsory subject at the FET level. Even School A has since 2019 rescinded its FET Arabic program. Furthermore, Schools B and D offer Arabic as an additional eighth subject outside the school timetable, with weak uptake due to extracurricular activities. Thus, not only have the participating Muslim schools relegated Arabic as a compulsory subject, but they have also further relegated its elective subject status. In this light, only one of the four participating schools, School C, consistently offers Arabic as an elective subject within the school timetable, even if there are only three learners.

Although the above findings may have merit, they are also susceptible to an alternative view. For instance, some may argue that fee-paying schools are morally obligated to provide quality education to their subscribers. In the same vein, others may argue that they also have an equal obligation to promote the school's Islamic ethos. Notwithstanding the above, and in line with this study's conceptual framework underpinned by the integrated Muslim school approach, I argue that Muslim schools are not doing enough to balance Islamic traditions with academics. A case in point is the declining FET Arabic enrolment, leading to the dilution of the Muslim school approach.

Regarding the dilution of the integrated Muslim school approach, Principal 4 epitomized this view when he said, *'I want to challenge the notion that we must choose between an academic school or an Islamic school. We can be an Islamic school with academic excellence'.*

Teacher 1 emphatically endorsed this finding in the following statement:

We believe that Islamic studies first and second is Arabic, and then all secular subjects in the pecking order. If a Muslim school does not offer Arabic to its learners, it cannot define itself as a Muslim school. What makes a Muslim school? Does it mean that they have Muslims there? It is a Muslim school. So, if we take Hartley Road Primary School, a public school, most learners are Muslim there. So, can we call it a Muslim school? No. So what makes a Muslim school is its ethos—the subjects it offers and not only the dress code. So, we believe that the subjects and programs a Muslim school offers make it a Muslim school. So, the relationship between Muslim schools and the Arabic language is inseparable.

In endorsing the above findings, Teacher 1 not only gives equal preference to the Arabic language and academic studies but also sanctions the view that: '*the relationship between Muslim schools and the Arabic language is inseparable.'*

In this regard, Principal 4 is critical of Muslim schools that overlook the integrated approach. He expressed this view in the following statement:

[Muslim] Schools that neglect Islamic studies and Arabic, while they can teach it in an Islamic school environment, provide a disservice to the communities they serve. Because no other schools will carry that agenda [ethos], we do not expect the neighbouring government school to carry that agenda [ethos]. On the other hand, suppose a community has taken it upon themselves to establish an Islamic school. In that case, they should also have the vision and responsibility to promote an Islamic ethos, an Islamic personality, an Islamic growth, and an understanding of Arabic towards the Qur'an.

Regarding the link between the Arabic language and the dilution of the integrated Muslim school framework that underpins this study, Vahed and Waetjen (2015) explain that the early migrant Muslim community viewed integrated education as a means of uplifting their children's spiritual and social mobility. To this effect, between 1947 and 1959, five Muslim state-aided schools were established in Durban and surrounding areas (Kader, 1981). Vahed and Waetjen (2015) posit that integrating Islamic traditions and academics was a distinguishing feature of these schools. Hence, they petitioned the government to licence Muslim schools to teach Islamic traditions and academics. Thus, the philosophical approach adopted by the early Muslim schools to education was an integrated approach combining Arabic-Islamic and secular studies (see discussion in Chapter 2, section 2.3).

In this vein, I argue that the integrated Muslim school approach and the promotion of the Arabic language align with the resolutions taken at the 1952 Natal Muslim Provincial Education Conference (the 1952 Conference) to promote Muslim schools and the Arabic language. Vahed and Waetjen (2015)

explain that despite ultra-conservative elements within the Muslim community vetoing the 1952 Conference resolutions, pro-supporters of Muslim schools worked relentlessly to promote the integrated Muslim school approach. For example, following the conference, the Arabic Study Circle was institutionalised in 1954 and relentlessly promoted the Arabic language as an integrated Muslim school subject for almost five decades at the school and university levels (Jeppie, 2011).

Additionally, when the post-apartheid Schools Act abrogated state-aided schools and gave Muslim schools the option of independent or public status, they voluntarily chose the expensive independent route. Not only because of the consequences of the Schools Act but rather to preserve the legacy of the integrated approach in line with the 1952 Conference resolutions (see further discussion in Chapter 1, section 1.1.3). Moreover, this notion also finds support in several research studies (Adam, 2004; Davids, 2014, 2019; Khan, 2006; Sheik, 1994), suggesting that the proliferation of Muslim schools in the post-apartheid period is in line with the resolutions taken by the founding members of Muslim schools in the landmark 1952 conference. A case in point is the Orient Islamic School, which took 30 years to complete due to the founding members' insistence on fashioning it on the Aligarh integrated model.

Research studies show that the pioneers of Muslim schools unwaveringly strove to promote the integrated approach of balancing academic and Islamic traditions. Therefore, bearing the above in mind, I argue that learners' low uptake of FET Arabic in Muslim schools is contrary to the intentions of the founding members as established in the resolutions of the 1952 conference (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015) (see discussion in Chapter 2, section 2.3.7).

On the other hand, several researchers reject the narrative that preserving the integrated Muslim school approach was the prime reason for the proliferation of Muslim schools' post-apartheid period. In support of rejecting the narrative, Davids (2014) alludes that Muslim parents took advantage of the Schools Act to establish Muslim schools, aiming to insulate their children from the ills that beset post-Apartheid schools. Research studies cite these ills as crowded classrooms, lowering standards, ill-discipline, and racial profiling as reasons for the proliferation of Muslim schools in the post-apartheid period (Dangor, 2014; Davids, 2014; Fataar, 2003).

To this effect, Tayob (2011) argues that culturally specific schools in the post-apartheid period perpetuate the Apartheid schooling policies of division by race and culture. In contrast, Dangor (2014) argues that Muslim schools are warranted because public schools cannot bridge religious education requirements. Dangor (2014) finds support in Davids (2019), who asserts that the post-apartheid constitution grants Muslim schools the privilege of religious freedom and practice. Similarly, Adam (2004) posits that the guiding principle for the 1996 Muslim school cohort choosing independent status was maintaining their integrated Muslim school status, which public schools did not afford.

Nonetheless, while the literature shows contrasting reasons for the proliferation of Muslim schools, researchers are unanimous that Muslims maintained Muslim schools to preserve and promote the integrated Muslim school approach that promotes an Islamic ethos rooted in the Arabic language and Islamic studies while striving for academic excellence. The researcher posits that the decline of FET Arabic is a direct paradox to the integrated Muslim school approach that the KwaZulu-Natal Muslim community relentlessly promoted after the 1952 conference. Therefore, I argue that the declining FET Arabic enrolment leads to the de-emphasis of the integrated Muslim school approach.

To conclude, this finding suggests that parents' desire to see their children attain educational attainment is seemingly putting pressure on the participating Muslim schools to satisfy their children's subject choices that are biased towards occupational mobility. Furthermore, they imply that learners' inclination towards academic subject choices is challenging the participating Muslim schools to implement the integrated Muslim school approach rooted in Arabic and Islamic studies while simultaneously striving for academic excellence. As a result, they imply that the decline of FET Arabic enrolment in the selected Muslim schools leads to the de-emphasis of the integrated Muslim school approach.

6.3.3 Parents' Aspirations vs the Integrated Approach

'Parents live their dreams through their children. Hence, they see secular education as a way out of poverty and a life of servitude.' (Principal 3)

So far, this study found that the desire to attain educational mobility has far-reaching implications for FET Arabic as an integrated Muslim school subject. In preference of their careers, learners prefer academic subject choices to the Arabic language, resulting in the participating Muslim schools facing a decline in FET Arabic as part of the Muslim school approach. Additionally, the previous findings show that the desire to provide quality education may place unwanted pressure on the selected Muslim schools to succumb to the educational mobility aspirations of parents and board members.

This section shows that parents are complicit in instigating their children's desire for educational attainment in the lure of enjoying better social mobility experiences. They suggest that in coveting their children to live their dreams, parents are seemingly downplaying the status of the Arabic language as an integrated Muslim school subject, implying that in preference of social mobility, the parental environment is not innately motivating learners to select the Arabic language. This finding responds to research questions one, two, and three.

Principal 3 solemnly expressed the above notion in the statement below:

Parents live their dreams through their children; sometimes, parents may want their children to develop to their full potential. Hence, they see secular education as a way out of poverty and a life of servitude.

He further added:

Parents groom their children, creating this environment to encourage them to be the best. So, a lot has to do with what the parent wants. What parents and their child define as best.

Teacher 4 corroborated the above view in the following words:

Parents live their lives through their children's eyes; therefore, they want their children to do what they could not accomplish.

Regarding Arabic as a subject choice, the findings reiterated that parents have an overarching influence on their children's subject choices. Likewise, Teacher 3 corroborated the above when he asserted:

We spend time trying to promote the Arabic language and make them consider it, but at the end of the day, the school can have all its policies in place, but the decision lies with the parents.

Similarly, Principal 2 below agreed with Teacher 3 above that parents play a significant role in influencing their children's educational preferences:

In grade nine, we advise them about the value of the different subjects and what they want to do. However, parents' focus on careers and career choices plays an essential role in the decline of the Arabic language.

The above findings show that parents are key players in deciding their children's future, suggesting that learners' preference for secular subjects over the Arabic language leads to the notion that parents are significant actors in discounting the utility of the Arabic language as an integrated Muslim school subject. As a result, the findings imply that learners view Arabic as trivial compared to educational attainment and social mobility. The above finding aligns with Bourdieu and Passeron's Cultural Capital Theory, which posits that parents transfer their codes and practices to their children, aiming to get a return when their children convert it to educational attainment (Tzanakis, 2011). In this vein, influenced by home culture, learners select academic subjects over the Arabic language. Learners' selection, in turn, leads to low uptake in FET Arabic enrolment, implying that parents are not motivating their children to select the Arabic language as an elective subject.

Teacher 4 endorsed the above view:

There is an ideology amongst parents that Arabic is a waste of time. Therefore, learners' first question is: 'What will we do with the Arabic language after school? We will not become Moulanas (religious men), so we do not need it.' Thus creating a massive tug-of-war in the child's mind. They may want to take Arabic but cannot because somehow, they will say, ' Arabic will not contribute to our future. Therefore, if we are not going to use it, there is no use taking it.'

Likewise, Principal 3 painted a similar picture in defining the alignment of parents:

We may get a different alignment of parents; some will focus on the child's development on the Islamic side, but nobody sees that as developing the child's full potential. Then comes something that we are all groomed with: the schooling system. As a result, parents see their children pursuing tertiary studies, and they see in their children the potential to become professionals in a field.

Teacher 2 below further supports Principal 3:

The problem is that we know the nature of the parents and the student population is such that they are focused on results in the matric exam. So, with that, parents give most of their attention and effort to Science and Mathematics.

Similarly, Teacher 1 corroborated the above findings that parents are biased towards academic subjects and painted a picture of this bias:

If they had a problem with Mathematics, the child would go for tuition to pass it. They would not tell the government to take Mathematics out because my child finds it hard. The child will maintain Mathematics, and by the end of grade twelve, they will forget all they have learned in Mathematics. However, they will take out the Arabic language, a subject their child recites every day of his life.

Given the above, the findings show that parent's complicity with their children in preferring academic subjects to Arabic is a contributing factor for the low uptake of FET Arabic in the selected Muslim schools, suggesting that parents do not perceive Muslim schools as spaces to incubate a balance between Islamic traditions and academics. On the contrary, their bias towards academics implies that they send their children to Muslim schools because they are well-run institutions that provide quality education. In this vein, they are downplaying the role of Muslim schools as protagonists of an integrated Muslim school approach. As a result, the above contrasts with the historical reasons for establishing Muslim schools: balancing academics with Islamic traditions, as discussed in the findings of sections 6.3.1 and

6.3.2 above. Furthermore, this finding corroborates the findings in sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2 that learners' subject choices are motivated by their occupational and social mobility aspirations.

Additionally, the above is congruent with the previous findings that the decline of FET Arabic challenges the relevance of the integrated Muslim school approach that underpins this study. In this context, the findings suggest that parents view Muslim schools primarily as spaces of educational attainment, with Islamic traditions taking second place, resulting in the low uptake of Arabic. However, having thoroughly surveyed the Muslim school literature, I argue that this is not a new phenomenon, as numerous factors in the past challenged the integrated Muslim school status. Therefore, I argue that the declining FET Arabic enrolment is a contemporary challenge in a series of challenges since the inauguration of the integrated Muslim school concept in the early 20th century.

Regarding the first challenge, Vahed and Waetjen (2015) posit that before the migrant Hindu and Muslim elite partnered to establish Sastri College in 1930, they sent their children abroad for schooling, mainly to the Aligarh Institute in India. The Aligarh Institute pioneered an integrated approach that combined Arabic, Islamic studies and secular education. Intrigued by this approach and given the scarcity of local secondary schooling opportunities, the Muslim elite resolved to establish their own Aligarh here in KwaZulu-Natal.

This decision presented the first challenge in 1927 when ultra-conservative elements within the Muslim community debunked the first attempt to buy an existing white school and remodel it on the integrated approach (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Ultra-conservative elements within the Muslim community blocked the purchase by condemning the usage of Zakat funds for secular education (Sheik, 1994). Furthermore, they abhorred using interest-tainted funds for Islamic education (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Subsequently, the Muslim elite joined the Hindu elite to establish Sastri College in 1929-1930, which precluded the urgency for another secondary school.

Likewise, establishing KwaZulu-Natal's iconic Orient Islamic school proved an even more significant challenge. Unrelenting, the elite registered the Orient Trust in 1929 as a first step. However, this time, they faced stiff opposition from white ratepayers, the Natal Indian Teachers Society (NITS), and deliberate delays by the Durban city council. Eventually, after a long-drawn battle that spanned 30 years, it was completed in 1959.

Meanwhile, another significant challenge was the 1942 Educational Ordinance that abrogated religious schooling, intending to curb missionary schools, which the government feared had become a breeding ground for African nationalism. Nevertheless, this was a significant blow to establishing Muslim schools. Eventually, after numerous submissions, applications, and politicking, the Muslim elite

pressured the Apartheid government to grant licences to five state-aided schools to operate as integrated Muslim schools between 1947 and 1959 (Sheik, 1994; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015).

Vahed and Waetjen (2015) explain that opposition to the Muslim school approach from ultra-conservatives within the Muslim community persisted, resulting in the Natal Muslim Provincial Education Conference in 1952. This conference was a landmark victory for the protagonists of the integrated approach. Producing two groundbreaking resolutions, conference participants agreed to promote the Muslim school concept together with the Arabic language. In this vein, a leading scholar from the Indo-Pak subcontinent, Moulana Abdul Aleem Siddiqui, issued a legal verdict institutionalising the integrated Muslim school approach, thus silencing the ultra-conservative element.

Despite all the above challenges, the Muslim community of KwaZulu-Natal relentlessly persevered to institutionalize the integrated Muslim school approach. In 1971, Muslim schools faced another challenge: to approve the Arabic language as an integrated Muslim school subject. In this regard, Vahed and Waetjen (2015) posit that the Orient Islamic school made the first application, proposing that the Joint Matriculation Board declare Arabic an official school subject. Although the first application was unsuccessful, Jeppie (2011) and Mohamed (1997) assert that after numerous deliberations, submissions and proposals by the Arabic Study Circle and the Orient Institute, the joint matriculation board acceded to declaring Arabic an official school subject in 1975. Mohamed (1997) explains that this was a massive milestone in enhancing the integrated Muslim school approach (see further the discussion in Chapter 3, section 3.2.3).

Figure 6.6

Arabic Lesson, 1968, Anjuman Islamic School, Durban, KwaZulu-Natal

Source: Schooling Muslims in Natal: Identity, State and the Orient Islamic Educational Institute (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015)

Further, the Arabic language was taught as a standard-grade subject, earning lesser acceptance credits than higher-grade subjects, thus prejudicing learners' university applications. However, this challenge was overcome in 1989 when the Arabic Study Circle petitioned the Department of Education to declare Arabic a higher-grade subject.

The next phase of challenges came in 1990 when the former anti-apartheid movements and the Apartheid government formed a government of National Unity (Badat & Sayed, 2014). Consequently, in 1994, the post-Apartheid government released a white paper abrogating all state-aided schools (Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Subsequently, the Schools Act compelled all Muslim state-aided schools to either maintain their state-funded public school status or choose a self-funded independent status. Vahed and Waetjen (2015) assert that the Schools Act placed Muslim state-aided schools in a philosophical dilemma as it did not allow state-funded public schools to provide religious education within the school day. On the other hand, as independent schools, they could maintain their integrated Muslim school status but had to forego government funding.

Still again, Muslim schools hosted an international conference dedicated to the Islamisation of Education in Cape Town in 1996 (the 1996 Islamisation Conference). The conference proposed a revamped integrated Muslim school approach, motivating numerous Muslim schools to choose an independent status to preserve the integrated syllabus (Dangor, 2014; Davids, 2014; Khan, 2006; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). Researchers posit that the implications of the Schools Act and the subsequent privatisation of Muslim schools prompted an unprecedented proliferation of the integrated Muslim school concept in the post-apartheid period (Dangor, 2014; Davids, 2014, 2019; Khan, 2006; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015). A detailed discussion is presented in Chapter 3, section 3.5.

In conclusion, the discussion above shows that Muslim schools have faced numerous challenges since conceptualising the Muslim school approach in 1927. In this case, ultra-conservatives thwarted the first attempt to buy an existing private school. Then, in 1942, the Educational Ordinance abrogated religious state-aided schools. Despite this abrogation, the Muslim elite convinced the government to make legal amendments to register five Muslim schools from 1947 to 1959. Moreover, ultra-conservatives relentlessly vetoed the integrated Muslim school concept, warranting the 1952 Natal Muslim Provincial Education Conference. The conference subsequently resolved to sanction the integrated Muslim school approach and Arabic as the official policy for Muslim schooling in KwaZulu-Natal. In line with the integrated Muslim school approach, in 1971, the next challenge was to include the Arabic language as an integrated school subject. After five years of politicking, in 1975, the Arabic Study Circle and Orient Islamic School successfully petitioned the government to include Arabic as an official school subject. Still again, in 1996, Muslim state-aided schools were thrown into a quandary when legislation abrogated them. Finally, a solution was sought in privatisation, resulting in the unprecedented proliferation of Muslim schools post-apartheid. Thus, despite these challenges, since the first challenge in 1927, Muslim

schools strove to promote the integrated Muslim school approach. Therefore, the researcher argues that in line with the above discussion, the decline of the Arabic language since 2008, in line with the findings of this study, is a fresh challenge to the integrated Muslim school approach.

In this context, the decline of Arabic enrolment is once again challenging the Muslim school approach, prompted by an overwhelming parental complicity with their children to select academic subjects instead of Arabic at the FET level, suggesting that parents view Muslim schools primarily as spaces of educational attainment, resulting in the low uptake of Arabic.

6.3.4 The Incompatibility of Arabic as an Additional Eighth Subject Outside the School Timetable

In line with the discussion in section 6.2.1, this study found that Arabic was widespread in all four participating schools pre-2008. Further, the discussion in 6.2.1 found that the six-subject system of Curriculum 2005 resulted in several Muslim schools adding Arabic as a compulsory seventh subject. In contrast, the NCS Curriculum introduced a seven-subject system, relegating Arabic to an eighth subject in 2006. The dilemma for Muslim schools was to increase the already extended school day to accommodate Arabic. Except for School A, which offered Arabic as a compulsory eighth subject until 2019, the remaining three participating schools offered it as an elective subject, meaning that learners had a choice between Arabic or an academic subject to make up the mandatory seven subjects at the FET level (Grades 10, 11 and 12).

Nevertheless, most Muslim schools from 2006 relegated Arabic from a compulsory subject to an elective subject. The discussion above in section 6.3.2 further found that most learners chose academic subjects over Arabic, resulting in a low uptake as an elective subject. Additionally, the discussion in section 6.3.3 found that parents were not sufficiently motivating their children to elect Arabic.

This section found that perhaps to counter the low uptake of Arabic as a seventh elective subject, some participating Muslim schools offered the Arabic language as an additional eighth subject outside the school timetable. In this regard, they offered it after school or on Saturdays. However, the findings of this study indicate that even as an additional eighth subject, the uptake was low, suggesting that learners who attended extra-curricular activities after school hours could not select Arabic, implying that Arabic as an eighth subject outside the school timetable may benefit some learners while excluding others. Below is an evaluation of this finding.

For instance, numerous Muslim school learners commit the Qur'an to memory (Hifz); hence, they attend Hifz classes after school and on Saturdays. In this regard, Teacher 3 mentioned the following:

Many learners go for Hifz after school [and on Saturdays]. So, it becomes a very long day.

The issue of Hifz is a significant consideration as hundreds of learners in Muslim schools attend Hifz classes after school and on Saturdays. In addition, there is a widespread practice of learners taking extra lessons in Maths, Physical Science, and other related subjects. As a result, the Arabic language as an additional eighth subject outside the school timetable often clashes with Hifz and extra tuition.

In this regard, Teacher 2 gave a typical example of how extra tuition impacted Arabic as an eighth subject outside the timetable.

So many of them opt for the Arabic language as an additional eighth subject; then, the numbers drop because we teach them after school or on Saturday mornings. Then they go for Physical Science and Mathematics tuition during the exact times. So, we sometimes start with 15 learners in grade ten and then end with about three in grade twelve.

Similarly, Principal 2 mentioned learners' anxiety when selecting Arabic as an additional eighth subject outside the school's timetable. He painted the learner's mindset as follows:

How will the Arabic language benefit us in future studies and careers? Will we have to spend extra time because the school does not offer it as a seventh subject, so we must do it as an additional eighth subject outside the school timetable? However, that will be difficult for us. Now is the time for us to focus on our careers.

The above finding shows that introducing Arabic as an additional eighth subject outside the school timetable is not amenable to all learners. Principal 1 explicitly summarised this notion in the following statement:

Because we could not accommodate them in the regular school timetable, very few opted for Arabic as an eighth subject. Learners did it in their own time after school or on Saturday. So, that is one of the reasons why learners do not elect Arabic. So, for most learners, Arabic has become the eighth subject. However, they must do it in their own time. So, that is why Arabic, unfortunately, is suffering the fate it is currently suffering.

Thus, the above findings suggest that Hifz, extra tuition and other extra-curricular activities like sporting commitments effectively exclude learners from selecting Arabic as an additional eighth subject. Therefore, Arabic as an eighth subject outside the school timetable is incompatible with selected learners in participating Muslim schools, implying that it may benefit some learners while excluding others. Therefore, when Muslim schools relegate Arabic to an eighth subject outside the school timetable, it becomes accessible to selected learners, thus contributing to the low uptake of Arabic as an integrated Muslim school subject.

6.3.5 Arabic as an Additional Eighth Subject, a Burdensome Subject

In addition to the above, this study found that learners found Arabic burdensome as an eighth additional subject, suggesting that as an eighth additional subject, it increased the workload of learners, resulting in a decline in their overall aggregate grades.

Principle 4 explained how Arabic as an additional eight subject affected learners at his school:

Arabic as an eighth subject burdened our learners in terms of time, the number of assessments they had to complete, and the content of the eighth subject. So, they had a more considerable burden [than the learners who took seven subjects]. Therefore, at the end of the year, they wrote more papers. As a result, our grades were dropping. Many of our top learners were not getting straight seven distinctions [in their seven core subjects] to attend university. Even the Arabic language was not giving them the easy A as earlier.

Teacher 1 below further supported Principal 4's findings:

Learners do not want to take the Arabic language as an eighth subject. The survey that we completed shows that the demands of the other subjects have increased, so the Arabic language is immediately on the back foot. So, if we put similar demands on the Arabic language, we are immediately out of the game.

Principal 2 painted a similar picture of how Arabic as an additional eighth subject affected learners in his school:

The Arabic language as an additional eighth subject is demanding on the time of the learner

He further described the learner's mindset when they must take Arabic as an eighth subject:

We are writing the matric exam. We must worry about seven subjects. We must worry about an eighth additional subject if we want to do Arabic because the school timetable does not cater for it.

Similarly, Teacher 4 expressed the reluctance of learners to take Arabic as an eighth subject:

Learners feel that Physical Science entails much work; therefore, they are reluctant to add Arabic as an additional eighth subject.

Similarly, Teacher 2 also corroborated the above view:

Learners want to go into fields like engineering, business, and medicine. So, they go for science subjects. However, if we put it beside Arabic with the content of the science subjects, learners feel that it is too much content-wise.

Furthermore, Principal 2 reveals below that as an eighth subject, The Arabic language impacted teachers as well:

Selecting Arabic as an eighth subject means attending Saturday classes. It is an imposition on the teacher himself. So, they need a tutor and a mentor; they need time, which impacts them.

While the previous discussion found that Arabic as an additional eighth subject outside the regular school timetable excludes Hifz, extra tuition, and learners involved in sports, this section's finding shows that it is also burdensome to learners as an eighth subject. They suggest that the workload of Arabic had become more complicated than before, and therefore, learners were not selecting it even as an additional eighth subject. The above implies that when Muslim schools promote Arabic as an eighth subject outside the school timetable instead of as a seventh elective subject, it contributes to the low uptake of the Arabic language in participating Muslim schools.

The above discussion also suggests that Muslim schools promote Arabic as an additional eighth because of the declining uptake of Arabic as a seventh elective subject. While this may seem noble, the findings above indicate that learners are reluctant to select Arabic as an additional eighth subject because of the increased workload.

The increased workload of Arabic aligns with Teacher 3's view that Arabic as an additional eighth subject outside the school timetable excludes less capable learners. He alludes that the workload has increased, and the subject has become complicated. Consequently, he opined that for learners to take Arabic outside the school timetable requires advanced levels of intellectual aptitude by the learner. He opined that Muslim schools promoting Arabic outside the school timetable advantage bright learners while marginalising weak ones.

Therefore, he was critical of Arabic as an additional eighth subject in the statement below:

Some schools offer Arabic as an additional eighth subject, encouraging only bright learners to take it because the emphasis seems to be on obtaining A symbols.

The above notion aligns with Teacher 2's view that:

Generally, the brighter, more extraordinary, intellectually capable child can better cope with languages than the weaker child.

Moreover, if we perceive the argument within the context that learners were inadvertently burdened by Arabic as an additional eighth subject, as mentioned by Principal 4 above when he said: *Our learners were burdened with Arabic as an eighth subject in terms of time*, *the number of assessments they had to complete, and the content of the eighth subject.* Teacher 3 may have a valid point. According to his argument, while brighter learners manage the extra and complicated workload, weaker learners are excluded by default. Similarly, this notion corroborates with the finding above that the Arabic language as an eighth subject outside the school timetable excludes learners who attend Hifz classes, have supplementary tuition, and play sports due to the extra workload and time constraints.

Based on the above argument, the findings imply that the participating Muslim schools that fail to offer Arabic as a seventh elective subject and offer it as an additional eighth subject outside the school's timetable are inevitably marginalising the following learners: learners that go for Hifz or take extra tuition; learner who plays sport on Saturdays or after school; the weak learner due to the extra and complicated workload of the Arabic language. A further implication is that Arabic as an additional eighth subject has lost prominence in promoting the Muslim school ethos.

6.4 Other Factors that Caused the Decline of FET Arabic Enrolment

As discussed in the literature review in Chapter 2, until 2007, the matric examination papers were prepared provincially by the KwaZulu-Natal Arabic examination board under Curriculum (2005). Then, however, the Department of Education centralised the disparate provincial matric examination boards into a national body under the National Curriculum Statement syllabus (NCS) in 2008 (Nel & Kistner, 2009). To this effect, the Department of Basic Education (DBE) outsourced the Arabic matric exams to the Independent Examination Board (IEB). Almost immediately, the IEB reformulated the Arabic examination papers and appointed a new set of Arabic examiners and moderators to manage the national Matric Arabic exams.

Meanwhile, the post-apartheid South African curriculum had been plagued by numerous challenges, resulting in the curriculum and assessment going through multiple revisions (Jansen & Taylor, 2003). On the other hand, the Arabic language, curriculum, and assessment underwent one change: from the Curriculum (2005) to the NCS and CAPS phases. Therefore, this study refers to these two disparate curriculum phases as the Rising Phase (pre-2008) and the declining phase (post-2008).

In line with the above, this section presents the findings for research question one: What factors contributed to the rise and decline of Arabic enrolment as an elective subject at the FET level?

6.4.1 Poor Grades Demotivated Learners to Select FET Arabic post-2007.

'You see, learners want to score to the maximum, especially the top students; they want to get their marks to the 90s.' (Principal 2).

In the previous sections, I discussed the findings of the rising phase. After that, I discussed the declining phase, particularly how educational and social mobility impacted learners' subject choices at the FET level in participating Muslim schools. After that, the discussion in section 6.3.4 found that the Arabic language as an additional eighth subject outside the school timetable had increased in content and complexity. Therefore, in line with the increase in content and complexity, this section evaluates other factors contributing to the decline.

This section's findings mainly show that post-2007, FET learners experienced an unprecedented drop in grades, suggesting that the increased content and complexity of the matric exam resulted in learners scoring lower Arabic grades. They imply that the lower grades learners scored in the matric exam post-2007 demotivated learners to select Arabic as an elective or an additional eighth subject. The following is an evaluation of this finding:

In line with the discussion that learners were demotivated by the lower grades they obtained post-2007, Principal 2 explained that learners desired to achieve the best grades in their matric exams:

You see, learners want to score to the maximum, especially the top students; they want to get their marks to the 90s.

Regarding the drop in Matric Arabic grades post-2007, Principal 2 asserted the following:

We are not saying that the [IEB] Arabic language papers have been unfair; the examiners set the papers at a good standard. However, learners do not attain many A [symbols] in the 90s A-pluses. We are talking about learners who have been writing Arabic recently [post-2008].

Seemingly, from 2008, learners who took FET Arabic were not obtaining the same grades as they were in the rising phase (pre-2008). They suggest that the matric exams in 2008 became more complex than the pre-2008 exam.

Principal 4 endorsed the above view in the following statement:

Our results were dropping. Many of our top learners were not getting straight seven distinctions to enter university. Moreover, even the Arabic language was not giving them the easy A symbol as earlier [1994-2007].

The findings above indicate that learners who wrote the matric exam post-2007 experienced a distinct drop in grades, suggesting that the Matric Arabic exam from 2008 increased in complexity compared to the matric exams pre-2008. This notion aligns with the discussion in sections 6.3.4 and 6.3.5, which found that the Arabic language had increased in content and complexity as an additional eighth subject outside the school timetable.

Regarding the notion that the Matric Arabic exam increased in complexity from 2008, this notion is postulated when compared to the matric exams pre-2008, implying that the Matric Arabic exams pre-2008 were of a level that teachers could adequately prepare their learners to score good grades. This notion further aligns with the discussion in section 6.2.1, which found that Arabic was a widespread subject pre-2008.

In support of the notion that the pre-2008 Matric Arabic exams were of a level that teachers could adequately prepare their learners to score good grades, Principal 1 explicitly endorsed the view that learners scored better grades pre-2008 than they were from 2008:

There is a very distinct correlation between before 2008 and after 2008; the conclusions are evident that we had vast numbers before 2008.

Likewise, Principal 1 painted a picture of the excellent grades learners attained pre-2008:

The fact is that initially [1994-2007], there was a great deal of excitement about the Arabic language, and invariably, they got outstanding results in the matric exam. Moreover, the department used those results to compute their final aggregate marks. So, if they did Arabic as a subject, they would often get 90 to 95% because the examiners structured the syllabus so that Arabic teachers could adequately prepare their learners to do well.

However, he painted a contrasting picture of the FET Arabic enrolment from 2008 in the following statement:

It has now reached the stage where very few are taking the Arabic language [in the IEB Phase], reinforcing the idea that they were taking it to improve the quality of their pass.

The findings above confirm that the inability of learners to score distinctions with ease in the matric exams from 2008 as they did pre-2008 was a demotivating factor for FET Arabic learners, suggesting that the increasing content and complexity of the newly formatted IEB Arabic papers since 2008 is a contributing factor for the declining FET Arabic enrolment. This finding implies that learners have viewed FET Arabic as a burdensome subject since 2008. The following is an evaluation of this finding:

As discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.6.2, the Department of Education outsourced the Matric Arabic exam to the IEB in 2008. Pre-2008, the KwaZulu-Natal examination committee consisting of the University of KwaZulu-Natal lecturers Mahmood Dawood and Ayub Jadwat prepared the KwaZulu-Natal Matric Arabic examinations.

However, Teacher 1, a senior Arabic teacher in KwaZulu-Natal, believed that since the examinations and assessments have moved to the IEB, it has significantly increased in complexity for learners, resulting in learners becoming demotivated to select the Arabic language. He explicitly stated this in the following statement:

What are we doing to motivate the learner? The Arabic language is no longer a subject we can market because the examiners are making the Matric Arabic paper difficult. So, do they [the examiners] expect miracles to happen? It is not going to happen.

Teacher 1 insinuated that the examiners are pitching the assessment of the matric exams beyond the Second Additional Language (SAL) level, thereby causing learners to become demotivated. In this regard, the participating Muslim schools teach Arabic as a foreign language.

Before going further, it is apt to contextualise foreign language complexities. Moeller and Catalano (2015) posit that foreign language learners learn the language outside its spoken environment. Therefore, in line with Moeller and Catalano's (2015) definition, learners who take Arabic in Muslim schools have little or no exposure to the language apart from interacting with the teacher in class. Therefore, the teacher is a significant cog in unpacking the syllabus and preparing the learner for the exams. I evaluated all the participating Arabic teachers as highly competent, with over 20 years of experience teaching FET Arabic. Thus, I ruled out teacher incompetency. However, In addition to the role of a competent teacher, the syllabus workload and ease of unpacking the syllabus are crucial in motivating learners to take Arabic. Thus, it becomes pertinent to evaluate the above-mentioned demotivational factors below.

At the outset, Teacher 1 painted a picture of the Arabic examinations pre-2008:

Arabic flourished pre-2008 because, number one, we promoted the language, and number two, we made it palatable to the learner.

Interestingly, Teacher 1's view above aligns with the findings in section 6.2.1, '*The Arabic Language, a Popular Muslim School Subject*'. The findings in Section 6.2.1 were unanimous that Arabic was a popular subject in the rising phase, motivated by the good grades learners attained in KwaZulu-Natal Muslim schools. The KwaZulu-Natal Arabic examination committee prepared the Matric Arabic exams during this period, not the IEB.

Further, Teacher 1 alludes that the former KwaZulu-Natal Arabic examiners were cognisant that FET Arabic learners were foreign language users with little to no means of practising the language apart from interaction with the teacher in the class and the syllabus content. Hence, he claims that the previous examiners made the matric exams: *'palatable to the learner'*. Additionally, Teacher 1 insinuates that since 2008, the matric exams have increased in complexity for both learners and teachers. This finding tallies with the gradual decline of KwaZulu-Natal's FET Arabic since 2008, as depicted in the table below:

Table 6.2

KwaZulu-Natal Matric Arabic Enrolment 1994-2021

1994-2007 Curriculum (2005)	**2008-2011 (NCS)**	**2012-2015 (CAPS)**	**2016-2019 (CAPS)**	**2020-2021 (CAPS)**
300 learners	85 learners	57 learners	32 learners	15 learners
(Estimation based on the findings in section 6.2 above)	(Average number of learners per year for four years)	(Average number of learners per year for four years)	(Average number of learners per year for four years)	(Average number of learners per year for the last 2-year period)

Note, figures adapted from the AMS report on the health of Arabic in independent schools (AMS, 2021)

Given the above statistics, Teacher 1 contended that the declining FET Arabic enrolment has been significant since the department outsourced Arabic to the IEB in 2008 (see further Chapter 3, section 3.6.2). As a result, he insinuates a causal relationship between the decline of FET Arabic in KwaZulu-Natal and the change of examiners:

In 2020, we had only 20 students in the province, compared to pre-2008, when we had almost 400 learners. The decline is historical, and it never happened yesterday; it started in 2008 when the IEB took over.

The findings also indicate that Teacher 1 compares the complexity of the IEB exams to the former KwaZulu-Natal exams when he said*:*

Arabic flourished pre-2008 because, number one, we promoted the language, and number two, we made it palatable to the learner.

In endorsing the comparison above, Principal 2 corroborated the notion that learners scored better grades pre-2008 than from 2008 in the following statement:

We are not saying that the [IEB] Arabic language papers have been unfair; the examiners set the papers at a good standard. However, learners do not attain many A [symbols] in the 90s A-pluses. We are talking about learners who have been writing Matric Arabic recently [from 2008]. Students want to score to the maximum, especially the top students; they want to get their marks to the 90s.

Further, he substantiated the findings that the complexity of the IEB Matric Arabic papers is demotivating learners to enrol for Arabic in the following statement:

If they come out of the examination room, and they [are] sulky, are not sure how they did, and are upset, it will not do too much to promote the Arabic language.

Likewise, Principal 4 also corroborated the above findings, explicitly stating the reasons the IEB syllabus and papers are burdensome on his learners:

Arabic language as an eighth subject burdened our learners in terms of time, the number of assessments they had to complete, and the content of the eighth subject. So, they had a more considerable burden [than the learners who took seven subjects].

Given the above discussion, the findings are unanimous that learners found the IEB's matric assessment since 2008 much more complex than the previous examination board, particularly in scoring good grades. Therefore, the poor grades obtained post-2008 were essential in demotivating learners to select Arabic at the FET level. Additionally, the above findings align with the discussion in sections 6.3.4 and 6.3.5, which found that the increased workload and complexity of the IEB Matric Arabic exams resulted in a drop in grades from 2008 (AMS, 2021).

For instance, School A made the Arabic language compulsory as an additional eighth subject within the regular school timetable (see further discussion in section 6.3.2 above). However, despite these proactive efforts to promote the Arabic language, Principal 4 laments that his Matric Arabic grades dropped in the IEB phase, implying that the inability of his learners to score good grades, as they did

pre-2008, is a causal factor in demotivating his learners from selecting the Arabic language as a matric subject. He confirmed this view in the following statement:

Moreover, even the Arabic language was not giving them the easy A as earlier [1994-2007].

In conclusion, I argue that the findings above show that during the rising phase, the KwaZulu-Natal examiners gave due consideration to FET Arabic learners being second additional language users. Therefore, they made the Matric Arabic exams palatable to them. Teacher 1 endorsed this notion when he complimented the pre-2008 examiner and University of KwaZulu-Natal lecturer Mahmood Dawood in the following words:

Mahmood Dawood's famous words were: 'Do not trick them; they are writing an exam under examination conditions, and do not confuse them.' He always had the student at heart, which is why our results were so good.

Principal 1 further endorsed the above finding when he said:

The exams [the pre-2008 matric exam] were structured so that Arabic teachers could adequately prepare their children to do well.

Principal 1 again confirms the above notion when he said:

The fact is that in the early days, there was great excitement about Arabic. At School B, for example, we know that if ten learners did Arabic, at least six or seven would get distinctions, and the others would get B's. So, there was a considerable demand for Arabic.

Furthermore, he added,

They got outstanding results in the matric exam, and those results were used to compute their final aggregate marks, very often getting 90 to 95%.

In contrast, the participants in this study alluded to a distinct decline in distinction attainment in the IEB phase of the Arabic exams (from 2008). Principal 2 endorses this view when he said:

Learners do not see many A [symbols] in the 90s A-pluses. We are talking about learners who have been writing Arabic recently [post-2008]. Students want to score to the maximum, especially the top students. They want to get their marks to the 90s.

Principal 1 further endorses this view when he said:

There is disinterest when introducing Arabic; we expect learners to learn vocabulary and rules. So, at our school, we know many children switch off.

Lastly, the above findings align with Principal 4's statement when he asserted:

One of the many reasons children come to school is to get a good matric certificate.

Based on the above, the findings show that the inability of learners to score easy A's post-2008 suggests that the IEB matric exams and assessments have increased in content and complexity, implying that poor grades demotivated learners to select Arabic as an elective or additional eighth subject.

6.4.2 The Arabic Language Under Review in Muslim Schools

'We should create a slot for Arabic in Muslim schools. However, not to meet the CAPs curriculum outcomes, but rather with outcomes for Muslim schools, to create an Islamic personality and link the learner with the Qur'an.' (Principal 4)

In the previous section (6.4.1 above), I presented the findings in response to research question one: What factors contributed to the rise and decline of Arabic enrolment as an elective subject at the FET level? In this regard, the findings showed that since 2008, the inability of Arabic learners to attain excellent grades in the matric exams has been a significant demotivating factor. As a result, it is a causal factor for the decline of FET Arabic enrolment in the participating Muslim schools. This decline has created an Arabic language crisis in Muslim schools.

In addition to the previous findings, this section found that since 2018, School A has repealed its FET Arabic program, replacing it with a Quranic Arabic program. Moreover, the findings indicate that some participating schools are also contemplating the same. This finding suggests that School A's uptake of Qur'anic Arabic contributes to the declining FET Arabic enrolment.

Regarding School A's decision to replace FET Arabic with Qur'anic Arabic, I scrutinised the data, searching for factors that contributed to the decline of FET Arabic in line with research question one: What factors contributed to the rise and decline of Arabic enrolment as an elective subject at the FET level? In this regard, School A has since 2015 called for the review of FET Arabic in KwaZulu-Natal Muslim schools. Moreover, since 2018, they have begun prototyping a Qur'anic Arabic Program, suggesting that in response to the declining FET Arabic enrolment, they moot Qur'anic Arabic to replace FET Arabic in KwaZulu-Natal Muslim schools.

As a result, the findings imply that the FET Arabic vs Quranic Arabic debate among KwaZulu-Natal Muslim schools is a causal factor for the declining FET Arabic enrolment and contributes to the Arabic language crises in Muslim schools. However, before we further evaluate and interpret this finding, it would be apt to define FET Arabic and Qur'anic Arabic in the context of this study.

As far as FET Arabic is concerned, since 1975, when the Joint Matriculation Board declared the Arabic language an official school subject (Jeppie, 2007; Vahed & Waetjen, 2015), Arabic was taught as a language, and schools prepared learners to sit for the matric examination for Arabic language proficiency. For this reason, the FET Arabic syllabus focuses on the four language skills: listening, speaking, reading, and writing (see detailed discussion in Chapter 6.3). Therefore, in line with the above, I define FET Arabic as the teaching and learning of Arabic for language proficiency by preparing learners to select the Arabic language at the grade ten level to write the matric exams.

In this regard, the definition offered above is in tandem with the definition offered by Principal 1 below:

The introduction of Arabic as a FET subject had a ripple effect on the type of curriculum taught from grade seven to matric [Grade 12] because the teachers in grades seven, eight, and nine had to do the essential standard language curriculum to prepare the children for the matric exam.

Regarding Qur'anic Arabic, it is a renewal of an old interest. When Muslim schools began teaching Arabic, the goal was to understand the Qur'an. However, after three provincial and three national conferences, it was deliberated and then decided in the 1994 Cape Town Conference that this goal would more likely be achievable at the Darul Ulumn and community colleges and not at the school level. (Mall & Nieman, 2002; Mohamed, 1997). Therefore, the 1994 conference amended the goal of school Arabic to communicative competence. The rationale was to employ communicative competence at the school level as a scaffold to pursue understanding the Qur'an at the tertiary, Darul Ulumn or community college level (Mohamed, 1997).

Regarding Qur'anic Arabic, Principal 4 below offered a definition that is relevant to this study's findings:

In our humble opinion, the purpose of Arabic is to link the learner to the speech of Allah. If that is why we are learning and teaching Arabic, then we can allocate human and financial resources, time, energy, and effort. The goal is to give our children a better understanding, connection, and appreciation for the Qur'an.

According to the above, this study defines Qur'anic Arabic as the teaching and learning of Arabic to link the learner with Allah's speech. That is, to afford the learner a better understanding, connection, and appreciation for the Qur'an by employing a classical grammar approach.

Regarding Qur'anic Arabic as a Muslim school subject, this study's findings show that the participating Muslim schools have no consensus on Qur'anic Arabic replacing FET Arabic. Instead, in the context of a decreasing number of schools participating in the FET exams and the low FET Arabic enrolment, the above finding suggests that the debate of FET Arabic versus Qur'anic Arabic further contributes to the Arabic language crisis, implying that the FET Arabic vs Qur'anic Arabic debate was also a contributing factor to the low FET Arabic enrolment. The following is an evaluation of this finding.

The first to admit that the teaching and learning of Arabic in Muslim schools is in crisis is Principal 1:

For the last 20 years in the Muslim school movement, there have been numerous conferences, meetings, and colloquia dealing with the status of Arabic in our schools. However, unfortunately, we think the Muslim school movement does not have a much-focused idea of what they want from the Arabic language.

When I probed Principal 4 on the Arabic language crises in KwaZulu-Natal Muslim schools, he expressed a similar sentiment:

Those conversations have been happening for a very long time. We have Arabic on the agenda whenever we have conferences. So, it is not like it happened suddenly. We are aware of what is happening. So, we have first-hand knowledge of which schools are teaching Arabic and how many schools are teaching it, and we can see from year to year what the decline has been.

Likewise, Principal 3 also corroborated the notion that the Arabic language is currently in a crisis:

We are looking at 300 learners in 2007 and 20 learners in 2020. So, something has gone wrong. The numbers have declined, so we must consider every possible factor as contributing or causal. We cannot isolate a single factor; to isolate it is to negate the others, but the decline is due to many factors.

On the other hand, Principal 2 lamented that very few Muslim schools promote FET Arabic. For instance, of the thirty-one registered Muslim schools in KwaZulu-Natal (AMS, 2023, April 6), only four or five have a viable Arabic program in the FET phase (AMS, 2021).

Given the above, Principal 2 lamented the low uptake of Arabic by Muslim schools:

If a Muslim school divorces itself from the Arabic language, where do we expect that learner to develope the skills for the language? It is not going to happen. Moreover, how do we expect something to happen later without exposing them to Arabic in the most crucial years of the learners' lives?

Hence, the findings above show that all four participating principals believe that the FET Arabic program in KwaZulu-Natal Muslim schools is in a crisis, implying a need to review FET Arabic in Muslim schools.

The above findings indicate that the previous findings of learners' desire for occupational mobility and further the inability of learners to score good grades since 2008 are perhaps working in tandem with the debate of FET Arabic vs Qur'anic Arabic to exponentially intensify the Arabic language dilemma in the participating Muslim schools. Thus, they suggest that the FET Arabic vs Quranic Arabic debate contributes to the low uptake of FET Arabic.

Regarding FET Arabic vs Qur'anic Arabic Qur'anic Arabic as a contributor to the declining FET Arabic enrolment, Principal 4 was explicit:

We made a decision not to write FET Arabic anymore. We replaced it with compulsory Arabic from grades one to eleven but with a different focus and outcomes to the FET Arabic outcomes. We replaced it with Qur'anic Arabic outcomes.

School A has been a leading protagonist of Qur'anic Arabic. For instance, in 2015, School A convened an inquisition into the relevance of FET Arabic to the Muslim school approach. During the Inquisition, Moulana Imran Khamissa presented a report on the health of Arabic in Muslim schools. He positioned FET Arabic at three on a scale of ten and declining. Zaffar Ahmed then urged the participants to consider an alternative Arabic program that links the learner to the Qur'an instead of FET Arabic, which he maintained was not benefitting the learner's holistic development. After much deliberation, the delegates committed to investigating the viability of Qur'anic Arabic as an alternative to FET Arabic. After the Inquisition, at the request of School A, I drew a blueprint for a proposed Qur'anic Arabic program. The blueprint suggested a phased-in approach, where the viability of Quranic Arabic as a replacement for FET Arabic would be tested in the lower grades. I further suggested that FET Arabic must not be rescinded until the Qur'anic Arabic syllabus has been formulated and tested to be workable. I further stressed that importing a ready-made syllabus must be avoided. Syllabuses are generally designed for a particular context and require prior levels of understanding, and those contexts and previous understandings may not apply to South African Muslim school learners. School A subsequently resolved to prototype the Qur'anic Arabic program at their school. However, the suggestions in the blueprint were not put into effect. Instead, in 2018, they boldly repealed their FET Arabic program, replacing it with Qur'anic Arabic.

The findings show that the August 2015 Arabic language inquisition influenced School A to repeal its FET Arabic program. They suggest that the movement to endorse Qur'anic Arabic as a preferred Arabic program at Muslim schools in KwaZulu-Natal has gained momentum since the Inquisition.

Given the above, Principle 4 asserted the following:

I am passionate about Qur'anic Arabic, and I have engaged with principles at several forums; I even established an Islamic Forum on AMS to promote the Islamic ethos, and part of the ethos is Arabic. Moreover, I am a big proponent of introducing a new, revamped Qur'anic Arabic program in Muslim schools.

The above indicates that School A is a leading protagonist in implementing Qur'anic Arabic in Muslim schools. To realise this goal, they have volunteered to develope and prototype a Qur'anic Arabic syllabus for Muslim schools. Responding to my probe, Principal 4 asserted the following:

To answer the question on the commitment from the board. We have a department head for Arabic, we employ several teachers for Arabic, and we have a team constantly developing material for Qur'anic Arabic. So, we plough a lot of resources, effort, and energy. So, we support Arabic as best as we possibly can. And in a very constructive way, Insha Allah (God willing).

I argue that School A's commitment to developing Qur'anic Arabic has gained momentum among Muslim schools. For instance, Principal 1 from School B indicated that his school is soon looking to implement a Qur'anic Arabic program.

Indeed, we do not foresee FET Arabic as a language of conversation in South Africa…It is a considerable embarrassment that by the time our children leave thirteen years later, we cannot say with any certainty that even 50% of them can understand at least the basic Duas (supplication) or Surahs (chapters) when they read the Qur'an. So that is something that we are going to improve. We know it is very late, but we want to start the Qur'anic Arabic program.

Hence, the finding above shows that at least one participating school has rescinded FET Arabic, and another is considering rescinding it. The prominent cause of disagreement for those wanting to rescind FET Arabic is the contention that FET Arabic does little to contribute to the Muslim school ethos. On the other hand, the protagonists of the Qur'anic Arabic movement argue that it is grounded in understanding the Qur'an and, therefore, better suited to contribute to the Muslim school ethos.

Principal 1 exemplifies this argument in the statement below:

To keep the language alive, we must be agile about dealing with the Arabic language, ensuring that we have a curriculum, proper structure, and a clear objective of why we are teaching this language. Many schools are moving in that direction.

Further, he remarked:

As Muslim educationists, we aim to ensure that our learners understand Arabic. Consequently, they would practice their Deen (religion) with greater confidence, sincerity, and understanding.

While Principal 1 and Principal 4 explicitly moot for Qur'anic Arabic as a substitute for FET Arabic, on the other hand, Principal 2 calls for a reconciliation between the two views, proposing a hybrid Arabic program that focuses on the FET Arabic outcomes and the Qur'anic Arabic outcomes. In line with this view, he asserted the following:

Marry the two [FET Arabic and Qur'anic Arabic], have communicative competence, so when they travel, they are not at a loss and can understand when somebody talks to them. If they have a need, they can make themselves understood. In addition, do the Qur'anic Arabic so that the Dini (religious) part and the Ibadah (prayer) can become more meaningful. So that the Duas (supplications) that learners recite are more connected and not divorced from their meaning.

Considering Principal 2's hybrid model above, although Principal 1 mooted Qur'anic Arabic above, paradoxically, he conceded to a hybrid Arabic program at some point in the interview.

Perhaps as a compromise, he echoed the following view:

AMS schools are looking at how we approach Arabic across our schools...Maybe we will have FET Arabic for those who want to take Arabic as an academic subject at the FET level; they must be allowed to do that and be encouraged to take it as an eighth subject, but for the right reasons.

While the above findings show that two of the participating principals favour replacing FET Arabic with Qur'anic Arabic, in contrast, the findings of this section also reveal conflicting views regarding the suitability of Qur'anic Arabic as a viable replacement for FET Arabic, suggesting that it lacks consensus.

In this regard, the findings show that some participating teachers in this study are not convinced that Quranic Arabic solves the Arabic language crisis in Muslim schools. In this regard, I probed Teacher 2, the most senior Arabic teacher in KwaZulu-Natal, on the viability of Qur'anic Arabic as a replacement for FET Arabic, and she expressed the following notion:

We derived our [FET Arabic] grammar from the Qur'an. So, it is a contradiction when people say Qur'anic Arabic. All Arabic is Qur'anic! What we teach them in FET Arabic is Qur'anic. The words we use in grades eight and nine [referring to the FET Arabic syllabus], Kithaab/ Qalam/ Shajarah, all those words, 80% of those words are in the Qur'an, the simple ones, the ones that we use in the classroom.

Teacher 2 further criticised principals who distinguish between Qur'anic and FET Arabic, cautioning Principals to avoid being overly judgemental about the intricacies of the Arabic language. In short, she alluded that their knowledge of Arabic is limited, and therefore, they might err in their judgments, as she pointed out below:

Sometimes, they [principals] are mistaken regarding Qur'anic Arabic because their idea is to translate the Quran. Now, the Qur'an is not straightforward and literal. There are those figurative expressions. We quote examples from the Qur'an for most of our teaching. For example, if we use the word Kithaab, we quote Qur'an verses with the word Kitab.

Similarly, Teacher 3, a senior Arabic teacher, expressed a similar view to Teacher 2 in the following statement:

We know that School A has a Qur'anic Arabic syllabus, which is now in its third year. We have not looked at the syllabus. It will be nice to get a copy and see. We would like to see if it is so 'Qur'anic,' We put Qur'anic in inverted commas, and then we would like to look at it.

Considering the above, two Senior Arabic teachers in the four participating schools favour the incumbent FET Arabic program as a preferred program instead of Qur'anic Arabic. The above suggests that Quranic Arabic as a replacement for FET Arabic lacks buy-in from crucial role players. Additionally, Principal 2 argued for a middle path when he suggested:

Marry the two [FET Arabic and Qur'anic Arabic] ... have communicative Arabic, so they are not at a loss when they travel. In addition, do Qur'anic Arabic so that Ibadha (prayer) can become more meaningful.

Notwithstanding the above, the findings show that Qur'anic Arabic is a serious contender to replace FET Arabic in Muslim schools. Teacher 1 echoed this sentiment in the following words:

So, FET Arabic will be off the market if we do not get together quickly and address these issues critically at a conference. Muslim schools are going to go the Qur'anic Arabic route. Already, some schools are talking to us about Qur'anic Arabic. They are also starting to see a problem with FET Arabic. So, if they go down School A's route, FET Arabic will decline even further.

Notwithstanding the debate of FET Arabic vs Qur'anic Arabic, the findings of this study suggest that the adoption of Qur'anic Arabic by School A contributes to the decline of FET Arabic enrolment in participating Muslim schools. For instance, according to AMS (2021), School A was the most significant contributor to FET Arabic enrolment in KwaZulu-Natal. Based on my estimates, almost one-third of FET Arabic candidates were from School A from 1994 - 2007.

Principal 4, in the following statement, endorsed these figures for 1994 - 2007:

We had 90 learners from School A, one school contributing to the 300 FET Arabic learners sitting for the matric exams.

Similarly, School A has contributed 54% of KwaZulu-Natal's FET Arabic enrolment from 2015 to 2019 (AMS,2021). Hence, the rescinding of School A from the matric exam in 2020 has significantly affected FET Arabic enrolment and, therefore, the viability of the FET Arabic program. Principal 3 exemplified the above notion when he lamented the drastic drop in FET enrolment in KwaZulu-Natal since 2007:

We are looking at 300 learners in 2007 and 20 learners in 2020. So, something has gone wrong.

Principal 2 further endorsed the above finding in the following statement:

There is a view that Qur'an Arabic is what we should work towards instead of FET Arabic. So, when that happened, the interest in FET Arabic also dwindled. If we look at KwaZulu-Natal, while we are a vast province, schools with large numbers of Arabic learners are adopting Qur'anic Arabic and dropping FET Arabic [referring to School A and School B]. So, the significant scores of learners from those schools are not writing it anymore. So, it makes a difference in the percentage of learners writing Arabic.

Hence, the findings of this study show that the uptake of Qur'anic Arabic by some of the participating Muslim schools in KwaZulu-Natal contributes to the declining Arabic enrolment as an FET subject. Furthermore, they suggest that substituting FET Arabic for Qur'anic Arabic by some schools contributed to the declining enrolment of FET Arabic in the participating Muslim schools. As a result, this finding, together with the previous findings on learner's desire for educational and social mobility and the inability of learners to score good grades in the IEB phase (post-2008), are significant contributors to the decline of Arabic as an elective subject at the FET phase.

6.5 Chapter Conclusions

Firstly, the findings show that learners' quest for social mobility was overwhelming, inciting them to view Arabic as trivial in contrast to their career, occupational, and social mobility ambitions. Thus, learners were mainly motivated by the utility of academic subject choices to scaffold them to tertiary education, making the Arabic language less preferred than academic subjects. In other words, learners employed academic subjects as a utility to boost their matric grades and enhance their likelihood of gaining university entrance. This finding is an overarching result that permeates the rising (pre-2007) and declining phase (post-2007) of implementing FET Arabic.

Secondly, in the declining phase, the additional complexity in the matric examinations and assessment process resulted in learners scoring lower grades and becoming demotivated. The findings indicate that demotivated learners were a significant causal factor for the declining number of learners selecting FET Arabic in the declining phase. These findings align with a report on the health of Arabic in Independent Muslim schools (AMS, 2021), showing a causal relationship between the onset of the IEB Arabic exams and the decline of learners selecting the Arabic language in KwaZulu-Natal.

Thirdly, the findings consistently show that learners' focus on acquiring educational mobility, coupled with the low grades since 2008, has led to an Arabic language crisis, resulting not only in a declining number of learners sitting for the matric exams but also in a declining number of Muslim schools participating in the national matric exams.

Because of the above, some schools are exploring the viability of Quranic Arabic as a replacement for FET Arabic, leading to the decision to prototype Qur'anic Arabic as an alternative to FET Arabic. Thus, the findings confirm that the exit of some schools from the FET Arabic program has further led to a declining number of learners sitting for the matric exam.

Chapter Seven

Analysis and Discussion

The Opportunities of Teaching and Learning Arabic in Selected Muslim Schools

7.1 Introduction

As mentioned in the previous chapter, due to the diversity of categories and the voluminous nature of the data, I separated the discussion of findings into two categories of *challenges* and *opportunities*. While Chapter 6 analysed the findings of the *challenges of implementing FET Arabic in selected Muslim schools,* responding to the first three critical questions, this chapter analysed the findings on *the opportunities of teaching and learning the Arabic language in selected Muslim schools*, responding to the fourth critical question of this study, namely:

7.1.1. How can the selected Muslim schools overcome the challenges of this rise and decline?

With the above research question in mind and guided by the Muslim school approach as a lens to view the study, I gleaned the data and, building on the data analysis in Chapter 5, extrapolated two themes that show the opportunities for promoting the Arabic language in Muslim schools. They are:

- Arabic as a vehicle to promote an Islamic ethos in Muslim schools
- The role of the school community in promoting the Arabic language

7.2 Theme One: Arabic as a Vehicle to Promote an Islamic Ethos in Muslim Schools Learners

This section aims to show that Arabic contributes to creating a well-balanced individual as a component of Islamic traditions. In line with this aim, the following subthemes are presented: the role of Arabic as a significant component of Islamic traditions and the Arabic language as a means of creating a well-balanced individual. However, briefly describing how the themes were developed would be appropriate before I discuss the findings.

While Chapter 5 detailed the coding scheme, modalities, and processes I employed to analyse the data, Figure 7.1 below presents a schematic description of how the codes progressed to emerging themes and central themes and subthemes. In developing the themes and subthemes, I was guided by this study's research questions and conceptual framework of the Muslim school approach outlined in Chapter 4.

Figure 7.1

Schematic Diagram of Themes and Subthemes of the Opportunities

Categories

- *Arabic a significant component of the Islamic traditions*
- *Arabic a vehicle to create a well-balanced individual*
- *Arabic a vehicle to understand the Qur'an*

Emerging theme

Creating an Islamic heritage based on the Islamic traditions

Theme 1

Arabic as a vehicle to promote an Islamic ethos in Muslim School learners

Subthemes

The role of Arabic as a significant component of the Islamic traditions

The Arabic language as a means of creating a well-balanced individual

Categories

- *The utility of the Muslim school approach*
- *Parents as motivators of Arabic*
- *Support from principals and board members to promote Arabic*
- *Lack of initiatives from AMS*

Emerging theme

A balance between academic education and Islamic traditions

Theme 2

The Arabic language as a means of creating a well-balanced individual

Subthemes

The Role of parents in promoting the Arabic language in Muslim schools

The role of principals, the board and AMS in promoting Arabic

7.2.1 Subtheme 1: The Role of Arabic as a Significant Component of the Islamic Traditions

'Some schools are trying to keep the Arabic language going. Although they put all their efforts into FET Arabic, at least something is happening because if they are not doing FET Arabic, they do not know what to do. A handful of Muslim schools have dropped FET Arabic but have not replaced it with any form of Arabic. Now, that is a tragedy.' (Principal 4)

Regarding the role of Arabic in Muslim schools, this section shows that all the participating Muslim schools viewed Arabic as an integrated Muslim school subject, suggesting that Arabic as a component of Islamic traditions significantly promotes an Islamic ethos in learners. Furthermore, they imply the integral role of Arabic in promoting a holistic Islamic identity in Muslim school learners.

Regarding the Islamic ethos, Lubis (2015) describes it as equilibrium in mind, body and spirit, aiming to obtain richness of the heart and brilliance of the mind. Yaacob (2018) asserts that when manifested in an individual, it results in his 'thoughts, actions, and attitudes toward an Islamic way of life' (p. 3). Perhaps, with this view in mind, Tan (2014) defines Muslim schools as educational institutions that transmit Islamic knowledge while inculcating Islamic values and ethos.

Given the above definition of the inculcation of Islamic ethos in Muslim school learners, the following is an evaluation of this finding:

Regarding the relationship between Arabic and Muslim schools, Principal 2 described it as follows:

Arabic should be an integral part of Muslim schools. Suppose the Muslim School is a choice school for Muslim learners, and Muslim schools intend to develop this child [with an Islamic ethos]. In that case, the least a Muslim school could do is develope a love for the Arabic language in the learners that go through its corridors. If a Muslim school divorces itself from Arabic, where do we expect that learner to develop a taste for the language? It will not happen anywhere else. Moreover, it will not happen later if we have not exposed them to Arabic in the most crucial years of the child's life.

In the statement above, Principal 2 categorically considered Arabic a variable to promote the learner's holistic development as part of the integrated Muslim school ethos defined above.

Principal 4 below further endorsed Arabic's utility in promoting an Islamic ethos in Muslim school learners. Moreover, he is critical of schools that are neglectful of promoting Arabic as a Muslim school subject:

[Muslim] Schools that neglect Islamic studies and Arabic do a disservice to their communities. Because no other schools will carry that agenda [Muslim school ethos], we do not expect the neighbouring government school to carry that agenda [Muslim school ethos]. However, suppose that the community has taken it upon itself to establish an Islamic school. In that case, they should also have the vision and responsibility to promote an Islamic ethos, personality, growth, and understanding of Arabic towards the Qur'an.

Notably, Chapter 6, section 6.4.2 findings showed that Principal 4 was a strong proponent of Qur'anic Arabic. Therefore, he was critical of FET Arabic for not serving the purposes of a Muslim school ethos. On the contrary, below, he applauded even those Muslim schools that taught FET Arabic, indicating that he supported the findings above that Arabic is a significant variable in fostering an Islamic ethos in Muslim school learners:

Thus, he endorsed the above findings in the following words:

Some schools are trying to keep the Arabic language going. All be it they put all their efforts into FET Arabic. At least something is happening because they do not know what to do if they are not offering FET Arabic. A handful of Muslim schools have dropped FET Arabic but have not replaced it with any form of Arabic. Now, that is a tragedy.

Teacher 1 further concurred with the findings that Arabic plays a significant role in fostering an Islamic ethos in Muslim school learners in the statement below:

We believe that Islamic Studies is the first, second is Arabic, and then academic subjects in that pecking order. Therefore, if a Muslim school does not offer Arabic to their learners, it cannot define itself as a Muslim school.

Additionally, he defined the scope of a typical Muslim school,

So, what makes a Muslim school is its ethos. It is the subjects that Muslim schools offer, not the dress code. For example, Hartley Road learners wear scarves and cloaks, which does not make them a Muslim school. So, we believe that the subjects and programs we offer at Muslim schools make it a Muslim school. In that vein, the relationship between Muslim schools and the Arabic language is inseparable.

The findings above indicate that Arabic has considerable potential to foster an Islamic ethos in Muslim school learners. Perhaps with this in mind, Principal 3 below called on Muslim schools to safeguard the status of Arabic as an integrated Muslim school subject:

Sometimes, we must fight to get Arabic in and stay in because we know it is correct. However, it will not come naturally. So, the obligation is up to individual Muslim Schools. To what extent do they realise the importance of the Arabic language and what they hope to achieve from it as a [vehicle to promote an Islamic ethos]?

In line with the rise and decline of FET Arabic, Principal 3, above, brings the relationship between Muslim schools and the Arabic language to the fore. In this vein, he suggests that Muslim schools must re-evaluate their relationship with the Arabic language and realign teaching and learning Arabic according to the integrated approach.

Regarding the aims of the integrated Muslim school approach, Othman et al. (2017) explain that despite having similar aims, Muslim schools have varying degrees of integration. Yaacob (2018) alluded to this diversity of curriculum aims and content in Muslim schools. For instance, he identifies Muslim schools with substantial academic programs but weak Islamic traditions. In contrast, he posits that some schools are biased towards Islamic traditions and, in the process, place academics on the periphery. On the contrary, he delineates another group of Muslim schools that teach Islamic traditions and academics in a balanced approach. As a final point, Zaman and Memon (2016) stress that whichever position Muslim schools take, they must anchor the curriculum in the Islamic worldview based on Islamic traditions. Hence, he endorses the integral nature of Islamic traditions and Arabic to the integrated Muslim school approach.

With the above findings in mind, I probed the participants on how Muslim schools intend to preserve the legacy of Arabic as an essential contributor to the integrated Muslim school ethos, and Principal 4 obliged with the following sentiments:

We must protect the legacy that came with the Prophet Muhammad (peace and blessing be upon him) as the final messenger. He brought this most beautiful and loving speech from Allah [the Arabic Qur'an], and we, as Muslims, do not understand it. That is a travesty, an injustice; we have beautiful schools like this, with multimillion-dollar budgets, with 1000 to 1200 learners going through this school yearly. We have Arabic in the school, but we are not getting learners to the point of having this relationship with the Quran. In the same way, we have a relationship with a love letter we got from our beloved.

The above finding indicates that Principal 4 is passionate about Arabic's significant role in nurturing an Islamic ethos in Muslim school learners. However, simultaneously, he cautioned that beautiful buildings do not nurture learners' Islamic ethos. Instead, he believed understanding the Arabic Qur'an is crucial to developing an Islamic ethos in Muslim school learners.

Thus, the participants were unanimous that Arabic, particularly the study of Arabic that fosters an understanding of the Arabic Qur'an, is significant in promoting an Islamic ethos in learners. In line with this view, Principal 1 called for the promotion of Arabic as a Muslim school subject in the statement below:

If we want to have a community in the future that understands its Deen [religion], then obviously, they need to have a good understanding of Arabic. However, on the other hand, we [Muslims] have a responsibility given to us by the Creator to preserve this language. So whatever efforts anybody makes in applying their minds to how Muslim schools can promote, teach, and preserve Arabic, and how the quality of understanding Arabic can be improved [in Muslim schools], they need our maximum and complete support.

In support of the above findings, Principal 3 further drew a historical relationship between the Arabic language and Muslim schools:

So, in the early years, Islamic schools were synonymous with Islam, and Arabic was an integral part of Muslim schools. So, they were ready to send their children to benefit from this world of Islamic knowledge and, packaged with that, the Arabic language.

The finding above regarding the historical relationships between Arabic and Muslim schools is further corroborated by Teacher 3, contending that, from the inception of Muslim schools, Arabic was a variable to inculcate an Islamic ethos in Muslim school learners:

From 1994, Arabic was a core subject at our school. Moreover, we have made that policy. So, our then HoD of Islamic studies, Moulana Abdur Rahim Khan (may Allah protect him), made Arabic part of our syllabus from grade one to Grade 12.

In conclusion, the findings above unanimously confirm that all the participating Muslim schools viewed Arabic as an integrated Muslim school subject, suggesting that as a component of Islamic traditions, Arabic significantly promotes an Islamic ethos in learners, implying that it is a crucial variable to promote a holistic Islamic identity in Muslim school learners.

Regarding Arabic's role in promoting an Islamic ethos in Muslim school learners, the above findings are congruent with the historical establishment of Muslim schools as an alternative to public schools in KwaZulu-Natal. In this light, the literature review chapter deliberates historical evidence indicating that KwaZulu-Natal's Muslims initiated Muslim schools to preserve their children's Islamic ethos. In this light, Vahed and Waetjen's (2015) study shows that during the colonial and Apartheid periods, missionary and public schools promoted a distinctly secular and Christian worldview of educational attainment. The study further showed that Muslim parents fearing proselytisation and wanting to

preserve their children's Islamic identity established Muslim schools. Adam's (2004) study on 'The need and relevance for establishing Independent Muslim Schools in South Africa' confirmed the above notion. In his study, Adam posited that Muslim parents established Muslim schools primarily because they were motivated to produce a well-rounded human being with a solid connection to his religion. Al-Attas (1979), one of the driving forces of the Islamisation project, shared a similar view, postulating that Islamic education deliberates on refining the learner's character. He further postulated that, on the one hand, it encouraged them to develop their earthly life for human agency purposes; on the other hand, it promoted spirituality to attain the pleasure of God and felicity in the hereafter.

Given the above, the findings are also congruent with this study's conceptual framework, asserting that integrated education, when implemented holistically, produces human beings that are emotionally, intellectually, spiritually and physically balanced (Lubis, 2015; Othman et al., 2017; Tan, 2014).

Further, regarding Arabic's utility in developing learners' Islamic ethos, the findings align with the historic adoption of the Arabic language in 1975 as an integrated Muslim school subject (Dawood, 2008; Jeppie, 2007; Mohamed, 1997). In Chapter 3, section 3.2, I argued that adopting Arabic as a school subject strategically doubled the teaching time for religious education and thus strengthened the Muslim school approach. For instance, Medar's (1987) study reveals that by 1982, at least ten schools taught 659 Arabic learners in KwaZulu-Natal alone. Jeppie's (2011) study further demonstrated that 300 learners sat for the 1987 matric exams. The above finding is further supported by Principal 1 when he remarked, ' *Initially [1975-2007], there was a great deal of excitement about the Arabic language, especially when the subject was part and parcel of the mainstream curriculum…So, there was a massive demand for Arabic'*. Thus, the findings imply that Arabic played a significant role as a component of the Islamic traditions to promote the Muslim school approach and, therefore, the Islamic ethos of Muslim school learners.

7.2.2 Subtheme 2: Arabic as a Means of Creating a Well-Balanced Individual

'Do Muslim schools want to teach Arabic to get an A in the matric exam? On the contrary, we would rather have a learner take Arabic as an eighth or ninth subject because they love the language, want to protect their Iman (belief in God Almighty) and enhance their understanding of Islam.' (Principal 1)

While the previous section elucidated the subtheme of Arabic as a significant component of Islamic traditions, this section discusses the findings of the Arabic language as a means of creating a well-balanced individual. These two subthemes elucidate theme 1: Arabic as a vehicle to promote an Islamic ethos in Muslim school learners.

In line with the definition of an Islamic ethos provided in the previous section, Chapter 1 defined the aim of an integrated Muslim school as one that promotes an Islamic ethos rooted in Islamic traditions while striving for academic excellence. Furthermore, the literature review section defined Islamic ethos as the equilibrium of mind, body and soul manifesting in the thoughts, actions and attitudes in an Islamic way of life (Yaacob, 2018). The discussion in the previous section also found that understanding the Arabic Qur'an, prophetic traditions, and daily supplications and further putting them into practice foster an Islamic ethos.

Thus, building on the previous findings, the findings of this section show that the utility of Arabic as a means of creating a well-balanced individual manifests when learners display an Islamic ethos (good character) based on Islamic traditions. On the other hand, chapter 4, section 4.5 established that Islamic traditions were divinely revealed in Arabic. Thus, there is a connection between Arabic and Islamic traditions.

Given the above, the discussion of the findings in this section found that the utility of Arabic as a means of creating a well-balanced individual manifests when learners display an Islamic ethos (good character) based on Islamic traditions. Thus, they suggest that when Muslim school learners learn Arabic to connect to Islamic traditions, it manifests in an Islamic ethos by bringing the mind, body and soul into equilibrium, resulting in a well-balanced individual.

Regarding the role of Arabic in developing a well-balanced individual, Principal 4 articulated the following notion:

Arabic is part of the whole machinery. For instance, if a learner only learns Arabic and nothing else, he will be incomplete; likewise, he is also incomplete if he learns everything else but does not learn Arabic. So, in our opinion, Arabic is part of the cogs that make up the machinery to develop a complete, holistic, well-balanced, and understanding Muslim.

In the statement above, Principal 4 suggested that Arabic has the divine purpose of creating a well-balanced individual as a component of Islamic traditions in Muslim schools.

Principal 1 further concurred with Principal 4 above and expanded on the importance of Arabic in nurturing the traits of a well-balanced individual:

Suppose we quiz Muslim school learners about the first Friday Khutba (Arabic Sermon) or even the second Khutba. In that case, they will not know what it means, especially the second Khutba, which the Imam repeats in Arabic every Friday. However, on the other hand, we want our children to be in a position where they understand what they recite, the Duas (Arabic

supplications) they make, and the basic Surahs (Chapters from the Arabic Quran); that is what we are working towards achieving.

The above findings further suggest that for Arabic to nurture a well-balanced individual, it must be employed to foster an understanding not limited to but at least the Arabic Qur'an, prophetic traditions and daily supplications.

Principal 1 supported the above finding in the following statement:

The Khutba (read in Arabic) is a formula [containing advice and admonition]: praising the Prophet and his companions, talking about being good to one's neighbours, kith, and kin, among other things. However, learners do not understand it because it is in Arabic.

In support of the above finding, Principal 4 below further suggested that the ultimate purpose of Arabic is to understand the Qur'an's injunctions and then live by it, implying a well-balanced individual:

Allah Ta'ala (God Almighty) gave us this Kalaam (the Arabic Qur'an), his speech with love, not only so that we may memorise or recite it. The Qur'an challenge us to contemplate that the purpose of the Qur'an is to act upon it.

Principal 1 also endorsed this view in the following words:

Our main objective is to ensure that our children understand Arabic and practice their Deen (religion) with greater confidence, sincerity, and understanding.

The above findings show that fostering an Islamic ethos is inculcated through understanding the Arabic Qur'an, prophetic traditions, and supplications with the ultimate purpose of putting them into practice. Furthermore, the findings suggest that when this Islamic ethos manifests in a person, it brings the mind, body, and soul into equilibrium, resulting in a well-balanced individual. They imply that Arabic is a significant utility in advancing the goals of the integrated Muslim school approach. That is, fostering an Islamic ethos in Muslim school learners to create a well-balanced individual.

Principal 4 further endorsed the above findings when he eschewed ritualistic practice devoid of understanding as outdated:

We came through the system, engaging in religious practices very ritualistically. In contrast, if there is an understanding and an appreciation of the Arabic Qur'an, there will be a different sense of sweetness in everything we do, which we want to promote in Muslim schools.

However, in contrast to Principal 4 above, Principal 2 presented an alternate view regarding mere recitation and memorisation of the Arabic Qur'an in the following statement:

Muslims in South Africa are at an advantage concerning reading without understanding. Reading the Qur'an and admiring the levels of recitation and memorisation is an accomplishment.

Although Principal 2 expressed a differing view from Principal 4 regarding rote memorisation of the Qur'an, he essentially referred to the common practice of committing the entire Qur'an to memory in Muslim societies. I argue that he alluded to the Qur'anic injunction of reciting the Qur'an that reads as follows: 'and recite the Qur'an in slow measured tones' (Qur'an: Chapter 73, Verse 4). Further, the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) said: 'Whoever recites a letter from Allah's book, and then he receives the reward from it, and the reward of ten the like of it (Book of Tirmizi: 45 2910).

In the above finding, Principal 2 clarified the theological tenet that Qur'an recitation is worship in Islam. However, the Qur'an also says: 'This is a book of guidance with no fabrication' (Qur'an: Chapter 2, Verse 2); further, 'will they not ponder over the Arabic verses of the Qur'an, or is there a seal on their hearts (Qur'an: Chapter 47, Verse 24).

In line with the above verses of the Qur'an, Principal 2 below concurred with Principal 1 and Principal 4 above that understanding the Arabic Qur'an and translating it into practice is essential for Muslim school learners:

Learners must understand the Qur'an they recite in Salaah (prayer). Their Salaah will become more meaningful if the Imam (religious men) recites a Khutba (sermon) or the common Ahaadith (prophetic narrations) and they have an understanding.

In short, in the findings above, while Principal 2 mooted the memorisation of the Qur'an that takes place without understanding, at the same time, he also stressed the study of Arabic for purposes of understanding Islamic traditions as a means of creating a well-balanced individual.

Additionally, Principal 2 reminded the reader that recitation and memorisation of the Arabic Qur'an had the added benefit of promoting the Arabic reading skills of learners:

We should not discount that Muslim students are at an advantage in South Africa because reading skills are taken care of through reciting the Qur'an; therefore, reading Arabic is another skill.

The above findings show that fostering an Islamic ethos is not limited to but includes understanding the Arabic Qur'an, prophetic traditions, and supplications to put them into practice. Furthermore, they suggest that such an Islamic ethos, if inculcated via the understanding of these Islamic traditions, brings the mind, body, and soul into equilibrium, resulting in a well-balanced individual. Thus, they imply that Arabic is a significant utility in advancing the goals of the integrated Muslim school approach.

Additionally, Principal 2 brought up the decades-old argument of ultra-conservative Muslims. In this argument, ultra-conservatives challenge the utility of the Muslim schooling approach in creating a well-balanced individual via understanding the Qur'an. Chapter 3, sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3, discussed this issue in detail. In short, this argument has been around for decades and was the reason for the 1952 Natal Provincial Education Conference. According to Vahed and Waetjen (2015), the conference resolved to promote the Muslim schooling concept and the Arabic language as the *lingua franca* of Muslims in South Africa; however, amid stiff opposition from ultra-conservatives. Hence, I argue that this view has plagued Muslim schools since its inception. Therefore, it is essential because it seriously challenges creating a well-balanced individual based on understanding the Qur'an.

Regarding this challenge, the findings showed that it was a significant negative instance for those wanting to employ the understanding of the Qur'an to nurture an Islamic ethos and ultimately create a well-balanced individual.

Regarding this negative instance, Principal 2 placed this argument into perspective:

There is a view that teaching little Arabic is dangerous because learners will venture towards Tafsir (exegesis) of the Qu'ran and make incorrect interpretations. However, the Qur'an Tafsir is more than just knowing a few words; they need to know the Sabab and Nuzool (reasons for revelation). In addition, learners must know the sciences of the Qur'an, the Ahaadith (prophetic narrations) related to that verse, the Nasik and Mansukh (the abrogated verses), and others. So, all those things come into play. So, that is why there has been pressure [on Muslim schools] not to venture into Qur'anic Arabic because there is insufficient time to teach all of this in the school teaching timetable.

Principal 2 further clarified the points of disagreement:

Moreover, suddenly, a person has some knowledge of Arabic, and he probably feels at liberty to make specific rulings or interpret the Qur'an in a particular way. Now, that is theologically problematic.

Principal 1 further concurred below that the above finding is a significant negative factor for the promotion of Arabic with a focus on understanding the Qur'an:

And then, of course, there is the usual religious controversy about whether laypeople can venture into understanding Qur'anic Arabic or require somebody to teach them the Quran.

Accordingly, ultra-conservative Muslims believe that the layperson must only venture into understanding the Qur'an with a scholar. Furthermore, they hold that the Qur'an's interpretation is the

scholars' jurisdiction. Nonetheless, the above finding poses severe challenges to those wanting to learn Arabic, focusing on understanding the Arabic Qur'an.

In reply to the above notion, Principal 4 poses a counterargument, mooting for a Qur'anic Arabic syllabus or an Arabic syllabus that is biased towards understanding the Qur'an in Muslim schools:

People need to understand Arabic's influential role in moulding a different kind of Islamic mindset and a different type of learner. Imagine, after twelve years, a learner leaves a Muslim school having a profound understanding of the Qur'an, or even the Juma Khutba (Friday sermon) or the Salaah (prayer) they read. Indeed, it must enrich their life.

Principal 3 supported the above view by summing up some of the benefits of teaching Arabic in Muslim schools:

The Arabic language nurtures character, it can shape our personality, and language does affect our behaviour. So, there is much goodness in the Arabic language.

Further, he qualified the above finding:

However, at the same time, others have not attained Hidayah (guidance) because they used Arabic. So, for example, there are Christian Arabs, who can read the Arabic Qur'an and understand it better than we do, but Hidayah (guidance in Islam) is different.

Notwithstanding the views of ultra-conservatives towards understanding the Qur'an, the findings above are unanimous that Arabic is crucial for developing a well-balanced individual, suggesting that it is a significant utility to developing the Islamic ethos of Muslim school learners and, thereby, a well-balanced individual.

Given the above, Principal 4 reiterated that the focus of teaching and learning Arabic must be on understanding the Qur'an in Muslim schools:

It is not just any Arabic; there must be a purpose and outcome for teaching Arabic, and Muslim schools should see this as part of their responsibility. When they establish an Islamic school, it should become part of their outcomes.

Additionally, Principal 4 mooted for Qur'anic Arabic to be an integral component of every Muslim school in the following statement:

We could convince each principal to share this passion for promoting Arabic because they are not against it. Moreover, we can provide a support structure that will help them and guide them; perhaps they do not know the steps to implement an effective Arabic program.

To conclude this section, Principal 1 summed up the purpose of teaching Arabic in Muslim schools in the following words:

Do Muslim schools want to teach Arabic to get an A in the matric exam? On the contrary, we would rather have a learner take Arabic as an eighth or ninth subject because they love the language, want to protect their Iman (belief) and enhance their understanding of Islam.

7.3 Theme: Two: The Role of the School Community in Promoting Arabic

The previous section showed that the participants viewed Arabic as an integrated Muslim school subject. Further, they viewed Arabic as a significant variable in promoting a Muslim school ethos that results in a well-balanced individual. Regarding developing an Islamic ethos and nurturing a well-balanced individual, this section shows that parents are essential in implementing Arabic. In this light, the findings in this section show that the school, the learner, the parent and the Association of Muslim Schools (AMS) are key players in maintaining Arabic as an integrated Muslim school subject.

In line with the above, this section presents the following subthemes: the role of parents in promoting Arabic in Muslim schools, the role of principals and Board of Governors in promoting Arabic, and the role of the Association of Muslim Schools in promoting Arabic.

Moreover, reading this section in tandem with the findings in Chapter 6 would be apt before going further. In this vein, the findings of sections 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3 showed that parents consider academic subjects important because of their utility in helping their children attain educational and subsequent social mobility. As a result, the findings showed that they encouraged their children to select academic subjects over the Arabic language.

7.3.1 Subtheme 3: The Role of Parents in Promoting Arabic in Muslim Schools

'Then, of course, we must sell the Arabic language to parents and children, motivate them, and let them see the beauty [in the Arabic language], you know, excite them about it. So, there is not just one thing to consider; it is a multi-prong approach, and everybody has a contribution to make at different levels.' (Principal 4)

In line with the above, this section's findings show that most participants in this study believed that parents played an unassuming role in promoting Arabic as an integrated Muslim school subject. Therefore, the findings suggest that Muslim parents are perhaps heedless of the utility of Arabic in promoting an Islamic ethos in their children, implying that Muslim schools need to embark on an advocacy program to educate parents on the benefits of their children learning Arabic.

Because of the above, Principal 3 pertinently drew our attention to parents' role in promoting Arabic. On the one hand, he acknowledged that principals as school leaders are accountable for promoting the language as part of the integrated Muslim school's curriculum. However, on the other hand, given the historical significance of Arabic as an integrated Muslim school subject, he aptly presented a diverse view on parent involvement:

So, promoting Arabic cannot rest solely on the shoulders of principals. It is the responsibility of parents as well, based on what they want for their kids, that is, having the vision of the Akhirah [hereafter] in front of them, knowing that the child is going there. The Arabic language will be a means for them to attain salvation there. So, it requires a shift in mindset and commitment to Arabic.

Principal 3 suggested that parents must play a complementary role in assisting the other stakeholders in promoting Arabic. However, he asserted that it required a paradigm shift for parents from emphasising academic education to acknowledging the utility of Arabic as a significant component of nurturing an Islamic ethos in their children. Based on the above notion, he alluded that parents must encourage their children to select Arabic as a seventh elective or an eighth additional subject. However, he also acknowledged that the reality on the ground is different.

Thus, he painted a picture of the parent mindset below:

There are different alignments of parents; some will focus on the child's development on the Islamic side, but nobody sees that as developing the child's full potential. Then comes something that we are all groomed with: the schooling system. As a result, parents see their children pursuing tertiary studies and then the potential to become professionals in their field.

Seemingly, Principal 3 contends that while parents acknowledge the importance of developing their children's Islamic ethos and fostering a well-balanced individual, they overtly overemphasise educational and social mobility, as the findings in Chapter 6 indicated.

Teacher 4 concurred with Principal 3 above and made the following assessment of parents and their commitment to Arabic:

The ideology amongst parents is that learning Arabic is a waste of time, so they ask, what will their children do with Arabic after school? They will not become Moulanas (religious men), so they perceive their children do not need Arabic.

Given the indifferent attitude of parents towards Arabic, Teacher 4 then contended below that parents are locating the Muslim school learner in a psychological dilemma:

There is a massive tug of war in the child's mind: they may want to take Arabic, but they cannot because, somehow, they feel that it does not contribute to their future. That is if they are not going to use Arabic.

Teacher 4's view above found support in Teacher 2 below, who added a similar yet diverse argument to the above discussion when she expressed the following notion:

The world is moving away from Arts, where we have languages and literature, to job opportunities. So, when we talk about languages, they want to know what jobs we can get.

As mentioned earlier, the above findings align with Chapter 6, section 6.3.3, that parents desire premium jobs for their children and neglect Arabic's positive role in building their children's Islamic ethos. The above findings further have the traits of Bourdieu and Passeron's (1979) Cultural Capital Theory. According to Prieur and Savage (2011), Bourdieu's cultural capital is associated with a field where actors battle for advantage. In this case, Muslim school learners battle for strategic advantage to convert their home culture into educational attainment by selecting academic subjects over Arabic. Thus, learners in Muslim schools transform parental judgemental competencies that are part of their home culture into their subject choices at school.

Considering the above, Teacher 1 below also described a scenario to show the overt role parents play in demoting the integrated Muslim status of Arabic:

If the learner had a problem with Mathematics, the learner would go for tuition to pass it. They would not tell the government to take Mathematics out because their children find it hard. They will keep Mathematics, and by the end of grade twelve, their children will forget all they have learnt in Mathematics. However, they take out [the Arabic language], a subject their children recite [as a liturgical language] every day.

He further described the challenge of dealing with parents who distanced themselves from teaching and learning Arabic in Muslim schools in the following words:

So, if a Muslim school is ready to bow down to the pressure of parents who contend their child cannot cope with Arabic, why are their children reading the Qur'an? The Qur'an is not in English; it is in Arabic.

In the above finding, Teacher 1 contends that parents' inability to recognise Arabic's utility in promoting an Islamic ethos in their children has resulted in parents placing unwanted pressure on Muslim schools to defocus on Arabic.

On the other hand, Principal 1 acknowledged that not all parents are unassuming towards Arabic. In contrast to Teacher 1 above, he offered a contrasting view of parents' commitment to Arabic:

Our parents are also very Deeni (religious) conscious, so they send their children to independent Muslim schools at a very high cost. They want to encourage their children to be better Muslims. Suppose we can get parents to understand that they must support the school in promoting the Arabic language. Then, we need to explain to them that the academic results of the learner will not be compromised in any way if they take Arabic. On the contrary, it will assist them in discipline, among other things. So, we do not foresee parents objecting to promoting Arabic as a language.

Principal 1's statement above that, *' It will assist them in discipline, among other things,' is in line* with the previous finding in 7.2.2 that endorses the utility of Arabic to nurture an Islamic ethos. Thus, while reinforcing Arabic's integrated status and utility in promoting an Islamic ethos, Principal 1 is optimistic that parents must be motivated and encouraged to support Arabic.

Principal 1's view above is further supported by Principle 4 below, who suggested an advocacy campaign:

Then, of course, we must sell the Arabic language to parents and children, motivate them, and let them see the beauty [in the Arabic language], you know, excite them about it. So, there is not just one thing to consider; it is a multi-prong approach, and everybody has a contribution to make at different levels.

Principal 2 also corroborated the above finding when he called for an advocacy campaign that targets board members, parents, and learners. He expressed this view in the following words:

One is to get everybody to understand the importance of the Arabic language, as this research is doing now, to let the board understand, get parents to understand, and get children to understand. So that is the kind of advocacy we need to undertake.

In short, the findings above show that most participants in this study believed parents had played an unassuming role in promoting Arabic as an integrated Muslim school subject. Therefore, the findings suggest that Muslim schools must embark on an advocacy campaign to educate parents on the utility of Arabic to promote an Islamic school ethos in their children. In this light, while all the teachers and some principals were critical of parents' disinterest in the Arabic language, generally, principals were optimistic that parents would respond positively. Therefore, they suggested that the advocacy campaign would elicit buy-in from parents to support the Arabic program in Muslim schools. In doing so, both Principals and teachers viewed the Arabic language as a vehicle to promote the Islamic ethos of the

learner, suggesting that the advocacy campaign should be based on the Arabic language as a vehicle to create a well-balanced individual, congruent to the findings in section 7.2 above.

7.3.2 Subtheme 4: The Role of Principals and Board of Governors in Promoting Arabic

'It is up to the principal and the school board to decide how far they want to take their vision, what that vision is, and what they want to provide for their communities.' (Principal 4)

This section's findings show that in addition to parents, discussed in the previous section, not all principals, teachers and the board of governors in the selected Muslim schools have a shared vision for promoting Arabic. On the other hand, the findings suggest that when parents, principals, teachers and board members work together, they produce the best results for promoting Arabic. As a result, the findings imply that a lack of a shared vision by stakeholders may result in the participating Muslim schools inadequately employing Arabic to promote an Islamic ethos in their learners.

In this light, Principal 4 reiterated the role of principals and board members in driving the vision of the school as follows:

It is up to the principal and the school board to decide how far they want to take their vision, what that vision is, and what they want to provide for their communities. Therefore, we can have two Muslim schools servicing the same community beside each other. However, what we offer could be very different. The governors and principals drive the vision and passion of the school, deciding on a path they wish to pursue. Therefore, no number of associations or conferences will change anything on the ground. It starts with the governors and the principal. They make things happen in the school.

He further explained why it is essential for principals and board members to work in tandem to promote Arabic as an integrated Muslim school subject:

At the topmost school leadership level, the board of governors and principals are the decision-makers. They are the people that set the agenda. The board members are the people who allocate the resources, appoint the head of Arabic, appoint the Arabic teachers, and promote Arabic at school. Further, the school principal makes it happen, builds Arabic in the timetable, and finds a way to make it fit in the notional time.

The findings above suggest that the partnership between the school Principal and board members is like a hand-in-glove. One complements the other. Additionally, the findings above imply that the success of a viable Arabic program depends on the principal's ability to convince board members to support it.

I probed the participants to describe board members' commitment to implementing an Arabic program in their schools.

Regarding School A, Principal 4 echoed the commitment of his board to support Arabic in the following words:

Thus, to answer the question about the commitment from the Board of Governors. We have a department head for Arabic, we employ several teachers for Arabic, and we have a team constantly developing Qur'anic Arabic material. Therefore, we plough a lot of resources, effort, and energy. We made it compulsory in the school timetable. Therefore, the board members support Arabic constructively and as best as possible.

Teacher 1 further endorsed the findings above by reiterating School A's historical trajectory of promoting the Arabic language in the following expression:

The board and successive principals were very passionate about Arabic. If there was any resistance to Arabic, we got total support from the Board of Governors and the different principals, starting with Idris Khamissa, Dr Karodia, and Yusuf Salot, right up to the current Principal, Zaffar Ahmed, who were ardent Arabic supporters. Arabic will flourish when a Muslim school principal is passionate about Islamic schools.

Similarly, Principal 1 corroborated the above findings when he reiterated that he was confident in gaining support from his board to promote Arabic:

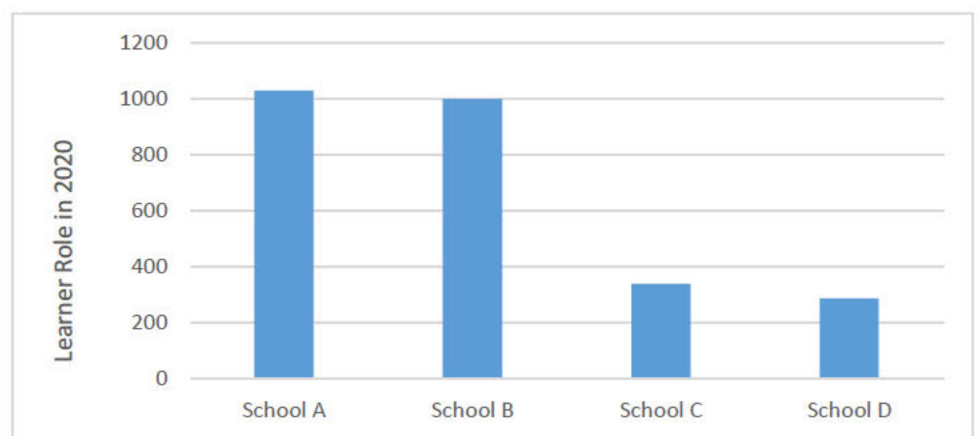
Well, the board members, like most boards, represent different professionals from different occupations, including scholars of Islam and scholars of the language. So, the boards will be supportive [of Arabic] if the principal of the school and the academic committee that runs the school present a cogent argument to the board based on realistic Islamic principles. However, no Muslim school board will deny the introduction of Arabic or object to the promotion of Arabic. Indeed, our board will not.

Thus, the above discussion reiterates the importance of principals and board members working together to run a successful Arabic program, implying that when principals and the board of governors work in tandem, they produce the best results for promoting Arabic.

Considering the above findings, it is prudent to compare the participating schools to gauge the effectiveness of principals and board members working in tandem to promote the Arabic language. For example, Graph 7.1 below indicates that School C and School D both have learner roles of less than 400 learners. On the other hand, School A and School B have a learner role of at least 1000 learners.

Graph 7.1

2020 Learner Roles of the Four Participating Schools



Note that statistics are based on information obtained from the Association of Muslim Schools, 2021

Thus, comparing Schools A and B based on learner roles is prudent. In addition, both are city schools, serving a similar socioeconomic learner cohort and having similar fee structures. Therefore, they make an interesting comparison.

In line with the rise and decline of FET Arabic in KwaZulu-Natal's Muslim schools, the literature section showed that the NCS Curriculum 2006 plunged numerous Muslim schools into an Arabic language crisis. Furthermore, the findings in Chapter 6 showed that this crisis resulted in numerous schools relegating Arabic to an elective subject and further to an eighth subject outside the timetable.

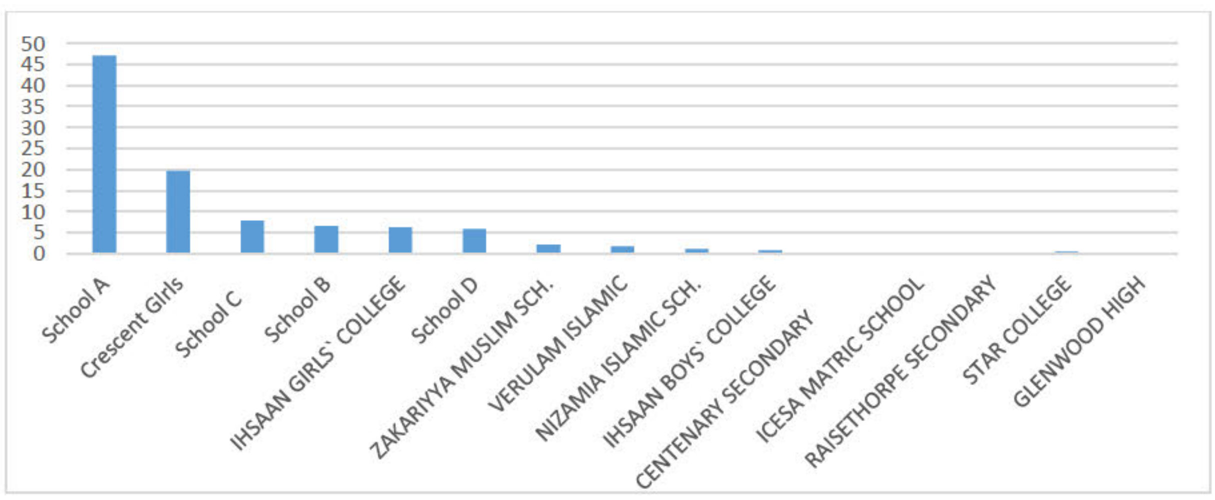
Principal 1 explained some of these challenges School B faced post-2008:

Last year, we had four or five [Arabic learners]; the year before, we had about ten learners. However, all those who did FET Arabic do it in their own time, after school or on Saturday, because we cannot accommodate them in the regular curriculum. So that is as far as FET Arabic is concerned, that is one of the reasons why learners did not opt to take it in grade 10.

The findings above exemplify School B's weak promotion of FET Arabic since 2008. Furthermore, they indicate that School B has relegated Arabic to an additional eighth subject outside the school timetable. Thus, Arabic in School B has ceased to be part of the regular school timetable at the FET level. In comparison, the findings in Chapter 6, section 6.2.1 showed that School A has since 2008 made Arabic compulsory as an additional eighth subject within the school timetable, resulting in them fielding almost 50% of KwaZulu-Natal's Matric Arabic candidates from 2008 to 2019 (AMS, 2021). See Graph 7.2 below:

Graph 7.2

Percentage of Learners per School Who Participated in the Matric Exams from 2008 to 2019



Note, adapted from the AMS report on the health of Arabic in Independent schools (2021)

Thus, while School A contributed significantly to the matric exams from 2008 to 2019, School B only fielded slightly more than 5% during the same period. Hence, the statistics reveal a significant divergence between the two schools.

For instance, the findings in Chapter 6, section 6.3.2 showed that during this period, School A had positioned Arabic as a compulsory subject up to Grade 11 with an option of continuing with Arabic in Grade 12. In contrast, School B only offered Arabic as a compulsory subject until grade nine. Additionally, the AMS (2021) statistics further indicate that School B had a weak Arabic program with fewer periods allocated to Arabic than School A.

The findings above imply that School A had a clear vision of promoting the Arabic language based on inculcating an Islamic ethos in learners, as posited by Principal 4 below:

Suppose a community has taken it upon themselves to establish an Islamic school. In that case, they should also have the vision and responsibility to promote an Islamic ethos, an Islamic personality, an Islamic growth, and an understanding of Arabic towards the Qur'an.

As a result, they fielded almost 50% of KwaZulu-Natal's FET Arabic learners between 2008 and 2019 (AMS, 2021). On the other hand, the findings imply that School B had a much weaker Arabic program. As a result, they fielded slightly more than 5% of Arabic learners in the KwaZulu-Natal Matric Arabic

exams between 2008 and 2019 (AMS, 2021). Thus, the findings above imply a lack of a shared vision between parents, principals, teachers, and board members in School B.

Principal 1 summed up the Arabic language vision at school B when he said:

Unfortunately, the Muslim school movement does not have a much-focused idea about what they want from Arabic.

In line with the findings above, Principal 1 and his Arabic teacher show diverging views on the Arabic language vision at School B. For instance, the findings in Chapter 6, section 6.4 indicated that Principal 1 intended to rescind the FET Arabic program in preference of Qur'anic Arabic. In addition, section 6.4 found that the participating Muslim schools were divided on the most appropriate Arabic language program for Muslim schools. In this light, schools contemplated replacing FET Arabic with Quranic Arabic, thus creating a debate around Quranic Arabic and FET Arabic. However, on the other hand, his senior Arabic teacher and probably the most senior Arabic teacher in KwaZulu-Natal was a strong proponent of FET Arabic.

In support of FET Arabic, she said the following:

We derived our [FET Arabic] grammar from the Qur'an '. Therefore, it is a contradiction when people say Quranic Arabic. All Arabic is Qur'anic! What we teach them in FET Arabic is Qur'anic.

To this effect, she alluded that:

Eighty per cent of those words [in FET Arabic] are in the Qur'an.

Nonetheless, she did not discount the Qur'anic Arabic syllabus. On the contrary, she believed both syllabi have different but complementary values. For instance, she believed that Qur'anic Arabic focuses on translation while FET Arabic focuses on the four language skills. Therefore, she supported teaching FET Arabic and Qur'anic Arabic at Muslim schools. The notion of teaching a combination of FET and Qur'anic Arabic is further supported by Principal 2, who proposed marrying the two programs (see the discussion in Chapter 6, section 6.4.2).

The difference of opinion between the principal and his senior Arabic teacher indicates a lack of shared vision to promote Arabic, suggesting that when the principal, teachers, and board members lack a shared vision, it results in the participating Muslim schools inadequately employing Arabic to promote an Islamic ethos in their learners. A case in point is the low FET Arabic enrolment in School B.

In contrast, based on Graph 7.2 above, School A has been a champion in promoting Arabic from 2008 to 2019. Moreover, since 2018, they have improved their vision of promoting Qur'anic Arabic.

Thus, the discussion above shows that when the principal, Arabic language teachers, and board members have a shared vision to promote Arabic, it results in the vociferous promotion of the subject. A case in point is School A. In contrast, a lack of a shared vision leads to a weak Arabic program, exemplified by School B.

For instance, Principal 4 exemplifies the shared vision of promoting Arabic in School A in the following statement:

With the board's full support, we have made Arabic compulsory until grade 11; Arabic is compulsory and non-negotiable. Furthermore, we ask learners to leave the school if they do not wish to do Arabic. In this way, not a single child is exempt from Arabic until grade 11.

He further detailed the shared vision between the school and parents in the following statement:

We also recognise the needs of children and parents to get a good matric pass to go to university. We cannot teach them everything. However, for 11 years, we have given them the best we could in terms of Arabic. Moreover, we now focus on their matric results in the matric year. So, that has been our strategy and unwavering commitment to keeping Arabic alive at schools.

The findings above imply that having a clear vision guided School A in positioning Arabic as a vehicle to promote an Islamic ethos in its learners. In contrast, the findings show that the lack of a shared vision by the Principal, Arabic teachers, parents, and board members in School B may have resulted in FET Arabic losing its integrated Muslim school status and, therefore, its ability to foster an Islamic ethos in its learners.

On the other hand, when comparing School C and School D. A different set of dynamics surfaces. For instance, Principal 3 of School C has a different relationship with his school board. He explains this relationship:

The Ameer (chairperson) meets with me occasionally and is happy with how the school runs. However, Ameer leaves matters to the principal's discretion in the school and consults on some issues.

Seemingly, at School C, the board has left the promotion of Arabic to the principal's discretion. Principal 3 contended that he had taken numerous decisions to promote Arabic. In this vein, the school offered Arabic as a seventh elective, and learners who cannot take it as an elective can take it as an additional eighth subject.

To this effect, Teacher 3 stated.

When learners arrived in grade 10, Arabic was compulsory under Curriculum 2005 (pre-2008), and learners had no choice from grade 10 to grade 12. Therefore, they wrote it as an additional seventh compulsory subject.

Furthermore, Principal 3 gave prominence to Arabic by openly declaring the school's unwavering support for the language in staff meetings.

So openly, in a staff meeting, we made it known that the school supports the Arabic language; if we did not make this statement, we would be failing in our duty. So not to make the statement will be [that] we do not favour Arabic or oppose it.

Moreover, the school has a dedicated subject head for the Arabic language, and even if three or four learners select the Arabic language, the school allocates a teacher to teach Arabic learners in the school's regular timetable.

However, Principal 3 admits that the response from learners is not encouraging. He describes the declining enrolment of Arabic in the following statement:

The response from learners is generally feeble. In grade nine, hardly anyone wants to learn the Arabic language.

One of the strategies School C employs is to allow the Arabic teacher to share the school's Arabic vision with parents. For instance, Principal 3 below stated that the school licences the Arabic teacher to influence parents to allow their children to take Arabic as a subject:

Fortunately, the teacher can influence parents to make the child do Arabic. Therefore, we allow him to influence parents to share the schools' Arabic vision of inculcating an Islamic ethos with the child and the parent.

The findings above concur with the following statement of Principal 3:

The Arabic language nurtures character, it can shape our personality, and language does affect our behaviour. So, there is much goodness in the Arabic language.

The findings above suggest that School C effectively engages in their vision of employing Arabic as a utility to inculcate an Islamic ethos in learners. The Arabic teacher is charged with this duty, resulting in learners selecting Arabic. For instance, the AMS (2021) report indicates that School C has

consistently fielded at least 20 to 30 % of their matric candidates for the Arabic grade twelve exams. For example, in 2020, they fielded ten learners for the matric exam, the highest number for KwaZulu-Natal schools, representing more than fifty per cent of the KwaZulu-Natal matric cohort 2020. This achievement is considered excellent for a school that averages around twenty matric learners per year.

From Principal 3's statement above, we also gauge that while the board members leave school matters to the principal, the principal, on the other hand, leaves Arabic matters to the Arabic teacher. While this strategy helps to improve the uptake of Arabic, congruent to the findings above, the absence of board members' input may retard the promotion of Arabic, resulting in a declining uptake of Arabic enrolment.

This notion is evident in the following statement of Principal 3:

The response from learners is generally feeble. At the grade nine level, hardly anyone wants to take Arabic.

Hence, the findings above show that when principals and board members lack a shared vision of promoting the Arabic language, it may result in a weak uptake of Arabic. However, in retrospect, the finding suggests that the involvement of the board members will perhaps enhance the uptake of Arabic, resulting in the school using its utility to promote an Islamic ethos to a more significant effect. School C is a case in point of this finding.

On the other hand, the strategies to promote Arabic at School D are divergent. For instance, the Arabic language faces numerous challenges at this school. For example, learners' social mobility preferences, particularly the inability to score vital A's since 2008, have negatively affected FET Arabic enrolment (see discussion in Chapter 6, sections 6.2 and 6.3).

Like all the participating Muslim schools, School D relies on fees to keep its doors open. In this light, Principal 2 echoed the following statement:

If we want to market our School, it is easy to market it on academic excellence rather than Islamic excellence. However, unfortunately, it is like that. So, *school boards are not doing that by choice. They are driven to keep the numbers in the school.*

In this regard, the need to keep the school open and satisfy parents' expectations regarding career choices has seemingly impacted board members' decisions (see discussion in Chapter 6, sections 6.2 and 6.3).

Because of the above notion, Teacher 4 describes some of the school's challenges in promoting the Arabic language.

This craziness of secular education above Arabic, above everything else, is so prominent amongst the youth; maybe it is this fight to get to university. Otherwise, learners feel there is no actual scope for themselves.

Seemingly, learner and parental pressure are affecting FET Arabic enrolment, and the board's unassuming role further compounds the decline of Arabic.

Furthermore, there are members of the board who love the Arabic language. However, what they want the student to achieve in Arabic is not precisely what the school wants. Therefore, that is concerning. Nevertheless, the board has been supportive of the Arabic language itself. However, they now feel that the school should not offer Arabic in grades 10, 11 and 12. Furthermore, lower down, we can give students a taste of it, which will be sufficient.

Given the above finding, when I probed Principal 2 on ways of promoting the Arabic language, he replied as follows:

One is to get everybody to understand its importance, as the researcher is doing, to let the board, parents and children understand. So that is one kind of strategy we can employ.

Thus, the findings above indicate a lack of congruency between the principal, parents, and board members. Thus, the finding shows that when parents, principals, and board members lack a shared vision to promote Arabic, they result in a weak uptake.

A swot analysis of the four participating schools showed that School A employed Arabic as compulsory till grade eleven. In addition, they employed a designated Arabic head of the department and spent money, effort, and resources to develop their tailor-made Qur'anic Arabic program. However, School A has since 2019 rescinded its FET Arabic program in preference of Qur'anic Arabic. This rescindment contributed to the decreased FET Arabic enrolment in KwaZulu-Natal. Nevertheless, the findings show a shared vision between the principal and board members, resulting in School A being the highest contributor to the FET matric exam from 2008 to 2019.

On the other hand, the findings show that School B has relegated FET Arabic to an eighth subject outside the school timetable; as a result, few learners take it, suggesting that they lack a clearly defined Arabic program. As a result, the school allocates fewer periods to Arabic, resulting in a weak Arabic program. Hence, the findings suggest that the Board and Principal are limited in promoting Arabic. Furthermore, there are differences in understanding between the senior Arabic teacher and the principal regarding the Qur'anic and FET Arabic programs. This finding implies that School B's lack of congruency between the principal, board members and senior Arabic teachers may contribute to its unassuming role in promoting Arabic as a variable to inculcate an Islamic ethos in its learners.

Regarding School C, the findings indicated that the board supports the principal in implementing an Arabic program, resulting in the principal taking the necessary steps to create a positive impetus for the Arabic language and supporting Arabic as a vehicle to promote an Islamic ethos. However, the FET Arabic enrolment is decreasing, indicating a need for the principal and board members to develop an improved shared vision for promoting Arabic as a vehicle to nurture an Islamic ethos in its learners.

At School D, the findings show that the Board and Principal are seemingly under pressure from parents to focus on academic subjects, suggesting that the board are hesitant to promote FET Arabic in grades ten, eleven and twelve. On the other hand, the board is happy to maintain Arabic from grades one to nine. However, with no clear vision regarding what program they want to employ and what they want to achieve with the Arabic language, the Arabic language department at School D is experiencing a decreased FET Arabic enrollment. This finding implies that the lack of congruency between the principal and board members in developing a shared vision for Arabic results in the decline of Arabic.

7.3.3 Subtheme 5: The Role of the Association of Muslim Schools to Promote the Arabic Language

'AMS does not have the authority to dictate to schools what and how they should promote the Arabic language. Our job is to facilitate and promote the general well-being of schools.' (Principal 4)

After presenting the role parents, principals, and board members play in promoting Arabic as a vehicle to promote an Islamic ethos in Muslim school learners, this section presents the role of the Association of Muslim Schools (AMS) in promoting Arabic. The findings in Chapter 6 showed that the national Arabic subject committee, under the auspicious of AMS since 2008, lacked effective systems and structures to manage Arabic from central to national structures, suggesting that AMS, the organisation that strings Muslim schools together, did not have a well-defined strategy to train, develop and provide policy guidelines to the FET Arabic committee. This lack of succession planning to develope Arabic implied that it is a causal factor for the decline of FET Arabic.

Given the above, the findings in this section show that AMS, in contrast to its objectives, has underperformed in driving and maintaining the Arabic subject committees to the highest standard, suggesting that AMS has come short in fulfilling its vision to provide Muslim schools with critical services to develope an Islamically based syllabus of the highest standard. A case in point is the declining Arabic enrolment. Thereby implying that underperforming to drive and maintain the Arabic language in Muslim schools has limited the utility of Arabic as a crucial variable to promoting an Islamic ethos in Muslim schools. The following is an evaluation of the above findings:

However, before I evaluate the above findings, it would be appropriate to put the relationship between Arabic and AMS into perspective and remind the reader of AMS's vision, objectives, and services related to the development of Arabic.

Regarding the relationship between Arabic and AMS, Principal 1 asserted below that AMS was established in 1989 to string together the few newly established Muslim schools in South Africa:

AMS was a nascent body, and it had just started in 1989. So, there were half a dozen schools two or three years later, at most six or seven. Moreover, the personnel at those schools required support and assistance.

Accordingly, Vahed and Waetjen (2015) demonstrated in their study that Muslim schools experienced an unprecedented proliferation between 1994 and 1998, necessitating the formalisation of AMS in 2001. This view was endorsed by Principal 1 when he said:

We structured AMS nationally, and we developed a constitution in 2001. AMS South Africa has three regions, KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng [and] Western Cape; of course, we just started the Eastern Cape region.

Regarding the vision, mission, objectives, and services of AMS, according to the AMS website, the need to establish this association was 'to advise Muslim schools in their development at all levels'. Thus, the founding members set a vision 'to provide a range of quality services which enable our schools to deliver an Islamically based education of the highest standard and quality'. In line with this vision, AMS envisaged establishing, driving, and maintaining subject and professional committees to realise this vision. To realise this objective, services to members entail guiding 'our institutions regarding training, development, networking, nurturing, mentoring and succession planning'. Further aligning with this object is 'to improve the Islamic ethos at member institutions' (AMS, 2023).

With this background, AMS became a significant role player in advising Muslim Schools and helping them develope at all levels, including Arabic. For example, congruent to establishing subject committees, AMS played a leading role in initiating the initial Arabic subject committee according to Principal 2 below:

In AMS, we met at different times with subject committees to promote the Arabic language. So, maybe in the 90s and early 2000s, we used to get together to promote the Arabic language. Each School was doing their own thing in terms of Arabic. With the AMS Arabic subject committee, we tried to do whatever we could to share resources and get ideas from teachers regarding what they were doing, convening a few workshops here and there.

The above finding indicates that from its inception in 1989, AMS was a crucial driver in promoting Arabic in Muslim schools. From my practitioner experience, the KwaZulu-Natal AMS provincial Arabic subject committee managed Arabic before 2008. Subsequently, in 2008, the Department of Education outsourced the matric exam to the IEB and moved the exam from provincial to national. AMS National vested the Arabic subject committee to the IEB Arabic examiners to manage it centrally. Nonetheless, the findings below show a distinct level of training, development, networking, nurturing, mentoring and succession planning from the Arabic subject committee pre-2008 compared to post-2008.

Regarding AMS's commitment to provide, drive and maintain Arabic pre-2008 in KwaZulu-Natal, the findings show that AMS and the Arabic Study Circle had a sustainable network plan to develope, nurture and mentor Arabic language learners and teachers, leading to the vociferous promotion of FET Arabic enrolment in the KwaZulu-Natal province.

For instance, in line with promoting an Islamic ethos among learners, Teacher 1 recalled some of the networking programs initiated by AMS KwaZulu-Natal in the pre-2008 period:

For many years, Ismail Dawood and I ran the Arabic Olympiad, and Alhamdulillah [Praise be to Allah], we were giving away big prizes. Twenty years ago, R3000 as prize money for a student was considerable, and that was the first prize.

In addition to the above, Teacher 1 mentioned a series of teacher development initiatives to train, develope and mentor Arabic teachers nationally:

We conducted Arabic workshops for Islamic schools in Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, and the Western Cape. We based the workshops on research by obtaining information about teachers' competency and then workshopping them on teaching methodologies. Afterwards, we workshopped the different books, how to use them, etc. We also ran a workshop for the Department of Education in KwaZulu-Natal.

Further to establishing networks to develope the Arabic language in South African schools, the findings show that AMS also identified critical succession planning and developmental goals. For example, before 1989, the education department graded most academic subjects with higher grades. In contrast, they graded the Arabic language as a standard grade subject. Thus, Arabic scored lower for university points because of its lower grading. A submission was made to the joint matriculation board to remedy the situation, resulting in the endorsement of Arabic as a higher-grade school subject.

Thus, endorsing Arabic as a higher-grade subject was a strategic succession planning and developmental move as it encouraged learners to select FET Arabic. Teacher 2 recalled the crucial role AMS and the Circle played in upgrading FET Arabic:

AMS pushed with Arabic teachers, and Mr Daud Mall of the Arabic Study Circle submitted to upgrade FET Arabic to a higher grade. So, in 1989, it went onto the higher-grade bracket.

She further recalled the significant difference the upgrade made to the FET Arabic enrolment in the following words:

Once it went to a higher grade, FET Arabic significantly improved the numbers because that 1991 class was the first time we had girls in matric. Before that, we did not have girls in matric. So, we had 24 students, and the Arabic syllabus differed from the current syllabus.

Further in line with AMS's vision of providing education of the highest standard (AMS, 2023), Principal 2 described innovative school-based events to develope Arabic in KwaZulu-Natal:

Previously, we used to have an Arabic week. Every class will participate, somebody will do a speech on a particular theme, and we will have a quiz on different vocabulary. Little plays and small sketches in Arabic created a lovely vibe, and learners used to look forward to these events.

Another significant successional planning measure was School A's innovative policy measures. Notwithstanding the notional time restrictions of the NCS and CAPS syllabi, while most Muslim schools relegated Arabic to an elective subject or as an eighth subject outside the timetable, School A improvised by adding FET Arabic as a compulsory elective or eighth subject within the regular school timetable.

Principal 4 elaborated on School A's Arabic policy below:

We compelled our learners to take Arabic as the eighth subject for many years, even in the NCS and CAPS environment, and we continued enforcing the eighth subject because they were doing seven mandatory subjects.

Thus, the findings above show that KwaZulu-Natal AMS vociferously nurtured and developed the Arabic language under the Arabic subject committee pre-2008, suggesting that these developmental measures encouraged schools to promote Arabic. Furthermore, the findings in Chapter 6, section 6.2.1 showed that the Arabic language was a widespread school subject during this period. In contrast, since the Arabic exams moved to the IEB, many of the above initiatives have been replaced with a national Arabic conference mainly focusing on the matric exam. In contrast to pre-2008, Chapter 6's findings showed a distinct drop in FET Arabic enrolment from 2008.

Thus, they suggest that the national structures of AMS and, by extension, the Arabic subject committee since 2008 underperformed in driving and maintaining the Arabic subject committees, in line with their vision of promoting Islamic education of the highest standard (AMS, 2023)

Principal 2 further endorsed the above findings when he said:

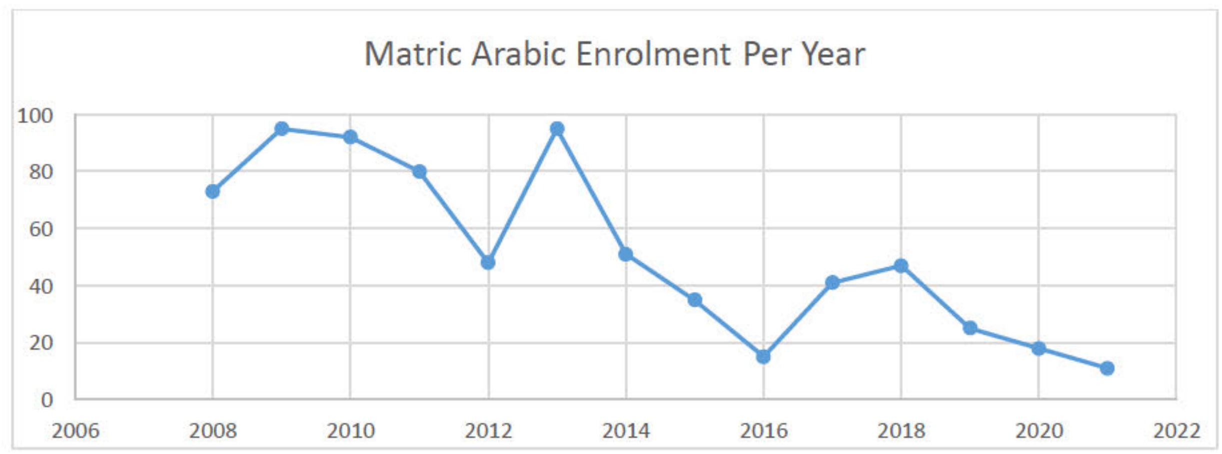
However, the central Arabic committee since 2008 neglected the foundation and intermediate phases because they focused on the matric exam.

The above finding suggests that AMS national has underperformed in driving and maintaining the Arabic language in Muslim schools since 2008 and thus limited the utility of Arabic as a crucial variable to promote an Islamic ethos in Muslim schools. A case in point is the national Arabic conference/workshop prioritising the matric exam compared to implementing a graded syllabus that flows from the intermediate and senior phases into the FET phase. Thus, the findings imply that AMS, in line with its vision, has underperformed in fulfilling its vision to provide Muslim schools with critical services to develope an Islamically-based syllabus of the highest standard.

Another case in point of AMS underperforming in providing services that promote an Islamically based syllabus that developes an Islamic ethos in Muslim schools is the declining FET Arabic enrolment since 2008. See Graph 7.3 below.

Graph 7.3

KwaZulu-Natal Matric Arabic Enrolment Per Year



Chapter 6, section 6.4.1 found that learners found the matric exam had increased in complexity from 2008, resulting in a drop in learner grades, particularly learners who scored distinctions and thus demotivating learners to select Arabic. In this light, Teacher 1 was unforgiving in criticising the matric examination committee:

They [the examiners] are not ready to address the problems, so this decline is a historical decline from 2008; it never happened yesterday.

Further, Principal 4 corroborated the above findings in the statement below:

As a result, our results were dropping. Many of our top learners were not getting straight seven distinctions [in their seven core subjects] to attend university. Even the Arabic language was not giving them the easy A as earlier [1994-2007].

While the IEB has managed the matric examinations since 2008, it begs the question of AMS's involvement in arresting the decline of FET Arabic enrolment. When I probed Teacher 1 whether he addressed this matter with the examiners, he complained that his complaints were disregarded:

We brought it up at a conference in Durban, but they do not like listening. So that is why we have stopped attending their meetings.

He further lamented:

It only took 12 years; there was a gradual drop. However, unfortunately, [the examiners] could not see it. That is why we have supported the removal of FET Arabic.

Again, in line with their objective of establishing, driving, and maintaining subject committees, it begs the question: did AMS establish any committees to arrest the decline? Moreover, if they did, were the suggestions implemented?

Congruent to the above, Principal 4 was probed if AMS was aware that FET Arabic is declining:

Conversations about the decline of Arabic have been happening for a long time. We had this item on our agenda in numerous conferences we convened. Hence, it has been on the agenda as a talking point to see what is happening because we could see this coming.

As an Arabic teacher in Muslim schools for the past 20 years, I acknowledge that the decreasing FET Arabic enrolment has prompted numerous discussions, as indicated by Principal 4 above. However, I am unaware of proactive measures or committees set up by AMS to address this decline.

Concurring with this notion, Principal 3 mentioned the following:

We are unaware of any study undertaken by AMS to arrest the decline of the Arabic language. Likewise, we are unaware of any study programs or programs to resuscitate Arabic.

In contrast to Principal 3, Principal 4 asserted that AMS was in the process of arresting the decline of the Arabic language:

I am passionate about Qur'anic Arabic, and I have engaged with principles at several forums; I even established an AMS Islamiat forum to promote the Islamic ethos in Muslim schools, and part of the ethos is Arabic. Furthermore, I am a big proponent of introducing a new, revamped Qur'anic Arabic program in Muslim schools.

In support of the above findings, Principal 4 gave further details of how AMS plan to address this decline:

One of the topics we have set for the Islamic forum for the current year is that the AMS executive committee has given them specific suggestions we will address at the next meeting. Furthermore, one is how to take Arabic forward in our schools. So, the Arabic language is on the agenda and is a priority item.

In contrast to Principal 4 above, Principal 3 provided a different picture below:

AMS has recently initiated an Islamic forum for the HoDs of Islamic Studies to meet. So, the forum can create an Arabic subcommittee if the need arises. However, the objective of the Islamiat forum is not Arabic. The objective is to support the Islamic studies departments of AMS schools.

Given the above, the findings show that principals have different levels of understanding regarding AMS's role in arresting the decline of the Arabic language, suggesting that AMS does not have a well-defined strategy to arrest the decline of FET Arabic in Muslim schools. Further, the findings above show that principals are uncertain about who should take responsibility for arresting the decline of Arabic, implying the need for AMS to develop a clear strategy to arrest the decline of Arabic.

Given the above, I probed the participating principals on the role of AMS in promoting Arabic as an integrated school subject, and Principal 4 responded as follows:

Schools become association members by choice, and AMS does not prescribe to its members. We do not dictate what they should or should not do. However, AMS does provide support and advice, and there are some cardinal values to remaining a member and retaining membership on AMS.

While AMS strings Muslim schools together, Principal 4 was explicit that AMS does not prescribe to their member schools regarding Arabic.

In this light, Principal 1 concurred with Principal 4 above:

AMS is always of the view that it will not prescribe. Each school has the right to use its approach to teaching and learning Arabic.

Principal 4 further endorsed the above findings by indicating the limitations of AMS:

AMS does not have the authority to dictate to schools what and how they should promote the Arabic language. Our job is to facilitate and promote the general well-being of schools.

The above view can be taken as the official stance of AMS, as both Principals 1 and 4 are executive members of AMS. Principal 1 was further probed if AMS had any initiative to develop a generic Arabic syllabus that all AMS schools could employ, and the issue of not prescribing was once again a negative factor. This view is implicit in the following words:

It is a complicated question to answer. Because in many of our schools, the Alims (seminary graduates) teach the Arabic language. Moreover, there are different philosophies and schools of thought regarding how to teach Arabic and what Arabic program to implement. Thus, regarding the idea of having a generic Arabic program, AMS believes it will not prescribe it.

In this regard, the findings in this section show that principals are uncertain about who should fix the decline of Arabic, suggesting that AMS needs to develope a clear strategy to arrest the decline of Arabic. Furthermore, the findings show that the national Arabic subject committee, under the auspicious of AMS since 2008, lacks effective systems and structures to manage Arabic from central to national structures, suggesting that AMS does not have a well-defined strategy to communicate, facilitate, coordinate and promote FET Arabic. This lack of structures to promote Arabic implies that Muslim schools are not sufficiently incentivized to promote the FET Arabic program.

The above findings are congruent with those above, suggesting that since 2008, AMS has underperformed in driving and maintaining the Arabic subject and professional committees. Thus, they suggest that in line with its vision and objective, AMS has underperformed in providing sustainable 'training, development, networking, nurturing, mentoring and succession planning'. Thus, the findings imply limiting the utility of Arabic as a means 'to improve the Islamic ethos at member institutions' (AMS, 2023).

7.4 Chapter Conclusions

In conclusion, this chapter's findings indicate that in addition to parents, some of the principals and the Board of Governors in the selected Muslim schools perhaps lack a shared vision in promoting Arabic. On the other hand, the findings suggest that working in tandem may produce the best results for promoting Arabic. Thus, the findings imply that to develope Arabic in Muslim schools requires the joint effort of parents, principals, teachers, board members, and AMS to adopt a shared vision that aligns with promoting Arabic as a significant vehicle to promote an Islamic ethos, thereby creating a well-balanced individual.

In addition, AMS must play a central role in championing Arabic. Hence, they are the most critical cog in bringing all the stakeholders together. The Association of Muslim Schools (AMS) was established to string Muslim schools together and represent them on different forums. The findings show that AMS does not prescribe to any school regarding the learning and teaching of Arabic. However, AMS is obliged by its vision, objectives, and services to play an essential function in facilitating the FET Arabic program (AMS. 2023). In this regard, AMS must initiate Arabic subject and professional committees to develope the Arabic language in line with their vision of delivering an Islamically-based education of the highest standard and quality (AMS, 2023). In line with this vision, AMS successfully organised disparate Arabic subject committees in the mid-nineties to drive and maintain Arabic on a provincial level. In this regard, the provincial setting of the matric exams before 2008 assisted each province in working autonomously and effectively.

In contrast, the FET Arabic exams were centralised in 2008, and the Arabic affairs were vested in the National Arabic subject committee. However, the activities of the committee are limited to the matric exams. Perhaps, for this reason, Principal 2 remarked that he felt that *'the junior foundation phase and the intermediate phase was neglected. Moreover, the committee were focused on the matric exam'*.

In terms of arresting the decline of the Arabic language in the post-2007 period, AMS has no clear strategy for arresting the decline of the Arabic language. Firstly, there is a difference of opinion between Qur'anic and FET Arabic programs (see further analysis in Chapter 6, section 6.4.2). Further, AMS intends to involve their Islamiat forum to engage with the promotion of the Arabic language. However, there is a lack of cohesion as some principals understand the role of the Islamiat forum differently, further entrenching the notion that AMS has no definite strategy to promote the Arabic language.

However, in line with the central theme of the school community's role in promoting Arabic, the responsibility of developing Arabic in Muslim schools is the joint responsibility of parents, teachers, principals, board members and AMS. In this regard, insubstantial input from school community stakeholders has retarded AMS's efforts in developing Arabic in Muslim schools since 2008.

Nevertheless, the findings in this section indicate that principals are uncertain about who should take responsibility for the decline of Arabic, suggesting that AMS needs to develope a clear strategy to arrest the decline of Arabic. Furthermore, the findings show that the AMS Arabic subject committee, since 2008, has lacked effective systems and structures to manage Arabic from central to national structures, suggesting that AMS does not have a well-defined strategy to communicate, facilitate, and coordinate FET Arabic. In short, the findings imply that the FET Arabic enrolment is declining, resulting in stakeholders becoming frustrated and abandoning the FET Arabic program.

Chapter Eight

Conclusions and Recommendations

8.1 Introduction of Conclusions

The analysis and discussion of the findings in Chapters 6 and 7 highlighted the challenges and opportunities Muslim schools face in holistically implementing the Muslim school approach of balancing academics with Islamic traditions. In this vein, by employing the teaching and learning of FET Arabic as a variable of the Islamic traditions, this case study of four Muslim schools in the KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa accentuated what contributed to the rise and decline of Arabic in KwaZulu-Natal Muslim schools. Mainly the issue of learners' academic subject choices over FET Arabic and why it led to declining FET Arabic enrolment in the selected Muslim schools. Consequently, how learners' bias towards academic subjects limited these schools to implementing a balanced approach between academic subjects and Islamic traditions. Responding to these critical research questions, the conclusions reveal insights and recommendations that provide lessons to critique certain practices and mindsets to rejuvenate FET Arabic in the research site.

8.1.1 Insights

In response to the rise of Arabic, this study concludes that, during Apartheid, Arabic has been a popular KwaZulu-Natal school subject since its adoption in 1975 in public, Muslim state-aided, and Independent Muslim schools. Post-Apartheid, the Arabic language migrated to Muslim schools, with at least 300 hundred learners sitting for the annual KwaZulu-Natal matric exams from 1994-2007. Therefore, this study concludes that pre-2007, all the participating Muslim schools taught Arabic as an integrated Muslim school subject, motivated to promote an Islamic ethos. However, the conclusions indicate that while some Muslim school learners were motivated by Arabic's utility to encourage an Islamic ethos, others employed it to boost their grades in line with their educational and social mobility aspirations. Muslim schools were encouraged to promote Arabic as a seventh mandatory subject pre-2007 because Curriculum (2005) mandated six compulsory subjects at the FET level. Thus, they added Arabic to the regular timetable as an additional seventh subject by extending the school day by an extra hour, catering to Arabic and Islamic studies.

Regarding why learners' academic subject choices over FET Arabic contributed to the declining FET Arabic enrolment, this study concludes that educational attainment was a prime factor that motivated learners' academic choices over Arabic. In this light, the findings unanimously showed that the lure of pursuing tertiary education and enhancing their careers determined learners' selection of academic

subjects over Arabic at the FET level. Thus, learners' educational aspirations to advance their careers motivated by occupational and social mobility significantly contributed to the low uptake of Arabic at the FET level.

8.1.2 Lessons Learnt

The lesson learnt is that learners did not view Arabic solely as a subject to nurture their Islamic ethos. Instead, they overwhelmingly viewed it as a subject to boost their careers. Likewise, parents perceive Muslim schools as academic institutions to advance their children's career aspirations instead of Integrated Muslim schools. This study concludes that this contrasts with founding members who promoted Muslim schools to provide a balanced education between academics and Islamic traditions, aiming to nurture their children's Islamic ethos.

In short, the conclusions above contribute to new knowledge production by showing that the educational aspirations of Muslim school parents in the research site were similar to the educational aspirations of the elite who send their children to well-performing schools for educational mobility, as per the educational models of van der Berg E Moses et al. (2017) and Spaull (2015) in Chapter 6, Figures 6.2 and 6.3. Thus, Muslim parents send their children to Muslim schools primarily for educational attainment driven by occupational mobility instead of a balance between academics and Islamic traditions.

In terms of how learners' academic subject choices over FET Arabic challenge the selected Muslim schools to implement a balanced approach between academic subjects and Islamic traditions, this study critiques learners, parents, and Muslim school management for a deficient conceptualisation of the field and scope of the integrated Muslim school approach. I postulate that the decline of Arabic as a variable of the Muslim school approach exposes this deficiency.

8.1.3 Critiques

Although Muslim schools claim to provide a balanced education between the academic and Islamic sciences, the decline of Arabic indicates that this balance is lopsided towards academics, indicating a skewed understanding of their field and scope. For instance, while Muslim schools are top-performing academic schools in KwaZulu-Natal (see further an article in thesouthafrican.com on the top ten independent schools for 2020), the same fervour is absent in promoting Arabic. The statistics in the AMS report on the health of Arabic in South African Independent Muslim schools (2021) speak for themselves. For example, since 2006, the report indicates that most Muslim schools have dropped Arabic as a FET subject. Out of 33 AMS registered schools in 2023, hardly five Muslim schools have

been fielding candidates for the Matric Arabic exams in the last five years. Additionally, Muslim schools that field learners have declining numbers (see Tables 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3 in Chapter 1). Historically, pro-Arabic schools have abrogated or relegated FET Arabic to an eighth subject outside the regular school timetable.

In terms of generating new knowledge production, this study concludes that a focus on educational attainment has historically been the nemesis of Muslim schools. However, South African Independent Muslim schools are not alone in this dilemma. A similar scenario presents itself in the Western diaspora, resulting in Abdalla et al. (2018) calling for a renewal of the Muslim school approach from what they conspicuously term Muslim school's dogged reliance on academics to an approach that focuses on nurturing the mind, body, and soul. Perhaps, for this reason, Sahin's (2018) study has some merit in insinuating that Muslim schools cannot define their field and scope despite eight Islamisation conferences from 1977 to now. Once again, the conclusions of this study align with Davids and Waghid's (2021) view that Muslim schools are experiencing a Muslim education crisis. A case in point is the decline of FET Arabic in Muslim schools. Therefore, this study critiques learners, parents, and Muslim schools' conceptualisation of the Muslim school field and scope as deficient, and the decline of Arabic as a variable of the Muslim school approach exposes this deficiency. Thus, this study concludes that a lack of understanding of the field and scope of the integrated Muslim school approach is a significant reason why Muslim schools lack in promoting Arabic, reflected in the knowledge of what constitutes an integrated approach in the minds of learners, parents, and Muslim school management.

The above conclusion adds to new knowledge production by showing that Muslim schools in the research site face the same challenges as their counterparts in the Western diaspora and the Malay Archipelago. In this light, research shows that Muslim schools in the USA, UK, Australia, and the Malay Archipelago are not immune to Western influences of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism that promote academic results as a sign of success. In this vein, this study critiques Muslim schools for their dogged reliance on academics as a sign of success because it blurs the lines between well-performing academic schools and the well-performing integrated Muslim school approach (Abdalla et al., 2018; Embong et al., 2013; Hashim, 1996; Lubis, 2015; Lubis et al., 2009). Therefore, this study concludes that Muslim school parents view Muslim schools more as academic institutions to progress their children's career choices than enclaves nurturing a balance between Islamic traditions and academics to produce a well-balanced individual.

8.1.4 Additional Insights, Lessons Learnt and Critiques

Additionally, this study concludes that:

- The decline of FET Arabic due to learners' academic subject choices indicates that Muslim schools are predisposing themselves to academic excellence in contrast to an integrated Muslim school approach.
- The predisposition of learners to academic subject choices instead of Arabic indicates that Muslim schools, parents, and AMS have a poor understanding of the field and scope of the integrated Muslim school approach.
- Muslim schools are appeasing parents' and donors' economic and political pressure by appeasing learners' academic subject choices.
- By not encouraging the children to select Arabic as a FET subject, Parents discount the utility of Arabic in nurturing an Islamic ethos in their children as an integrative component of Islamic traditions.
- Only promoting Arabic as an eighth subject outside the school's timetable inevitably marginalises learners who go for Hifz, take extra tuition, play sports on Saturdays or after school, and the weak learners due to the extra workload of the Arabic language.
- By not attending to the contention that learners are demotivated by the low grades they obtain post-2007, AMS, as a body that advises Muslim schools, is failing to put structures into place to address the cause of this demotivation.
- By not appointing an Arabic subject advisor to bridge the gap between the examiners and Muslim schools, AMS fails to provide essential services that align with its vision to promote an Islamically-based syllabus in Muslim schools.

8.2 Recommendations

Pursuant to the study's findings, this section recommends ways to revitalise Arabic in the research site.

The recommendations are based on the conclusion that Muslim schools in the research site ought to conform to the Muslim school approach underpinned by the Islamic paradigm of holistically integrating Islamic traditions and academics, as outlined in the conceptual framework chapter. In contrast, the conclusions show that Muslim schools in the research site are academically centred instead of employing a holistic approach that balances Islamic traditions with academic education. A case in point is learners' marginalisation of Arabic in preference for academic subjects.

Muslim schools can overcome the challenges of the rise and decline of Arabic. However, it requires a paradigm shift from their dogged reliance on academic attainment to an approach that caters to a holistic balance between Islamic traditions and the academic sciences. In this light, this study recommends the following:

8.2.1 Recommendation One: Reconceptualisation of the Integrated Muslim School Approach

Given this study's conclusions that the conceptualisation of the integrated Muslim school approach is problematic in the research site, this study recommends that Muslim schools draw a framework policy to underpin the integrated Muslim school approach. At the least, this framework policy must demarcate the field and scope of the different components of the Muslim school approach.

For instance, the position of Arabic, among other components, must be clearly stated in this framework policy. Failure to do so will result in ambiguous conceptions of the Arabic Curriculum in Muslim schools. This ambiguity is apparent in the diversity of Arabic programs on the research site. For example, after championing FET Arabic for three decades, School A has since 2018 rescinded FET Arabic to adopt a syllabus that focuses on understanding the Qur'an. On the other hand, School C is adamant that FET Arabic is best suited for the context of Muslim schools.

Similarly, School B is uncertain about FET Arabic, and School D wants to marry the two. Unfortunately, this ambiguity has been prevalent since the 1996 conference. Primarily because Muslim schools agreed at the conference to pilot an integrated syllabus, with Arabic as an official Muslim school subject, but lost the will to implement it for reasons beyond this study's scope. Nevertheless, to attend to the declining FET Arabic enrolment and the well-being of Arabic, this study recommends a clearly defined framework policy for Arabic and recommends that the lack of such has resulted in an Arabic crisis in the research site. A case in point is the declining FET Arabic enrolment of the 33 Muslim schools in KwaZulu-Natal (AMS, 2023), which fields an average of five candidates for the matric exam in the last five years (AMS, 2021).

In short, this framework policy must set the policy decisions that influence Arabic, including the purpose and objectives for teaching Arabic in Muslim schools, the methods to achieve them, and the criteria and standards necessary for measuring the success and failure of Arabic in Muslim schools. Furthermore, this framework policy must be practical and amenable to all schools. However, bringing this framework policy to life requires an innovative champion, and this study recommends AMS as that innovative champion.

8.2.2 Recommendation Two: The Role of AMS in Driving Arabic

The current role of AMS in driving Arabic is exemplified by Principal 1 when he said that: '*AMS is always of the view that it will not prescribe. Each school has the right to use its approach to learning and teaching Arabic.* Principal 4 articulated a similar view: '*AMS does not have the authority to dictate to schools what and how they should promote the Arabic language. Our job is to facilitate and promote the general well-being of schools.'*

While AMS may not have the authority to dictate, it has the prerogative to choose its members. Similarly, it has the prerogative in line with its vision and mission to develope a framework policy that will oblige member compliance. Therefore, this study recommends that AMS be proactive in driving change through innovation, clarity of vision, support, and motivation. In other words, as champions of the Arabic program, AMS must actively advocate for an Arabic policy framework that facilitates change while at the same time supporting the Arabic team in integrating Arabic into Muslim schools. As Robert Lynch said: '*A great cause without a champion is but an elusive dream. But with a great cause with a true champion is the realisation of a vision' (weebly.com/.html).* Perhaps the absence of this driving force is why Arabic and Muslim schools do not realise their vision.

Perhaps Muslim schools are waiting on AMS to take this role? For example, an interview with an ex-Muslim school principal, Abdul Wahid, in 2021 confirmed this when he explicitly said, *'If AMS does not take the lead to resuscitate Arabic, then who will? Nobody else will.'* (A W Wahid, personal communication, March 31, 2021). This study concludes that it is within the mandate of AMS to overcome the challenges of the decline of Arabic in Muslim schools. For instance, AMS's mission statement reads*: 'to provide a range of quality services which will enable our schools to deliver an Islamically based education of the highest standard and quality.'* Furthermore, this study's recommendations align with the objectives of AMS that read as follows: *articulate, advance, promote and represent the interests of Muslim schools; collectively voice opinions on matters about education; discuss admin and policy matters concerning private schools in South Africa; establish, maintain, and drive subject and professional committees* (AMS, 2023).

In short, this study recommends that AMS, as an innovative champion of Arabic in Muslim schools, must set up an Arabic desk staffed by non-voluntary personnel to drive the Arabic language in Muslim schools.

8.2.3 Recommendation Three: Reorientating Parents

Once AMS establishes an Arabic desk, the goals and objectives in the Arabic policy framework can be implemented, and AMS's Arabic vision must be communicated to member associations and parents. A case in point is the policy framework of sporting schools; they clearly articulate the integration of 'sports'

into their curriculum policy framework, and parents who willingly send their children to 'sporting' schools comply with compulsory sporting codes. Similarly, Muslim parents who do not desire an integrated education are not obliged to send their children to Muslim schools. However, given the perception that parents are genuinely motivated to inculcate Islamic values in their children, they will oblige as Principal 1 said: '*Parents send their children at a high cost to independent Muslim schools, so they want to protect their Deen (religion).'*

AMS must also reassure parents that Muslim schools intend to develope their children with moral and academic excellence through an integrated approach, aiming to holistically develope them intellectually, physically, emotionally, and spiritually. Furthermore, given that parents vociferously promote educational attainment, AMS must re-educate parents that Muslim schools view education as an act of worship and, as such, do not limit it to economic and intellectual merits but rather to fulfil man's role as Khalifah (Gods vicegerents) in maintaining world order (Othman et al., 2017). Additionally, as an innovative champion, AMS could engage with parents and Muslim school stakeholders on numerous platforms like radio, Islamic television channels, mosque platforms and social events. However, for AMS to accomplish this singlehandedly is too much to ask. Hence, this study recommends a partnership with various interested and concerned organisations, associations, councils, and entities.

Amongst these entities, this study recommends a partnership with the following organisations: The Arabic Study Circle, the Society for the Promotion of the Arabic Language, the United Ulema Council of South Africa (UUCSA), AWQAF South Africa and the Arabic Language Forum.

Undoubtedly, the Circle's role in inaugurating Arabic in South African schools has many lessons to learn. Jeppie's (2011) study shows that when government, state-aided and independent schools partnered with the circle and later with the SPAL, Arabic rose, genuine growth was witnessed, and numerous milestones were achieved. Thus, this study recommends taking the valuable lessons of the Circles' and civil societies' contribution to the growth of Arabic. Although the Circle and the SPAL have been dormant recently, the recent initiation of the Arabic Language Forum (the Forum) by UUCSA and AWQAF to renew Arabic in the South African context requires special mention. Therefore, this study recommends a partnership between AMS and the Arabic Forum to resuscitate Arabic in Muslim schools.

8.2.4 Recommendation Four: Partnering with the Arabic Language Forum

The Forum recently convened two round table discussions, the first in Gauteng and the second in Cape Town, on September 15, 2022, comprising more than fifty scholars, language practitioners, and teachers. In these platforms, the Forum clarified that its primary purpose is to diagnose and recommend

solutions. One of the recommendations in the recent Cape Town meeting was to pay more attention to teaching and learning Arabic at the school level. Therefore, the Forum could also be of immense value in providing theoretical and practical value to support AMS.

In this light, the Forum could develop an Arabic language framework policy or blueprint for implementation at Muslim schools. The more than fifty members the Forum has brought together could be an invaluable resource for developing a vision for change in Arabic, amongst other things. Additionally, they could play pivotal roles in facilitating developmental workshops and evaluating the standard of Arabic at Muslim schools.

However, it requires a clear resolve on the part of Muslim schools and AMS to achieve a sustainable and evaluative Arabic program at Muslim schools.

8.2.5 Recommendation Five: Creating Waqf Funds for the Subsistence of Arabic

This study also recommends that AMS engage with AWQAF and UUCSA to create a WAQF fund (Endowment Fund) for sustaining the activities and decision-making processes of the Arabic policy framework, paving the way to alleviate parental pressure from fee-paying parents.

The WAQF fund could then oversee the development and support of Arabic in Muslim schools. For instance, this study recommends harnessing the Forums' immense expertise to conduct empirical research in Muslim schools that targets problem areas and recommends solutions. In this way, university-accredited teacher training courses on teaching methodology and best practices, including augmentation courses to improve teacher content knowledge, could be tailor-made for Arabic language teachers. A committee of Curriculum specialists could draw, revise, improve, monitor, and evaluate the Arabic syllabus. Thus, informed by research, best practices and the latest technology, standard practices like compulsory development courses could be implemented for Arabic language teachers. In collaboration with AMS, the WAQF fund could award incentivised accreditation to Muslim schools for attending courses, workshops, and seminars. For example, a school that satisfies specific requirements in accreditation, compliance and maintaining standards will be rewarded with funding to pay for Arabic language teachers. This system is not new; currently, most Muslim schools comply with the government's academic requirements to receive annual subsidies.

This study postulates that the partnership between the Arabic Language Forum, AWQAFSA, UUCSA and AMS could have innumerable benefits for Arabic. For instance, it could pave the way for a standard syllabus emanating from the WAQF fund with adequate support, monitoring, and evaluation. The WAQF fund must also further alleviate the advantage that well-funded schools have enjoyed in promoting Arabic, mainly because of access to funds. These practices are not new. It is a standard procedure in most academic subjects. In partnership with universities, industry and NGOs, the

government promotes academic subjects in research, bursaries, and development (Inzelt, 2004). Afrikaans is a case in point; the Apartheid government left no stone unturned to promote Afrikaans. As a result, most Muslim schools in KwaZulu-Natal today promote Afrikaans as a second language. Ironically, besides for school purposes, Afrikaans is hardly used in KwaZulu-Natal. Irshad Amod alluded that it is an indictment upon Muslims that they cannot promote Arabic like the Afrikaners post-Apartheid (Amod I, personnel communication, March 27, 2021).

In conclusion, this study recommends that AMS bring all the role players together in a steering committee responsible for implementing these recommendations.

8.3 Limitations

This study is limited to the selected Muslim schools and the KwaZulu-Natal province. Therefore, the conclusions and recommendations may not apply to the other provinces. Furthermore, the conclusions are limited to this study's purpose and aims. In this light, it is limited to the decline of Arabic at the FET level in KwaZulu-Natal and, therefore, may not address the challenges of Arabic at the foundation, intermediate and senior levels. Another limitation of this study is that the participants were restricted to Arabic teachers and Principals, resulting in the exclusion of learners, parents, and school governing bodies due to restrictions in time, finances and Covid 19 regulations during the data generation process.

8.4 Future research

Researchers could repeat this study in similar research settings in other provinces, or they could conduct studies with similar aims to augment the findings and conclusions of this study. For example, researchers could repeat a similar study to gauge parents', school governing bodies', and learners' opinions. Such studies could add value to this study's findings or modify them.

Furthermore, there is a need to investigate the claim that the IEB examination and assessment process standard is much higher than the previous KwaZulu-Natal provincial papers. Furthermore, to what extent are the examiners complying with the standards of the Second Additional Language? For example, why is Arabic not taking valuable lessons from Afrikaans's success post-Apartheid?

8.5 Final Thoughts

This study contributes to new knowledge production by providing insights into the rise and decline of FET Arabic in the selected Muslim schools by focusing mainly on unravelling the critical research questions, providing lessons, and critiquing certain practices to rejuvenate Arabic in the research site.

Considering its integrative position among Islamic traditions, I trust that this study will contribute toward the revival of Arabic. I hope Muslim schools will reinstate Arabic's previous integrated status in promoting a balanced approach between academics and Islamic traditions. Further, it is hoped that the recommendations will inspire an intervention that attends to the Arabic language crises in KwaZulu-Natal Muslim schools and all South African Muslim schools plagued with a similar Arabic crisis. Previously, KwaZulu-Natal Muslim schools pioneered installing Arabic as a school subject. This study calls upon them to rise once again to the challenge of intervening in creating a blueprint for resuscitating Arabic in South African Muslim schools.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Request Permission to Conduct Research in AMS Schools

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION Research Office, Westville Campus Govan Mbeki Building Private Bag X 54001 Durban

4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

A Case Study of the Rise and Decline of Arabic in the Further Education and Training Phase in Selected KwaZulu-Natal Muslim Schools

THE ASSOCIATION OF MUSLIM SCHOOLS

My name is Shaukat Dawood, and I am a Ph.D. student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). I am conducting research on the Arabic language in selected Independent Muslim schools in KwaZulu-Natal. I invite The ASSOCIATION OF MUSLIM SCHOOLS to participate in this research project by giving the researcher ethical consent. This study will meet the requirements of the Research Ethics Committee (Human) of UKZN.

Significance of the Research Project

1. I hope for a research contribution envisaging new knowledge production with regards to the significance of Arabic in Independent Muslim Schools
2. I hope for policy change where Arabic is positioned as an integral part of the Independent Muslim School curriculum.

Contact Information (Who can I talk to about the study?)

If you have any questions, please contact me,

The Researcher: Shaukat Dawood on [redacted] – shaukatdawood48@gmail.com

My supervisor: Dr Bridget Campbell, on [redacted] – Campbell@ukzn.ac.za

The Research office.

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION Research Office,
Westville Campus Govan Mbeki Building Private Bag X 54001 Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Benefits of the Research to Muslim Schools

- This research will also open the door for a definition of terminology and clarification of concepts which will guide future research and inform the allocation of resources.
- Research on Muslim schools is lacking; this research project will help fill this gap by recording information on Muslim schools, the Arabic language and learners in Muslim schools.

In conclusion, care will be taken to maintain the integrity of Independent Muslim Schools and the Association of Muslim Schools, as stipulated by the University of KwaZulu-Natal ethics committee.

Your written consent and support are anticipated.

Shaukat Dawood

PHD Candidate

UKZN

Appendix B: Permission to Conduct Research in AMS Schools - KwaZulu-Natal

NO 4, GMH CENTRE
32 West Riding Row
Sherwood, Durban
Tel: 031-2071116
Email: admin@ams-sa.org

---

01 March 2021

Sheik Shaukat Dawood
c/o Al Falaah College
Durban

Dear Shaukat Dawood

AS SALAAMU ALAIKUM

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN AMS KZN SCHOOLS

The Association of Muslim Schools (KZN) is pleased to approve your request to research the topic "A case study of the rise and decline of Arabic in the Further Education and Training phase in selected KwaZulu-Natal Muslim schools". We note that the research will form the basis of your doctoral dissertation, which the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal is promoting.

Kindly note that you may use this letter to approach principals of schools belonging to AMS-KZN, but principals have sole discretion in granting you permission to conduct research at their respective schools.

In wishing you every success in your research; we trust that the findings and recommendations will contribute to a better understanding of the role of Arabic teaching in our schools, Insha Allah.

Was Salaam

Yours faithfully

....
EBRAHIM ANSUR
REGIONAL DIRECTOR – AMS KZN

Appendix C: Ethical Approval Letter

23 February 2021

Mr Shaukat Dawood (218052657)
School Of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Mr Dawood,

Protocol reference number: HSSREC/00002319/2021
Project title: A study of the Arabic language in Selected Muslim schools in the KwaZulu-Natal Province
Degree: PhD

Approval Notification – Expedited Application

This letter serves to notify you that your application received on 19 November 2020 in connection with the above, was reviewed by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

This approval is valid until 23 February 2022.
To ensure uninterrupted approval of this study beyond the approval expiry date, a progress report must be submitted to the Research Office on the appropriate form 2 - 3 months before the expiry date. A close-out report to be submitted when study is finished.

All research conducted during the COVID-19 period must adhere to the national and UKZN guidelines.

HSSREC is registered with the South African National Research Ethics Council (REC-040414-040).

Yours sincerely,

Professor Dipane Hlalele (Chair)

/dd

Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban, 4000, South Africa
Telephone: +27 (0)31 260 8350/4557/3587 **Email:** hssrec@ukzn.ac.za **Website:** http://research.ukzn.ac.za/Research-Ethics

Founding Campuses: Edgewood Howard College Medical School Pietermaritzburg Westville

INSPIRING GREATNESS

Appendix D: Amendment to Title Approval

20 July 2023

Shaukat Dawood (218052657)
School Of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear S Dawood,

Protocol reference number: HSSREC/00002319/2021
Project title: Exploring the experiences of Arabic language learners: a case study of recently graduated students from three Independent Muslim schools in KwaZulu-Natal
Amended title: A case study of the rise and decline of Arabic in the further education and training phase in selected KwaZulu-Natal Muslim schools
Degree: PhD

Approval Notification – Amendment Application

This letter serves to notify you that your application and request for an amendment received on 12 July 2023 has now been approved as follows:

- Change in title
- Change in research questions

Any alterations to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form; Title of the Project, Location of the Study must be reviewed and approved through an amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

HSSREC is registered with the South African National Health Research Ethics Council (REC-040414-040).

Best wishes for the successful completion of your research protocol.

Yours faithfully

....

Professor Dipane Hlalele (Chair)

/dd

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
UKZN Research Ethics Office Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Tel: +27 31 260 8350 / 4557 / 3587
Website: http://research.ukzn.ac.za/Research-Ethics/

Founding Campuses: Edgewood Howard College Medical School Pietermaritzburg Westville

Appendix E: Research Participants Consent Form

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION Research Office, Westville Campus Govan Mbeki Building Private Bag X 54001 Durban 4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Research participant assent form

A Case Study of the Rise and Decline of Arabic in the Further Education and Training Phase in Selected KwaZulu-Natal Muslim Schools

Project Information Statement/Letter of Invitation to:

Name of Participant: ---

My name is Shaukat Dawood, and I am a PhD student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). I am researching the factors that contributed to the rise and decline of the Arabic language; secondly, I want to explore how these factors create a context for the decline of Arabic enrolment in Independent Muslim schools; lastly, how can the Arabic language be revitalized in Muslim schools. My supervisor is Dr Bridget Campbell. I invite you to consider taking part in this research. The ASSOCIATION OF MUSLIM SCHOOLS has given consent for this project. A copy of their consent is contained with this letter. This study will meet the requirements of the Research Ethics Committee (Human) of UKZN. Your participation is voluntary, and you may decide to pull out at any time without any adverse or undesirable consequences to yourselves.

Aims of the Research

The aim of the study is as follows:

- To explain the rise and decline of the Arabic Language in Independent Muslim schools.
- To explore how these factors play a role in the decline of Arabic enrolment in Independent Muslim schools.
- To explore how the Arabic language can be revitalized in Muslim schools

Significance of the Research Project

The research is significant in two ways:

1. I hope for a research contribution envisaging new knowledge production regarding the significance of Arabic in Independent Muslim Schools.

2. I hope for policy change where Arabic is positioned as an integral part of the Independent Muslim School curriculum.

Benefits of the Research to Muslim Schools

- Utilizing an interpretive design: the indebt interviews with Arabic teachers and Muslim school principals. I will record a body of information that does not exist. As a result, I will be able to obtain detailed information about the lived experiences of participants experience with the Arabic language and therefore bring forth multiple constructions of their experiences in Independent Muslim Schools.
- This research will also open the door for a definition of terminology and clarification of concepts which will guide future research and inform the allocation of resources.
- Research on Muslim schools is lacking; this research project will help fill this gap by recording information on Muslim schools, the Arabic language, and learners in Muslim schools.

In conclusion, care will be taken to maintain the integrity of Independent Muslim Schools, former Arabic learners, Arabic teachers, parents, principals, Board Members and the Association of Muslim Schools, as stipulated by the ethics committee of the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Risks or Discomforts of Participating in the Study (Can anything bad happen to me?)

Talking about your experiences of Arabic in Independent Muslim Schools might pit your personal account, perspectives, and experiences as negative instances and therefore has the potential of rejection and dismissal by those involved in Muslim schools. Therefore, if you wish to participate in this study, you must tell me if you feel uneasy or if the discussion of a particular setting or context compromises your status or integrity; I will ensure that the discussion is avoided.

Benefits of Participating in the Study (Can anything good happen to me?)

By participating in this research, you, the participant, will help make sense of social realities through your construction of social phenomena, enabling the expression of your experiences and contributing to research by comprehensively explaining your understanding of a particular context and setting. You will participate in what is known as 'research for social change.'

Confidentiality (Will anyone know I am in the study?)

Your right to anonymity will be respected. No one will know you participated in this study. When I refer to your work, I will use a different name from yours. All the information we publish will strictly adhere to your anonymity preference.

Contact Information (Who can I talk to about the study?)

If you have any questions, please contact me,

The Researcher: Shaukat Dawood on [redacted] – shaukatdawood48@gmail.com

My supervisor: Dr Bridget Campbell, [redacted] – Campbell@ukzn.ac.za

The Research office.

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION Research Office,
Westville Campus Govan Mbeki Building Private Bag X 54001 Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Voluntary Participation (What if I do not want to do this?)

If at any point you do not want to participate in this study anymore you can withdraw

Do you understand this study and are you willing to participate?

YES	NO

Do you wish to remain anonymous in this study?

YES	NO

________________________________ __________________________

Signature of Participant Date

Appendix F: Turn It In Report

Submission date: 10-Jul-2023 03:10PM (UTC+0200)
Submission ID: 2129117816
File name: se_and_Decline_of_FET_Arabic_in_Selected_KwaZulu_turn_it_in.docx (2.01M)
Word count: 89575
Character count: 502539

Arabic

ORIGINALITY REPORT

3%	2%	1%	1%
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS

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Internet Source

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Exclude bibliography	On		

Appendix G: Matric 3

Principal 2	Principal 4	Principal 1	**Principal 3**
Arabic has progressed from an elementary syllabus consisting of concepts to a much-advanced communicative approach. Arabic language Exam was benchmarked by the University UDW by Mehmood Dawood and Ayub Jadwat. Arabic was compulsory in the initial stages, showing that Arabic was an integral variable during the early years of AMS. The AMS Arabic subject committee was established early on, indicating that schools relied on AMS to bind them together. No structured syllabus that was in place by AMS OSS Department of Education managed the process by appointing Arabic teachers for state schools and appointing a Subject Advisor, ZUBI DOCRAT. OSS Since IEB took over, there has been a lapse in the Arabic in KwaZulu-Natal AWBI Motivation and promotion of the language should come from Muslim schools (AMS)	Utility of Islamic schools as a protagonist of an Islamic heritage Fear of daughter being influenced by Western schools. Arabic as a vehicle to AWBI Lamenting of not being allowed to learn Arabic in Madrassa days SAL vs QA Questioning the utility of teaching SAL SAL vs QA Reflects on the purpose of learning Arabic: Arabic as a vehicle to AWBI Connecting with Quran Appreciating Quran Develop bond Relationship and Understanding of the Message Arabic is vital to creating a well-balanced individual. SAL vs QA	SAL vs QA Uncertainty over why Muslim schools are teaching Arabic SAL vs QA The matric exam a Factor in the decline of Arabic SAL vs QA Learners took advantage of Arabic to boost the matric pass average. SM The notion that students took Arabic to boost the quality of their matric pass rate. SM Selecting Arabic learners Increased their chances of gaining university entrance. SAL vs QA The classical approach to Arabic is attributed to its downfall. SAL vs QA The focus of Arabic is on matric exams.	**IH and Arabic as AWBI** **IH** **Questions Arabic as a language of Muslims** **IH** **Arabic AWBI** **Social Mobility** **SM** **Subject choices in grade 10** **OSS** **Arabic as an official school subject** **Social mobility** **Subject choices and social mobility** **OSS** **Principals who do not have access to information readily lack Arabic structures.**

AWBI Muslim schools are wasting the opportunity to promote the language in the early foundation and GET levels. SAL vs QA The matric exam creates stability as it predetermines the focus and the goal of teaching Arabic. SAL vs QA Questions the utility of Matric Arabic for University entrance only SAL vs QA Contemplates the recent focus on teaching Arabic to understand the Qur'an, which is gaining popularity AWBI Questioning the utility of the current Arabic program SAL VS QA Suggesting a hybrid system that leaves the choice to the student AWBI Arabic as a means of creating a well-rounded human being AWBI Studying Arabic with a focus on the Quran to create a well-rounded human being AWBI	Questions the utility of teaching SAL in schools Arabic as a vehicle to AWBI Reflects on the purpose of teaching Arabic SAL vs QA Mooting that Arabic should be directed towards understanding the Quran SAL vs QA Questions the outcomes Mooting that Arabic should be directed towards understanding the Quran SAL vs QA Reflects on the teaching of SAL Arabic as a vehicle to AWBI Well-balanced human being OSS SAL is a language Arabic as a vehicle to AWBI Questions about the purpose of teaching Arabic Arabic as a vehicle to AWBI	OSS Predecessors focussed on teaching Arabic as a language of communication. Arabic as a vehicle to AWBI The focus of learning Arabic needs revision The perception that the current focus is not working CBB SAL & QA Providing an excuse for not teaching Arabic: Only scholars can interpret the Quran. OSS No structured syllabus apart from the grammar-translation classical approach Sal VS QA - AWBI Providing an excuse for not teaching the Arabic language. The complexity of the grammar system Contradiction: here, he blames the complex grammar system, while previously, he alluded that the focus is on making them speak the language. SM	**OSS** **Principals are decision-makers but are not kept in the loop regarding developments in Arabic.** **Subject Choices** **Principals as crucial drivers of the Arabic language** **OSS** **Subject advisor** **No accountability** **OSS** **Advocacy** **Arabic needs a champion like in the past; the Arabic study circle** **OSS Arabic AWBI** **Promoting the Arabic language is the community's duty, not that of Principals.** **IH** **The previous generation was concerned with preserving the Islamic Heritage.**

Notional time as a factor in the decline of Arabic AWBI A vibrant graded Arabic program in the foundation and intermediate phases will determine its success in high school IH The Arabic language as a vehicle for promoting an Islamic heritage fallacies A view that venturing into Quranic Arabic is the domain of the scholars and not the layman OSS The role of the Arabic study circle in pioneering the Arabic language. AWBI and OSS A vibrant graded Arabic program with adequate notional time as a solution to the Arabic crisis A vibrant graded Arabic program The choice of subjects is a critical factor in promoting the Arabic language. A vibrant graded Arabic program Principals to prioritize Arabic in subject choices Principals to prioritize Arabic in subject choices	UTMSAPOIH Connect with the legacy of the prophet of Islam Arabic as a vehicle to AWBI The ultimate purpose of learning Arabic is to connect with the Qur'an. OSS Laments of not understanding the Qur'an OSS Our predecessors may have understood the purpose of Arabic as a language. IH Arabic as a means of promoting the Legacy of the prophet Arabic as a vehicle to AWBI Laments that we have no Arabic program to connect with the Quran SM A good matric certificate Career driven OSS	The focus is on career choices. Subject choices Arabic is grouped with Life Sciences, forcing learners to take it as an eighth subject. IH - AWBI Promoting an Islamic heritage via the Arabic language OSS Laments that learners are not able to understand Duas and Surah's of daily life SAL vs QA Questioning the focus of the Matric syllabus IH Reinforcing the notion of the importance of Arabic in promoting an Islamic legacy Arabic as a means to AWBI Reinforces the notion that Arabic should be taught to understand the Quran IH Muslim schools as a protagonist in promoting the understanding of the Quran	**IH** **Islamic schools provide an Islamic syllabus.** **Subject choices** **Social Mobility** **Social Mobility vs IH** **Social mobility** **Social mobility** **Social mobility** **Social mobility** **Subject choices** **In the new CAPS syllabus** **AWBI** **The Utility of the Arabic Language** **SM** **SUBJECT CHOICES** **SUBJECT CHOICES**

Arabic is relegated to an eighth subject outside the timetable The focus of Arabic in KZN is in a crisis More prominent schools with more significant numbers, like School B and School A, are dictating the future of the Arabic language in KZN. The Best of Both worlds The Utility of Arabic for University Entrance. The IEB papers are set on a standard that exceeds second additional language standards. The best of both worlds Career driven The IEB papers are set on a standard that exceeds second additional language standards. The best of both worlds The focus of learners is on entry into the university. The best of both worlds Career driven A vibrant, graded, practical Arabic program The solution is to increase the notional time before grade 9 and have a focused Arabic program.	Arabic was made compulsory prior to 2008 (NCS) Ma vs QA Teaching the Arabic language was to produce good results for university admission. SM University admission OSS Seven subjects Notional time SM Justifying why Arabic is not encouraged SM Arabic as an eighth subject was burdensome on the matric results. OSS So, Arabic went from compulsory to optional as an eight-subject to no option. SM Career orientated	Arabic as a means to AWBI Producing a balanced human being OSS and SAL vs QA Does not believe that the communicative approach to language is the Solution in the South African Context Arabic as a vehicle Promotes the concept of understanding the Quran Arabic as a vehicle Revision of the curriculum and focus is required. Sal vs QA - AWBI Opposes the communicative approach in preference of the understanding of the Quran approach Arabic as a means to AWBI Creating a well-balanced human being SM – SAL vs QA Expresses the idea that learners selected Arabic to improve the quality of the matric aggregate SAL vs QA	**OSS** **Lack of involvement by AMS to sustain what was acquired** **SM** **Advocacy on the part of the teacher** **Sick Man of Europe theory** **Lack of advocacy on the part of Principals** **Subject choices** **Subject Choices** **Some Muslim schools have a low number of Learners in Matric.** **IH and Arabic-AWBI** **The principal is playing a neutral role.** **Subject Choices** **Principals play a negative role.** **Subject choices** **Advocacy from teacher**

<table>
<tr>
<td>The best of both worlds

Parents are focused on social mobility

The best of both worlds

Muslim schools are losing their Islamic ethos

The best of both worlds

The need for a structured graded syllabus that is generic to all Muslim schools

A graded syllabus that affords Arabic equal status as academics

There is a need for developmental workshops to promote the correct approach to the language.

A graded syllabus that affords Arabic equal status as academics

Having a vibrant syllabus with sufficient notional time

The need for a graded, focussed generic Arabic syllabus

Parents are generally career-driven

The need for an Arabic program consisting of a syllabus and support

Unity of Approaches is a crucial factor

The best of both worlds

Muslim schools, as promoters of an Islamic Legacy, require revision

The best of both worlds</td>
<td>IH

Taking it as an 8th subject impacted negatively on their overall aggregate

SM

Career driven

OSS- SAL vs QA

Compulsory from grades 1 to 11

with a focus on the Quran

SM - SAL vs QA

Focus on university entrance.

OSS

Little value of Arabic as a Matric Subject

Arabic as a vehicle to AWBI

Board members are expending resources to develop Quranic Arabic.

MA vs QA

Compulsory from 1 to 11

Arabic as a vehicle to AWBI

Expending resources to develop a graded syllabus</td>
<td>Admits that learners took Arabic to understand the Quran or to improve conversation

Arabic as a means to AWBI

Expresses the notion that the focus is creating a well-balanced human being

Sal vs QA– utility of the Arabic language

Seemingly embarrassed at the decline in Matric exams but provides an alternative view that the matric exam is not the focus

SM OSS (advocacy)

Learners are career-driven and do not see Arabic as important

AWBI – Utility of MS

Paradoxically, it alludes that Arabic is kept alive as part of the Islamic studies syllabus.

SAL vs QA

Principals have a misunderstanding of making a distinction between Arabic as a language and Quranic Arabic.

I H and AWBI</td>
<td>Subject Choices

As an eighth subject, Arabic is treated like the sick man of Europe.

Social Mobility and SAL vs QA

IH

Sick Man of Europe theory

Subject choices

OSS

Role of Islamiat to promote the Arabic language

OSS

The Sick Man of Europe theory

Subject Choices

IH and Arabic AWBI

Principals are not advocating for Arabic

Subject choices

Innovative ways to promote Arabic

OSS</td>
</tr>
</table>

The concept of Muslim schools as promoters of an Islamic Legacy requires revision. The focus on Academics is a double-edged sword: You attract good learners but lose your Islamic ethos. Alternatively, you prioritise Islamic ethos, and you lose the bright learners and your aggregate drops. Advocacy going back to the drawing board The need for a graded, focussed generic Arabic syllabus The need for an Arabic program consisting of a syllabus and support Incentives for learners to select the Arabic language Employing different methods to promote Arabic Creating a well-balanced human being The need for a graded, focussed generic Arabic syllabus LL The need for an Arabic program consisting of a syllabus and supp	SM Expectation of parents towards matric exam Promoting an Islamic legacy SM Achieving a good matric pass SAL vs QA The notion that writing matric Arabic is supporting Arabic The notion that SAL Arabic has no utility Promoting an Islamic legacy Arabic as a means of AWBI Creating a balanced human being SAL vs QA Mixed reaction from students to learning Quranic Arabic SM AOSS Learners do not see any value in Arabic at the university level.	The Arabic language is not considered an integral subject in Muslim schools. SAL vs QA And SM Motivation comes from the school side and not from the principal's side. AWBI Subject Choices in Grade 10 The Arabic language is not considered an integral subject in Muslim schools. The school provides no motivation. SM Career motivated SM and IH Seemingly, parents send their children to Muslim schools for Academics. IH Arabic has become the sick man of Muslim schools. SM It seems that the Board is content with the status quo. OSS	**Innovative ways to promote Arabic** **OSS** **Lack of a structured program** **OSS** **Discrepancy whether to start Arabic in grade 1 or 4** **OSS** **Language specialists to create our structured syllabus.** **OSS** **Arabic does not have a unified writing system, which could impede learning the language.** **OSS** **Fallacy** **The orthodox view is still prevalent** **OSS** **Lack of structured program – lack of accountability – cause of decline**

	AOSS – SAL vs QA Desired outcomes of teaching the Arabic Language SAL vs QA The perception that teaching SAL is promoting the Arabic Language Role of Islamiat Forum AWBI (ASV TP)? Purpose of teaching Arabic Quranic Arabic as an alternative to SAL IH Role of Muslim schools in promoting an Islamic heritage Arabic as a vehicle to AWBI Role of boards and principles in advocating for Arabic IH The role of Muslim schools in promoting Lughatul Islam and the Qur'an IH The role of Muslim schools in promoting an Islamic heritage	Arabic has been put on the agenda, but there have been no outcomes. SM Learners are career-driven and find no place for Arabic in the quest to achieve the highest possible aggregate. OSS Blames the focus on matric for the decline of Arabic OSS SAL vs QA Refusing to accept that Muslim schools are defocusing on the Arabic language. Based on the numbers taking matric AWBI Schools are satisfying the notional time requirements for secular subjects but not Arabic. IH - OSS Arabic has become the sick man of Muslim schools The notion that Arabic should be bunched with Islamic studies IH Unity in forming a standard syllabus and policy for Muslim	**OSS** **A conference once a year is not sufficient.** **OSS** **Principals need an effective Arabic department.** **OSS** **Parent involvement**

	The best of both worlds The role of Muslim schools in promoting an Islamic heritage AOSS The role of AMS The role of AMS in leading the way is imperative for Arabic IH There is no standard for promoting an Islamic heritage. IH - Role of boards and principles in advocating for Arabic OSS AMS has no viable plan The role of AMS in leading the way is critical. The role of AMS in leading the way is critical. IH	schools has become a thorn for AMS. OSS Seemingly, the concept of a subject supervisor is not workable. OSS Lack of policy to put the Apparatus in place IH Muslim schools as a protagonist of an Islamic Heritage	

	There is no standard for promoting an Islamic heritage. OSS No graded syllabus Arabic as a vehicle to AWBI Creating a well-balanced human being Arabic as a vehicle to AWBI Lamenting on not learning Arabic Arabic as a vehicle to AWBI Purpose of Learning Arabic		