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EDITORIAL

The Editorial Board is excited and pleased to announce that Yesterday & Today is making an increasing impact nationally and internationally. The table below indicates the number of views the journal has enjoyed in the eight leading countries in the world from 2015-2019. It is the vision of Yesterday & Today to stay devoted to cutting-edge research and to inspire, promote and support high quality scholarly work in the reporting of History education matters.

Table 1: Statistics of leading countries’ views in September of each year, 2015-2019

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Country</th>
<th>2015</th>
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<td><strong>2137</strong></td>
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</tr>
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In this last issue of Yesterday & Today for 2018 readers can look forward to a variety of outstanding and well-argued research articles. They cover topics that reflect on the recommendations made by the Ministerial Task Team (MTT) for History to become a compulsory school subject, historical empathy as a reflection of historical thinking, controversial issues in the History classroom, the Cameroonian History curriculum since independence in 1961, the utilisation of technology (a Mobile Phone Forum and Virtual Reality-goggles) in the teaching and learning of History, thoughts on developing and designing a decolonised sport history curriculum in South Africa, and, in conclusion History in textbooks of Xhosa schools, 1850’s-1950’s.

Reville Nussey kicks off with the article, Difficult relationships: How will compulsory school history and an Ubuntu-based curriculum help nation-building
in South Africa? She reflects on the MTT’s recommendations and supports the emphasis that it places on a multiple perspective approach in the teaching and learning of history, while favouring the use of an African nationalist paradigm, underscored by the framework of Ubuntu, to assist in nation-building. The article attempts to find answers to the following questions: Will the compulsory study of history necessarily change social relationships in the classroom and help with nation-building? What role could Ubuntu play in this process? What are the implications for the development of in-service history teachers if history is made a compulsory subject? The findings of the article are based on a research project spanning three years and conducted at three primary schools in Johannesburg. Nussey argues that history as a compulsory subject will not necessarily act as a cure for South Africa’s social ills. She believes that further research should be undertaken for a reconciliation pedagogy that is informed by a reconstituted notion of Ubuntu. Only then will it assist teachers during in-service teacher workshops to reflect and to be challenged on their assumptions about “the other”.

In their article, entitled Reflecting the 2018 History Ministerial Task Team Report on compulsory History in South Africa, Elize van Eeden and Pieter Warnich comment specifically on the Team’s research regarding compulsory history in Africa and abroad, as indicated in the first 44 pages of the report. By utilising the historical method, the aim was to establish whether the MTT’s report can be viewed as a reliable and valid document on which any future informed decisions and recommendations can be made as to whether History education can become a compulsory subject. The authors found that the indicated section of the report lacks quality in-depth research, consequently it shares no sound and constructive research to serve as a descriptive indicator to enable informed decisions to be reached on whether History education in South African schools should indeed become compulsory up to Grade 12 level. Van Eeden and Warnich further argue that the members of the MTT lack inclusivity of expertise, especially in the field of History education. In conclusion, the authors are of opinion that the idea of “Africanisation” is essentially a contested concept that requires a clearer conceptualisation before it can be applied and implemented in a future revised curriculum.

Daniel Ramoroko and Alta Engelbrecht, in The dialectics of historical empathy as a reflection of historical thinking in South African classrooms, relate how, through a small-scale study, they explored how two Grade 12 History teachers understand the concept of historical empathy and how it
can be utilised to engage learners in historical thinking. By making use of the Vietnam War (1954-1975) topic in the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS), they qualitatively gathered the research data by observing and interviewing the two participants after cultivating tenets of historical empathy in their classes. Utilising Barton and Levstik’s dual theoretical framework design in the interpretation of the data, the authors found that the participants’ conceptions of historical empathy were influenced by their selection of content, sources and teaching methodology. The findings further showed that both participants displayed the affective domain in their conceptions of historical empathy, while only one incorporated elements of the cognitive domain by demonstrating historical contextualisation as well as different historical perspectives.

In *Confronting controversial issues in History classrooms: An analysis of pre-service high school teachers’ experiences in post-apartheid South Africa*, Johan Wassermann and Denise Bentrovato introduce us to an empirical study involving 75 high school trainee teachers in their final year. The study reports on their experiences and understandings of the teaching of controversial and sensitive issues in history during their practical teaching period at schools. Drawing their data from a collection of reflective reports, Wassermann and Bentrovato found that the student teachers’ experiences varied greatly and were informed by a multitude of factors. These included, amongst others, the institutional culture of the schools where they were placed, their professional relationships with their mentor teachers and their engagement with learners, policy documents and teaching material.

In the first of two contributions from a Sub-Saharan African country, Roland Ndille, in *Our schools our identity: Efforts and challenges in the transformation of the History curriculum in the Anglophone subsystem of education in Cameroon since 1961*, focuses on the extent to which colonial curriculum reform has been achieved since independence. The article proceeds from the basis that the colonial curriculum engrained coloniality and therefore did not meet the realities of the “new” country, therefore necessitating reform in the teaching and learning of local and national contents. By utilising the critical decolonial perspective and the living theory methodology, Ndille is able to determine the extent of postcolonial history curriculum reform. He concludes by postulating that despite efforts made, they were not so significant as to make the conclusion possible that reform towards a predominantly local/national contents in history as indicated in policy documents since 1961 has been
achieved. He identifies certain challenges and believes that, if addressed properly and his recommendations implemented, the situation can improve.

In their article, entitled *The utilisation of a Mobile Phone Forum on the Winksite application in the teaching and learning of History: A case study of pre-service teachers at Makerere University*, Dorothy Sebbowa and Paul Muyinda focus on the experiences of education students in Uganda after engaging with this technology in their History education courses. A qualitative research design was followed, sampling 15 pre-services teachers. By utilising the Critical Discourse Analysis, the research data showed that the Mobile Phone Forum does enhance dialogical conversations between lecturers-students and students-students and consequently promotes a collaborative teaching and learning environment where opportunities exist to ask for information and where work can be monitored and ideas evaluated. The data further revealed the loss of direction and guidance during online and offline pedagogical “spaces” to be a significant challenge. This implies that if mobile phone forum technologies are to be fully integrated with History education at Higher Education Institutions in Sub-Saharan Africa, technical support is of the utmost importance.

In his pioneering work, entitled *Shaping a decolonised sport history curriculum through the national question*, Francois Cleophas focuses on the decolonisation of sport history at a conceptual curriculum level through the lenses of the National Question. Not many scholarly works on this topic have appeared in the past and Cleophas claims that to date the very important question that has been largely ignored by sport historians in South Africa is: How does decolonisation thinking impact on a sport history curriculum at an institution of higher learning in South Africa? He concludes that a decolonised sport history curriculum at institutions of higher learning will always display the inclination to foreground a particular ideologically-based process that emanates from the inherited traditions of the liberation movement. Cleophas calls for a recontextualised sport history curriculum that focuses on the non-racial tradition. However, he believes that university curriculum planners and other role players in sport history should take ownership by reinforcing a 21st century decolonised sport history curriculum with decolonial content. (Cleophas is also the editor of the book: *Exploring decolonising themes in SA Sport History: Issues and Challenges*, that was published this year. (See the book reviews in this edition).
In his article *History in popular literature and textbooks for Xhosa schools, 1850-1950s*, Peter Kallaway informs the reader that the teaching of history in Xhosa schools is a topic that has been surprisingly neglected. With his in-depth research, Kallaway is undoubtedly making a huge contribution to the South African historiography in all its diversity by showing the input that local scholars made in school textbooks of the era in under discussion. Special reference is made to the impact of the *Stewart Xhosa Readers*, published by Lovedale Press. Kallaway argues that his research will add to the potential challenge of understanding identity and patriotism in times past and in the present. In conclusion he offers suggestions for future research that he believes might be able to inform contemporary debates.

In his article in the hands-on section, entitled *The possibilities of Virtual Reality-goggles within the teaching and learning of History*, Juan-Carlo Homan encourages History educators to experiment more with alternative forms of technology in order to move away from the traditional method of chalk and talk History instruction. He introduces Virtual Reality as a computer-simulated environment (cyberspace/augmented reality) with goggles included, as a pedagogy tool that can be used in the History classroom. Homan provides five steps to direct the process of its incorporation. He further expands on the possibilities and advantages of this technology but warns that it is an expensive teaching aid. For this reason he provides a step-by-step illustration with instructions that History educators can follow on how to make low-cost VR-Goggles.

Also included in this issue are three interesting and thought-provoking book reviews with a South African context. The book reviews were written by Vusumuzi Mavimbela (*From protest to challenge: A documentary of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1990. Volume 4, Political profiles, 1882-1990*), Maresole Christina Kgari-Masondo (*The Black Consciousness reader*) and Leepile Mothlaolwa (*Exploring decolonising themes in SA Sport History: Issues and Challenges*). The reader will also find a first-hand report on the activities of the 2018 SASHT Conference which was held in Mowbray, Cape Town.

The Editorial Board once again extends an open invitation to the entire History community to submit articles for possible future publication in our July and December 2019 editions.
Difficult relationships: How will compulsory School History and an Ubuntu-based curriculum help nation-building in South Africa?

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Abstract

Despite South Africa’s shift to democracy, there are ongoing difficulties in relationships both in the broader society and schools. An official response to this situation was the establishment of the History Ministerial Task Team (MTT), which recommended: that history should be made a compulsory subject for learners in all phases at school; and, that the history curriculum should be revised using an African nationalist paradigm, informed by the framework of Ubuntu. This article uses the findings of a research project conducted in history classrooms at three primary schools in Johannesburg to illustrate some of the difficulties in relationships in the history classroom. It argues that compulsory history at school level will not necessarily be a panacea for South Africa’s social ills, especially as this proposal has reawakened fears of how history education was abused during apartheid.

A strength of the History MTT’s report is that it emphasises the importance of multi-perspectives in history, while favouring an approach that uses an African nationalist paradigm, informed by Ubuntu, to assist with nation-building. However, the notion of Ubuntu needs to be reconstituted, and when applied in conjunction with reconciliation pedagogy, it provides an alternative way, during teacher development workshops, for in-service history teachers to reflect on their own residual prejudices about “the other”, so that, in turn, they are able to facilitate meaningful changes in relationships in the history classroom. This approach might be applicable not only in South Africa, but also to history teachers in post-conflict countries which experience similar problems.

Keywords: Compulsory history; In-service history teachers; Multi-perspectives; Nation-building; Reconciliation pedagogy; Ubuntu.

Introduction

Relationships in South African schools in the democratic era have revealed both continuities and challenges, as teachers and learners have grappled with the effects of political and social changes in the broader society on schools (Vandeyar, 2010). The shift to a democratic dispensation in 1994 did not lead to an overnight change in social awareness. There have been numerous
examples which show the ongoing social and economic inequalities in South Africa, including overt and systemic racism entrenched in our schools, which continue two decades after the official end of apartheid.

One of the official responses to the ongoing problem of social divisions in South African society was to appoint a History Ministerial Task Team (MTT) in 2015 to investigate whether history should become a compulsory subject in the school curriculum, as “young people do not appreciate our country’s history…and history is necessary to inspire the psyche of the nation” (Report of the History Ministerial Task Team for the Department of Basic Education [MTT], 2018:8). The final report recommended “that history should be made compulsory at FET [Further Education and Training] phase” (MTT, 2018:130). It also suggested that parts of the curriculum needed to change to include “African nationalism [which] is informed by the paradigm of progressive humanism underscored by Ubuntu” (MTT, 2018:46-47).

The idea of making history a compulsory subject at schools as a means towards nation-building has a particularly negative connotation in the South African context (Siebörger, 2016). One of the reasons for this is that during the apartheid era, there was an explicit connection made between history education, nation-building and the National Party. History education was seen as an instrument of propaganda that was used to justify a particular interpretation of the past, namely, that of the Afrikaner nationalists, and the result was history education that focused on an exclusive group and the result was that it “fomented hatred and conflict” (McCully, 2012:47). This has meant that in the democratic era, any attempt to link history education to a particular view of nation-building is viewed with suspicion in South Africa, and the call to make history compulsory in all phases in schools has reawakened this fear (Davids, 2016; Jansen, 2018). In addition, these suggested changes to South Africa’s history school curriculum raise the following questions that this article will attempt to answer. First, will the compulsory study of history necessarily change social relationships in the classroom, and help with nation-building? Secondly, what role could Ubuntu play in this process? Finally, what are the implications for the development of in-service history teachers if history is made a compulsory subject?

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1 History, in partnership with Geography, forms a subject called Social Sciences in the present curriculum, and it is compulsory until the end of Grade 9, which is the year before the start of the FET phase.
Background

In order to explore possible answers to these questions, this article uses and reflects on some of the results of research conducted in three primary schools in Johannesburg, South Africa during 2009–2011, where a teacher educator observed between eight to sixteen history lessons in the primary school classroom and interviewed eight teachers. One of the aims of this research was to understand whether there were any long term effects on these teachers’ practice of having done an oral history task on “Life before and after 1994”, which formed the basis of a cooperative learning assignment when they were second year pre-service teachers doing a compulsory history methodology course. This course was part of their Bachelor of Education degree at the University of the Witwatersrand School of Education (WSoE). One of the aims of this assignment was to expose the students to the research process involved in oral history tasks and the pedagogy of cooperative learning. But there was another aim, that is, to address the issue of social divisions among the pre-service teachers that the teacher educator had observed in the lecture room.

A result of this oral history and cooperative learning assignment was that it started a process of breaking down social barriers among the students, and between the students and the teacher educator. It also led to a research project, which aimed to understand what had changed and why, as well as the development of a conception of a reconciliation pedagogy. By following a few of these pre-service teachers into the classroom once they became in-service history teachers in the intermediate phase primary school classroom, the following research questions were posed: Did the doing of this oral history and cooperative learning assignment at university have any effects on these teachers’ practice once they were teaching in their own history classrooms? Secondly, what were the challenges and successes for in-service teachers adapting the university assignment to their primary school classrooms? Thirdly, what did the classroom observations reveal about the state of social relationships in history classroom at this level (Nussey, 2012)? For the purpose of this article, the focus will be on the third question, as a previous article (Nussey, 2017) has dealt with the first two questions.

This research was conducted prior to the call to make history compulsory throughout the school curriculum, but it raises important issues, which sheds light on whether the compulsory study of history necessarily affects relationships in the classroom in a positive manner. All the teachers in this research studied history at tertiary level as a result of a compulsory history
methodology course. History, as part of social sciences, is a compulsory course for all learners in the intermediate phase at schools too. But the examples used in this article will focus on the teachers’ interactions with their learners during the classroom observations, as a way to highlight some of the issues with social relationships in history classrooms.

Data collection and research methodology

The research sample was the result of purposive random sampling, as former history pre-service teachers from the WSoE who were now in-service history teachers at primary schools, were contacted and requested to participate in this research project. Ethical clearance to conduct this research was granted by the WSoE’s ethics committee, the Gauteng Department of Education and principals of the schools. Furthermore, all the teachers volunteered to be part of this research project, which focused on the teaching of oral histories in the classroom. The sample consisted of six white teachers and two black teachers. While the majority of the learners were black at schools A and B, which were public schools, at school C, an independent school, there was an even mixture of black and white learners. Two of the schools were located in the north-eastern suburbs, and one in the southern suburbs of Johannesburg.

As a direct observer in the classroom, I recorded my observations in a journal, and also interviewed each of the teachers using semi-structured, open-ended questions. These questions drew on the teachers’ experiences in the present and past regarding issues such as, the use of oral history in the classroom, as well as their conceptions of identity and how they perceived relationships in their classrooms. The main focus of the project was on the teachers, so no follow-up interviews were conducted with the learners.

Each teacher was sent a copy of the transcribed interview for their comments or to allow for further clarification, so “member checking” (Harper & Cole, 2012:1) was used. Finally, the journal observations and transcribed interviews were coded thematically, then analysed according to a qualitative framework as part of a narrative inquiry (Clandinin & Connolly, 2000). While this is a small research sample, this qualitative research allows for a snapshot into some primary school history classrooms with regards to the state of relationships in this context.

Most of the teachers claimed that relationships were good among their learners and also between themselves and the learners in the classroom. Some of my observations supported this view of harmonious relations in the classroom, although there were numerous incidents that challenged this claim too.
Critical incidents and interviews:

These critical incidents (Tripp, 1993:24) contested the teachers’ views that relationships were good in the classrooms. They occurred during the classroom observations while the learners were discussing the results of their oral history interviews about life during apartheid with the teachers, and were raised with the teachers during their respective interviews.

At school B: a critical incident happened when a white boy shook his head to indicate a negative response when Kagiso, a black teacher, requested volunteers to read their oral histories aloud. During an interview, I discussed this incident with Kagiso, and he explained that the reason for the boy’s reaction was due to the derogatory content in his interview, and not that the boy felt shy to read it aloud. It appeared that either the boy made the choice to be silent rather than offend his peers or that he was scared to share his interview. The reason for the latter choice might be that he feared a negative reaction from his peers.

This critical incident showed the importance of being aware of the hurtful effects some of the oral histories could have on relationships, but it also showed the importance of a teacher creating a safe space in the classroom. While it might be argued that the teacher should respect the learner’s choice to remain silent (as the teacher did in this case), a counter argument is that the silence about this past needs to be broken, so that a critical discussion takes place about what is being passed on via the oral histories. One of the reasons for this concern is that oral history tasks can be used as a vehicle to pass on trauma and prejudices between the generations (Hoffman, 2005; Jansen, 2009). There needs to be a process to address the way prejudices and trauma inform oral histories, so that these issues can be made explicit and dealt with as they arise.

At school C, another critical incident occurred when a few boys taunted another as a “Bushman” after he reported that his father said only a few young people went to school, because most were traditional and chose to go hunting. Joyce, a white teacher, dismissed the incident as an “inappropriate joke”, although she did not “think it was a racial thing because they’re all black”. There is an ongoing debate as to what to call the indigenous first nation in South Africa: “San” is a term favoured by most historians, although “Bushmen” is being reclaimed as a positive term by some leaders and individuals within these communities (Hromnik, 2007:22). But the use of “Bushman” is still

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The examples are taken from my unpublished PhD (Nussey, 2012).

To protect their anonymity, all the teachers’ names are pseudonyms in this article.
controversial, and it was used in a derogatory way by the boys. Joyce’s view that the incident was not “racial” on the basis that the boys involved were “all black” was debatable, because there was a negative reference to difference in the original remark. In addition, this incident illustrated prejudice among these learners, as well as lack of awareness on the teacher’s part.

During the class observations and interviews, some of the teachers’ choice of words to describe “the other” also showed a lack of awareness. For example, at school C during Robyn’s lesson, she described black people as “people of colour”, which changed to “African” and then to “non-white”. When questioned about the use of the term “non-white” during the interview after her lesson, Robyn responded that she did not want to “insult any of the children in my class … and to make them upset”. Yet, she acknowledged that she had changed words to describe black people during the lesson, although she had not “thought about” it before.

The term “non-white” was a blanket term used by apartheid authorities to refer to black people, whereas the term “black” was defined by Bantu Stephen Biko, a Black Consciousness leader, as referring to all the inhabitants in South Africa who were legally discriminated against by the apartheid regime, and who rejected this discrimination (Biko, 1971). This was an explicit rebuttal of apartheid’s racial categories, namely, where black people were divided into African, Coloured and Indian, and Biko’s definition regarding black people has continued to be used in South African discourse. There were many teachers in this research who used the term “non-white” without any awareness of either the historical origin of the word or how inappropriate its continued use was in a democratic present.

The above incidents reveal that there is a strong link between the difficulties in relationships in the broader society to those inside the classroom, which is hardly surprising, as a classroom can be seen as a microcosm of the broader society. But these incidents also showed contradictions between how the teachers saw their relationships with their learners and what their actions and words revealed. The words used to describe “the other”, especially by the white teachers, demonstrated a lack of awareness of their own prejudices. There are a number of possible explanations, such as, these examples are evidence of a “hidden history curriculum” (Hues, 2011) at schools, and the continuity of white privilege (Conradie, 2015; Ellwanger, 2017). This situation is complex: it seems that there is an ongoing discomfort around racial identity in the present, based on what happened during apartheid, which needs to be
addressed explicitly if there is any possibility of fostering positive relationships in the history classroom.

**Teachers’ backgrounds and attitudes**

The teachers who participated in this research grew up during the last years of apartheid, and the majority of them attended schools that were desegregated. But this contact between the different races as children did not necessarily mean that the teachers were unaffected by the language that was used to construct racial identities during apartheid. This observation challenges “the most widely accepted theory of positive intergroup relations, namely, Allport’s (1954) contact theory” (Slavin, 1985:11), namely, that if diverse groups come into contact with one another, then “relations between members of groups who have not previously interacted will improve following direct interpersonal interaction” (Miller & Harrington, 1990:48). It also appeared that most of the white teachers’ attitudes (as reflected in the language they used) did not shift substantially once they returned to schools as adults and taught classes that consisted of mainly black learners.

Walton (2013:1181) has suggested another possibility to explain these “contradictory attitudes”, which was based on her research with learners and inclusive education. She argued that these “contradictory attitudes do not have to be explained away, but can be understood as young people expressing both a “discursive commitment to equality” (Young, 1990:124) and a “residual prejudice” (Fricker, 2007:39) that prevails in society.” The contradiction here is between holding a genuine belief in equality for everyone, yet simultaneously harbouring a prejudice, which operates below the surface of one’s awareness, and comes from the broader society. I have no doubt that the majority of teachers I observed were committed to fostering positive relationships among their learners, and between the learners and themselves. As Robyn stated, it was not her intention to “insult any of the children in my class”. Yet the examples from the critical incidents and interviews with the teachers suggested that there are underlying problems with relationships in the primary school history classroom.

**Compulsory history education and teacher development**

These examples from the classroom observations and interviews showed that the studying of history by these teachers at tertiary level did not necessarily have much effect on changing their attitudes. Weldon (2010) has argued that South African history teachers need to address how their personal biographies affect
their teaching in the classroom, and the findings of this research support this view. The History MTT report (2018:114) acknowledges that there will need to be teacher development for history teachers, if “History is made compulsory at FET phase”. But if primary school history teachers, who have studied history methodology as part of a compulsory course during their second year BEd degrees at tertiary level, reveal these residual prejudices once they become in-service teachers, then how should future teachers be educated?

A report on the state of history education in South Africa identified numerous problems if history is to be made a compulsory subject, especially considering the reasons students choose to do history courses at tertiary level and how they are taught. These problems range from the low status of history education at institutions to the lack of a shared understanding by history educators as to the importance of developing pre-service teachers’ historical thinking. However, the issue of addressing pre-service teachers’ attitudes towards “the other” was not directly addressed, as the report’s focus was mainly on how teacher educators approached the teaching of the discipline and their views on decolonising the curriculum (Bambo, Chisholm, Friedman & Sindoh, 2017).

The argument in favour of making history compulsory at all levels at schools would need to address the above shortcomings: not only with regards to the learning and teaching of history, but also issues related to residual prejudices, which were revealed during this research. In particular, it seems that history teachers require additional skills in the mediating of difficult conversations and peace-building to deal with difficulties in relationships inside the history classroom.

Ubuntu: Overview

One of the answers that the MTT report (2018:46) suggests to deal with this issue of the difficulties in social relationships is for the history curriculum to be informed by a philosophical framework based on Ubuntu. The application of Ubuntu to an educational context is not a novel idea, and there has been a call to apply this concept as a solution to some of the problems in international and online education (Piper, 2016; Waghid, Waghid & Waghid, 2018). However, the meaning of the concept of Ubuntu has generated considerable controversy, as it is used differently in diverse discourses (Hankela, 2014).

Among some commentators, there is a tendency to dismiss the value of Ubuntu as a populist idea, which is based on the notion that Ubuntu can be translated and reduced to a single phrase, “I am because you are” (Breed & Semenya, 2015:6). Others argue that there is a tendency to oversimplify a complex
concept where some Africanist scholars have translated Ubuntu’s meaning as African “humanism” (Eze, 2010:90), which is close to the definition of Ubuntu in the MTT report (2018:46), where it is defined as a philosophy of “progressive humanism”. This means that the value of Ubuntu underpinning the MTT report could be dismissed in a similar manner, especially as it includes a wide variety of concepts, such as, “human sympathy, human rights, social justice, love, willingness to share, and forgiveness” (2018:47), which the report fails to define. Another argument, against the use of Ubuntu, is that it has become so conceptually thin that the term has lost its meaning in a modern, global world (Matolino & Kwindingwi, 2013). These criticisms raise serious concerns about using Ubuntu as a philosophical framework to underpin a history curriculum that is compulsory for all learners.

However, while acknowledging the validity of some of these criticisms, a counter argument has emerged that it is possible to rethink and reconstitute the meaning of Ubuntu (Praeg & Magadla, 2014), so that this term can provide the basis for an ethical world view (Metz, 2014). In addition, Eze (2010:160-161) has argued that Ubuntu provided a modern ideological basis for a “flexible” notion of nation-building which emerged during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC):

*In theory, ubuntu is a hermeneutic process that remains inclusive but allows one to dialogue with people from other historical cultures while being sensitive to differences in context and other historical cultures and traditions. Even if an invented ideology, it still yields an imagination that tries to reconcile the very often conflicting memories of South Africa, not into a single homogeneous consciousness but by bringing these memories into dialogue with one another.*

Eze has reconstituted Ubuntu as an inclusive approach, while acknowledging differences, and encouraging “a creative dialogue [which] is a dialogue that is flexible, dialogic and mutually transformative” (Eze, 2010:154). Another approach suggests that Ubuntu can be understood as “an ethic of care” (Waghid & Smeyers, 2012:20); and, finally, Ubuntu can be used to inform a process of building peace (Murithi, 2009). All of these ideas could be used with in-service history teachers during teacher workshops to encourage reflection on their own positionality and prejudices, and to facilitate difficult conversations which might help them to shift their own, and their learners’ approaches, to “the other” in their respective classrooms.
Ubuntu and a reconciliation pedagogy

I have previously suggested that a reconciliation pedagogy, which uses an oral history task, cooperative learning and is informed by a theoretical framework, namely, Lederach’s (1999) “dance” of reconciliation, was a way of addressing some of the problem of relationships in the history lecture room with pre-service teachers (Nussey, 2014). However, a reconstituted notion of Ubuntu adds to and deepens the theoretical and practical framework that informs a reconciliation pedagogy, and this approach could be used with in-service history teachers in all phases during teacher development workshops. This could help to address residual prejudices and to introduce different approaches to the teaching of history as required by the proposed curriculum.

Eze’s (2010) idea of Ubuntu as memories being brought into a creative dialogue with one another is relevant to a reconciliation pedagogy, which uses an oral history task as part of its process. History teachers, who lived most of their lives under apartheid, can be interviewed by those who grew up at the tail end of apartheid or those born after the advent of democracy. The oral history interview provides an opportunity to bring the different memories of two or more generations into conversation with one another, where a distinction can be made between “lived” and “learnt” memory (Wineburg, 2001:234). This allows for those who lived during apartheid, and the members of the second or third generation to engage with one another, and also for multi-perspectives of this past to emerge.

In addition, the oral history interviews also provide an opportunity for the second and third generation to pose questions about this difficult past to members of the first generation, which opens up a space for a creative dialogue between the generations at a workshop. By doing so, this dialogue has the potential to uncover residual prejudices, yet also facilitate the reweaving of relationships between the generations, and in this sense becomes “mutually transformative” (Eze, 2010:154). However, the success of this process depends on how the interviews are conducted, and Waghid and Smeyers’s (2012:20) conception of Ubuntu “as a particular ethic of care” which relies on “empathy and relational autonomy” plays an important role during the interview process, especially as there are many traumatic events that have occurred in South Africa’s past.

Another part of a reconciliation pedagogy that requires an “ethic of care” is a cooperative learning task (Johnson & Johnson, 2010), which uses the oral history interviews as the basis for a joint task in heterogeneous groups. In the
case of in-service teacher workshops, where the participants are from diverse backgrounds, a joint task allows for the members of the same group who are from “other historical cultures” (Eze, 2010:160) to share the results of their oral history interviews with one another. This provides an opportunity to broaden the dialogue about the past within a larger group, and empathy is crucial during this process, as traumatic narratives may be shared.

While the concept of empathy is considered controversial in history education, Barton and Levstik (2004:208) have argued in favour of historical empathy in two ways. The first way is to encourage the recognition of different perspectives in the past as a rational exercise. This means that an aim is not simply to understand diverse views, but to “contextualise” them within the framework of historical actors, so that those in the present can see the coherence of historical actors’ diverse views about the past. Situating this oral history task within the framework of Ubuntu encourages the teachers to grapple with multi-perspectives, which also helps to challenge the view that there is a single story about the past (Wielanga, 2013).

The MTT’s report (2018:40–41) envisages a learner/student who is “a critically skilled citizen who is capable of handling multiple kinds of perspectives”, which implies that the learners are encouraged to explore a plurality of perspectives, understood as “both diversity of past historical perspectives as well as diversity of present understandings of the past” (Klein, 2010:615). This is an approach which uses the discipline of history to inform critical reflection on events from different perspectives, as well as to explore how historical narratives are constructed (Barton & McCully, 2010). It is this aspect of the HMTT report that “promotes the idea that school history should be about teaching young people to think critically about the past – and the present” (Kallaway, 2018).

However, many in-service teachers in South Africa have not necessarily been exposed to an approach to the teaching of history that encourages using a plurality of perspectives. This means that it will be difficult for these teachers to implement this approach in their classrooms. By attending workshops that use a reconciliation pedagogy informed by Ubuntu, teachers are able to experience multi-perspectives in practice. It also provides an opportunity for teachers to reflect on the challenges of dealing with differing perspectives, but it might enable them to implement this important aspect of the proposed curriculum in their classrooms too.
The second way that Barton and Levstick (2004:208) conceptualise empathy in history education is to foster an emotional response that encourages care about the injustices of the past, so that present-day injustices are challenged too. Yet, when dealing with issues such as injustices in the past and present, this can lead to conflict within the cooperative groups. This means that there needs to be an approach to building peace, which another conception of Ubuntu provides.

**Ubuntu and building peace**

Murithi (2009) has suggested that using Ubuntu was a way to build peace in a village in Africa, and that this approach could be applied to education too. He described the following five steps on how to use Ubuntu in a peace process within a community:

Firstly, after the facts had been ascertained by hearing the views of victims, perpetrators and witnesses, the perpetrator – if considered to have done wrong – would be encouraged, both by the Council and other community members in the inkundla/lekgotla forum, to acknowledge responsibility or guilt. Secondly, the perpetrator would be encouraged to repent or to demonstrate genuine remorse. Thirdly, the perpetrator would be encouraged to ask for forgiveness and the victim in turn would be encouraged to show mercy. Fourthly, where possible and at the suggestion of the Council of Elders, the perpetrator would be required to pay appropriate compensation or reparations for the wrong done. … The fifth stage sought to consolidate the process as a whole by encouraging the parties to commit themselves to reconciliation. This process of reconciliation tended to include the victim and his or her family members and friends, as well as the perpetrator and his or her family members and friends [emphasis in the original] (Murithi, 2009:228-229).

These steps can be used as a guideline for a role play/simulation for the joint, cooperative learning group task, based on the results of the oral history interviews during the in-service teachers’ workshops. Using Ubuntu to inform a peace-building process and Lederach’s (1999) ideas of the dance of reconciliation will help teachers to engage with the “big ideas”, such as truth, apology, mercy and restitution that are vital to consider when building peace. By applying these ideas to the teachers’ oral history interviews and the cooperative task, it encourages them to engage in further dialogue with one another from a different, broader perspective. The debriefing process at the end of workshops offers an opportunity for further reflection, and for teachers to discuss how and when it is appropriate for this approach to be applied to the history classroom.
Conclusion

The making of history as a compulsory subject throughout the school curriculum will not necessarily act as a panacea for South Africa's social ills. The critical incidents and interviews provided a snapshot into some primary school history classrooms, which showed ongoing tensions in relationships. Nonetheless, they illustrated the need for many participants in this research to reflect and be challenged on their assumptions about “the other”. For some of the teachers, it was important for them to become aware of the contradictions between residual prejudices and their words and actions towards their learners. In the case of the learners, there was a need to address their prejudices explicitly, so that this could start a dialogue that encouraged a positive shift in attitude towards “the other”. These changes in social relationships do not happen naturally as a result of contact between the races in the classroom or by the compulsory studying of history. All the teachers involved in this research had studied history methodology beyond their schooling. This research showed that this compulsory study had had a limited effect on their ability to deal with difficult social relationships as they arose in the intermediate phase classroom, where history is a compulsory part of the curriculum.

A reconciliation pedagogy, informed by a reconstituted notion of Ubuntu, which incorporates the ideas of Eze's (2010:154) “creative dialogue” and Waghid and Smeyers's (2012:20) “ethic of care”, could play a role in addressing some of these issues during in-service teacher workshops for teachers who teach history in all phases. There are many tasks that inform this peace-building process: the oral history interviews between different generations of history teachers, which allows for the sharing of narratives from different perspectives; the application of historical empathy, understood as promoting both rational and emotional engagement with the past and the present, during the preparation and presentation of a cooperative learning task based on the results of the oral history interviews; and, by engaging with the “big ideas” found in Lederach's (1999) dance of reconciliation and Murithi's (2009) conception of Ubuntu informing a peace-building process. While this will be a time-consuming process, it provides the space for history teachers to engage with and reflect on social residual prejudices in a way that aims to encourage meaningful shifts in their personal attitudes, and by extension, will help them to facilitate change in relationships in their history classrooms.

Irrespective of whether history becomes a compulsory subject throughout the school curriculum or not, the History MTT report and reactions to it
have highlighted the need for different approaches to the development of pre-service and in-service history teachers. The recommendation to make history a compulsory subject throughout the school curriculum will not necessarily address the lack of social cohesion in South Africa. As Francis and Hemson (2007:30) state, “[t]eachers have a role to play in dismantling oppression and generating a vision for a more socially just future”, and a reconciliation pedagogy, informed by a reconstituted conception of Ubuntu, could assist history teachers with this process. This approach might be applicable, not only in South Africa, but also to history teachers in post-conflict countries which are experiencing similar problems.

References


Reflecting the 2018 History Ministerial Task Team Report on Compulsory History in South Africa

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Abstract

The History Ministerial Task Team Report (MTT), published in February 2018, has been awaited by educators of History in South Africa for them to be informed on thoughts, trends and statuses of compulsory History Education in schools globally. Educators also hoped to be informed about other important aspects of History education, such as educators’ impressions of the 2011 Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) for History and possibilities for revision. Other concerns on the table included the field of teacher training, as well as the financial and logistical implications of transforming History teaching into a compulsory subject.

The major purpose of this paper is to reflect on the History MTT’s discussion of the status of, specifically, compulsory History in Africa and further afield, and to establish whether the MTT’s report can in this regard serve as a reliable indicator for making any informed decision on whether History Education in South African schools should indeed be compulsory up to the Grade 12 level. The authors contest the quality of the research conducted by the History MTT pertaining to compulsory History in other countries, which in turn questions the reliability of the Report in its entirety, but which unfortunately cannot be afforded attention in this paper due to lack of space. Given this contestation on quality pertaining to the first section of the History MTT report, the authors make some observations and propose recommendations to the Department of Basic Education, who commissioned the History MTT. The essence thereof is to strongly suggest that much more thorough research should be conducted than that received by the DBE in this Report, to ensure more responsible considerations and points of departure than those currently unfolding.

Keywords: History Education; The History Ministerial Task Team Report (MTT); Compulsory History; Department of Basic Education; Historical method.

Introduction

On 4 June 2015 the History Ministerial Task Team (MTT) was appointed

by the Ministry in the Department of Basic Education (DBE)\(^2\) to comply with a mandate (terms of reference) which was officially made public in October 2015.\(^3\) The task of the History MTT would be to undertake “a comparative case study on compulsory History…”\(^4\). For the DBE, with Minister Angelina Matise (Angie) Mothekga as spokesperson, the History MTT’s mandate was twofold, namely to i) “Conduct research on how other countries have dealt with the introduction of compulsory History as part of citizenship in their schooling system”, and ii) “make recommendations to the Minister”. In addition to this twofold task, the MTT also had to inform the Minister on how best to i) “… implement the introduction of compulsory History in FET schools as part of citizenship located within Life Orientation”; ii) “… strengthen the content in the FET band”; and iii) “… review the content in the GET band”. The History MTT also had to submit to the DBE Ministry of South Africa “A proposal regarding Teacher Development in the Area” [it is accepted that the Minister refers to History teaching as ‘the area’]. It is further accepted that the Minister assumed and expected that the History MTT would also consult with experts in the field, apart from investing in public hearings, before compiling the findings in a report that would, according to the Minister, “… draft the implementation and management plan with clear timeframes, including:

- Alignment of history textbooks according to the reviewed curriculum;
- Make recommendations on the key concerns relating to the introduction of compulsory History in the FET band, and the implications of these recommendations if implemented; and
- Make proposals for gazetting policy and regulations amendments emanating from this process”.

The Minister seems to have hoped for a History MTT Report similar to a recent project\(^5\) on Africa curricula, inspired by the United Nations Educational,

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\(^2\) This initiative by the Ministry of Education came some way and was apparently acted on as a result of the request from the South African Democratic Teachers Union (Sadtu). See Tebogo Monama, “History compulsory? No way, says DA”. https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/gauteng/history-compulsory-no-way-says-da-1928605 Accessed October 2015. It was also reported earlier that compulsory History seems to be the way forward for the Ministry but that the “subject’s content” must first be reviewed. See Poppy Louw, “History is in our future”, The Times, 23 April 2015, p. 4.


Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and African Union (AU). So, to be extensively informed on many aspects of (compulsory) History by means of representative and reliable research, the Ministry at the DBE wanted to be able to decide on History’s future in the General and Further Educational Training Bands.

In the discussion to follow the authors aim mainly to critically reflect, by means of utilising the historical method, on the research and the outcome thereof in the first section (44 pages) of the 151 page History MTT Report. This should be viewed as a first effort to respond to the Report, and given the prescribed page limits, it unfortunately is not possible to respond to the rest of the Report at this stage, which definitely requires some substantial reflection in a separate paper. Apart from three pages of introducing and contextualising the study (which will be responded to in the discussion) the History MTT in this section largely covers content on “comparative country case studies”, inclusive of Africa, as part of its task to comply with the comprehensive DBE mandate of providing insight into the status of compulsory History elsewhere. The other sections of the Report on textbooks, curriculum revision, teacher training and selective reference lists as well as the appendixes are also open to critical reflection, but require another round of discussions due to lack of space.

Before discussing the History MTT’s research on the status of compulsory History Education internationally, some contextual information is shared on bits of metanarrative directly related to, and informing the reader specifically on the contributors to the History MTT Report. Their working protocol with regard to producing the research report, and some hidden voices reflecting experiences or observations during and after the History MTT research process, will also be attended to.

**Mirroring the MTT context and other metanarratives**

the History MTT context requiring a brief discussion are i) the team appointed to see the task through, ii) the research method opted for in data-gathering, as well as iii) responses spontaneously shared by academics (History educators and historians) with the South African Society for History Teaching.
(SASHT) during the process of the the History MTT research period and after the Report was released. From voices at historical conferences in 2018 and news reports deliberating on academics and the South African public’s opinion regarding the History MTT Report, the following sections share some of these metanarratives. Some were freely gathered through email communication, and are therefore used anonymously to protect the writers as respondents.

The History MTT panel

The originally appointed History MTT panel of seven members could have appeared balanced if gender and race were criteria, but there is reason to believe that the perceptionalised selection from seemingly politically more correct spaces and peoples overshadowed the necessary requirement for expertise that could have contributed constructively. The History MTT panel as preferred by the Ministry of Ms Motshokga consisted of:

- Prof Albert Grundlingh (University of Stellenbosch). Prof Grundlingh withdrew in 2016 and the final MTT Report reveals that Prof Amanda Esterhuysen of the University of the Witwatersrand replaced Grundlingh. Esterhuysen, as part of the “Organisational Unit, School for Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies” at Wits, had to fill the void of one historian less and to probably provide insight as an archaeologist.

- Prof Sekibakiba Peter Lekgoathi (University of the Witwatersrand – School of Social Science).

- Prof Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu (University of South Africa – Department of Interdisciplinary Studies and a prominent role-player in the South African Democracy Education Trust - SADET), and also chairperson of the History MTT.

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8 Indeed, as academics, other questions emanating from the viewing of the History MTT panel, and which can (with a more extensive research agenda of interviewing etc.) add value to a better understanding, include the following: Given the History MTT status as academics, why did they blindly accept the brief given to them by the Minister? Why did Prof Grundlingh leave the panel? What impact did Prof Mandy Esterhuysen have on the panel’s suggestions regarding a future History curriculum? Surely a more in-depth and thorough execution of the Report is possible.


10 To note that the History MTT in a final stage of the Comprehensive and Executive Summary discussion suggested that Social Studies should in future be removed from History teaching, thus viewing Geography and History as separate fields. Ironic then, that an expert in Archaeology and Geography like Prof Amanda Esterhuysen filled a void in the team by her replacing a historian?
Mr/Dr Jabulani Sithole (according to knowledge and further research, in 2015, at the time of his appointment on the MTT, Mr Sithole was not in the service of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, and was known to be politically active in the African National Congress).

The respected, long since retired Ms Luli Callinicos (Social historian and known for her earlier generation struggles in writing for a democratic South Africa, but no longer so actively engaged in present day education and teaching in History.

Dr Gail Weldon (Independent Educational Consultant but, before retirement, for years an employee of the Western Cape Educational Department, co-involved in the development of the 2011 History CAPS and acknowledged for her PhD-research in post-conflict curricula).

Dr Nomalanga N Mkhize, History lecturer (but viewing herself also as a Sociologist at the Nelson Mandela University in Port Elizabeth, attached to a post-doctoral appointment at the University of Rhodes and also having academic associations with the University of Cape Town).

Whether a political ideological dominant rationale guided the Ministry on the History MTT’s team of choice, and/or whether a genuine concern about the youth’s perceptionalised history knowledge might have been a genuine reason for the Minister’s interest in History, resulting in the appointing of a History MTT, will remain silent voices in the corridors of government departments. What seems obvious from the Task Team selection is that the Minister wanted well executed and thorough research by historians (and might have thought that History educators would probably not live up to this expectation, though Dr Weldon at least “made” the team and seems to always have been the only one selected to regularly participate in ministerial tasks related to History Education).

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11 At the time of his appointment on the History Ministerial Task Team it is unclear if Mr Sithole have completed a PhD at the University of the Witwatersrand.


Perhaps the Minister might have thought that the team actually represented the fields of both History and History Education very well. If so, in any or both these scenarios, it is, as in the past with similar activities, a gross misconception. The reality is that most members of the Task Team (excluding Dr Weldon) might admit their lack of past knowledge on the historiography, and current trends pertaining to History Education. Active scholars in the field with vast experience have been overlooked in the process. Thus, academics in History Education cannot be but sceptical about the motive(s) behind the History MTT team member selection, which remains exclusive as opposed to being inclusive – as it ought to be.

Criteria for inclusivity in the History MTT, if it is about quality education in History and to be informed by educationally trained experts as to whether compulsory History will meet an educational need for a more informed youth, could, to begin with, perhaps have been:

- Considering expertise in History\(^\text{16}\) and even more in History Education from all tertiary institutions and not predominantly from historical English\(^\text{17}\) oriented institutions\(^\text{18}\) or a long-retired list of academics;
- Including expertise from a diversity of History teaching professions (FET included) and not only HET expertise;
- Involving for example History societies such as the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) and the Historical Association of South Africa (HASA) as well as the South African Historical Association (SAHA) to a greater extent and in better ways than expecting them to act as mute observers somewhere in the “research effort” chain.

If the Ministry had genuinely been serious about not wanting to follow or nurture an ideological pathway,\(^\text{19}\) the obvious way forward would have

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\(^{16}\) See the opinion of Academic C in ES van Eeden Email archive, Discussions with Academic C, 13 October 2015.

\(^{17}\) Compare for example the view of History textbook writer Gengs Pillay who recently said, “… the old history curriculum in 2010 was written by ‘a group of white liberals in the Western Cape’ in Pressreader, “Past has a different future”, 20 May 2018 (Available at https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/sunday-times/20180520/281522226744627, as accessed 27 September 2019).

\(^{18}\) It is more than possible to list some of South Africa’s currently prominent Historians and History Educators who are amply informed on History Education in South Africa, but it would not serve any purpose to do so at this stage.

\(^{19}\) Some academics seemingly beg to differ from the Ministry’s intentions. See for example Emeritus Prof Peter Kallaway of UCT’s response in a newspaper on the developments as it’s “about delivering on a ‘patriotic history’ that glorifies the ANC’s role in history, much in the same way as the apartheid curriculum glorified the role of the NP and Afrikaner nationalism”. Michelle Friedman, History textbook writer, in the same newspaper likewise confirmed her view by stating that “… it would be a ‘shame’ if in resistance history, the ANC was glorified”. See Pressreader, “Past has a different future”, 20 May 2018 (Available at https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/sunday-times/20180520/281522226744627, as accessed 27 September 2018).
been inclusivity, as opposed to avoiding experts who might offer perspectives which sometimes contradict or challenge some intentions or ideas coming from the Ministry. This might have happened in the process towards selecting the members of the History MTT panel. The experiences and opinions of prominent experts in History Education about the Task Team selection (or exclusion) are shared (anonymously) below:

**Academic A**

I was asked to be on the Task Team – a long time ago – and I answered that I would consider it IF the brief was to consider WHETHER compulsory was a good idea – not HOW TO...!!! I HAD NO REPLY.

And another, perhaps more positive reflective viewpoint, which will be revealed in the next section when discussing the validity of all these observations on the first part of the History MTT Report:

**Academic C**

- I’m very pleased that the Minister/DBE has appointed an independent and professional team, with no departmental officials and no union people. (Of course, that also means no representatives of other organisations like … [the SASHT] …);
- It’s clear that they chose mainly historians and, from the point of view of the content issues, that is not a bad thing at all. (It’s far better to have knowledgeable people making the recommendations.);
- The team is well balanced according to race, gender, age and curriculum experience, and I think it will be hard for anyone or union to disagree with their findings on the basis of their representivity.

Whether Academic C maintained this opinion as reiterated above, will surface again later in the discussion. The conversation to follow shifts from the History MTT as a team (chosen for their knowledge abilities and expertise – thus Academic C) to the key issue of being informed on the research method that the History MTT seemingly followed to provide the South African nation with insight.

**History MTT research method opted for in data gathering**

Though the Ministerial mandate is clear as to what would be expected from the Team, it does not necessarily provide information as to the exact way

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20 ES van Eeden Email archive, Discussions with Academic A, 11 June 2018.
21 ES van Eeden Email archive, Discussions with Academic C, 13 October 2015.
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forward with all the required processes and inquiries to obtain insight so as to arrive at an informed analysis. Therefore, concisely making sense of the MTT research protocol helps to frame the information used and referenced.

Research method followed

From the limited pieces of information in the History MTT Report as part of the Team’s effort to provide context, it seems as if there had been “productive” discussions. The Ministry’s mandate was the main focus, and as far as it concerns the “comparative research on compulsory history in other countries,” apparently each member of the Team was assigned a country (though it is not made clear at all on what basis the countries were selected). Each member then had to find information on the status of History Education in the country assigned to him/her out of the “selected” 12 countries, according to a list of criteria the History MTT had decided on, namely is History…?:22

* ... compulsory in a given country and if so, up to which grade?;
* ... a stand-alone subject or integrated and at what level?

Other criteria pertaining to the status of teaching History in other countries were also formulated by the History MTT, namely to determine:

* the content framework;
* the level of control or autonomy, for example at which level the content is determined (national/local level);
* what skills are being looked for;
* why the countries chose the particular approach they took; and
* what kind of identity is being promoted in the curriculum?

The extent to which the Report complies with these criteria with reference to countries in a proper scientific and coherent manner is unfortunately highly contestable.23 It is accepted that a desktop research method was mainly to be followed, while some (selective) academics in the active field of History Education and teaching were approached for some information, assistance and advice,24 though these resources seem to have been utilised to a limited extent.

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23 See discussion in the next section.
24 The authors of this article possess sufficient correspondence data to be able to state that in especially 2017 the MTT’s 2015 obligations to soon submit a report compelled the MTT Chair to quickly reach out to members of especially the SASHT to provide information and to actually task them to take up research and to provide MTT members with some insight required. However, apparently the MTT consequently did not deem it necessary to provide any acknowledgement to the relevant parties. From Section 10 (p. 96) of the comprehensive MTT Report it is also possible to observe some substantial activity in mainly July-August 2017, with no substantial activity observable in 2016.
Thus, other than a desktop approach or relying on a task team member’s personal experience regarding the status of the relevant selected country, or contact with a person abroad having knowledge on the status of History teaching in that country, the remainder of the History MTT’s research included: One national Round Table and some provincial Round Tables with selective representatives from academics, amongst others. The school educator’s voice seems to have been valued more in especially the second part of the Report (covering textbooks, curriculum concerns and teacher training), though a few academic specialist voices were present. Yet, in the full History MTT Report the voice of academics (inclusive of many reports and activity between 2015 and 2017)\textsuperscript{25} appears half muted and limitedly selective, rather than reliable and inclusive. From the History MTT’s concise \textit{Introduction} as well as the \textit{Background and summary of MTT activities} on pages 7 to 9 of the Report it simply is not possible to fully grasp the Team’s seriousness with regard to the comprehensivity and responsibility to produce a meaningful, well-researched report, and to provide purposeful information, such as:

- A relevant representative historiographical landscape on South Africa’s History Education on compulsory History; on curriculum development; on political interference and action/reaction; on historiography and current institutions and societies in the field of History teaching the Ministry can possibly (and should in fact) rely on in future;

- A proper rationale and motivation as to why only some countries were included and others excluded;

- A proper understanding as to why there is a lack of a coherent structure in each of the deliberations with regard to the countries selected (initially suggested as criteria by the team themselves. See the criteria listed earlier);\textsuperscript{26}

- Proper referencing and selecting of reliable and representative sources on each country (the same applies to the other parts of the Report not presently under discussion).

\textsuperscript{25} Compare for example L Chisholm’s reporting on the research the UJ conducted in conjunction with the University of the Witwatersrand, that also informed one of the MTT’s Round Table debates hosted on 18 August 2017 in Gauteng as in UJ, Faculty of Education, "Research and Policy: Researching History Teacher Education and the Potential Policy Change to Make History Compulsory in Schools", Newsletter of the Faculty of Education, Edubrief, p. 6. https://www.uj.ac.za/faculties/facultyofeducation/Documents/Edubrief_ Sept2017_Final.pdf Accessed 27 September 2018; L Chisholm (with contribution by M Friedman), “South Africa wants to make history compulsory at school. But can it?”, The Conversation, 1 June 2018 (Available at http://theconversation.com/south-africa-wants-to-make-history-compulsory-at-school-but-can-it-97633, as accessed June 2018).

\textsuperscript{26} The countries are critically addressed in the next section.
Other metanarratives on the MTT’s approach towards the research process, apart from the author’s observations, are noted as follows:

**MTT action and process**

From other available metanarratives about the History MTT and its process of gathering information, the following are examples of what historians and educators as professionals in History Teaching and recalled:

Academic B

> “Ek het die proses onbekook gevind en die reëlings pateties”.
> 
> I found the process not well thought through and the arrangements [MTT meetings] pathetic. (Freely translated from Afrikaans)

The History MTT held a national Round Table on 3 December 2015 in Pretoria (mentioned earlier), in which several interested parties in the field of education participated, for example representatives of trade unions and teacher unions (such as the SASHT). They had, however, been mainly invited as observer participants. After the day’s discussions, all the parties exchanged their impressions and felt the meeting to have been constructive, yet not without constraints and concerns. One of the five voices from the SASHT articulated a personal impression on the Round Table process:

Academic D

> I was impressed by the fact that the Minister and Deputy Minister and DG all stayed until 15:00. The general feeling was one of doing what is best for the youth of South Africa… I cannot help wondering if they are not under considerable political pressure to adopt a patriotic nationalism approach to History Education...

Indeed, the “political pressure” as observed (and by the Minister specifically), was confirmed in the History MTT Report:

> … the Minister spoke about the political pressure she was under to deal with the teaching of the discipline of History. The concern seemed to be that our young people do not appreciate our country’s history and that of the African continent. There was a feeling that history is necessary to inspire the psyche of the nation and in this regard it is more than just ‘another subject’.

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27 ES van Eeden Email archive, Discussions with Academic B, 10 September 2018.
28 ES van Eeden Email archive on “Compulsory History”, Discussions with SASHT representatives and other academics who attended the Round Table in early December 2015 during Van Eeden’s term as SASHT President, Emails from 4 December 2015-2 January 2016.
29 ES van Eeden Email archive, Discussions with Academic D, 14 December 2015.
Despite the perceived “pressure” by the Minister, the December 2015 Round Table discussants recognised that “History should not be used for political expediency and that its particular role in developing critical thinking be affirmed and defended”.31

The discussants at the Round Table also shared other valuable insights, such as that the History MTT had to take a more in-depth and representative approach towards their presentation of the “comparative case study on compulsory History in certain countries”. Some Round Table respondents felt that “the initial comparative analysis was too narrow and that countries such as India, Russia, Brazil and Nigeria” should also be considered. The rationale behind this remains unclear in the History MTT communication.32

The Round Table was explicitly commissioned by the DBE (tasked with five commission discussions) to, amongst others, “… explore the advantages of History as a compulsory subject in Grades 10-12” but with an “expected outcome” to “… make proposals for compulsory History in Grades 10-12” [sic].33 That the History MTT makes no proper reference to the information captured on the day with regard to voices on compulsory History specifically (nor to the voices in written form submitted to the History MTT) allows for impressions of a lack of representative perspectives and insight on all the mandatory requirements. This also applies to the specific emphasis on compulsory History as an ideal expressed by the Ministry but too thinly and selectively reported on in the final History MTT Report as far as it concerns a broader spectrum of voices from South Africa.34

If the research recording process relating to public meetings did not properly find its way into a national report like the History MTT, it could have been believed that the research on the status of compulsory History in selective countries might at least have been more reliable and efficiently articulated.

33 RSA, DBE, Programme, History Round Table theme: A nation that does not know its history has no future, Commissions, 3 December 2015.
34 See for example an array of prominent scholars reacting against the History MTT’s major finding of History to be compulsory: Debbie Schäfer “WCED objects to education dept making history compulsory”, Capetalk, 18 June 2018 (Available at http://www.capetalk.co.za/articles/308092/wced-objects-to-education-dept-making-history-compulsory, as accessed June 2018); Prof Karen Harris objecting the Ministry’s decision to opt for compulsory history. She recommended that the DBE should instead focus on improving the quality of education in the country before making history compulsory. See Thando Maeko, “Discussion Chair Historical Association of South Africa”, Political Analysis South Africa, 1 June 2018 (Available at https://www.politicalanalysis.co.za/listen-fix-education-system-before-making-history-compulsory/, as accessed from Prof Harris on 2 July 2018); Prof Wessel Visser, “Die kwessie van Geskiedenis as verpligte Skoolvak”, prepared and published by Die Burger, 23 July 2018; Responses by Proff Peter Kallaway, Fransjohan Pretorius and Elize S van Eeden on the KykNet Television programme “Proonuit”, 18 July 2018.
However, as observed by the previously discreet\textsuperscript{35} Academic C\textsuperscript{36} after the release of the Report:

\ldots The main problem is that the report is so poor in almost all respects \ldots

Whether this “poorness” of the Report also surfaces in the baseline research activities regarding which information was requested, specifically compulsory History globally, is now further under review.

**Learning from other countries on compulsory history? Reviewing the MTT report**

The History MTT’s mandate was, amongst others, to inform the Ministry “on the feasibility of making History compulsory”, and that this “informing” should be supported by research conducted on a global scale and from local inquiry. An overview follows on the findings, as narrated by the History MTT on pages 10 to 44 of the Report.

**Compulsory history: History MTT Research conducted on a global scale?**

The History MTT (after being criticised during the December 2015 Round Table as to the fact that the international research and selection of countries appeared too limited)\textsuperscript{37} added some research and eventually “selected” 12 countries, of which eight in Eurasia, one in Latin America and three in Africa (South Africa excluded). The rationale for the selection of countries simply seems to have been endlessly belaboured and poorly motivated. Ironically, the MTT utilised more countries in Europe in their selection, which perceptionally are viewed as the colonial oppressors. The countries selected are:\textsuperscript{38}

- Countries from elsewhere (excluding Africa and Asia):
- Europe: 5 (Poland; Netherlands; Italy; France; Austria)
- Latin America: 1 (Brazil)
- Countries from Africa (excluding South Africa): 3 (Zimbabwe, Rwanda and Nigeria)
- Countries from Asia: 2 (China and India)
- Countries from Eurasia 1 (Russia). Strangely, in the section on Russia a full verbatim quoted online article on Wales from Sir David Cannadine’s book “The right kind of History” was also added from pp 34-35 and totally overshadows the discussion on Russia.

\textsuperscript{35} ES van Eeden Email archive, Discussions with Academics, Academic C, 13 October 2015.
\textsuperscript{36} ES van Eeden Email archive, Discussions with Academics, Academic C email, 6 October 2018.
Regarding this section of the Report, the Chair informs the reader that reporting on the research followed a very specific list of criteria (as mentioned earlier) and that this was (see the last part of the quote as underlined by the authors of the article):39

… submitted and later [sic] collated by the Chairperson and his Deputy in order to provide a systematic overview and analysis on where South Africa falls in terms of the place of History in the school curriculum and whether the subject should be compulsory throughout the school system. Collecting, collating and rigorously engaging with the comparative data was time consuming but is an invaluable basis from which to consider the question of the place and role of History in the South African curriculum in fulfilment of the mandate.

However, how the information regarding the 12 selected countries was presented (and according to the MTT chair “collating and rigorously engaging with the comparative data” is not clear, selective, not equally informative on the same criteria, and not focused enough. In some instances, discussions seemingly relied too much on nameless or unreliable Internet sources, and often copied verbatim with hidden or no acknowledgement.40 Examples of these, pertaining to pages 10 to 39 of the History MTT, are cryptically pointed out in the Table provided (attached as addendum to this paper).

As for Africa, the History MTT claims that compulsory History on both the primary and secondary level can be found in countries like Côte d’Ivoire, Mali, Madagascar, Chad and the DRC,41 but offers no explanation as to why it was decided to select countries like Nigeria, Rwanda and Zimbabwe for the discussion. The MTT also, as stated by MB Ramose, infers that Zimbabwe's approach to History by 2000 appeared to be a:42

‘Patriotic History’, [that] demonstrated a state-driven fixation with history – but for political reasons, and not for educative analytical purposes. In this way, the scholarly study of History gradually lost its legitimacy within the schooling and higher education systems, as well as in the public sphere …

Oddly enough, in the discussion of Zimbabwe, as in the case of Nigeria and others, the History MTT only takes note of some historical and/or political trends impacting on the status of History teaching, but not necessarily in a balanced or diverse way, as can be viewed in the few listed concerns by

40 Compare these impressions by the authors with similar views but also other comments originating from the recent SASHT conference at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology in the Western Cape, such as the response of Ms Leah Nasson, 5-6 October 2018.
academics in China.\textsuperscript{43} When later in the Report the History MTT therefore frankly recommends that South Africa should resort to compulsory History teaching on all educational levels,\textsuperscript{44} they can be accused of having provided limited clarity on how the South African historical narrative could learn from elsewhere and should unfold in schools within the framework of a prominently politically-driven need.\textsuperscript{45}

History in schools should also be able to explore its richness as discipline in the way this field of research embraces the value of understanding the past from multidiverse and inclusive angles.\textsuperscript{46} The Finnish historians refer to “intercultural education” and “cultural diversity”, which they see as having recently become more crucial to history.\textsuperscript{47}

A big question is whether any meaningful analyses, interpretations and “comparisons” (as promised in the early pages of the History MTT Report) could be possible from such a limited scope of countries, and based on such scant research? Also, the MTT might have realised that this is hardly possible, hence the promised (or promising?) comparative analysis implied from page 39 to page 44 in the comprehensive report (titled \textit{Conclusions and lessons learnt from comparative case studies})\textsuperscript{48} never seriously materialised. Instead, pages 40 to 44 side-step the focus on South African “issues” like teacher training, the CAPS content, what teaching in History at schools “should be” and what “universities want”. The History MTT continues with a discussion on aspects regarding which hardly enough research was done and continuously speaks on behalf of “we”, with no comparative intentions in sight.

To candidly recap on the distorted international image of History Education as presented by the History MTT (and what has been further informed on), the comparisons on compulsory History elsewhere in the world and Africa would be that:

\begin{itemize}
\item This recommendation is visible in the executive summary as well as the comprehensive History MTT Report.
\item As mentioned earlier by the Task Team, the pressure under which the Ministry of Education is, emanates from the youth’s intolerant (and uninformed) practices.
\item Arja Virta and Eija Yli-Panula, “History, social studies and geography education in Finnish schools and teacher education”, in Hannele Niemi, Auli Toom and Arto Kallioniemi et al. (eds), \textit{Miracle of education}, 2\textsuperscript{nd} rev. ed. (Rotterdam, Sense Publishers, 2016), pp. 191-209.
\end{itemize}
Compulsory History from the lower grades to the senior educational levels, in the 12 countries selected by the History MTT, appears to apply only to Poland, Brazil and Russia (the latter up to Grade 11). The remaining selection of African, European and Asian countries does not properly inform, except for the featuring of histories pointing to patriotism, nationalism (Zimbabwe, Poland, Russia and Rwanda) and/or a total aversion to acknowledging diversity (as in Rwanda);

Compulsory teaching of History, where it exists on lower or all levels of education, is not necessarily acceptable, appreciated or viewed as a medium to encourage tolerance, but in fact patriotism and an appreciation of local or indigenous knowledge seem prominent.

All history curricula through phases of education, promote local, national and continental or global events (e.g. Zimbabwe).

Patriotism, openly encouraged in many curricula globally, is viewed by some academics as having the potential to be divisive and dangerous, not necessarily conducive to promoting tolerance, and remains "untenable insofar as it conflicts with the legitimate aims of education". This applies especially if the conceptualising of what might appear to be patriotic is narrowly defined.

The gaps in the MTT’s research on countries

As pointed out earlier and in explanatory footnotes as well as in the Table in the addendum, not enough explanation is provided as to why some countries were included and and others excluded. A wider and perhaps more representative perspective from 195 potential countries in the world to select from could have been achieved by, for example, selecting 10 countries where History is partially compulsory up to a lower educational level, 10 countries where History is totally compulsory up to a senior educational level and perhaps five countries or so in which History Education in schools is optional.


52 The same principle applies to the concept of “Africanisation” which the History MTT frequently mentions but does not conceptualise for implementing its understanding in a future South African history curriculum. The concept “Africanisation” should be teased out in its broadest understanding, and so avoid a misconception of it possibly being “race-centric”.

32

Yesterday & Today, No. 20, December 2018
or not visible. If the South African network of knowledge associated with other countries had been utilised more wisely, some serious gaps in the MTT Report could have been meaningfully reduced. By means of example, three countries are concisely referred to in each of the selection criteria as suggested above, and mainly pertaining to the compulsory status of History education, though other interesting snippets regarding History Education are shared below:

England as example of History as partially compulsory

In England, History has never been compulsory up to the official school-leaving age (which was recently changed to the age of 16). Although the original National Curriculum (NC) originally planned for History to be compulsory to the age of 16, this never happened and in the revised NC of 1995 this changed to learners having a choice of selection between History or Geography to the age of 16 years. Later versions (1999 onwards) removed this requirement.53 At present (2018), academy schools and free schools are not bound by the NC and can teach whatever histories they want (but normally they teach History to learners up to the age of 13 to 14 years). Other schools have to follow the NC and learners have to do it at a “Key Stage 3” (KS3), normally known as Year 7, Year 8 and Year 9 which used to be 11-14 years, but can now be shortened to a two-year KS3, meaning that learners can drop History at the age of 13 to 14 (thus two years after having entered high school), which about 60% of learners in this age group indeed choose to do.54

As far as cultivating a national awareness of history content is concerned, Haydn shares insightful perspectives:55

... the enduring popularity of a form of school history which is based predominantly on the idea that the transmission of a positive story about the national past ... [has been viewed as having the potential to] ... inculcate in young people a sense of loyalty to the state; a reassuring and positive sense of identity and belonging; and a sense of social solidarity with fellow citizens. England is one of the countries which has to at least some extent moved away from this model of school history; but the past few years have seen suggestions for a move back to a history curriculum which focuses predominantly on the transmission of 'Our Island Story'; and which presents a positive rendering of that story.

The restoration of traditional school history in England has been the emphasis in recent years.

**Romania as example of History as totally compulsory**

According to Speranta Nalin, further informed by Mihai Manea, a feature of Romanian History Education prior to, and during the communist era of the country, was that history content for the History curriculum was ideologised along Marxist theories to satisfy official propaganda. Textbooks were mistrusted and in the event teachers, by not using the available textbooks, actually also tended to indulge in patriotic lecturing. By 1989 this trend changed and the emphasis was to remove any elements of a political or ideological nature by reframing the curriculum. As a result school history in Romania has therefore become fully compulsory from the age of 10-18 years (Grades 5 to 12). Themes not taught previously, like the Holocaust, became part of the compulsory curriculum for learners and appears to be a still strongly appreciated theme for teaching. The European Association of History Educators (Euroclio) seems to as from 2006 have become quite involved in History Education in Romania to bring together a national network between History educators and others who stress the role of History Education in the light of democratic and civic society. They also ensure that networking, training and monitoring good practice can be established and prevails. In 2011 Mihai Manea observed that the need has developed for a more inclusive view of History than just mainly that of Romania. He also noticed at the time that “School history is the witness of a lively and passionate debate on the validity of the myths of national history”.

**Nigeria as example (with History Education as totally optional), and the USA**

It will take much more than desktop research or being informed on United Nations projects covering the histories of Africa – though long overdue – to gain an informed understanding of History teaching practices and trends in the 54 countries of Africa. Though the History MTT points out Nigeria as a country which seems to have rejected the compulsory teaching of History on

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any level, it is an optional discipline. As a consequence a loss of both identity and a good sense of historical consciousness might be the outcome.\textsuperscript{60}

With governments seemingly being the major decision-makers on whether History must have a space in school education and how that must display, it is of interest to observe from recent happenings in 2017 that some schools in the United States have decided to abandon the teaching of American history (which seems to totally reflect the opposite view of what seems to be the current norm in England). In the USA a 2012 survey of elementary schools showed that educators considered History to be a “low priority” because learners are not “tested” on this level, and educators themselves fall short of knowledge sufficiency in History. The notion to “no longer offend anyone’ and teach what seems to be acceptable, and in a fractured way,\textsuperscript{61} is alarming. In any consideration South Africans should also learn from this scenario currently presenting itself. By not embracing the histories of diverse cultures in a country in a balanced and meaningful way as part of creating a national identity, will allow for distorted preferred narratives. This will pave the way for cultures, parents and even schools to take decisions about History teaching that might be equally detrimental to South African learners’ sense of identity and consciousness (as in Nigeria) for decades to come.

\textit{Embracing more research and methods to learn from local perspectives on compulsory History}

In Section 10 of the History MTT Report some voices from the nine provinces in South Africa which were visited and opinions raised where workshops were conducted during July-August 2017 are shared. The Report seems to merely list a selection of insights by representatives with no clear framework for these “consultations” which ostensibly had in mind to, amongst others, gain an impression on the feel for compulsory History. The MTT received a good mixture of concerns and pro-compulsory processes, but for both sides it was a matter of politically related motives or emotions, and also concerns that the discipline of History might be seriously affected.\textsuperscript{62} A lack of inclusivity of voices and a balance of all are surely to be questioned from the MTT Report

\textsuperscript{62} RSA, DBE, “Report of the History Ministerial Task Team”, February 2018, pp. 96-113. See also other voices that the History MTT received but did not reference or utilise, e.g. South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT), History Task Team folder, Statement SASHT to the History MTT, November 2015.
and are problematic throughout the Report. Equally so, many questions can be asked due to the absence of reliability. How the History MTT came to the following conclusion after two weeks of workshop discussions with a non-inclusive voice, remains a fascinating mystery:63

At the consultations held in the various provinces, the main feedback was that a proposal should be forwarded to the DBE to make the subject of History compulsory in South Africa. However, it was agreed that all the various contextual factors, concerns and challenges specific to South Africa would have to be carefully considered … These are crucial matters to be considered by the DBE to begin the process of implementing compulsory History from Grades 10 to 12.

Considerably more consultation will still be required and informed from some recent academic research like that of Linda Chisholm and her team referred to earlier, as well as the recent successfully completed work of the Master’s student in Education at KZN, Zoleka Mkhabela. The study, titled “History teachers’ views on the possibility of making the subject compulsory up to Grade 12: A case study”, provides additional insight into some of the historiography of compulsory History Education trends globally and some research locally. Mkhabela’s structured approach to the research (akin to the History MTT being informed through workshop discussions) could have benefited the MTT. The essence of the approach from the Mkhabela workshop discussions is captured below:64

Data analysis and findings

Positive views

- Educational reasons
  - Relevance of history
  - History will give learners generic skills
  - Learners’ view of the subject
- Political reasons
  - Promotion of political literacy
  - Promotion of roots and identity
  - Promotion of historical conscience
- Economic reasons
  - Teacher employment

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64 Z. Mkhabela, “History teachers’ views on the possibility of making the subject compulsory up to Grade 12: A case study”, MA, History Education, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2018, Chapter Four, pp. 14-59; 80-102.
Negative reasons

- Politically informed negativity
  » Manipulation of content
  » History as a tool for indoctrination
- Educational impact
  » Impact on the subject
  » Lack of learners’ interest
- Human resource impact

By acknowledging this informative part of Mkhabela’s study, the History MTT could have further extended their study with more insight obtained from History educators and historians as well as information gathered from publications related to teaching in South Africa. In so doing they could have gained a balanced historiography perspective instead of merely brushing aside this possibility with the introductory words in the History MTT Report that merely state:

> The history of the History curriculum or the historiography of the History curriculum in South Africa has been fairly well documented and commented upon.

Other than History educators on GET and FET levels, the HET academics have so far been much more cautious in their deliberations pro-compulsory history in schools. Ms Leah Nasson has lucidly articulated her overall impression on the History MTT’s report and recommendations:

> Ultimately, the model proposed by the MTT is far too vulnerable to political manipulation and far too reliant on a presentist interpretation of History as a subject discipline. This is not to dismiss the report in its entirety, but rather to argue that there are flaws in its construction and argumentation which render its findings somewhat unconvincing. Given the serious implications of making History compulsory in any society (as the history of authoritarian and populist regimes have hitherto taught us), the quality and depth of analysis in the report requires urgent improvement and revision.

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65 Though Mkhabela’s study also shows a serious lack of inclusive reflections on the South African historiography of History Education and her preference for compulsory history, her efforts are to be noted and are of more value than that which the History MTT could bring forth. See for example her wider scope on African countries and other European countries on the levels and status of compulsory History.


67 SASHT conference, Cape Peninsula University of Technology, Western Cape, discussion Ms Leah Nasson, 5-6 October 2018.
In conclusion: Compulsory History and impressions on the outcome of the History MTT research conducted

The History MTT has deemed it appropriate to add to their summarised as well as more comprehensive reporting, a recommendation on compulsory History for South Africa. This recommendation contradicts the actual case study findings from the international research on the status of compulsory history, namely suggesting that the DBE should,68 “Introduce History as a compulsory subject in the FET (Grades 10 – 12) Phase”.

The main aim of this discussion was to reflect on the History MTT’s Report that covers the status of compulsory History in Africa and globally. It was found that the Report, as presented in the first 44 pages, cannot yet serve as a reliable and descriptive indicator for making any informed decision on whether History Education in South African schools should indeed be compulsory up to Grade 12 level.

The lack of in-depth quality research and the presentation of the research findings that is supposed to inform South Africans have been pointed out in this article, with numerous examples (not even touching on most of the other sections of the Report). The Report’s findings share no sound information to firmly, constructively and informatively suggest why South Africa should follow the route of compulsory History.

Important side aspects that have much to do with this thin body of research partially lie in the unfortunate lack of inclusivity of expertise in the History MTT, especially experts in History education. In addition, the concern about the youth’s lack of historical knowledge, resulting in actions of intolerance, should rather be researched and assessed among the youth themselves and their impressions and those of the broader parent corpus, on what South Africans want, and how they view the discussions about compulsory History in schools, should be noted. Who must therefore be exposed to levels of tolerance and what historical content will “cure” intolerance, will be contestable points. Equally so, “Africanisation” as solution will require a much more elaborate and clearer conceptualisation before it can be applied and implemented in a revised curriculum.

It is therefore recommended that the DBE seriously reflect on all these concerns regarding the shortcomings of the History MTT, which cannot serve as a healthy basis to depart from for decision-making on History as a potentially compulsory subject in Grades 10 to 12, amongst others.

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ADDENDUM

Critically reviewing the History MTT Summary Report on the status of compulsory History internationally

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>COMPULSORY UP TO WHAT GRADE?</th>
<th>History MTT-notes</th>
<th>Authors' comments on the MTT Report</th>
<th>Assessment of the sources used in the Report</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFRICA(^2)</td>
<td>Up to O level [Which is Grade 10](^7) [Curriculum: Patriotic History]</td>
<td>- Reliability of this discussion can be contested. - The period under study is vague and seems to stretch only to 2003.</td>
<td>- Reference to Magubane in the H Stolen source in footnotes 11 incorrect. Should be 2007. Magubane passed away in 2018. - Content of footnote 17 does not appear in Magubane's chapter. - Footnote 14 incorrect. A 1908 source cannot advise content of 2000. - Moyo quoted several times with no reference in sight. - Footnote 18's source wrongly referenced as that of Bockles and actually should be Terence Ranger's &quot;Nationalist Historiography, Patriotic History and the History of the Nation: the Struggle over the Past in Zimbabwe&quot;. Journal of Southern African Studies, 30(2), 2004, pp. 215-234.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZIMBABWE</td>
<td>Primary school: Social and Religious Studies. Lower Secondary: Citizenship and History</td>
<td>- Not user-friendly. Difficulties from the Zimbabwe and Nigeria discussions. - No indication of historical time. - Rwanda's promotion of a single identity through its history curriculum should have been better analysed, motivated and sourced.(^2)</td>
<td>No references except for using a curriculum (no date) verbatim, devoting no less than five pages to it.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RWANDA</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

69 Columns one to three of the Report have been copied verbatim and all information in italics are verbatim as they appear in the Report.

70 It is not clear why the three countries used as examples were selected, as none could inform South Africans in particular with regard to compulsory History up to a possible secondary (grade 12) level. In both Zimbabwe and Rwanda teaching compulsory History up to date only takes place on lower educational levels, although it extensively features a politically driven patriotism. Nigeria’s inclusion could only inform the History MTT on the possibility of NOT including History in schools at all.

71 The “O-level” with which Zimbabwe is associated actually refers to the Cambridge O Level (an international acknowledged qualification for 14- to 16-year-old learners. In South Africa the “O-level” is equal to the Grade 10 level, but ironically not equal to the FET phase because learners cannot continue with “O level” History in Grades 11 and 12.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Grade(s)</th>
<th>History and Civic Education</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NIGER</td>
<td>4-6 (10-13-year-olds), lower secondary (13-16-year-olds), and upper secondary (17-19-year-olds)</td>
<td>History was included in the &quot;broader&quot; discussion of compulsory history. Teaching is divided into three levels of teaching. Sources for Norway only hint towards History up to a post junior level (see p. 143 J Brynka &amp; P Trojnicki).</td>
<td>Footnote 1-7 missing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLAND</td>
<td>4-6 (10-13-year-olds), lower secondary (13-16-year-olds), and upper secondary (17-19-year-olds)</td>
<td>History and Civic Education. Amounts of time devoted to History increase the further up the learner progresses.</td>
<td>Footnote 24 in the History MTT Report cannot be used for the content of referencing Norway as it relates to Phil Bosher et al’s source on the Cradle of Humankind in South Africa, published in 2007. - Footnote 25 on Poland also does not fit as it refers to Martin Legassick et al’s source on Straths and in a cupboard… (2000), again strangely referencing South African history. - No sourcing for Poland specifically offered by the History MTT, whereas the knowledge of Krzysztof Jaskulowski et al. could have been deployed as well as the knowledge of J Brynka &amp; P Trojnicki, “Historical Education-Historical Culture-History Didactics in Poland”, in E Erdmann &amp; W Hasberg (eds), Facing Mapping Bridging Diversity, pp. 117-148.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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74 It is uncertain why the MTT decided to give the “colonial oppressor”, as they perceived Europe, the “benefit” of no less than five examples in this research, while interestingly avoiding the United Kingdom in the process, to which South Africa was attached (and still is) for more than two centuries. Yet the Netherlands, as a country with 143 years of pre-colonial ties to the Cape of Good Hope, was the only one selected for the discussion? Also strange is the exclusion of a (mentioned in the summary Report but not included in the full Report), Australia and New Zealand as countries reflecting cultural diversity and all sharing a colonial history as in the case of South Africa.

Reflecting the 2018 History Ministerial Task Team Report... History in South Africa, pp. 18-45

76 HKJ Kurstjens, “The teaching of history in the Netherlands”, 7 June 2007 (Available at https://histoforum.net/history/historycanon.htm, as accessed on 7 November 2018).

77 See Information provided to ES van Eeden by Dr Albert van der Kaap of Histoforum in the Netherlands at http://histoforum.net 8 November 2018.

78 The Canon refers to Dutch history as originally (in 2001) defined in 10 periods by the Prof Piet de Rooy Committee covering the “chronological outlines of Western European history with special emphasis on the Netherlands”. In 2005 the Canon saw further refinement with the Prof FP van Oostrom Committee suggestions which have also proven completely unsatisfactory. See HKJ (Huub) Kurstjens, “The teaching of history in the Netherlands”, 7 June 2007 (available at https://histoforum.net/history/historycanon.htm, as accessed on 7 November 2018); M de Vos, “The return of the Canon: Transforming Dutch history teaching”, History Workshop Journal, 67(1), March 2009, pp. 111–124 (available at https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/dbn051); F van Oostrom, A key to Dutch history. Report by the Committee for the development of the Dutch Canon (Amsterdam University Press, 2007), pp. 16-18.


80 See Joke van der Leeuw-Roord, “Beyond the doorstep: The nature of history teaching across Europe”, in S Akrekin, P Harnett, M Öztürk, and D Smart (eds), Teaching History and Social Studies for multicultural Europe (Ankara, Euroclio, 2009), Chapter 11 (pp. 155-176). Van der Leeuw informs us that “Compulsory History education starts almost everywhere in Europe with age group 9, and in a few countries earlier. In most countries, History is obligatory till the end of compulsory education, generally with age group 15. In England/UK history is only compulsory till 14. In many countries History is also compulsory in upper secondary education. However, there is a tendency to decrease the time allocated to the subject or even to make the subject optional” (see p. 156).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>ITALY</strong></th>
<th><strong>Primary to Upper Secondary education</strong></th>
<th><strong>History is part of the common curriculum across all the education streams</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- The MTI fails to inform on why, in Italy, the National Guidelines for the Curriculum were only put in place as from 2007.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- The excuse that no information could be obtained on History teaching in the secondary level does not sit well. Basic information available contradicts the History MTI’s assumption that History teaching in Italy has been made compulsory up to upper secondary education. It seems odd to be compulsory until the age of 16 years.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- The contributions of Luigi Cagnini, amongst others, could have been explored later.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>FRANCE</strong></th>
<th><strong>Primary to Mid Secondary (Ages 6 to 15)</strong></th>
<th><strong>Age 6 to 8 in Discovering the World, combines Sciences, History and Geography. From ages 8 to 11 is included in Humanities and Arts; ages 11 to 15, History is offered with Geography and Civic Education to ages 15 and 16.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- The report on France is just another example of compulsory History up to Lower Secondary Educational level.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One source reference on Robert F Kennedy (dated 1966) for the four paragraphs on France is provided, which indicates that most of the content provided does not cover a 2017-2018 status on History Education in France. It might have made more sense to use the sources of History Education experts like that of Marie Duru-Bellar, “France: permanence and change” in Yan Wang, (ed.), <em>Education policy reform trends in G20 member</em> (Springer, 2013) pp. 19-32.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### AUSTRIA

| Age 10 to 14 | History is paired with Social Science or Citizenship Education, taught on average two lessons per week |

- A meaningful motivation as to why Austria was selected as an example is absent.
- Virtually nothing is said (and could be said) in only one paragraph on Austria on p. 28 Report.

**It is impossible to understand how sources in the Yesterday&Today (as referenced in footnote 20) could have sufficiently informed on the status of History Education in Austria.**

### ASIA

| Compulsory Grade 6-9 [sic]; Probably Grades 6 to 9; then optional; Grade 10-12 | History is integrated into other social subjects |

- The History MTT strangely relies only on a 1952 source to inform if History Education in 2017-2018 is a "stated-alone or an integrated subject". In what sense India’s pre-colonial and colonial past has impacted on its people's historioc consciousness and the influence of an Indology approach on school curricula such as History presents a warped picture of the educational context of history teaching in India.
- It seems as if History in Grades 11 to 12 is not allowed to be taken due to the "stream" in which it appears. History fades in the Grade 10 (matriculation or secondary) level as merely being "visible" in Social Studies.

**Footnote 31 on John Heinrich Clarke’s African Warrior Queens and the vague reference to Cheikh Anta Diop's 1989 source on The Cultural Unity of Black Africa hardly fit the discussion on India to which it is referenced.**

**No-edible source on India is provided to suggest that "appointees of the Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP) in India have proposed an indigenous history curriculum" and when. In India the quest for indigenous education dates back to colonial times.**

**Quite alarming in The History MTT research, their selection of mainly political party perspectives and that academic voices remain mostly mute.**

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82 Compare with the discussion as in “India’s National Policy on Education (with modifications undertaken in 1992)”, Part 1, 7 May 1992, pp. 1- (available at www.ncert.nic.in/oth_anoon/ntpe86.pdf, as accessed on 8 November 2018).
84 S Nurullah and JP Naik, History of Education in India during the British period (Bombay, MacMillan, 1943), Chapters 1 to 10.
85 The following Indian scholars, amongst others, provide informative contextual insight on Indian History Education (that could have been fruitfully utilized): Geeta Gandhi Kingdon, “The progress of school education in India” (Report GPRG-WPS-071, Global Poverty Research Group, 2007), pp. 1-37; Neeladri Bhattacharya; "Teaching History in Schools: the Politics of Textbooks in India", History Workshop Journal, 67(1), March 2009, pp. 99-110 (available at https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/dbn050).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Program</th>
<th>History Continuity</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>9-year compulsory programme for History</td>
<td>History is incorporated in general terms as citizenship, education, internationalism, communism, modernity and nationalism.</td>
<td>The scant reference to China that the History MTG provides indirectly informs that no compulsory teaching of History at a secondary level is visible in China and that academics would appreciate to see multi-perspective curricula. No sourcing of the merely one concise paragraph on China.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>(Up to Grade 11)</td>
<td>Age 6 to 18. Two streams: World History and Russian History which is regionally focused.</td>
<td>The unstructured content offered by the History MTG on Russia at stage makes no sense. For example: “There are some subjects that are associated with History: Social Studies, which is studied from Grade 6 to Grade 11. This subject consists of the four areas of public life: political, economic, social and legal”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>From page 34 of the History MTG. Report the discussion on Russia is cut short and, still under the heading of Russia, some “ Debates on the teaching of History in the United Kingdom” appears and so the history of Wales (not listed in the original table) receives some scope? Needless to mention that the only reference(s) for Russia’s discussion barely fits, namely: Peterson, ‘The ties that bind’, p. 876. P. Rich, Race and Empire in British Politics… (1990); B. M. Magubane, Race and the Construction of the Disposable Other (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2007). Several sources on Russia could have informed the History MTG much better.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### LATIN AMERICA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BRAZIL</th>
<th>Governmental Law 10.659 of 2003 defines legislation instruction to make African History compulsory in the curriculum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

- The History MTT eventually, more than once in the Report and based on workshop advice, suggests that South Africa should consider following the Brazil approach to compulsory history. Hence their own discussion on pp. 26-27 is no discussion but just a verbatim copied website content.
- No response by the History MTT on the aforementioned copied website content is offered:
  - Historical contextuality and Brazil’s possible relatedness to the South African former colonial scenario are not even touched on.

- The authors are not convinced that an UN website on p. 26 was the best and only source to inform on Brazil’s history education. The website’s content was copied verbatim from pp. 26-27 of the report. The History MTT also exposes themselves to a falsification of the content on p. 27 by asserting that the following person and source provided what they actually had copied verbatim from the website:
  
  L. Dubois, ‘Atlantic Freedom: Haiti, not the US or France, was where the Assertion of Human Rights reached its defining climax in the Age of Revolution’, 7 November 2016. https://lacen.edu.br

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89 A more meaningful consideration for insight and reference would have been that of Maria Aparecida Bergamaschi and Juliana Schneider Medeiros, “History, memory and tradition in indigenous school education: a Kaingang school case study”, *Revista Brasileira de História*, 30(60), 2010. pp. 53-73.
THE DIALECTICS OF HISTORICAL EMPATHY AS A REFLECTION OF HISTORICAL THINKING IN SOUTH AFRICAN CLASSROOMS

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Abstract

The research explores the understanding of the concept Historical empathy as conceptualised by the two teachers sampled in this study. The article analyses the pedagogical practices of two Grade 12 History teachers who used the theme of the Vietnam War of 1954 to 1975, also known as the Second Indochina War, and in Vietnam as the Resistance War Against America or simply the American War, was a conflict that occurred in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia from 1 November 1955 to the fall of Saigon on 30 April 1975. This is one of the new themes included in the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) to cultivate tenets of Historical empathy in their classrooms. The research utilises a qualitative research paradigm to enable the researchers to interview teachers at their schools and observe them interacting with the phenomenon being investigated in their natural environment in the classrooms. The article uses the dual theoretical framework designed by Barton and Levstik (2004) which embodies both elements of affective and cognitive domains to evaluate the perspectives of two teachers and their pedagogical practices in the classroom. According to the findings, both teachers used suitable and relevant primary and secondary sources during the lesson presentations. Teachers demonstrated characteristics of emotional and cognitive empathy during the interviews and these divergent elements were displayed during the teaching of the Vietnam War. Quite often learners were encouraged by one teacher to sympathise and align with the victims of the war which is caused by their past agony and psychological trauma resulting from the experiences of their communities during the apartheid government and this demonstrated shared normalcy. The second teacher empathised with the Vietnamese soldiers and saw them as gallant soldiers against the strong US troops rather than as victims thereby displaying some elements of cognitive Historical empathy.

Keywords: Historical empathy; Presentism; Historical contextualisation; Normalcy; Sense of otherness; Multi-perspectivity
Introduction

Historical empathy is a critical historical thinking skill that has the potential to enhance democracy in South Africa by promoting reconciliation, nation building, tolerance and appreciation of the diverse cultures and histories of the different South African communities. It has the capacity to encourage a healthy scepticism and a reasoned ethical judgement which will promote critical thinking in the History classroom (Seixas & Morton, 2013). Historical empathy may be seen as a valuable skill for helping learners understand the actions of people, and events prior to their own. Placing Historical empathy within a proper framework will ensure that teachers understand its tenets and potential for increasing historical thinking skills within the classroom (Cunningham, 2009, Harris, 2016:169). The post-1994 or post-apartheid South Africa is characterised by debate led by “fall movements” which question the value of the 1994 political settlement including new Constitution and Truth and Reconciliation. Currently South Africa is grappling with controversial issues that are causing tensions such as racism, land ownership, access to higher education and destruction of historical statues and Historical empathy can bring about tolerance of paradoxical views held by South Africans. This point is emphasised by the South African democratic Teachers Union’s secretary-general, Mugwena Maluleke, a member of the History task group that recommended that History be made compulsory and asserts that “with History being compulsory we can teach our learners empathetic skills which help this angry country to learn how to understand others’ viewpoints without resorting to violence” (Mbude, 2018).

The article explores the teachers’ understanding of Historical empathy and how they develop it in the classroom. The purpose of their teaching was to develop Historical empathy through engagement in the cognitive analysis of historical evidence and to ultimately achieve what Seixas (2013) termed a reasoned ethical judgement, supported by valid evidence. This judgement, for Seixas (2013), constitutes the cognitive domain within the framework of Historical empathy represented by cognitive elements such as otherness, historical contextualisation and different perspectives. These three elements that are perceived to be the most challenging tenets of Historical empathy, will be assessed along with the emotive elements embodied in the dual framework of Historical empathy designed by Barton and Levstik (2004). The article further highlights congruency between the conception of Historical empathy and how its elements were cultivated in the classroom by the two
teachers. Finally, the article assesses the role of historical evidence selected by
the teachers in determining which elements of the dual model of Historical
empathy are emphasised in the two classrooms.

Research problem

Historical empathy has been a difficult skill to cultivate in the classrooms
and some countries became skeptical about teaching it to its learners due
to the need to empathise with historical actors including their enemies who
held an opposing view. For example, some Americans were skeptical about
the requirements of learners to empathise with historical actors in Cuba
(Davis, Yeager & Foster, 2001). In the past, textbooks in South Africa were based
on one historical perspective, the Afrikaner nationalist perspective. History
teaching did not promote historical thinking and empathy. The content
was structured to indoctrinate the South Africans about the invincibility of
the white man and inferiority of the black people. With the introduction
of the National Curriculum Statement in 2008, the apartheid content was
removed from prescribed textbooks and replaced mostly by a more balanced
and decolonised perspective (Kallaway, 1993). This led to many Afrikaans
medium schools doing away with History (Black, 2014). The study of
History was also affected by the introduction of Life Orientation which was
made a compulsory subject. However, there has been a vigorous discourse
on the appropriateness of Life Orientation in making learners true South
Africans and Africans and this led to a debate on making History compulsory.
The Minister of Basic Education, Angie Motshekga appointed a task team
in 2015 to look into the issue of making History compulsory and the task
team recommended that History be made compulsory and should replace
Life Orientation in Grade 10 to Grade 12. If History becomes compulsory
in South Africa, the Department of Basic Education will emulate 13 African
countries where History is a compulsory subject (Mbude, 2018).

With the euphoria injected by the news of History being made compulsory,
the obstacle remains the teaching methodology. The teaching methodology
is still confined within a paradigm of the transmission model of teaching.
The focus is more on teaching factual knowledge rather than the conceptual
and procedural knowledge. This type of an approach is driven by the need to
prepare the learners for the Grade 12 examination rather capacitating them to
engage in the elements of Historical empathy.

This outdated model of teaching has the propensity to undermine the teaching
of Historical empathy, a skill that can defuse the violent culture of South African
If learners are immersed into the culture of other South African communities which differ from them in terms of race, gender and class, they are likely to tolerate them and appreciate the differences.

With the introduction of the new curriculum in 2008, the teaching methodology did not change much. Even with a refined CAPS curriculum which embodied elements of Historical empathy, the teaching methodology still remains an impediment (Seixas & Morton, 2013). It is difficult to decompose Taylor’s curriculum framework in order to make way for Vygotsky’s social and cultural constructivist framework which advocates historical knowledge construction process in the classroom. A method based on dialogical and dialectical methods and which is appropriate for the cultivation of Historical empathy (Vygotsky, 1978; Ramoroka, 2016:18).

The use of textbooks as a metanarrative is also an impediment in the teaching of historical thinking. Although textbooks contain secondary and primary sources, which are mostly poorly contextualised, teachers continue to rely on the textbook narrative constructed by historians. This serves as an obstruction in the teaching of Historical empathy. Teachers need to explore other sources outside the textbooks (Ramoroka & Engelbrecht, 2015). Some teachers seldom go beyond the sources provided by the textbooks. In the case of the Vietnam War, there are plenty of valuable primary sources that exist on the internet that were not explored by the teachers which have the capacity to teach Historical empathy (Harris, 2015; Ramoroka & Engelbrecht, 2015).

Research Methodology

The question driving this research is as follows: *To what extent can the concept of Historical empathy be utilised to engage learners in historical thinking in the classroom?* In order to respond to the question driving this research, a qualitative research interpretivist paradigm has been used. Qualitative design presupposes that meaning is constructed through the interaction between humans, and therefore meaning does not exist independent of the human interpretive process. The data-collection methods employed include open-ended interviews and lesson observations. During the interviews, teachers were allowed to use any historical theme and current events to demonstrate their understanding and epistemological beliefs about critical thinking and Historical empathy in the study of History. The interviews and lesson observations were conducted at the two schools. The lessons were planned for 45 minutes. However, in some cases the time was extended to 90 minutes.
because of the presence of the researchers in the classroom. The research uses a thematic approach in the analysis of data which is underpinned by a process of encoding qualitative information (Boyatzis, 1998). Two teachers from two separate urban schools in the Gauteng province of South Africa have been sampled for this research and both were interviewed on conceptions of Historical empathy and how it can be taught in the classroom. These teachers were subsequently observed in the classrooms, teaching historical empathy using Vietnam as the main theme.

For compliance with ethical standards, pseudonyms are used for the two teachers and the names of schools and districts are not mentioned. In addition, letters of consent were signed by the teachers and principals of the two schools and the research was approved by the Head of Department in the Gauteng Department of Education.

The Vietnam War of 1954 to 1975, also known as the Second Indochina War, and in Vietnam as the Resistance War Against America or simply the American War, refer to the conflict that occurred in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia from 1 November 1955 to the fall of Saigon on 30 April 1975 (Spector, 2018). The Vietnam War has been selected as a theme that is appropriate for understanding the challenges experienced by teachers when teaching Historical empathy in the classroom. The war was highly photographed and accounts of the war by photographers, soldiers and ordinary people are extensive and therefore there is ample opportunity for learners and teachers to engage with multiple and conflicting pieces of historical evidence. Some of the sources used by the two participating teachers included photographs of aerial bombardment by the USA and booby and punji traps used by Vietnamese soldiers. A documentary video was used by one teacher, showing the live battle during the war and interviews with soldiers who participated in the Vietnam War.

The start of the Vietnam War was a subject of intense contestation by historians, a phenomenon which was not unique to the Vietnam War. The multiple entries by the US into Vietnam complicate the issue of the start of the Vietnam War. Some North Vietnamese view the war as a colonial war against the US and the continuation of the first Indonesian war against France. The South Vietnamese saw it as a civil war and a battle to defend their country from being taken over by communism. The US saw the war as part of the domino theory and as a strategy to contain the spread of communism. Primarily, every American president regarded the enemy in Vietnam -the Vietminh; its 1960’s successor, the National Liberation Front (NLF); and the government
of North Vietnam, led by Ho Chi Minh - as agents of global communism (Rotter, 999:1). These divergent views have led to Carland to assert that: to ask when the Vietnam War started for the United States is, metaphorically speaking, to open a can of worms. Before 1950, it was clear that the United States was not engaged in the war in any serious way. After 28 July 1965, it became equally clear that the United States had indeed become engaged in the war (Carland, 2012:1). The strong argument advanced by Carland (2012:3) is that by sending helicopters, pilots, and maintenance personnel to Vietnam and allowing the helicopters to support South Vietnamese combat operations (for example, ferrying troops to the field and providing fire support as well as training the South Vietnamese for operations), President Kennedy had initiated the process through which the United States assumed a combat role. If pushed to select a date with some traction, one might choose December 1961 or July 1965 (Carland, 2012:3).

A research instrument has been developed by the researchers and was used to analyse data collected during the interviews and in classrooms relating to the teaching of Historical empathy using the theme of Vietnam War. The purpose of this instrument is to assess elements of emotive and cognitive domains embedded in the dual model of historical thinking developed by Barton and Levstik such as sense of “otherness”, shared normalcy, historical contextualisation, different perspectives and contextualisation to the present. The instrument is intended to assist the researchers to ascertain elements that were demonstrated by the teachers during the teaching of Historical empathy. Teachers in this instrument were expected to juxtapose elements of Historical empathy with background information and primary or secondary sources relating to the theme. The instrument is also designed to assess classroom activities which included the use of historical evidence embedded in primary and secondary sources. Each criterion was evaluated based on a four-point scale, (1 poor, 2 limited, 3 moderate and 4 powerful) evaluating the display of elements of Historical empathy.

**Conceptual framework**

Historical empathy is often thought of as vicariously walking in someone else’s shoes in order to interpret how that person feels about things, and to understand why they might have travelled down one road and not another (Davidson, 2012). Empathy is a person’s ability to comprehend the other’s position, even though he does not have the direct experience to do so. In other
words, empathy is one’s ability to put oneself in another person’s shoes even if the other is a stranger to him or even if he thinks differently than himself. It is the ability to participate in the psychological experiences of another person as if he were reliving them himself (Lazarakou, 2008).

Historical empathy has been a subject of intense contestation over many decades and curriculum experts have viewed it as a difficult historical thinking concept to cultivate. The discourse reached its polemical edge in the 1990s due to divergent views on what constitutes Historical empathy and whether sympathy or emotive empathy is an exponent of Historical empathy or its detractor. Experts developed different theoretical frameworks not only to facilitate the cultivation of elements of Historical empathy in the classroom but also to advance their affective – cognitive paradigms over the equation of Historical empathy. A number of studies have shown that some teachers know nothing about Historical empathy while others only understand the emotional aspects of it (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Jenkins, 1991). Some from the post-modernist perspective have gone to the extent of rejecting the concept and claimed that it is impossible to achieve (Jenkins, 1991). In the end some agreed that learners can never fully empathise with the victims of the Holocaust or Vietnam War (Borton & Levstik, 2004; Margery, 2017:23; Jenkins, 1991). Tensions emerged between proponents of the cognitive domain and the proponents of the dual process of Historical empathy. Some consider emotional empathy as an impediment to developing empathy while others view emotive empathy or sympathy as enabling knowledge in order to enable learners to develop cognitive elements of empathy. Both groups of experts agree that ultimately the learners should be able to demonstrate the cognitive elements of Historical empathy as part of historical thinking (Borton & Levstik, 2004; Margery, 2017).

Barton and Levstik (2004) express the view that Historical empathy is a dual process which embodies both the cognitive and emotive domains and these elements need to be considered to ensure that learners are able to control their emotions on their journey towards developing the concept of Historical empathy. Barton and Levstik (2004) resolved to design an all-encompassing model of Historical empathy by identifying five elements of Historical empathy (or perspective recognition), namely an appreciation for a sense of otherness of historical actors, the shared normalcy of the past, the effects of historical context, the multiplicity of historical perspectives, and the application of these elements to the context of the present.
This article adopts the dual process of Historical empathy as a conceptual framework, designed by Barton and Levstik, (cited in Margery, 2017). This framework is the most cited in the literature (Margery, 2017:23; Davidson, 2012; Harris, 2016). This framework has already been tested empirically by doctoral students who have researched Historical empathy and demonstrated the potential of this model to inculcate central tenets of Historical empathy (Margery, 2017 & Harris, 2016). The framework comprises five elements (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Margery, 2017:23), namely, Sense of “otherness”, Shared normalcy, Historical contextualisation Different perspectives and Contextualisation to the present.

Literature Review

Demonstrating the display of empathy

Four studies are analysed in this section, two are international studies and two are part of South African literature.

The first study is a doctoral thesis written by Dillenburg Margery in 2017 at Boston University. Margery (2017) in a study entitled “Understanding Historical empathy in the classroom”, explores understanding of Historical empathy by teachers and elucidates how students’ response to the pedagogical activities interfaced with tenets of Historical empathy. Margery (2017) uses cognitive and effective theoretical model developed by Barton and Levstik (2004) in an attempt to assess the understanding of Historical empathy. He used one History classroom to observe the teaching of elements of Historical empathy and interviewed 13 learners in the first semester and four in the second semester. Margery (2017) immersed himself into the current debate on the definition of empathy and attempted to disentangle the intricacies that entangled the teaching of the concept Historical empathy. The focus the lesson was the holocaust especially the activities of Hitler and the Nazi party in Germany. In his study it was found that learners demonstrated a condescending sense of “otherness” which decreased overtime. Initially students just saw Hitler as a crazy and racist leader and later the students began to see the other side of Hitler and characterised him as a charismatic leader and according to Margery (2017:22) the learners were beginning to create a boundary between themselves and the Holocaust which was a demonstration of progress in attaining a sense of “otherness”. A “shared normalcy” was experienced by learners who experienced hardship under apartheid and compared their experiences with that of the Jews during the
Holocaust (Margery 2017:22). However, the evidence presented on the effectiveness of the dual-process model in enhancing Historical empathy is very limited and the study failed to provide adequate evidence to the effect that emotive empathy is a stepping stone towards cognitive empathy. The study fell short of demonstrating the elements of historical contextualisation which is central to understanding Historical empathy.

The second study is also a doctoral thesis written by Billy Kenneth Harris in 2016 at Walden University in the United States of America. In a study entitled “Teacher strategies for developing Historical empathy” (Harris, 2016:6). He explores high school teachers’ perspectives on using Historical empathy in their teaching. He sampled two schools and included seven teachers in the study. Teachers were observed teaching empathy, reflecting the theoretical framework developed by Barton and Levsik (2004) which embodies the elements of cognitive and affective domains. The focus was to ensure that teachers understand the difference between sympathy and empathy and to use empathy in order to understand the context as part of historical understanding. According to the findings of the study, teachers demonstrated few elements of Historical empathy and contextualisation and multiple perspective were the most difficult to demonstrate. What is significant about the study is Harris’s cautionary remark that teachers should monitor too much emotion provoked in the classroom because it can return learners to presentism and enrage them and they are then likely to remain within the affective domain rather than moving towards the cognitive domain. However, the study also failed to demonstrate emotional empathy as logical step towards attaining cognitive elements of Historical empathy. Instead emotive elements appeared to be the precursor of presentism, an obstacle in the way of attaining Historical empathy.

The third study was carried out by Sarah Dryden (1999), a doctoral graduate from the University of Cape Town, in the thesis entitled “Mirror of a Nation in Transition”. She explores the difficulty experienced by History teachers in South Africa when the History content and approach was changed from apartheid content (which excluded African History) to content that included black people. She explored four schools representing different communities and sometimes a mixture of these communities where History was a subject of contestations between different communities represented by learners. According to Dryden (1999) some teachers used Historical empathy in order to foster unity amongst black and white. Mr Weir, one of the History teachers, tried to put his learners into Hector Pieterson’s shoes, to show them what
their own reactions would be if they found themselves in his situation in the Soweto school. One of the shortcomings of this study there was no evidence of engaging learners in elements of both emotive and cognitive empathy in the classroom.

The fourth study is an article by Ramoroka and Engelbrecht (2015) entitled *The role of History textbooks in promoting historical thinking*. In this article the authors analyse three textbooks that are utilised by teachers in South Africa and the analysis is focused on the theme Vietnam War to assess the appropriateness of sources to teach Historical empathy. The following textbooks were analysed, namely *Via Africa History Grade 12* (Grove, Manenzhe, Proctor, Vale & Weldon, 2013) and *Focus History Grade 12* (Fernandez, Wills, McMahon, Pienaar, Seleti & Jacobs, 2013), *Spot On History Grade 12* (Dugmore, Friedman, Minter & Nicol, 2013). The study uses the cognitive analyses designed by Wineburg (2001) as a theoretical framework. It was found that all the primary sources contained in the books were not fully contextualised. The study found among others, that all three textbooks do not reflect all the characteristics of sourcing such as the name of the producer of the source and the date in which the source was produced and published. The absence of this information makes it difficult for learners to contextualise sources by making sense of the differences between documents. The study succeeded in identifying sourcing heuristics as an impediment to the cultivation of historical contextualisation which is critical in the inculcation of the cognitive elements of Historical empathy. The shortcoming of this research is that is it did not provide adequate evidence on both aspects of the dual process of Historical empathy which embodies both emotive and cognitive domains.

The four studies provided some insight on how Historical empathy can be displayed in the classroom. The first and second studies are doctoral studies achieved in 2016 and 2017 at international universities. These studies explore the understanding of Historical empathy by teachers and the demonstration of its tenets by learners in the classrooms. However, the two studies fail to provide convincing evidence on the display of cognitive elements of Historical empathy. The third study was based on the South African context and the study fell short of demonstrating elements of both emotive and cognitive domains. Finally, the fourth study explores three prescribed textbooks with special focus on primary sources relating to the Vietnam War. The study revealed deficiencies in the citing of sources which makes it difficult to contextualise them and historical contextualisation is critical in the teaching
of Historical empathy.

**Findings: Teachers’ conceptions of Historical empathy as historical thinking**

**Teachers’ conceptions of Historical empathy**

For teachers and learners to be able to display Historical empathy they need to situate the historical events in time and place in order to avoid using the presentism standards to judge the people of the past. In exploring the conceptions of teachers, the two teachers were asked about the meaning of Historical empathy and its importance. The following responses were observed. According to Masina, one of the research participants, “Historical empathy has to do with the feelings of the people of the past and it is an important historical skill. It is putting you[rself] in the shoes of the people of the past”. In respect of the conceptual framework this assertion addresses the affective domain and learners putting themselves in the shoes of Steve Biko are likely to acquire a sense of Shared Normalcy which is displayed when learners share almost similar experiences with historical character. Masina did not explain the meaning of “putting yourself in the shoes of the people of the past” and the example that he used locates his conception within the emotive domain of Historical empathy. He did not attempt to locate the Steve Biko’s dead in detention within the broader context of apartheid regime and its reaction against political activists. Why are learners not asked to empathise with those who ill-treated Steve Biko or to explore the circumstances that compel them to take action against Steve Biko? The absence of evidence to respond to this question in Masina’s testimony clearly shows that he was more concerned about the victims of apartheid violence.

Masina wanted learners to empathise with Steve Biko and indicate how he had felt when he was ill-treated in prison. Of course learners would sympathise with him because he was part of the struggle against apartheid, but according to Jenkins (1991) learners will never be able to feel like Steve Biko. To Foster (2001), empathy does not include emotional involvement with people of the past. In fact, all emotional involvement undermines Historical empathy, and should be considered sympathy. As the proponent of the cognitive aspect of Historical empathy, in terms of Foster’s theoretical framework, Masina was far from articulating empathy. However, in respect of the dual process of empathy, sympathy is considered by Blake as a stepping stone towards attaining empathy. For this reason, Masina felt that learners can
experience a shared normalcy – by recognising that the historical agent shares some similarities with them such as human pain that can be accessed if one shares similar experiences with Steve Biko. In terms of Historical empathy, involvement of the learners in sympathy or emotive empathy is inadequate and Masina is required to demonstrate aspects of cognitive empathy such as “otherness” and contextualised thinking and different perspectives, which are the three elements that are at the heart of Historical empathy. He needs to explain the circumstances that compelled the authorities at the time to kill Steve Biko and this should include the type of leadership at the time and the reasons the leadership intensified war against political activists. He also needs to demonstrate a balanced perspective between the victim and perpetrators. However, he perceives empathy as a skill that requires learners to empathise with the victims. Similar to the three studies (Harris, 2016; Margery, 2017, Dryden, 1999) the aspects of sympathy and emotive empathy appear to be associated with empathising with the victims. The studies failed to provide evidence of empathising with perpetrators such as Hitler in case of the Holocaust and the USA in the case of the Vietnam War.

Moemi, another research participant, asserts that:

*I can be wrong but I equate empathy with sentiment where people can empathise with certain events because they relate somehow with those events.*

In respect of the dual process of Historical empathy, this assertion is located within the emotional domain. However, as Moemi further explained by providing examples, other elements of the cognitive domains were addressed. In order to explain the concept further, Moemi describes South African historical events in the 1980s under PW Botha, the president of apartheid South Africa, known as die Groot Krocodile (Big Crocodile). PW Botha, according to Moemi, designed the “total strategy” in order to destroy all communists’ protests in the townships, which were accordingly classified as communist activities in the 1980s. According to Moemi, “it was during his regime that many of the youth were killed and some went into exile to join the liberation forces”. He was also “the president who started negotiations with Mandela while he was in prison”. In presenting this background and balanced evidence of events during PW Botha’s era, Moemi addresses some elements of Historical contextualisation which requires him and his learners to explain events of the past in terms of the historical values of the time, as well as the pervasive attitudes and beliefs, and grounds these explanations in evidence. In addition, there are also aspects of different perspectives that he addresses.
He was able to identify and reflect upon the different beliefs and values such as communism, apartheid and negotiation represented by PW Both and Mandela that were current during the apartheid era. He identified communism which was perceived as an evil system by Botha and demonstrated how this belief made Botha to become ferocious against political activists perceived as communists. He also demonstrated the paradox between Mandela and Botha who came from different political ideological perspectives (Mandela a friend of the communists and Botha an enemy of the communists) but both valued the power of negotiation. He explored different perspectives of events even when they were conflicting narratives. For example, he presented evidence of Botha as a cruel apartheid authoritarian and also as a negotiator with Mandela to find solutions. This provides a full picture of the event at the time.

In describing PW Botha’s regime and how he engaged learners in empathy, Moemi indicated that:

*If you look at the pressure that he got from the National Party, the pressure that he got from outside and the availability of communism in Mozambique and Angola, you cannot shy away from empathising with him, he was telling the truth about the fact that communism was closer to South Africa than ever before.*

Moemi, who belongs to the African community, teaching in a rural school where the learners come from a rural background and are poor because of apartheid, was able to put his emotions and anger aside and empathise with the man who was considered to have caused the South African nation to bleed during the battle between the youth and soldiers in the township. This assertion by Moemi also addresses elements of historical context as well as different perspectives. Moemi describes the circumstances that compelled Botha to embark on a campaign of “total strategy” against the youth in the townships and political activists. He contextualises the events of the 1980s, including the broader context to explain Botha’s behaviour and controls his emotion about the killings of youth in order to interpret the decision taken by Botha as appropriate from Botha and National Party’s perspective because it was dictated by circumstances at the time. Koso has noted that individual events and actions are understood by being situated in the larger context (cited in Huijgen, 2017:164) and this is what Moemi did by situating Botha’s action within the context of the perceived communist threat in South Africa, which was attempting to colonise Southern Africa through the liberation forces trained by Soviet Union and China.
Lesson presentations

Masina utilised a video documentary entitled *Inside the Vietnam War published* by Jonathan Tower production (Scott, Cole & McCarty, 2008) to teach a Grade 12 class. The lesson was planned for 45 minutes but it took 90 minutes and the next teacher allowed it to continue after observing the presence of the researchers with the recording video camera. On his turn Masina focused in his lesson on Operation Rolling Thunder – aerial bombardment – and Operation Ranch Hand (the spreading of herbicides such as Napalm) and finally on the effectiveness of the guerilla war tactics used by the Vietcong. The video documentary revisits the Vietnam War through the use of archival footage and photographs together with first-hand accounts from numerous war veterans who reveal stories about covert operations and military strategy (Scott, Cole & McCarty, 2008). The method that he used was to allow learners to interact with particular events in the video. In the video learners witnessed the deployment of US troops by military aircraft in Vietnam. He paused the playing of the video and asked: “Who is telling the story in this documentary?” One learner responded: “Soldiers who participated in the war?” The teacher asked: “What type of a source is this?” Another learner said: “It is a primary source? The teacher probed: “Why is it a primary source?” Another learner responded: “The soldier telling the story was there during the war”. The teacher asked another question: What are American troops spreading? And one learner responded: “Napalm, which is a chemical substance”. The documentary revealed how the Americans ill-treated some of the Vietnamese people. American airstrikes killed ordinary people, women and children. The teacher asked: “How would you feel if you were a Vietnamese and you were invaded with guns and aircraft?” “How will you feel when ordinary people are shot at or burned by foreign forces?” “How would you feel if you were there, seeing foreigners attacking your people, hurting them and your country?” The teacher repeated the same question three times but in different form and in response one learner said: “I will be angry and sad”; another: “I will take action” In response to this the teacher probed “What action?” Another learner responded: “I will revenge to defend the country”. He continued to play the video which showed how the Vietnamese troops, the Vietcong, embarked on a guerrilla war, using a tactical strategy that involved attack and retreat. The video detailed how the US used Napalm, a dangerous chemical substance, to destroy the Vietnamese but the Vietnamese nevertheless withstood the onslaught and many US troops were killed by the Vietcong. The video documentary also showed the Vietcong hiding in tunnels and using booby
traps and launching surprise attacks. Masina did not focus on the resistance shown by the Vietnamese soldiers and neither did he analyse their battle strategies but continued to portray them as victims. Learners were able to interact during the lesson and participated effectively.

Masina asked questions that encouraged learners to be engaged in emotional empathy with the Vietnamese and some of these emotionally driven questions were asked repeatedly leading to some learners expressing anger and the desire for revenge. This certainly is not the ultimate goal of what proponents of the emotional domain of Historical empathy had in mind. There was congruency between the conception and teaching of Historical empathy because both teachers addressed only the emotional domain of Historical empathy. Instead of developing emotional control, learners were enraged and compared this treatment of the Vietnamese to their own experience during apartheid which according to the Barton and Levstik (2004) framework constitutes shared Normalcy. Learners could not demonstrate emotional control and did not even demonstrate elements of the cognitive domain such as a sense of “otherness” historical contextualisation and different perspectives.

In his lesson, Moemi, the second teacher, focused on the Vietnam War and taught a Grade 12 class. The lesson took 45 minutes. He focused on the battle strategies of the US as compared to the Vietcong and indicated that the US used aerial bombardment while the Vietcong utilised guerrilla war tactics. He used a group-discussion approach. Learners were given 15 minutes to explore the sources that were based on booby traps and tunnels as well as US aircraft flying over Vietnam. Learners engaged in group discussions with fellow learners. There were five groups and each group was given a single question on the Vietnam War. The question that he posed to the groups was as follows: Was it necessary for the US to be involved in the war with Vietnam, or not? Substantiate your answer with valid evidence. Each group presented their response to the question and the whole class was involved across groups and was further propelled by probing questions, seeking to elicit more evidence from the class. The teacher asked: “Why would the Americans go to extreme of attacking Vietnam?” One learner responded: “to prevent Vietnam from becoming a communist country.” The teacher probed further: “Why did the US want to prevent Vietnam from becoming a communist country?” Another learner from a group responded: “to prevent it from influencing other neighbouring countries”. In response to the initial key question one learner indicated that “Americans pursued the war because they want to colonise
Vietnam” and the teacher asked whether it was possible for Vietnam to start the war, to which another learner responded and indicated that “Vietnam was a small country and cannot be aggressive against a strong country such as the US and the participation of the Vietnamese was aimed at defending their country against the coloniser US”. Learners appeared fascinated by the guerrilla war tactics used by the Vietnamese and learners empathised with the Vietnamese and immersed themselves into their predicament. Learners did not judge the Vietnamese as weak due to the use of less powerful weapons against the American Aircraft which launched carpet bombing by dropping bombs carrying Napalm to be detonated via a remote control. So the learners’ appreciation showed elements of humility and the learners did not become angry or emotional about the Americans but were appreciative of the strategies of the North Vietnamese soldiers.

This reveals the difference in strategy and resources used by the teachers. It is possible that a video documentary will provoke stronger emotions than a photograph of booby traps and Vietnamese soldiers hiding under grass covered with human waste such as those in the prescribed textbooks analysed by Ramoroka and Engelbrecht (2015). Some learners commented on sources that show the Vietnamese covered in human faeces as a demonstration that the Vietnamese were determined to defend their country against colonialism. Another learner indicated that: “Vietnam was tired of being ruled by foreigners after the French occupation ended”. There was no sympathy expressed by learners in this class and this was the result of the types of sources used and by a different teaching strategy which did not view the Vietnamese as victims.

Discussion

Moemi’s knowledge of the concept Historical empathy reflected elements of the cognitive domain and he demonstrated this when he responded to an interview question based on Historical empathy. He gave an example of circumstances that led to the adoption of “total strategy” by PW Botha which, according to Moemi, was in response to the reality of communism in Southern Africa which in the view of many was threatening to wreak havoc in South Africa as it had in Eastern Europe. He indicated that members of the liberation forces in Southern Africa such as Frelimo (Mozambique), African National Congress, South African Communist Party (South Africa) and Umkhondo we Sizwe (the ANC military wing) were trained in China and Soviet Union and were possibly considered to be agents of communism. The Soviet Union had also colonised many Eastern European countries resulting in
the killing of many people and many died of hunger because their economies were used to sponsor the Soviet Union’s arm race against the US. Moemi saw the actions of Botha within the global context of the Cold War and by so doing he demonstrated elements of historical contextualisation. Moemi did not sympathise with the victims and his perspective was embedded within the realm of cognitive Historical empathy. He attempted to put himself in the shoes of Botha when he made a decision to embark on “total strategy” (in response to the perceived “total onslaught”) in order to protect South Africa from the spectre of communism.

Moemi tried to understand the powerful forces by stepping into their shoes or tapping into their minds when taking decisions that affected ordinary people while Masina focused more on perceived victims of the Vietnam War. It is this empathy with victims that traps him within the emotional realm of Historical empathy.

The learners in Moemi’s and Masina’s classes seemed to empathise with the events of the Vietnam War from different vantage points. Therefore, Moemi’s learners demonstrated maturity and understood the circumstances faced by the Vietcong against a strong power like America. However, Masina used the documentary developed in the US which display the aerial bombardment and he asked emotionally provoking questions and learners responded angrily. He did not focus on the military strategy of the Vietnamese soldiers. It is possible that this may have been caused by the limited time for the video documentary since it was divided into three parts. However, what was emphasised in the classroom was the cruelty of the Americans.

Moemi’s learners saw the Vietnam War as part of the broader Cold War between America and Soviet Union and therefore demonstrated some elements of historical contextualisation. Masina’s leaners remain within the emotional realm and in this context emotive empathy was not a stepping stone to cognitive empathy but an obstacle. This empirical evidence reinforces the argument advanced by Foster (2001) that emotions are an impediment to the attainment of Historical empathy. On the other hand, Moemi did not require emotional scaffolding to introduce his learners to some elements of historical contextualisation. These findings are in keeping with the two doctoral studies (Harris, 2016; Margery, 2017) where strong evidence of migration from the emotive to the cognitive domains was not demonstrated and therefore it can be inferred that emotional dimensions do not necessarily provide enabling knowledge for learners to attain the cognitive elements of Historical empathy.
Moemi attempted to show his learners the geographical proximity of Vietnam, Soviet Union and China and this was done in order for learners to analyse the circumstances that compelled the American policy makers and President Johnson to take the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution on August 7, 1964 which authorised the US to attack Vietnam and also to use chemical weapons in the process. It was assumed that the occupation of Vietnam would allow American troops to be present in Eastern Europe to monitor the activities of both Soviet Union and China, two powerful communist countries which were major players in the Cold War against the US. Masina highlighted the causes of the war but did not delve into the circumstantial evidence that compelled Johnson to go to war; he chose instead to focus on emotional empathy by sympathising with the Vietnamese people, perceived victims of the war they won.

There is an abundance of sources that can be used to engage learners in the cognitive elements of Historical empathy such as “otherness”, different perspectives and historical contextualisation. According to the testimonies, some of the American troops felt they were misled that they were told they were deployed to Vietnam to protect democracy; these men felt betrayed by their government. Therefore learners needed to empathise with their predicament as well not just with the Vietnamese. This would demonstrate that Historical empathy is multi-perspective and includes both the victims and perpetrators and seeks to explain the circumstances that led to them acting in the manner as they did. The focus of the two teachers was one-sided: one focused on the victim and another on the strength of the Vietnamese soldiers and saw them as strategists rather than victims.

**Conclusion**

The article utilised the dual process of Historical empathy which embodies both the affective and cognitive domains as a theoretical framework. The research was driven by the following key question: *To what extent can the concept of Historical empathy be utilised to engage learners in historical thinking in the classroom?* The two teachers’ conceptions of Historical empathy are related as both display the elements of affective domain. However, one teacher incorporated elements of the cognitive domain by demonstrating historical contextualisation as well as different historical perspective while another teacher remained with the emotional realm of Historical empathy. The conceptions of Historical empathy by the teachers influenced their selection of content and sources as well as their teaching methodology. It also
influence their teaching methodology, video documentary was dominated by the teacher through his line of questioning and appears to propel learners towards emotional empathy. However, the second teacher’s method of group discussions and the key question asked seem to provide a balance between Americans and Vietnamese perspectives because both entered the war to protect their own communities, the Americans were forced by circumstances to attack Vietnam in order to contain the spread of communism and Vietnamese fought in order to keep their independence. In Masina’s class the Americans were seen as encroaching on the independence of Vietnam. This level of involvement in affective domain may overshadow the focus on critical elements of the cognitive domain. The learners who watched the video were enraged by the attacks on ordinary people and this did not lead to emotional control. It is recommended that a rigorous training be conducted by the Department of Basic Education in South Africa to ensure that the dual process of Historical empathy is realised especially in the context of History teaching being made (potentially a) compulsory from Grade 10 to Grade 12. The lesson learned is the Department of Basic Education needs to improve the teaching of both affective and cognitive elements of Historical empathy, and the focus should be to mediate teachers conception and misconception as the first step and the next step to assess if the their conceptions are realised in the classrooms. Finally, teachers must provide a balance perspective when teaching Historical empathy and should not be seen to be biased in support of the perceived weak or powerful forces.

ANNEXURE A: Evaluation criteria for the display of Historical empathy

Moemi

*Analysis of the lesson using the lesson planning instrument*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key aspects the lessons</th>
<th>Performance standards</th>
<th>Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elements of Historical empathy</td>
<td>a. Sense of “otherness” – developing Learners’ ability to recognise that other people’s values and viewpoints might be different from their own. There are other viewpoints that exist.</td>
<td>1 2√ 3 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elements of Historical empathy</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>b. Shared Normalcy</strong> – Learners should recognise that the historical figure’s thoughts, action, or perspective is not a result of being ignorant or stupid, and that the historical agent shares some similarities with the student.</td>
<td>1√ 2 3 4</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>c. Historical contextualisation</strong> – Learners grow to explain events of the past in terms of the historical values of the time, as well as the pervasive attitudes and beliefs, and ground these explanations in evidence, Learners come to understand the contextual elements that lead to the actions of historical agents. Moemi empathised with PW Botha and explained the circumstances that compel him to act cruelly in the manner he did and his reasoning was not clouded by sympathising with victims of PW Botha. He displayed the elements of cognitive empathy.</td>
<td>1 2 3√ 4</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>d. Different of Perspectives</strong> – Learners are able to identify and reflect upon the many different beliefs and values that exist at a given time in History. He or she needs to explore different perspectives, even when they are conflicting, to have a fuller picture of an event in time.</td>
<td>1√ 2 3 4</td>
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### Elements of Historical empathy

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<tr>
<td>e. <strong>Contextualisation to the present</strong>  – This is, to Barton and Levstik, the hardest element to promote and encounter with learners of History. Here, learners show signs of deconstructing their own culture, values and beliefs, and are able to identify that these things might be influencing their own interpretation of the past.</td>
<td>1 2√ 3 4</td>
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### Historical product

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<tr>
<td><strong>Content focus</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Narrative</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Content selection</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Vietnam War.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• Background and short lecture about the Cold War.</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Placing the Vietnam War within its historical perspective.</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Exploring the conceptions of learners on concept of Historical empathy.</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Mediating conceptions and misconception about the concept Historical empathy.</td>
<td>1 2√ 3 4</td>
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### Nature of the classroom activities

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<tr>
<td>a. Teacher gives a background about the Cold War and link the Vietnam War to this background.</td>
<td>1 2√ 3 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>b. Teacher provide primary sources on Vietnam War including the accounts by soldiers and photographs showing the strategic parts of the conflicts.</td>
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### (90) minutes

Approximately two lessons. 1 2√ 3 4

### Scores

54%
### Masina

**Analysis of the lesson using the lesson planning instrument**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Rating</th>
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<td>developing learners’ ability to recognise that other people’s values and viewpoints might be different from their own. There are other viewpoints that exist.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shared Normalcy</td>
<td>Learners should recognise that the historical figure’s thoughts, action, or perspective is not a result of being ignorant or stupid, and that the historical agent shares some similarities with the student. Learners were engaged in emotional empathy but could not control their anger and therefore the objective of effective empathy such as emotional control was not achieved. He lesson remained focus on element of emotive empathy.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Historical contextualisation</td>
<td>Learners grow to explain events of the past in terms of the historical values of the time, as well as the pervasive attitudes and beliefs, and ground these explanations in evidence, learners come to understand the contextual elements that lead to the actions of historical agents.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Historical product

Content focus

Narrative

Content selection

Resources

Textbooks
(Focus, Via, Spot on History Grade 12)

Primary sources

Secondary sources

a. Video documentary showing Americans Aircrafts launching air strikes and some offloading the American soldiers.
b. Soldiers wounded during the war, civilians running away from Napalm and families carrying their children in haste to get them to place of safety.
c. Video showing the effectiveness of booby traps, Bamboo traps and punji traps.
d. Video showed the testimonies of war veterans that we engaged in the war and account by photographers.
e. Documentary video showing the live images of the war and archival sources.

Nature of the classroom activities

a. Teacher gives a background about the Cold War and link the Vietnam War to this background.
b. Teacher provide primary sources on Vietnam War including the accounts by soldiers and photographs showing the strategic parts of the conflicts.

(90) minutes

Approximately two lessons.

References


The dialectics of historical empathy as a reflection of historical thinking. SA classroom, pp. 46-71


Abstract

The purpose of the study presented in this article is to understand the experiences of final year pre-service South African high school history teachers on their engagement with controversial issues during their teaching practice. The rationale for undertaking this study was twofold: filling a gap in the existing literature, which has neglected the experiences of pre-service teachers and their understandings of controversial issues in history during the early stages of their professional development, and for us to learn from our students so as to possibly contribute to a more meaningful school history education in present-day South Africa. The data for this study was drawn from a collection of reflective reports prepared by 75 pre-service high school history teachers on their experiences of teaching controversial issues during their professional practice sessions. We found that the student-teachers’ experiences in this regard greatly varied, and were informed by multifarious factors, including the pre-service teachers’ positionality, the institutional culture of their placement schools, their professional relationships with the mentor teachers, and their engagement with learners, policy documents and teaching material. What stood out was the centrality of race to their experiences of teaching controversial issues, something which revealed the deep-rooted legacies of South Africa’s racist past. The consequence of this was a black/white binary that continued to influence the way certain schools, pre-service teachers, mentor teachers and learners relate to history and to each other.

Keywords: Controversial issues; Pre-service history teachers; Post-apartheid; History classrooms; Student- and mentor teacher’s relationships.

Introduction

In South Africa, controversy is never far away, be it in relation to the language of instruction in institutions of learning, university fees, ownership of land or issues of state capture by corrupt politicians and businessmen. These disputes
are but examples of a plethora of controversial issues which South Africans are facing today, and which invariably are underpinned by issues of moral complexity such as race, gender, class, culture, language, and, more generally, politics, economics and social justice. Against the backdrop of South Africa’s apartheid past, race, as its historical legacy, inevitably transcends most matters of controversy; other controversial issues conversely are more contemporary in nature and the results of political and economic policies adopted after apartheid ended in 1994.

This article takes post-apartheid South Africa as a case study to advance our understanding of the reverberations of societal controversies in the education sector and the implications thereof in a post-conflict multicultural society. The study starts from the premise, grounded in extant scholarship, that very few, if any, of the controversial issues that exist in present-day South African society are halted by school gates.¹

Through the original lens of the often neglected experiences of pre-service history teachers working in a variety of high schools across the country, this article will provide supplementary evidence to support the argument that not dissimilarly to what happens around the world, schools in South Africa, and history classrooms in particular, are not immune to issues that are controversial to at least some members of the public. As such, they function as sites where both inexperienced and experienced teachers and their learners encounter, and inevitably have to engage with, often uncomfortable and diverging “truths” about contested issues in societies.

As will be argued in this article, many of the controversial issues arising in history classrooms are rooted in the hidden curriculum manifest in unofficially sanctioned points of view and societal structures; others are directly related to the intended South African curriculum, called the Curriculum Policy Assessment Statements (CAPS).² In reference to the potentially controversial nature of history, the British Historical Association well encapsulated the nature of the challenges connected with teaching and learning about the past in schools around the world. It points out that:³

The study of history can be emotive and controversial where there is actual or perceived unfairness to people by another individual or group in the past.

This may also be the case where there are disparities between what is taught in school history, family/community histories and other histories. Such issues and disparities create a strong resonance with students in particular education settings.

As we will discuss, in South Africa it is not only the prescribed content topics such as apartheid, slavery and colonialism that can cause controversy but also the procedural thinking concepts that are advanced through the intended curriculum, such as historical evidence, empathy and multi-perspectivity. It must be pointed out that underpinning the South African curriculum in which such concepts are deeply embedded is the Schools Act (Act no.84 of 1996) and its subsequent amendments which, in line with the South African constitution, foregrounds human rights and equality, and prohibits any form of discrimination.

By focusing on the experiences of pre-service high school history teachers, the aims of this study in terms of its expected contribution are both scholarly and practical. First, the research aims to contribute to filling a notable gap in the existing literature, which has much neglected the experiences of pre-service teachers and their understandings of controversial issues in general, and in history specifically, during the early stages of their professional development. Second, by enhancing knowledge in this regard, we hope to improve teacher preparation so to better equip student-teachers to deal with such issues in the classroom. Hence, this study provided an opportunity for us to learn from our students with an eye to seeking to contribute to better-quality teacher preparation and ultimately to more meaningful school history education in present-day South Africa.

Research context and methodology

The data for this article was drawn from a group of 75 fourth year pre-service high school history teachers who undertook the practical teaching component of their B.Ed. degree. This component is part of both the legal and pedagogical requirements of teacher education and spans a period of approximately six months, during which prospective teachers in training generally teach two school subjects in which they specialise as part of their degree. The student-teachers who participated in the study were usually between 21 and 24 years of age, and were thus “born-frees”, that is, South Africans who were born after the demise of apartheid. In terms of gender, race, language and socio-economic status, they were fairly representative of South African students entering a Faculty of Education to become teachers. Their teaching practice
experience was done in schools that span the South African educational landscape and which included both private and government schools, as well as both former black and former white schools, the latter encompassing both all-white and mixed-race Afrikaans classes and mixed-race English classes. Importantly, the professional development component that is at the centre of the experiences analysed in this study constitutes a partnership between universities and schools, with the former generally providing the theoretical grounding and the latter the practical training. The major prerequisites, in the case of prospective high school history teachers, is that the placement school should offer history as an elective subject in the Further Education and Training Band (FET) for learners in grades 10 to 12 (aged between 16 and 18) and should have a professionally registered mentor teacher guiding the pre-service teachers’ professional development.

In preparation for teaching practice, the pre-service history teachers who participated in this study followed a three-week long unit on “Teaching Controversial Issues in History” as part of their final-year History Methodology module. In this module, they engaged with readings from both an international and a South African context, the aim being to provide the student-teachers with a sound theoretical, methodological and conceptual backdrop to the teaching of controversial issues. These scholarly readings were enhanced by reflection on practical cases, drawn from the media, of controversies that had erupted in society, particularly in history classes. The BBC News article “Slave auction project: New Jersey school under fire” is one example that was used in the unit to discuss what makes an issue controversial, the diversity of perspectives involved and how such issues can be variously dealt with in history classrooms, for example, by developing classroom policies on how to deal with controversial issues and engaging with historical thinking concepts. Engagement with micro-lessons on particular topics was also encouraged in order for pre-service teachers to reflect on and implement different approaches drawn from the literature on teaching controversial issues.

For the purpose of this particular article, we drew our data from a summative assignment for this course, which, in addition to expecting a literature review

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engaging with existing knowledge on methods for teaching controversial issues in history, required student-teachers to compile a reflective report, using free-writing, detailing their own encounter and engagement with controversial issues during their teaching practice. We analysed the data through a process of open-coding which allowed us to uncover prominent themes, trends and patterns related to such experiences.

For ethical reasons, only the summative assignments of history students who consented to take part in the study were used. Additionally, in this article we used pseudonyms in order to protect the identity of the pre-service history teachers, their mentor teachers and the schools they worked at. While we acknowledge the constraints on authenticity and trustworthiness possibly deriving from the fact that the reflective reports formed part of mandatory continuous assessment, we view these narratives as critical portholes into the constructed experiences of South Africa’s future history teachers, and as sources of significant insights into the challenges currently facing in-training teachers and their responses to such challenges.

Data analysis and discussion

The data analysis revealed a bricolage of experiences reported by our students with regard to their encounter with a series of controversies in their history classrooms. The emerging controversial issues, which we will discuss in this section with a focus on the most problematic and challenging examples, relate to both the hidden and the overt curriculum, and include: i) the ethos and dominant institutional culture of the schools the student-teachers were placed at; ii) the student-teachers’ relationships with their mentor teachers, and inherent power dynamics and intergenerational clashes; iii) the student-teachers’ experiences of the curriculum and the pedagogical approaches they employed; iv) and race and racism as prevailing emotive and controversial issues underpinning most of these experiences, and cutting across both the intended and the hidden curriculum.

Experiencing the schools’ ethos and institutional culture

The vast majority of reflective reports revealed that the pre-service history teachers experienced schools as institutions supportive of their professional development. In such cases, the student-teachers had perceived teaching history as an exciting and enjoyable experience during which they were
allowed to experiment and find their voices. The reports, however, also laid bare signs of a hidden curriculum at play in certain schools, which constrained and demoralised some of our students. The data revealed that controversy arose early on in certain instances, even before the pre-service teachers had entered the classroom. A controversy recorded by one student-teacher ensued in a former white Afrikaans school that was being transformed by taking in black learners; the latter were accommodated through the introduction of English as a medium of instruction alongside Afrikaans, while the teaching corps remained white Afrikaans. The perception articulated by this student was that the arrival of himself and of another black pre-service teacher at this institution had been seen by the school authorities as a transformative dynamics constituting an overt threat to this school’s white Afrikaner institutional culture. According to this student’s report:

> [the school manager] asked us if we can speak Afrikaans because the school’s main language of teaching and learning is Afrikaans and said that they had instructed the university to only send students who can speak fluent Afrikaans. Of course this was not the case for both of us … This was followed by a look of disappointment on Mr. [Mrs] Vogel [pseudonym] part as she instructed us to call the university and tell them to find us a new school. In essence, we found ourselves in a school where we did not feel welcome (as the university could not find space for us in any other school), we also attributed this to the fact that we were the first black student teachers at the school, as we found out later on in the term, and we knew that it was going to be a very long two and a half months.

As a result of their perceived unwelcoming reception, the two students chose to sit outside on the lawn during break and not in the staff room with other staff, hence avoiding a direct confrontation with the controversy that had arisen from their presence in the school. According to the student’s report, the school’s unequal treatment of the pre-service history teachers, which rode roughshod over the South African constitution and the South African Schools Act, was eventually detected by certain learners who saw it as racism, but was downplayed and brushed aside by the student-teachers to avoid “trouble”. Although the above is an extreme example of a hidden curriculum at play, more covert signs of student-teachers being unwelcome in schools because of their racial and cultural background were experienced by a minority of other pre-service teachers, notably in the form of unsupportive mentoring as discussed in the section below.

While race and culture/language were identity issues often underpinning reported controversies and frictions in the schools, our analysis also revealed cases in which gender and religion played a central role in the emergence of
tensions in institutions of learning. The most prominent gender issue recorded in this study, which intersected with issues of religion, referred to the case of a Muslim boy refusing to be taught by a female pre-service history teacher, whom he considered disrespectful to his religion as she was unmarried and not covering her hair. The student-teacher recounted how, “The boy called me many different things that were rude and hurtful” and how, upon discussing this instance with her mentor teacher, the latter “had nothing to say about the matter”. Again, choosing avoidance as a strategy to deal with controversies in an unsupportive environment, the student felt obliged to wear a head scarf whenever she taught to the boy.

Experiencing student- and mentor teacher’s relationships

As hinted at above, the role of mentor teachers, to whom student-teachers were allocated once placed in their respective schools, turned out to be of great influence to the student-teachers’ classroom experiences. While most experiences had reportedly been relatively positive, a significant minority of student-teachers experienced their relationship with their mentor as problematic when dealing with (potentially) controversial issues; in fact, this relationship itself often turned into as a source of controversy.

The students’ accounts reported numerous cases of mentor teachers excelling in their professional support on how to deal with controversial issues in history. Several student-teachers reported on their mentor’s valuable guidance in this regard, and underscored having found their teaching practice enjoyable and enriching as a result of this support. Among the recommendations considered useful by these students was the idea of agreeing on “ground rules for civil discussion” with the learners as a point of departure; these included the prohibition of provocative and hurtful language, and the importance of learners’ active, inclusive and respectful classroom participation. The students also reported having benefited from guidance relating to working with a range of historical sources and providing multiple perspectives to all historical event in an exercise of historical enquiry, thereby allowing space for unofficial histories. Other valuable advice referred to the need to encourage learners to express themselves and provide evidence for statements made or opinions expressed, while being attentive and sensitive to the learners’ emotions arising in the process. A piece of advice that strongly resonated in one student-teacher was that learners must be made aware of the fact that “we can’t change history, and we can’t impose our own modern values on people who lived decades or
centuries ago”.

Such positive experiences were in stark contrast to instances reported by other student-teachers, whereby the guidance offered by the mentor teachers itself created controversy. The study recorded several cases of mentor teachers stifling or undermining student-teachers’ initiatives to critically engage with history by means of multi-perspectivity; they did so by instead foregrounding dogmatic teacher-centred pedagogies as a strategy to support a hidden curriculum in which they felt confident, safe and untouchable. A regular occurrence garnered from the reflective reports was the shutting down by mentor teachers of any debate or discussion deemed to have the potential to turn contentious. Reasons deduced by the student-teachers for this widespread practice varied: they included mentors’ wishes to prevent conflict in the classroom, their patronising views of learners as not being mature or knowledgeable enough to debate controversial topics, their understanding of such debates as being in conflict with the accepted textbook interpretation of events, and their use of the history classroom as a platform for politicking in order to advance particular agendas. In doing so, mentor teachers fundamentally undermined the intended curriculum and its expectations that multiple perspectives be presented and multiple voices be heard in conversation with each other.

On various occasions reported by the student-teachers, dogmatic practices that shut down debate seemed again rooted in racism, at times leading to overt tensions between students and their mentors. One such cases was experienced by a black student-teacher who reported on his black mentor’s chagrin with his use of a multiperspective approach that challenged the one-sided view and misconception that only black people had resisted apartheid. The student-teacher reported on standing accused of being “a sell-out … brain washed by white people”, and thus appeared victim of the mentor’s apparent stiffness and irritation vis-a-vis attempts at destabilising a neat black/white binary around apartheid and resistance to it. Overt racism was also experienced at the hands of white mentor, as indicated in another student-teacher’s account of the unfolding of a class discussion he had initiated:

_In her defence [the mentor said] that apartheid and Afrikaner people should not be blamed for the suffering of black people and that they brought it to themselves, she further mentioned that they [the learners] don’t have the ability to interpret and enough intelligence because they are black._

The student further reported on how emotions ran high as a result of this exchange and how he responded to the affront:
… not only learners were angry and out of control but myself as well, I was ready to give up my training there and go to another school that was not that racist, what stopped me from leaving is that if I do without addressing that issues, some of the learners will take that at heart believing that they are inadequate due to their skin colour, as that had in effect even on their self-esteem.

In the process of mentoring then, issues deemed controversial were reportedly avoided,indoctrination of learners took place by means of statements that were, every so often, overtly racist and political in nature, student-teachers were silenced or controlled by their mentors by dint of the marks they were allocated or were browbeaten into submission as they had doubts casted over their abilities. In light of the above, it is scant wonder that some pre-service history teachers were disappointed in the attitudes and practices of their mentors. The conduct of certain mentor teachers resulted in controversies as their views and pedagogies appeared diametrically opposed to what the pre-service teachers had been taught at university and what policies expected of them. Unsurprisingly then, one of the student-teachers proclaimed that, if there was anything to take away from his teaching practice experience, was that: “I did learn what I was not going to do in my future classroom in my years to come”.

The data thereby points to cases of generational conflict characterising the relationship between certain pre-service history teachers and their mentors. While these student-teachers were attempting to present history as an analytical disciplinary discipline as expected of them from their training and the curriculum, certain mentor teachers pursued history as a memory discipline based on a simplistic reading of the dominant narrative as found in state-sanctioned textbooks. Acting in a context marked by power imbalance between the pre-service teachers and their mentors, the former reacted in different ways, with responses ranging from submission so as to please the mentor teachers, to subversion.

An explanation for these practices by mentor teachers may lay in the fact that most of them had, in all probability, never been educated on how to teach history as an inevitably contested field. Older teachers particularly, who had been trained under apartheid, had possibly never attended professional courses in this respect and this translated to classroom practices fundamentally undermining what the intended curriculum expects in terms of teaching the subject. Another possible explanation may be found in teachers’ political agendas, at times a manifestation of a school culture that is in conflict with the law, the constitution and the changing nature of South African society.
Such behaviour by experienced history teachers in South Africa is in itself not new but an indication of the continued use of the history classroom as a political battlefield, a practice that undoubtedly is not unique to South Africa but is especially common in post-conflict and divided societies.

**Experiencing the programmatic curriculum: textbooks and their controversial content and use**

Once in the classroom, CAPS as South Africa’s intended curriculum serves as the guiding policy in teaching history and related controversial issues. As indicated above, not all mentor teachers fully embraced the critical and participatory pedagogy subscribed to in the curriculum and this caused controversy and friction in itself. As transpired from some of the cases reported earlier, across the board, the chance of such controversies and frictions occurring and intensifying increased when addressing a series of prescribed content topics which emerged as particularly contested during teaching practice. Such topics related to both national and global history, and included: slavery; the French Revolution; transformation in southern Africa after 1750 and the rise of the Zulu Kingdom and Shaka; social Darwinism, eugenics and theories of race in the 19th and 20th centuries; apartheid and especially Afrikaner nationalism and the National Party’s coming to power in 1948; civil society protests in the 1960s–1980s in South Africa and the challenge of Black Consciousness to the apartheid state; and the coming of democracy in South Africa and the country’s efforts at coming to terms with its violent past. Again, with the exception of the French Revolution, most of the historical topics that proved controversial dealt, in one way or another, with race.

The controversial nature of these topics was reportedly enhanced by how history textbooks, as cultural artefacts made up of selected representations, were used in the classroom, leading, as hinted at earlier, to instances of conflict between the pre-service teachers and their mentors. One student-teacher indicated the complete absence of resources other than a single textbook in the classroom, and pointed to a practice whereby “the teacher read straight from the textbook”. In line with the expectations set by both the school curriculum and her university education, she reported favouring the use of

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different historical sources to expose the learners to multiple perspectives – to the dissatisfaction of her mentor teacher who hauled the student before the headmaster, accusing her of “teaching the wrong thing because I was not teaching from the textbook”. Similarly, another student reported having been “discouraged from doing fun activities with the learners because he [mentor teacher] believed it [was] a waste of precious time” and that “I should stick to the prescribed textbook”. The mentor teacher dismissed the student’s view that the textbook’s approach to the topic of colonial expansion was biased as it adopted a predominantly Eurocentric perspective, and thus needed to be supplemented with additional sources; the mentor made clear that “it was unnecessary to include information that would upset the learners … and their parents” by offering contestable historical perspectives. These reports point to a practice whereby textbooks are elevated to the status of authoritative semi-religious texts and not understood and employed as particular interpretations of the curriculum that need to be critically engaged with.

Controversies further arose in various instances where the learners themselves openly criticised and challenged the school textbooks as sources of historical evidence. The most notable controversy reported by the student-teachers in this regard centred on the theme of “Transformation in southern Africa after 1750”, a topic on which the learners’ unofficial knowledge appeared to be in conflict with the textbooks used, resulting in their content being consequently challenged by the learners. The foregrounding of the Zulu Kingdom especially left certain learners, belonging to the Zulu community, with a belief in their group’s historical dominance and relative importance vis-à-vis other groups, whereas non-Zulu learners articulated contrasting views, arguing that “the Zulus had always been the violent ones in history”. In the ensuing debates, the learners denounced the textbooks as being biased and as promoting ethnic tension through their focus on a single group as well as through misrepresentations of the Zulu Kings Shaka and Moshoeshoe which one-sidedly relied on jingoistic British colonial evidence. On reflection, one pre-service teacher felt that he had been “pushed into the trap of using only the textbook”, which, as the sole source available, brought about ideas of tribalism amongst the learners.

In sum, while some learners came to critically engage with textbooks and hence demonstrated a sophisticated understanding of their being designed by people with specific agendas,8 certain pre-service teachers gave in to their mentor’s

hesitancy to encourage learners’ critical engagement with these educational media because they feared the textbooks could turn into sources of undesired controversy in the history classroom. Others instead subtly resisted the mentor’s instructions, as reported, for instance, by one student-teacher who affirmed to have complied with the mentor’s preferred practice of relying on the textbook while he simultaneously “still tried to slip other sources into the lesson”.

**Experiencing learner- vs teacher-centred approaches**

In addition to related reflections on textbook use, the pre-service history teachers reported on their experiences in engaging with contentious topics in a learner-centred manner as prescribed by South Africa’s history curriculum.

The research recorded student-teachers’ experiences of both perceived success and limitations in encouraging learners’ critical engagement with controversial issues, notably through class debate. Among the most positive experiences in this regard related to practices meant to foster deep historical understanding, for instance by grounding class debate on the concept of historical evidence and on learners’ prior research into causes and consequences in preparation for discussing sensitive and controversial historical topics such as apartheid. Another valuable practice reported by the student-teachers in dealing with such topics was to explicitly work with the concepts of empathy and perspective-taking as notions enabling learners to more thoroughly understand different experiences and perspectives which make up history. More generally, what worked for some pre-service teachers was also the prior establishment of rules of engagement which included the respect of learners’ right to freedom of expression while “mind[ing] the language, and how they address their peers”.

Exercises in perspective-taking, specifically, were often conducted as strategies to approach controversial issues. In one case, a student-teacher encouraged debate on the abolishment of slavery by means of a mock court case: as part of this exercise, the class was divided into two groups – one having to argue from the perspective of slaves and abolitionists and the other from that of slave owners. This was followed by a structured debriefing on the lingering impact of slavery on society. In her reflective report, the pre-service teacher described the benefits of such an approach as she realised that “the learners who had blatantly made comments on the question of race started to think deeply about this controversial topic”.

9 Translation from Afrikaans by the authors. The original statement read: “Ek kon sien dat die leerders wat blatante, uitgesproke aanmerkings oor die rasse kwessie gemaak het in diepte oor die omstrede onderwerp begin dink het”.

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perceived success was not shared by other pre-service teachers, who reported their experiencing limitations in the use of perspective-taking as an approach to teaching controversial issues. One student-teacher, for instance, while adopting a similar participatory, multiperspective approach to addressing slavery in South African history, observed that “the learners in the ‘Europeans for slavery’ group found it difficult to continue the debate as many of them couldn’t fully understand the reasoning behind the treatment of slaves”, and they therefore asked to be moved to a different group as they felt they were on the “wrong side” of the controversy. As a consequence, one-sidedness eventually came to dominate, hence defeating the purpose of the exercise. A similar challenge was faced by another student-teacher who, in addressing the origins of apartheid, encouraged her learners to put themselves in the shoes of the ideologues of this system. This strategy reportedly resulted in a “big argument” because “the learners could not see how… to empathise with people who enforced such a cruel system on their parents and grandparents for so many decades”. In contrast to the reaction of her peer mentioned earlier, who had eventually conceded to the learners’ refusal to see the past through a different historical lens when dealing with slavery, this pre-service history teacher persevered in trying and make her class see that the past is different from the present and must be understood as such.10

Overall, several in-training history teachers experienced classroom debate as being of little use because, as one student explained, “we were not getting anywhere with this issue [why apartheid happened]”, “causing a lot of chaos in the classroom”. Another pre-service teacher reported on his unpleasant experience in resorting to the devil’s advocate approach as a strategy to steer the debate towards a close: he lamented that this approach backfired, as he found himself unintentionally “crushing some of the learner’s views and opinions” whereas he “just wanted the whole debate [on apartheid] to end”. The study recorded several such cases of class debate being initiated by the pre-service teachers, only to be abruptly shut down as a reaction to the student-teachers’ irritation, discomfort or fears. Terminating uncomfortable debates thus seemed common practice not only among mentors, as indicated earlier, but also among student-teachers. On one occasion, for instance, after giving learners the opportunity to openly articulate their thoughts, a pre-service teacher ended the discussion by informing the learners that, regardless

10 Similarly, the attempt by one student-teacher at encouraging historical empathy towards Afrikaners among Black learners resulted in some learners “having a hard time understanding why we should empathise with the oppressors” and had to be explained that ‘empathising does not mean we condone the acts or events, but it is important to understand why Apartheid was permitted in the past and why people acted the way they did’.
of their arguments and views, “the textbook is the one that we are going to use whether we agree with it or not”. Another history student-teacher similarly indicated his falling back on a safer teacher-centred approach when faced with great uncertainty as to how to manage the class when emotions spiralled out of control: he opined that “[the] learner-centred approach was not very successful because when things got emotional for learners I did not know what to do, [and] I went back to direct instruction [from the textbook] and just gave learners notes”.11

All told, the pedagogical approaches used by the pre-service history teachers and their related experiences greatly varied. On the one hand were sophisticated attempts at dealing with controversial issues which permitted learners to voice their views so as to instil critical historical thinking skills and allow them to create their own understanding. On the other were cases of student-teachers falling back on teacher-centred and textbook-based approaches ostensibly to protect themselves and their learners from uncomfortable confrontations with the past and with each other. These differences in experience need explanation. From the reflective reports it is clear that a number of pre-service teachers managed, sometimes against the odds, to implement some of the approaches studied at university better than others. A range of factors seem to have played a role in this, ranging from the support received from schools and mentor teachers to the students’ own views of history as a school subject. Others did not fare so well, with their experiences consequently raising questions about the level of preparation offered by their university education. The theories, concepts and principles covered in the course on teaching controversial issues in history clearly did not always translate easily into practice. This failure was expressed by one pre-service history teacher who articulated her “wish to have been told and taught and trained well in how to deal with controversial issues as it is part of history and it’s one thing I can’t avoid”.

Overall, a certain disjuncture thus seems to exist between theories studied at university and teaching in the real world. Learning to teach controversial issues at university is contextually far removed from the real world of schools which are populated by a diversity of learners and teachers, each with their own ideas, agendas and beliefs. This, along with inexperience, resulted in pre-service history teachers falling into avoidable traps, such as allowing shouting matches rather than debates and forms of racism to be expressed.

11 In yet another case, a student-teacher admitted that, while having guided the learners to come to their own conclusions and freely express their opinions, he eventually ended up openly dismissing “those who had views which were disturbing or not constructive”.

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Experiencing race and racism among learners

Pre-service history teachers across the board, be it in former white or black schools, reported having been confronted with manifestations of learners’ racist views and negative perspectives of “the other”, which posed enormous challenges to many of these future teachers. Most student-teachers experienced the teaching of sensitive topics such as slavery and apartheid as a racial powder keg: when such topics were taught, adversarial attitudes had surfaced among learners and difficult questions with racial overtones were asked, leading to acrimonious arguments and tensions within the classroom. In a context in which race-based preconceptions and angry reactions were not uncommon among learners, some student-teachers admitted their failure in applying the idea of “using history to learn from the past and to understand what led to the forming of contemporary society”. Against this backdrop, several pre-service teachers expressed their fears of tensions arising and race-based finger-pointing when teaching a sensitive history to a diverse class of learners who encompassed the descendants of those “who are still suffering from the debts of apartheid (unskilled parents and uneducated parents who are unable to find suitable jobs to provide for their families and escaping poverty)” as well as those who benefitted from it. The diversity characterising many of their classes indeed came to be viewed by a number of pre-service teachers as a particular disadvantage and an obstacle to meaningful teaching geared towards historical thinking.

The reports pointed to various instances in which issues of race and racism arose and led to controversy among learners. These instances often took different forms in different types of schools. As validated by the student-teachers’ reports, schools that are Afrikaans and predominantly white are usually sites characterised by a shared language, culture, religion and value system, which they further promote. The data seemed to confirm that white learners in these schools tended to have a shared view of apartheid which they were taught at home. According to the reports, when confronted with the racial realities of apartheid in the history classroom, some were shocked as they heard about the violence for the first time, leading them to shift their mind-sets; others dug in their heels, as they continued to see apartheid as being perfectly acceptable. This inability to understand and acknowledge the horrors of apartheid reportedly gave rise to tension and dispute in the classroom.

In former white Afrikaans schools that had instead enrolled a significant number of black learners since the demise of apartheid, teaching certain
topics became a contestation along a white/black binary of perpetrators and victims. Two cases recounted in the reflective reports serve to illustrate how this binary played itself out, at times aggravated by the student-teacher’s use of a generalising race-based historical vocabulary and categorisations. In the first case a student recounted the difficulties she encountered in talking to learners about slavery “because it was linked to race”, as “People of colour were made slaves and whites treated them very badly”.12 The second case refers to the experience of another student-teacher whose black learners, being under the impression that this history could be summarised as a story of the whites’ capture and trade of black people as slaves, were angered, arguing that this was why “white countries” like Britain and America could prosper and develop and “black countries” in Africa could not.

In several instances, such debates boiled over, creating great discomfort among the student-teachers. One such instance was sparked by the response provided by an Afrikaans learner to the question “what is nationalism?” In this context, the boy affirmed his pride in the Afrikaans nation and its acquired wealth and achievements, which, in his view, starkly contrasted with the situation of the blacks. An acrimonious argument followed, with black learners denouncing that Afrikaner pride stemmed from their oppression of blacks and their wealth from the exploitation of black labour. The discomfort experienced by the student-teacher when confronted with the task of managing rising tensions in the class culminated with the learners’ demanding her to disclose her personal position on the matter. This clashed with the pre-service teacher’s favouring an objective, balanced or procedural neutrality approach, which meant not only trying to remain “unbiased at all times”, but also appearing neutral, in so doing allowing learners to partake in class discussions “without having to impose my own ideas on them”.13

Similar scenarios and related encounters with racism played out in former black schools as well, which still predominantly cater for black learners only. In her reflective report, one pre-service history teacher found the topic of apartheid, and the preceding rise to power by the National Party that established it, to be highly controversial and emotive in such schools as a reflection of perceptions and resentments apparently held in black communities. As she reported, most learners expressed a belief that “blacks

12 Translation from Afrikaans by the authors. The original statement reads: “Dit was vir my moeilik om met die leerders te praat oor slawerny omdat dit ook gekoppel was aan ras. Gekleurde mense is slawe gemaak en blanke mense het hul vreeslik sleg behandeld”.
13 Another student similarly declared that as a “teacher I always kept my opinion and feelings to myself because I could also change the views of learners with things I say”.

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are the legitimate rulers of South Africa because they lived in South Africa decades before the Afrikaners came”. Another student-teacher reported on her similarly challenging experience of teaching about apartheid in a former black school. She observed that:

Although learners were not yet born during the Apartheid years, I realised that they held some form of connotations and opinions regarding the topic due to what they learnt from their families, media and previous grades, as a result emotions were raised. What made it challenging was that some learners were not willing to understand why Apartheid was considered legal by then, therefore they had some form of resentment for the whites. The lesson was challenging in a way that some learners thought I was on the side of the Apartheid regime when I tried to explain its nature, but [the] majority of them understood me and [the] nature of the topic.

In the light of the above, one pre-service history teacher expressed her belief that:

... for a white teacher teaching racial issues to let’s say a black class, will always be difficult, despite the best efforts of the teacher, and the same for a black teacher in a white classroom. Unfortunately in South Africa especially, we always see the colour of the other person, we simply cannot ignore it. This poses great obstacles in society and education, but how do we ignore it?

Some student-teachers explained the persistence of racism and of a black/white binary amongst many “born-frees” by pointing the finger at their learners’ homes and the ideas and beliefs parents instilled in them. One pre-service teacher placed at an Afrikaans school, for instance, came to the conclusion that “There were still learners who based their opinions in class on the views of their parents”.14 Another student-teacher similarly affirmed that “While teaching a topic like apartheid I would always get comments from learners that are unwanted and with these comments I realized that the legacy of apartheid is still being kept alive … it is very hard to try and teach this to learners if they already have a perspective or view on certain topics”.

A direct consequence of the controversies around race that emerged in certain history classrooms was the emotional impact experienced by the pre-service teachers. Some reported on their feeling overwhelmed, their discomfort when confronted with learners’ expectations for the teacher to adopt a certain view based on race, the stress and anxiety deriving from their inability to control classes where debates descended into racial shouting matches, and their exposure to learners’ verbal attacks.15

14 Translation from Afrikaans by the authors. The original statement reads: “Daar was steeds leerders wat hulle eie opinies of hulle ouers se siening in die klas voor gebring het”.
15 Sometimes these traumas were self-inflicted by dint of the teaching approaches employed or the lack of sufficient preparation. One student, for instance, admitted “I should have planned and done research on the overall situation when it comes to issues of apartheid in the school”.

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In sum, when it comes to deeply controversial issues connected to race, the school experiences of the participants in this study were dotted by ethnocentric sentiments as well as anger, most likely a reflection of the society they serve. In such an environment, only the brave ones seem to have taken risks to address controversial issues as is expected of them by the curriculum. This is in itself worrying, for Dryden-Peterson and Siebörger argued that history teachers, on account of their position, wield an immense amount of power and have “the potential to be role models for and brokers to a new future [as] memory makers for a new South Africa”.16

Conclusion

In conclusion, the pre-service history teachers whose reflective reports were used as data for this study experienced the teaching of controversial issues in multifarious ways. These experiences were coloured by a multitude of factors including the positionality of the pre-service teachers, the institutional culture of their placement schools, their professional relationships with the mentor teachers who were many a time from a different generation, and their engagement with learners, policy documents and teaching material, which, among other things, evidenced the power and obstinacy of traditional teaching methods over innovative ones and an overall disjuncture between academic and school training. Although the experiences of each individual pre-service teacher were unique, the data revealed a number of common controversies that stood out when teaching history in South African classrooms, at the same time also uncovering student-teachers’ divergent responses to related challenges. While many had pleasurable experiences during the professional development component of their teacher education, others faced a range of trials that at times turned overwhelming. Most were related to race, which permeated almost every aspect of the students’ teaching experiences. The experienced racism reported in this study is evidence of partly untransformed history classrooms in post-apartheid South Africa, arguably a reflection of contemporary society; it provides proof of the continuing legacy of a divisive and conflict-ridden past with which the learners, their families, and their schools and teachers are trying to come to terms. Particularly, the study evinced the influence of this past and its legacy on “born-frees”, be they pre-service history teachers or learners: while neither of these groups directly experienced apartheid, their classroom experiences are deeply rooted in this past which still casts a long shadow into contemporary

history classrooms and is integral part of the historical consciousness of these younger generations. The result and manifestation of this is a black/white binary that continues to influence the way institutions, pre-service teachers, mentor teachers and learners relate to history and to each other.

Ultimately, this study confirms how difficult it is to teach history in contemporary South Africa. Consequently, it also points to a need to rethink how we can best support South African pre-service history teachers in dealing with the challenging realities brought to light by this study. Thinking of possible ways forward in this direction, this pilot study allowed us to critically reflect on and think of ways to revisit the unit on teaching controversial issues in history that we have been offering our students in preparation of teaching practice and ultimately of a professional career as school history teachers. It demonstrated its insufficient ability to prepare our students for the inevitable prospect of classroom conflicts as well as of opposition to innovative approaches possibly arising from deep-seated ‘older’ interests that may be embedded in conservative school ethos and that may be further entrenched by insecure and ill-trained senior teachers. Our lesson learned as both practitioners and researchers of history education is to develop strategies to strengthen and improve how we train our students in confidently navigating school cultures, in working with mentor teachers, and in engaging with issues of race and racism as prevailing emotive and controversial issues underpinning most of the challenging experiences our students have reported. For this purpose, we will consider workable solutions for ensuring that our students and a number of history teachers work alongside us as co-constructors of an improved module on confronting controversial issues in history classrooms in South Africa. Our responsibility is to do so while also continuing to investigate and closely monitor the successes and challenges experienced by our students as they venture into the daily complexities of being a history teacher in a post-conflict, multicultural society.
OUR SCHOOLS OUR IDENTITY: EFFORTS AND CHALLENGES IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE HISTORY CURRICULUM IN THE ANGLOPHONE SUBSYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN CAMEROON SINCE 1961

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Abstract

The teaching of history in countries that have experienced colonisation has come under serious scrutiny at different times in their history. Worries about the contents of history programmes have been raised by politicians as well as educational technocrats who question the relevance of what is being taught as history to those on the classroom pews. In Cameroon, and particularly for the Anglophone subsystem of education, this debate is far from over despite the fact that the destiny of the country has rested in the hands of those who fought against colonialism for over fifty years now. This paper emanates from the premise that the colonial curriculum did not meet the realities of the new country since 1961. Consequently, there was a consensus of opinion that curriculum reform should focus on the teaching of local and national contents. By adopting the critical Decolonial perspective and living theory methodology the study focuses on history as one of those subjects which were used by the colonial authorities to entrench coloniality (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013; Marsden, 2013; Rodney, 1982; Fanon, 1963) and was therefore in dire need of postcolonial reform. The study examines the extent to which this has been achieved in the Anglophone subsystem of Education by presenting what was learnt in the colonial history classroom in the British Southern Cameroons between 1916 and 1961. It then goes on to discuss the process of reform in the History curriculum of the Anglophone subsystem of education in Cameroon since independence.

Keywords: Cameroon; Anglophone Subsystem of Education; History curriculum; British Colonial Education; Reform; Transformation; Africanisation; Indigenisation.

Introduction

Recently, The Conversation; an Australian daily newspaper published an article titled “history teaching has moved on, and so should those who champion it!” The paper made reference to the rejection of grants by several universities in Australia, to set up programmes for the award of degrees in Western
Civilisation proposed by a renowned research centre (The Conversation, June 6, 2018). This rejection was in response to the criticisms of the centre for privileging Western historical contents in the Australian school curriculum to the detriment of indigenous knowledge. The situation in Australia is similar to that in South Africa where questions of representation in and relevance of History curriculum have made headline news in the past few years (Chisholm, 2005; Ramoupi, 2012; DoBE, 2018; Radio 702 Podcast 22 May 2018). In February 2018, the South African Department of Basic Education (DoBE) Ministerial Task Team on the History curriculum published its report (DoBE, 2018) to which Angie Motshekga, the Minister outlined that the major issue with the history curriculum centred on whether what is taught and the way it is taught “meets our objectives of...defining ourselves much more clearly as Africans” (quoted in Radio 702 Podcast, 22 May 2018).

Like in South Africa in the past two decades, the need to solve the incongruence between colonial education and African realities motivated early postcolonial curriculum reforms in most African countries (Bangura, 2005; Kwabena, 2006). In 1962, Amadou Ahidjo, the pioneer president of Cameroon confirmed that the organisation, methods and curricula of the education system which he inherited “was perforce, to a large extent, redolent of the concepts characteristic of our former trustees” (Ahidjo, 1967:9). The president spoke clearly about subjects like History and Geography which he argued “corresponded neither to African reality, nor to our political independence” and instructed planners to “shun all servile importing and transplanting of foreign systems” (Ahidjo, 1967:9).

Based on such directives, educational reform in Cameroon at independence was amongst other things aimed at developing new curricula with emphasis on indigenous/local contents. While there are sources on the history of education in the country with complete or partial focus on the Anglophone subsystem of education, (Ndongko & Tambo 2000; Tambo, 2003; Fonkeng 2007; MacOjong 2008) empirical studies on the transformation of the History curriculum has been rare to find. Studies like Tosam (1988), Tambo (2000), Diang (2013) and Ndille (2015) have discussed postcolonial educational transformation without making the question of transformation of the History curriculum a particular point of emphasis. This has made for an inability to say with certainty, the nature of the History curriculum or present with clarity, the extent to which reform towards a local contents History curriculum has been achieved in the country. This study therefore not only investigates
transformation within the History curriculum but also focuses on the extent of indigenising the contents and challenges inherent.

The justification for reform towards a predominantly local contents curriculum rests on two premises; (1) as a response to what is going on in Western societies where African history is hardly visible in the school curricula (Connelson, 2000; Hjelden, 2004; Marmer & Sow, 2013) and (2) the understanding of education as the “experience of a living organism interacting with its environment (Peters, 1966); an eternal process of the adjustment to an intellectual, emotional and cultural environment of those concerned and the transmission of what is worthwhile in it to those who become committed to it (Lodge, 1974 in Schofield, 1978:107). As UNESCO defines it, history is a study of how each generation received the culture from the previous one and how they preserved and handed it down to the succeeding generation (UNESCO, 1985:11).

Theoretical and methodological frameworks

The study builds on the Decolonial theoretical perspective which sees postcolonial History curriculum reform as a constituent effort in the decolonisation of the African school systems; a problem which many African states are still grappling with. The Decolonial theory propagates the idea that colonial school contents had hardly been for the benefit of the people of Africa (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). Instead such contents disrupted African modes of knowing, social meaning-making, imaging, seeing and knowledge production by advancing Eurocentric epistemologies that presented the colonised world “as terra nullius and the people, anima nullius; (as the space of misery, savagery, ignorance and disease) where help was needed; and where everything was subject to experiment” (Grosfoguel, 2011: 6). Such a representation of Africa was false and consequently necessitated curriculum revision at independence.

Methodologically, the study adopts the Living Theory Methodological Framework (Whitehead, 2008). Living theory is a disciplined process of inquiring into the self by the self; thinking about one’s own life and work as a practitioner so that one can continue developing oneself, one’s work; that of others and by so doing make significant contributions in one’s work and society” (Whitehead 2008:104). As a historian, teacher of history and curriculum developer, I find this methodology fitting seeing that issues of relevance in the History curriculum need to be addressed by those in the field of history teaching. The adoption of this perspective also guarantees flexibility.
in data collection and analysis (Whitehead, 2008) as it advocates “the use of idiosyncratic perspectives while respecting objectivity and research ethics” (Seineart, 1989:92).

This means that, researchers can use any approach that they think would best present their ideas. It therefore enabled me to blend my experience as a history pupil, student, teacher and curriculum reformer in Cameroon with what I found in archival documents and textbooks dealing with History curriculum, syllabus prescriptions, and schemes of work and lesson notes of teachers of the various periods under review. For each officially prescribed textbook and document stating the contents to be taught, I resorted to a manual count of topics and classified in terms of whether they addressed local Cameroonian-based issues, Africa or Europe and the rest of the world. I then presented each category as a percentile of all the contents on the specific document. This enabled me to arrive at an approximately authoritative figure relating to which set of contents dominated the curriculum at each historical period of analysis. In presenting this data, I also used my experiences of history learning and teaching in Cameroon and participation in some professional and ministerial commissions charged with reforming history subject contents. These experiences as London (2002:17) puts it, served as “a kind of weather vane by which we might gauge the direction in which the curriculum reform was blowing.”

The colonial History curriculum in British Southern Cameroons: Contents and rational

The history of colonial Cameroon is divided into two phases. Phase one is the German colonial period (1884-1916) and phase two, the British and French colonial period (1916-1961). Following their joint action in ousting the Germans from Cameroon during the First World War, and their failure to agree on the terms of a proposed joint administration (Elango, 2015), Britain and France partitioned the former German colony and established separate administrations. It was only on October, 1, 1961 that the Southern part of British Cameroons voted to acquire independence by reunifying with French Cameroon (Ngoh, 2011). The discussion in this paper does not include what went on in the French administered Cameroons. Emphasis here is on the British colonial History curriculum as one of the systems that needed replacement at independence in 1961. For the sake of convenience, the British decided to administer their sphere of the territory as parts of their colony of Nigeria. Consequently, all educational arrangements in the British
sphere of Cameroon were attuned to British policies in Nigeria (Fonkeng, 2007). In terms of education, the philosophy that the British adopted in the Cameroons was adaptation (Jesse-Jones 1925; Bude, 1983). This was based on the 1925 Phelps-Stokes report of their survey of education in Africa between 1920 and 1924 (Jesse-Jones, 1925).

The Phelps-Stokes Commission reported of an educational system dominated by European contents to the detriment of local contents and (for history) proposed that all the illustrative examples for this course should be taken from what the children themselves know and the course should really be one to make explicit the ideas which are implicit in the life that all the children led (Jesse-Jones, 1925:23). The suggestions of the Phelps-Stokes Commission were quickly bought into British colonial education policy in the 1925 Memorandum of Education for British Tropical Africa. It outlined that “education should be adapted to the … traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life” (Colonial Office, 1925:3) and “preserving all the material and moral development of past years…” (Cameroons, 1925:58). The recommendations which featured in the 1926 Nigerian Education Ordinance applicable in Cameroon from September 1927 meant that the official school syllabuses which were only written in 1930 Table 1 below had to prescribe a local History curriculum of British Cameroon schools. The outcome is presented in Table 2 below.

**Table 1: The curriculum of senior elementary schools in the British Southern Cameroons**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject/hrs. per wk.</th>
<th>Standard V/Middle I</th>
<th>Standard VI/Middle II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature study</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History/Geography</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts and Craft</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hygiene</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Science</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total periods/week</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: History syllabus for elementary schools in the Cameroons Province

**Standard IV**

- Study of pupils’ families and localities/origin of pupil’s parents, migrations, ancestors.
- Study of tribes, names, areas occupied
- The past and present great men of the locality; their activities and achievements
- The primitive man; hunter gatherer, his way of life
- The beginning of civilization
- The nomad, Australian Blackman, Fulani, east Africa, Hindu Indians
- The division of historic time into generations, centuries and eras
- Great civilizations Eastern and Mediterranean The Babylonian Civilization
- The Hebrews

**Standard V**

- The Great Religions; Judaism; Christianity; The Mohamedans
- The Spread of Christianity in the Roman Empire; St Augustine, Pope Gregory etc
- The Barbarian invasion of Europe; The Dark Ages and the disappearance of Roman Culture
- The Battle of Tours in France; European Recovery from Dark Ages-the Monks, Charlemagne/ Church,
- The Norman Conquest
- The struggle between church and Crown
- Feudalism, Religion in Daily Life Parishes, Monastries, Abbeys, Farming Trading and Towns
- The Magna Carta and the Emergence of Parliament
- The English Campaigns to Conquer Wales and Scotland upto 1314
- The Hundred Years War
- The war of roses, Henry VII and Attempts to restore stability
- Church State and Society in Britain 1500-1740s
- The Renaissance and Reformation in Europe
- The English Reformation and Counter Reformation
- Henry VIII to Mary I
- The Elizabethan Religious Settlement and conflicts with Catholics including Spain, Scotland and Ireland

**Standard VI**

- The Voyages of Discovery and the first colonies in America and India
- Cromwell and Ireland
- The Glorious Revolution and the Restoration;
- The Act of 1707
- The Jacobite Rebellion and the Hanoverian Secession 1715-1945
- The slave trade and its abolition; the role of the British
- The Enlightenment in Europe and Britain
- The Seven Years War and the American War of Independence
- The French Revolutionary Wars
• Britain as the First Industrial Nation
• Party Politics; the extension of the Franchise and social reform
• Ireland and Home rule
• Africa; Early Voyages- Mungo park, Barton and Speke, David Livingstone, Henry Stanley
• Early Kingdoms in Nigeria; Benin, Yoruba
• The Royal Niger Company
• The Great War; Togoland, Cameroon and East Africa


From Table 2 above, one thing is clear; despite the calls for curriculum adaptation, what obtained in subjects like history was a complete opposite of the adaptation philosophy. In history the senior classes began with the study of prehistory; hunters; Paleolithic man and moved to the history of Europe which was in essence, the history of the British Empire; an indication of the fact that curriculum revisions proposed by adaptation did not take place in the history programme. Image 1 below presents the contents in terms of distribution between local Cameroons contents, African based contents and the history of the rest of the world.

Image 1: Distribution of British colonial primary school history contents in the Cameroons

Source: Design by author.

At the level of secondary education, Saint Joseph’s College popularly called SASSE College, the first secondary school in British Cameroons was opened in 1939 by the Mill Hill Missionaries in Buea, followed by the Basel Mission College at Bali ten years later (Ndille, 2014). While these schools made access to secondary education in the territory possible, a majority of the British Cameroons students were educated in Nigeria (Ndille, 2014). The junior secondary schools first three years like the teacher training centres basically
used the adapted syllabus of the senior elementary schools presented on Table 2 above (File Sb/c/1933/1 NAB). For the 4th and 5th years, the curriculum was that prescribed by London Matriculation Overseas School Certificate Examination with emphasis on English both Language and Literature, Mathematics, Science, History and Geography (Nfi, 2014:60).

The London Matriculation -Certificate was replaced in 1957 by the West African School Certificate Examination WASCE but the change did not affect schools contents. The examination syllabus for the end of course examination included English History 1760-1846; English History 1830-1914; English History 1902-1955; English History 1760-1914; English History 1815-1955; English History 1763-1914; European History 1763-1914 and European History 1848-1954 (National Archive Buea NAB File Sb/g/1958/1). While students were given a minimal choice regarding the sections they could answer, the point to note here is that there was no history of Africa on the examination syllabus less talk of the history of the Cameroons. Until independence, no major contents revision took place in the schools syllabuses.

The prescription of History curriculum contents in Cameroon also had implications for textbook choice. Text books were and probably are still the most widely used resource for the teaching and learning in most schools (Marsden, 2013:1). That is why curriculum documents often ended with suggested textbooks. For the Cameroons, the prescribed history textbooks included: Wells’ Outline of History; Van Loon’s History of Mankind; Marvin’s The Living Past and Bury’s Political Ideals. HG Well’s The Outline of History Wells, 1920 for example had forty chapters spanning the origins of the earth and ending with the 19th Century with colonial Africa as a whole, whose schools used it making up no full chapter. This was probably why it was heavily acclaimed by Arnold Toynbee (Toynbee, 1934) and AJP Taylor who had similar views of Africa not constituting any historical part of the world (Awasom & Bojan, 2009).

Chapter seven and eight of Well’s History book dwelled on human origins with focus on the Neanderthals Wells, 1920 as if to give the impression of a European cradle of human kind. Although a critique described some of the chapters as “probably laughable to any expert in the field” (Goodreads, 2018:1), the fact remains that pupils and students in Southern Cameroons were immersed with ideas which, while they gave their counterparts in the metropole a superiority complex, left them with a cloak of inferiority.
According to Johnsen (1993:327-328 in Marsden, 2013) textbooks are about the people who influence the educational culture for which they are written. In this way textbook choice for history in the Southern Cameroons took into consideration those authors who fostered the colonial agenda of Britain.

Summarily, looking at the curriculum and the textbooks, one realises that on paper, colonial policy documents gave the impression that Britain was in favour of teaching the local history of Southern Cameroons (Jesse-Jones, 1925; Colonial Office, 1925) but on ground, that was not the case. Why then did Britain not implement adaptation in the History programme? Supporters of the colonial agenda tacitly push forward the idea of resistance and contestation; that Southern Cameroonians, as part of the British colonial empire requested for European contents in the shaping of what counted as valid knowledge in the History curriculum (Ball, 1983; Whitehead, 2005). Attempts to identify issues of contestation and resistance in the colonial archive of the Southern Cameroons did not yield any fruits.

On the contrary, documentary evidence and testimonies presented in this study demonstrate that the principle of resistance and contestation seem more like attempts at historical revisionism. There are many who have presented evidences to demonstrate a colonial imposition of curriculum in different parts of the empire for the sake of subjugation and assimilation (Kwabena, 2006; London, 2002; Marsden, 2013). In fact as early as 1847, the policy goals of the Education Committee of the Privy Council described the African as primitive in need of British civilisation which in turn required an imperial curriculum. Point two of the 1847 Privy Council text talks pejoratively of the need to “accustom the children of these races to habits of self-control and moral discipline;” the need to diffuse a grammatical knowledge of the English language and history as the most important agent of civilisation (Gwei, 1975:97). Point five of the same text insists that school books and other materials of instruction had to strictly teach the mutual interests of the mother country and impart knowledge and skills to the black races for “domestic and social duties” to the metropole (Gwei, 1975:98).

Such goals were never abandoned and confirms Webster’s position that British worldwide expansion in the 18th and 19th centuries were an economic and political phenomenon with a strong social and cultural dimension to it (Webster, 2006:7). That is why the 1930 provisional syllabus booklet for the Southern Cameroons actually specified that “emphasis is to be on knowledge of the British Empire, Europe and the Western World (Southern Nigeria
Provisional School Syllabus, 1930:2). As late as the 1930s some conservatives in the Colonial Office continued to insist that:

*It was outrageous to go on teaching "monstrous superstitions, false history, false astronomy and false medicine. A break must be made by teaching English language, literature, history, geography culture and values. This is the only way for native territories to enter the modern world by absorbing those British cultural riches and by being assimilated in so far as it was possible to English values* (File Sb/a/1934/2 NAB).

In a syllabus review meeting for Southern Cameroons in 1935, one of the reviewers for history and geography; Mrs Plummer, lamented that she “has never been able to understand why local history is supposed to be taught in the Southern Cameroons.” She emphasised that instead of local history, modern topics like the Italian and German unifications and the First World War should be featured on the syllabus (File Sb/a/1934/2 NAB).

These facts put together, counter the resistance and contestation theory and place the colonial history curricula in the Southern Cameroons within the context of colonial imposition. They also indicate that the popularisation of the philosophy of curriculum adaptation was merely a smokescreen behind which Britain hide to perpetuate coloniality of knowledge, and being (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013), colonial imagination (London, 2002) and social control (Aronowitz, 1992; Popkewitz, 2000). According to London:

*Just as the current global world works through a dependence on a global imagination, so did British Empire building engage and depend upon a colonial imagination developed for, and internalized by the local through curriculum and pedagogic practices. Selection of contents for the interest of the colonizer was the main feature that guided the enterprise* (London, 2002:95-96).

Popkewitz (2000) has also argued that, the function of colonial imagination was to fashion colonised people into the seam of a collective narrative and helped them generate conceptions of personhood and identity of Britain as coloniser. This significantly guaranteed social control without the necessity of Britain as the dominant group having to resort to overt mechanisms of domination as in the repressive state apparatus (Aronowitz, 1992). Myers & Myers, (1990) also hold that even if it was not an overt goal to short-change the moral threads of the Africans through the curriculum, the contents of the history lessons which were taught in the colonial school introduced pupils to a new lifestyle which led to the total disregard for local customs and practices and brought about a new generation of Southern Cameroonians who saw themselves as having the mind of Europeans (Freund, 1984). Awasum
(2014:18) attests that “we were constantly referred to as British men and [innocently] this made us proud. To Nfī (2014:60) this was a process of “the Anglicisation of the Cameroons”.

This policy proved too successful in the Southern Cameroons to the extent that by 1961, when Britain left, knowledge of Cameroon history was trifling and only a negligible number of Southern Cameroonians including most of those in leadership positions had some faint knowledge about the Mandates and Trusteeship systems of colonial administration; about the differences between the British and the French systems of colonial administrations, and the similarities, if any, in the two systems and, above all, about the rights of colonial subjects and the so-called responsibilities of the administering powers. Such issues were expected to feature on the History curriculum of Southern Cameroons as a UN territory, but were never included. Southern Cameroonians were therefore largely ignorant of their own history and geography with the consequence that, almost all studies on the economic viability of the territory by 1961 were undertaken by European anthropologists such as Phillipson, Anderson and Chicks (Ngoh, 2011). Such studies, were only published abroad and were not widely known within the territory. Moreover, the character of the studies was not of the sort which could inspire political consciousness in the Southern Cameroonians. Independence was therefore attained with the people of Southern Cameroons having but a blurred/minimal knowledge of the history of their territory.

The transformation of the History curriculum in the Anglophone former Southern Cameroons subsystem of education after independence in 1961

The independence of Nigeria in October 1960 meant that a decision on the political future of the Trust Territory of the Cameroons which had been administered by Britain as part of their colony of Nigeria had to be made. A plebiscite was organised to this effect on February 11, 1961 with the UN options of the British Cameroons either joining Nigeria or La Republique du Cameroun (the French Administered Cameroon) which had got independence on January 1, 1960. In the plebiscite, the British Northern Cameroons voted to join Nigeria while the British Southern Cameroons voted to join La Republique du Cameroun and a two state Federal government was established. The British Southern Cameroons became the state of West Cameroon while La Republic du Cameroun became the state of East Cameroon. Further state reforms have occurred which affected different levels of education notably
in 1972 and 1996 but what is important for us here is that from 1961, state reforms have continued to maintain the bicultural system of government and two subsystems of education based on the British and French colonial heritages; the Anglophone and the Francophone subsystems respectively (Federal Republic of Cameroon, 1961). The discussion on the History curriculum of the various levels of education hereunder relates exclusively to the Anglophone subsystem of education within the context of continuity and change in the erstwhile British Southern Cameroons discussed above.

The transformation of the primary school curriculum since independence in 1961

As far as primary education was concerned, the 1961 Federal Constitution provided that primary education was the prerogative of the state governments, while secondary education was placed under the Federal government. On June 19, 1963, the federal government passed Law No. 63/DF/13 of 19/06/63 aimed at structurally harmonising education of the two sectors (Ndille, 2015). The state governments also passed laws regulating primary education in the two states. Regarding primary education, the West Cameroon government passed the West Cameroon Education Ordinance in 1963. The ordinance proposed the revision of the inherited colonial primary school curriculum which they agreed was not linked to the basic realities of independent Cameroon (West Cameroon, 1963). With minimal revision in 1968, the curriculum was in use in the English speaking subsystem of education until 2001. The content is presented on Table 3 below.

Table 3: The History syllabus for West Cameroon primary schools, 1961-2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class five</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The study of pupils parents, origins, tribes, migrations etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The past and present great men of the locality stories, legends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Early man; His way of life, his housing, clothing and food, his family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The beginning of civilization; The herdsman and shepherd, the domestication of animals/agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Division of historic time into generations, centuries and eras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Egyptian civilization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Babylonian Civilization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Great Discoveries; Hieroglyphics, cuneiform, papyrus etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hammurabi and the code of laws</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The discovery and use of metal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How men learned to make ships and sail on rivers Nile/Tigris/ Euphrates</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• Trade by barter/advent of money
• The Greek Civilization; Sparta/Athens
• The Peloponnesian wars etc
• Prominent men in Ancient Greece

The Roman Empire

Class Six

• The Great Religions; Judaism
• The Great Religions; Christianity
• St. Augustine, Pope Gregory
• The Barbarian Invasion of the Rome
• The Dark Ages
• The Great Religions; Islam
• The spread of Islam from Arabia
• The battle of Tours in France
• European Recovery From the Dark ages; the monks, Charlemagne, papal powers
• The Middle Ages; St. Francis of Assisi, St Joan of Arc
• The Crusades to the Holy land; King Richard the Lion Heart and Saladin
• The Protestant Reformation; Calvin, Hus, Zwingli, Luther
• The Counter Reformation; St Francis Xavier, St. Ignatius Loyola
• The Voyages of Discovery; Henry the Navigator, Columbus, Da Gama, Diaz, Magellan, Francis Drake
• The fall of Constantinople to Turks
• The Renaissance arts, literature, science

The discovery and spread of printing- John Gutenberg, Caxton etc

Class Seven

• Legitimate trade in 19th C West Africa
• Slave Trade; causes, courses/effects
• America; Life on the American plantations, Civil War, abolition acts
• Abolition of Slave trade; Wilberforce, Lincoln, Sharp and effects of
• Industrial Rev/legitimate trade
• The Age of exploration in Africa, Mungo Park, Clapperton, The Lander Brothers, Barth, Stanley, Livingstone
• The introduction of Christianity in Cameroon; Baptist, Basel, Catholic
• 19th C. Life on the coast of Cameroon
• The Scramble for Africa and German annexation/admin of Cameroon
• Cameroon from mandate to WWII
• Local Gov. and Federalism in Cam
• Division of History into time
• The age of antiquity; Egypt, Babylon, Persia, Carthage, Greece, Rome
• The movement of people from Asia into Africa Semites/Arabs/ Berbers
• Europe; middle ages /the crusades
• Empires of Western Sudan
• Great; Inventions; Printing, Navigation, Manufacturing/building
Compared to the colonial curriculum, there was not much of a change in the contents of the 1963 curriculum. Since the minor revisions of 1968, much of what was thought in the Anglophone schools between 1961 and the year 2001 reflected what went on in colonial British Cameroons despite their claims for revision. A British technical adviser even confessed that:

*In the UK, we are abandoning the attempt to give a synoptic view of world history and are finding it more profitable to allow teachers to select a few significant local history topics and allow the classes to study them thoroughly. It seems unrealistic to try to cover the whole field of history. My suggestions are that primary schools should concentrate entirely on local history, Cameroon History, citizenship and a few aspects of African and world history which have affected Cameroon* (File 1842 PCCCAL).

Appeals for the development of a truly Cameroonian history syllabus did not end up in any concrete product. Teachers were expected to critically study the syllabus, propose what was to be eliminated and suggest what was to be included in the curriculum. This was in view of the annual summer history schools which held in the 1960s and 1970s at the Government Teacher Training College Kumba every August (File Sb/a/1979/11 NAB). HR Merkel who had a PhD in history and was serving as History tutor at the Cameroon Protestant College Bali made a proposal to write a History textbook for Cameroon history. Teachers of history in the entire territory were called upon to write the history of their localities so that a harmonised book of that nature would become the springboard for the teaching of Cameroon history. Such efforts were not successful (File 1842 PCCCAL). Education continued to be detached from the society which it was expected to serve and the history subject matter continued to reflect to a great extent, the one adopted by British colonial administration in the 1940s and 1950s.

It must also be mentioned that in 1974, the government had created a centre for curriculum and pedagogic research in Buea called *The Centre for Rurally Applied Pedagogy* whose mission was to adapt school contents to local Cameroonian realities (IPAR, 1977). The curriculum revisions suggested by the centre actually put emphasis on local history and culture but by the
early eighties, less than ten years of its existence, the centre had closed with little of its work having been implemented (Tosam, 1988; Ndille, 2015). So far, curriculum transformation had been carried out by the ministerial departments and by the specialised research centre but none of these seem to have succeeded in implementing a local contents curriculum. The third approach was to call a national education forum in 1995.

From May 22 to 27, 1995 educational stakeholders from all corners of the country assembled in Yaoundé to deliberate on matters relating to the education of the Cameroonian children. Some of the reasons for holding the forum included; the lack of a proper educational policy; the neglect of local and national cultural values; the failure of previous readjustments to consider national realities; the need to consider the socio-political changes that the country had undergone; and the failure of education to attribute a high value to local cultures and heritage (Ministry of National Education, 1994). The political objectives of the conference stressed amongst other things “the adoption of a truly Cameroonian educational system which will value national realities and instil in the learners a …love for the fatherland…and define the place of national culture and heritage in the educational system” (Ministry of National Education, 1995:3).

Law No. 98/004 of 14 April 1998 arising from the recommendations of the 1995 forum to Lay Down Guidelines for Education in Cameroon proclaimed in section 4 that the general purpose of education in Cameroon “shall be to train children who are firmly rooted in their culture…for their smooth integration into society …” (Republic of Cameroon, 1998:n.p.). These goals were re-emphasised in objectives I, II, V and VIII of a total of nine objectives and in one way or another, relate to the teaching of national history. In respect to the law, the “National Syllabus for English Speaking Primary Schools in Cameroon was published in 2001 (Republic of Cameroon, 2001). Although some Cameroon history topics were included in the new curriculum, a close look at the content of the history syllabus in this document shows a relative indifference to the cries of those who wanted the study of history in Cameroon schools to be dominated by local and national history. Of the 30 topics that feature in the three years of history teaching in elementary schools, nine are allocated to Cameroon history (Mostly repetitions of the same contents in the succeeding classes), less than six to the history of Africans in Africa and over fifteen to European history and European activities around the world. Comparatively what the English-speaking Cameroonian child studies in school about his/her
own society vis-a-vis his French Cameroonian counterpart is not up to 05% of the entire Cameroon history on the syllabus.

Table 4: The History syllabus for English primary schools in Cameroon since 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topics Classes 4, 5 and 6</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

It would be interesting to know what some European nations offer as elementary history content to ascertain whether it concerns itself so much about Africa as much as the Cameroon Educational system does about other continents. The German elementary school history syllabus published in two volumes (Connelson, 2000) contains a total of ten topics. These include; The American Revolution, the Industrial revolution, Imperialism, time line, German nationalism and the First World War, the Weimer Republic, Selected events of the Second World War, Germany and the World after 1945, and major events of the 20th Century. Even in topics dealing with issues out of Germany, the focus of the content is on the role of Germany in the events. According to Connelsn's curriculum, apart from issues of imperialism, nothing else is mentioned or studied in the German elementary history class about Africa. The American Social Studies Curriculum is not entirely dissimilar to that of Germany in terms of emphasising national history (Hjelden, 2004).

**The History curriculum of Anglophone secondary schools since 1961**

A close examination of the history content at the secondary school level in Cameroon demonstrates the same orientation to that obtained at the elementary level. Before 1993 when the Cameroon General Certificate of Education GCE Board was created, the GCE examination in syllabus B at the Ordinary Level and C at the Advanced Level was entirely on European History. Cameroon history was completely absent from that curriculum in those syllabuses (Ministry of Education, 1992). Of the more than 32 topics that constituted the tested curriculum of World Affairs Syllabus C at the GCE ordinary level and Syllabus D at the advanced level, only two questions represented the study of Cameroon history (Ministry of Education, 1992). This syllabus was broken down into the following sections; Africa and the Middle East, India and Pakistan, Europe and The USSR, China and Japan, USA, America and the Caribbean. The two questions on Cameroon history featured in the Africa and the Middle East section.

**Table 5: Content of the GCE ordinary level syllabuses prior to 1993**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllabus B</th>
<th>Syllabus C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English History 1760-1846</td>
<td>Section A: Asia, including Japan, China, the Indian subcontinent, South East Asia and Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English History 1830-1914</td>
<td>Section B: Africa and the Middle east</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English History 1902-1955</td>
<td>Section C: The USSR and Eastern Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English History 1760-1914</td>
<td>Section D: The USA and the Americas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English History 1815-1955</td>
<td>Section E: Western Europe, including Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European History 1763-1914</td>
<td>Section F: General, International Relations, Institutions and Developments, Underdevelopment, technology, arts etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European History 1848-1954</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 6: Content of syllabus C and D of the Advanced Level GCE prior to 1993

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper One Syllabus C</th>
<th>Paper One: International Problems since 1931 Syllabus D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Outlines of English History 450-1066</td>
<td>The failure of collective security in the 1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outlines of English History 1066-1399</td>
<td>The causes of the Second World War in 1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outlines of English History 1399-16003</td>
<td>The collapse of Europe 1939-1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outlines of English History 1603-1760</td>
<td>International relations in the Pacific 1931-1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outlines of English History 1760-1865</td>
<td>War and Diplomacy 1941-1945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outlines of English History 1865-1955</td>
<td>The United nations Organization</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper Two</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Outlines of European History 800-1250</td>
<td>The USA, the USSR and China as world powers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outlines of European History 1250-1450</td>
<td>The decline of European Imperialism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outlines of European History 1450-1648</td>
<td>International, social and economic problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outlines of European History 1648-1763</td>
<td>Plural societies; race relations; development and aid;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outlines of European History 1763-1870</td>
<td>Population; pollution; liberty and order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outlines of European History 1870-1954</td>
<td>Paper two: The world since 1945</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section A: Europe; The USSR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Section B: Africa, the Middle, India and Pakistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section C: China, Japan, South East Asia and Australasia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
With the creation of the Cameroon GCE Board in 1993, the history programme of the senior secondary classes were redesigned to suit the new examination syllabus that the Board suggested. These programmes took effect in 1997. At both the Ordinary and Advanced levels, the two syllabuses mentioned above were abolished and a single curriculum was adopted. The new structure included Cameroon History since 1800, African History since 1800 and World History since 1848. This is what is in use today. Cameroon history carries 40% of the examination marks while Africa and World History carry 30% each. Despite this allocation, in terms of topics to be treated, world history still takes an undue toll on the teaching and learning of history (Cameroon GCE Board, 1997; Nteh, 2018). A manual count of the topics showed that the programme was still heavily loaded with World History.
For the early secondary school classes, in Form One the first year of secondary schools in Cameroon, historical content includes, an introduction to history, history of ancient civilisations and nothing about Cameroon. In Form two the second year, emphasis is on Islam, African ancient empires and then moves on to the history of Europe in the Middle Ages, Ancient China and Japan and the Americas. Again, there is nothing about Cameroon (SWAHT, 1998). As from the third year, the orientation is towards the GCE and those who intend to take the subject at the GCE now begin studying the GCE syllabus presented above.

Table 7: Summary of the junior secondary school History syllabus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENT/DISTRIBUTION</th>
<th>FORM ONE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Week 01: What is history? aims of history</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week 02: Sources of history</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week 03: Time in history How time is reckoned; days, weeks, months, years, decades,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>generations, centuries, ages, periods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week 04: How the world is formed; scientific and biblical accounts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week 05: Stages in the physical development of the Early man The Early man and his</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>activities, the stone ages</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week 06: Mesopotamia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week 07: The achievements of Sumerians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Chaldeans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>Egyptian civilization; the formation of two kingdoms and unification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>Achievements of the Egyptian civilization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Hebrews; early history to Abraham to Captivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Crete; the Civilization of Crete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>The Greeks; Legends, Rise of city states, Greek civilization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>The Persian Empire, the Persian Wars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>The Roman Empire; Beginning, Punic Wars, Roman Civilization, Fall of Rome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>India; Ancient Empires; achievements, religion, arts, government etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>China; the rise of the Chinese Empire; Chinese civilization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>The wonders of the ancient world</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FORM TWO**

| 01 | Islam |
| 02 | The rise and spread of Islam |
| 03 | The Empires of Western Sudan |
| 04 | Ancient Ghana |
| 05 | Mali |
| 06 | Songhai |
| 07 | Europe in the Middle Ages |
| 08 | The Dark Ages and the Barbary Invasion |
| 09 | Feudalism |
| 10 | The Crusades |
| 11 | The age of Explorations Europe conquers the World |
| 12 | The Voyages of Discovery |
| 13 | The Great Inventions |
| 14 | The Renaissance |
| 15 | The Reformation and Counter Reformation |
| 16 | The age of Enlightenment |
| 17 | The Age of Imperialism |

Image 4: Distribution of history contents of the junior secondary school programme

Source: Design by author.

The History programme at the University of Buea

The University of Buea was established in 1993 as an answer to the cries of students of the Anglophone subsystem of education who were finding things relatively difficult in the then lone University of Yaoundé where instruction was predominantly in French (Ndongko & Nyamnjoh, 2000). Buea was therefore tagged the “Anglo-Saxon” University where instruction and the administrative structure were to follow the British university culture. It was therefore expected that the Department of History at Buea would be the nucleus of all the efforts of developing interest and focus on local history for the English subsystem of education at that level.

The Department had as its mission, “giving students a broad and firm grounding in Cameroon and African history (University of Buea, 1993). From a close look at the 1993 syllabus, one would observe that there was a determined effort to ensure that all students who registered in the department took courses in Cameroon history. The courses were structured into Precolonial Cameroon History, Cameroon under the German colonial administration, Cameroon under British and French Mandates and Trusteeships and Cameroon after independence (see Table 8 below). These courses were made compulsory for all undergraduate students in the Department. A very important innovation that the Department brought with the introduction of Cameroon history was the study of pre-colonial Cameroon which students had not been introduced
to in the primary and secondary schools. Students therefore had to engage with the history of ethnic migrations, traditional administrations, local Cameroonian economies, cultures and societies before European contacts. The third year course, His. 498: Research project was also intended to allow students undertake independent research on any aspects of Cameroon history of their choice but this was not to be limited to local or precolonial themes.

The His 498 Research Project gave the candidate a kind of specialisation but also a profound knowledge of that specific aspect of local history. Recent efforts 2015 also include the introduction of a Heritage studies Master’s degree programme at the University of Buea (University of Buea, 2015) but the numbers enrolment are few and impact therefore minimal. A more robust effort is at the University of Bamenda, the second “Anglo-Saxon” university created in 2010 where a compulsory course on local History has been introduced at the undergraduate level (University of Bamenda, 2016). In terms of curriculum transformation in favour of local history therefore, the some progress has been made.

Table 8: History courses offered at the University of Buea 1995-1998

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Course title</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>His 201</td>
<td>Introduction to Historical Knowledge</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His 202</td>
<td>Africa and Archaeology</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His 203</td>
<td>Pre-Colonial Cameroon</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His 204</td>
<td>Cameroon 1884-1922</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His 205</td>
<td>Africa to 1500</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His 206</td>
<td>Africa 1500-1800</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His 207</td>
<td>Industrial Revolution</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His 208</td>
<td>Revolutions in Europe in the 19th Century</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His 209</td>
<td>Colonial America to 1776</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His 210</td>
<td>Black Experience in America to 1865</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His 211</td>
<td>A General survey of world History</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His 301</td>
<td>Ancient Egyptian Civilization</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His 302</td>
<td>Research Methodology</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His 303</td>
<td>Cameroon 1922-1961</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His 304</td>
<td>Cameroon 1961 to present</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His 305</td>
<td>Africa in the 19th century</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His 306</td>
<td>Asia in the 20th Century</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
However, when one examines the extent to which the curriculum ensured that Cameroon history off-set the balance of historical studies at the university in respect for the national goal of curriculum indigenisation, the curriculum at Buea and Bamenda built in the majority by resource persons from Buea cannot be said to have fulfilled that objective. Compared to the four courses on Cameroon history, there were six courses exclusively on European history and four more on America and Asia. Although some of the courses were tagged “elective” the demands for the award of the Bachelor of Arts degree in History at Buea and Bamenda have made it such that at the end of the day graduates had less instruction in Cameroon history and more on European and World History. Between 1993 and 2007, a student had to accumulate ninety 90 credits to earn the Bachelors’ degree in History. During this time, one course was valued at three credits.

In 2007, the university system in Cameroon adopted a harmonised degree certification system which affected course codes and credit values (University of Buea, 2009) but in terms of having more emphasis on local/Cameroon history, this reform has made no significant impact. At the undergraduate level, it is still the same four ours which have now taken on new codes and six credit values each. Their focus and contents area remain the same as in the pre-2007 years. Besides, these courses were designed for a general survey of the major political events of these periods. Apart from the local history course in Bamenda, the Heritage Studies programme at Buea and the Research projects
undertaken at both institutions, highly essential specialised courses structured to deal with, economic, socio-cultural, religious and other critical thematic issues like human rights, gender, constitutional and legal issues, history of education etc. aimed at increasing the candidates’ knowledge of the discipline at the local and national level and meeting the demands for an indigenous History curriculum in the country is yet available.

**Challenges to curriculum transformation and way forward**

The data above points to some efforts to make the History curriculum in Anglophone Cameroon more local contents based. It has however identified issues which make for a rational conclusion that at all levels of the Cameroon educational system, the indigenisation of the History curriculum has not been commensurate with the 1960 calls for the adaptation of school programs to local realities. One would expect that pupils and students of history who pass through the various levels of education in the Anglophone subsystem of education in the country would be well grounded in details of the cultural, social, economic and political history of the various localities in which they live or study in addition to that of the nation as part of their heritage. Rather, the study of World/European history and to a lesser extent other parts of pre-colonial and colonial Africa takes precedence over the inculcation of indigenous knowledge. What then have been the major challenges to curriculum transformation in the country?

One of the stumbling blocks to the introduction of a significant amount of local history rests on the fact that Cameroon is a country of over 260 ethnic groups with mutually unintelligible languages sitting about a kilometre apart in some areas (Neba, 1990). Because of this, even the curriculum experts who worked at the Institute for the Reform of Primary Education IPAR-Buea mentioned above raised the difficulty of deciding which of the local histories to include in the curriculum. As the experience with the use of local languages as the language of instruction had demonstrated, serious disagreements were bound to arise where one culture is represented in the curriculum against another for fear of hegemonic tendencies from those whose languages would have been selected (IPAR, 1977).

Linked to the above is the fact that most teachers have very limited knowledge of the local histories of the local communities they are posted to. This poses a problem of establishing local history contents to use for instruction. Unlike in some areas where training and recruitment of teachers especially at the
elementary level is the prerogative of the local council or municipality, the system in Cameroon is centralised and teachers are posted to where a need is felt without minding their own cultural identity. In such places, it becomes difficult for the teachers to integrate into the local culture and work with children on local history projects.

There is also the problem of a completely examination oriented programme which leaves both some willing teachers and their pupils/students helpless as they have to adequately cover the syllabus to be tested. Although the nation adopted decentralisation in the 1996 constitution, its implementation within the educational system is slow and has not yet taken up curriculum reform as part of its agenda. The channels of flow for curriculum contents decisions is top-down; starting from the ministerial departments in Yaoundé to the regions. Those in the regions, divisions and subdivisions are only left with the implementation of hierarchy’s decisions. By this top-down managerial approach to curriculum development teachers are left with no opportunities to contribute to change in terms of reform proposals to incorporate the history of the locality in their schemes of work.

A much more serious hindrance to curriculum reform is the political elite of the country. A majority of those called upon to design school programmes were people who received colonial education. Evidence of the initial curriculum reform of the 1960s demonstrate a semblance with the colonial curriculum implying that when the new elite were called upon to design the history programme soon after independence, they carefully replicated what they had acquired as historical knowledge and have since found it very difficult to move away from it. Ndlovu-Gatsheni laments that:

One of the strategies that have sustained the hegemony of the Euro-American-constructed world order has been its ability to make African intellectuals and academics socially located in Africa and on the oppressed side to think and speak epistemically and linguistically like the Euro-American intellectuals and academics on the dominant side (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:5).

What then can lead to the establishment of a more local contents History curriculum in the Anglophone subsystem of education in Cameroon? First, policy makers in the country must realise that there is something wrong with the present system and make a sincere effort to decolonise/africanise the History curriculum. This realisation and subsequent action should lead to what Samir Amin termed delinking (Amin, 2006); cultural nationalism (Fanon, 1963); or a counter-discourse to cultural imperialism (Said, 1994). Generally, the authors point to the fact that is a necessary condition for the periphery to
adopt new strategies and values that are different from those which have been prevalent under colonialism and neo-colonialism. Colonial domination had brought about “a veritable emaciation of the stock of national culture and the withering away of the reality of the nation” (Fanon, 1963:147). Curriculum indigenisation or Africanisation should be a significant vector in the struggle to regain that lost national identity and valour.

When questions of willingness are dealt with, the nation is expected to adopt a bottom-up approach to curriculum development in which teachers of this subject are expected to make proposals of issues within the localities which can feature in the curriculum. They should also be encouraged to undertake minimal research in the history of the communities in which they work, alongside their pupils/students. This would stimulate interest in local history among learners. Each community has lots of pages of unwritten history hidden in the memory of men and archives. Interest in the study of such contents begin by their documentation. This should start with teachers and their pupils.

Subject associations such as the South West Association for History Teachers, its counterpart in the North West Region are expected to play central roles in making curriculum proposals which should meet the demands of indigenous historical knowledge as well as review government proposals and make recommendations regarding best curriculum practices. Departments of History at the Universities of Buea and Bamenda are also expected to spearhead research and documentation of local history from which school contents can be made available. Regular workshops, refresher courses and education forums should also be organised. It is in such meetings that needs for curriculum revision often arise from discussions on the current situation, its strengths and weaknesses which may snowball into national reform efforts. A combination of these efforts would guarantee effectiveness in the curriculum indigenisation reform agenda in the country.

Conclusion

The examination of the transformation of the History curriculum in the three levels of education in the Anglophone subsystem of education in Cameroon has indicated that efforts have been undertaken at all the levels. However, these efforts are not significant to make for the conclusion that reform towards a predominantly local/national contents in history as indicated in policy documents since 1961 has been achieved. The situation could improve if the challenges identified are addressed and the recommendations implemented.
Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Prof Linda Chisholm (my PDRF Mentor), Prof Salim Vally (Director of the Centre for Education Rights and Transformation (CERT) Comrade Mudney Halim and Dr. Mondli Hlatshwayo for comments on the topic during my CERT seminar presentation on 11 September 2018. I also thank the peer reviewer(s) of the paper and editor of the journal for their review insights and consideration to publish the paper.

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Abstract

The teaching and learning process is becoming a big challenge at Higher Education Institutions in Sub-Saharan Africa. This is mainly due to the constraints created by the liberalisation of university education and the implied surge in student numbers. In the area of History education particularly, the challenge of large student numbers has forced lecturers to predominantly use behaviouristic teaching methods such as lecture and recitation. These methods are characterised by constrained dialogical conversations between lecturers and students, memorising of History facts, dates and limit students' capacity to think historically, which in turn compromises the quality of learning about the past. This article argues for the use of Mobile phone forums as lenses from the present that afford dialogical construction of meanings about the past. A qualitative approach with a case study design was used limited to pre-service teachers (students) at the Makerere University, Uganda. A Critical Discourse Analysis was used to analyse the qualitative data obtained from the students' engagement on the Mobile phone forum by means of the winksite application. The key research findings demonstrated that mobile phone forums enhance interactions between lecturers-students, students-students as a helpful precondition for collaborative learning and reflection about the human past. Conclusions was drawn with a recommendation for History educators to embrace mobile phone forums as a sustainable innovation at the African higher educational context with a potential to enhance dialogical conversations between the past the present and the anticipated future.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis; History teaching and learning; Interactivity; M-Learning; Mobile phone forums; Winksite application.

Introduction

Quality teaching and learning requires every student to become actively engaged in classroom activities. However, this may not be ably realised with large class sizes albeit limitations of lecturers’ access to students and
inadequate monitoring of student learning. The challenge of large student numbers forces lecturers to engage with methods of teaching like lecture-storytelling and chalk and talk during History education classes. These methods emphasise memorising of facts (Savich, 2009), limit capacity to think historically (Harris & Girard, 2014) and prohibit teacher-student interactions (Anderson, 2008) which in-turn compromise the quality and innovativeness of History education (Sebbowa, 2016). Such pedagogical constraints among others are reported to be the norm in the vast majority of large class sizes in Sub-Saharan Africa at the primary and secondary levels (Nakabugo, Opolot-Okurut, Ssebumba, Maani, & Byamugisha, 2008; O’Sullivan, 2006) and at higher education in universities (Bollag, 2003; Bunoti, 2011; Tobarimbasa, 2010). Embracing the affordances of mobile phone forums Educational Technologies for their perceived pedagogical value is viewed as an potential of bridging the gap between History educators and students in cases of large class sizes (Chu, Capio, van Aalst, & Cheng, 2017; Nakabugo et al., 2007). Moreover, mobile phone forum technologies have proved to be effective, affordable, sustainable and empower today’s new generation of students with knowledge and skills at higher educational institutions in Sub-Saharan Africa (Ng’amb, 2006; Muyinda, 2007; Muyinda, Mayenda, & Kizito, 2015; Oluwatobi & Olurinola, 2015; Kallisa & Picard, 2017). The aim of the article is to investigate the utilisation of a mobile phone forum in the teaching and learning of History at higher education contexts, particularly at the Makerere University in Uganda.

**Mobile phone technologies in pedagogy**

The wide adoption of mobile devices and Web 2.0 applications has created new ways of learning through interaction and communication and are widely adopted and integrated in the lives of today’s students (Nordmark & Milrad, 2012). Mobile phone diffusion, capability, sustainability and portability are making them the number one companion for the Sub-Saharan African Higher Educational context (Traxler, 2007; Muyinda et al., 2015; Kaliisa & Picard, 2017). The education sector is using them to extend learning support to students at different contexts in what is now called mobile learning (Sandnes & Talberg, 2004; Seipold, 2014, Oluwatobi & Olurinola, 2015). Mobile learning or m-learning is any form of learning that happens when mediated through a mobile device (Herrington, Herrington, Mantei, 2009) such as mobile phones, portable digital assistants (PDAs) and Ipads (Kaliisa & Picard, 2017). Recent researchers have characterised m-learning as taking
place when the student is not in a fixed physical learning environment but in an informal context (Koole, 2009; Rambe & Bere, 2013; Oluwatobi & Olurinola, 2015; Kaliisa & Picard, 2017). Mobile phone technologies are best viewed as mediating tools enhancing mobility of learning processes, of contexts and of expectations (Seipold, 2014; Sharples, 2006; Traxler, 2009; Van der Merwe & Horn, 2018).

The idea of embracing mobile technology into the pedagogical process is an established idea that has been in existence for over 20 years. Higher Education Institutions worldwide, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa (Kaliisa & Picard, 2017), are implementing various educational applications focusing on mobile phone technologies that allow lecturers and students to work freely anywhere at any time (Sandnes & Talberg, 2004; Muyinda et al., 2015). According to Ng’ambi, (2006); Kajumbula, (2006); Oluwatobi & Olurinola, (2015), most students who own mobile phones, are connected most of the time and are communicatively competent with Short Message Services (SMS). Thus, the obvious advantage of mobile phones is their low relatively prices, wide availability, portable size, reliability, rechargeable battery power, internet accessibility and ubiquity. These, among others, have made mobile devices the technology of choice for people who need quick and easy anywhere, anytime learning and communication (Ferry, 2009). Following this background, the authors argue that, given the current surge in student numbers and large size classes reminiscent in Africa Higher Institutions of Learning Educators (Bunoti, 2011; Tobarimbasa, 2010; Oluwatobi & Olurinola, 2015) particularly, Makerere University. History educators might consider aligning the past to the present by exploiting the affordances of mobile phone technologies available to the current generation of learners.

A systematic review of the use of mobile phones at Higher Education Institutions in Africa revealed that an increased student and lecturer collaboration, provides distant communication, increased student participation and engagement (Kaliisa & Picard, 2017). However, Kaliisa and Picard illuminated a significant challenge of integrating Mobile Learning in higher education such as poor technological infrastructure, lack of mobile learning pedagogical skills among lecturers and low adaptation attitudes among students and lecturers. This implies a need for training lecturers and students as “agents of pedagogical change” on the potentials of innovating History Education by using educational technologies such as mobile phones which may possibly change their ‘mind-sets’ and attitude. Consistently,
empirical research indicates that the integration of mobile phone technology in the Makerere University teacher training and distance education programs has the potential to improve the quality of learning (Bakkabulindi, 2011; Kajumbula, 2006; Lubega, Mugisha, & Muyinda, 2014).

Utilising mobile phones in History education

In the recent years there has been a growing amount of research across the globe concerned with integrating mobile technologies in History Education (Akkerman, Admirall, & Huizenga, 2009; Hadyn, 2013; Makoe, 2013; Warnich & Gordon, 2015; Van der Merwe & Horn, 2018). Mobile technologies, like the cell phone for instance, have become an indispensable part of the lives of 21st century History students (Warnich & Gordon, 2015). Makoe (2013) postulates that, integrating mobile phone technologies in History education among under resourced rural communities in South Africa is no longer a luxury but a necessity. Yet, the current generations of students crave for interactivity and learning by doing History which might be realised through the potential affordances of the mobile phone forums. Research was carried out on the use of Universal system for mobile communication in secondary schools in Amsterdam. The results revealed that, engaging with mobile phones in receiving, constructing knowledge and participating invoked the students in being active and motivated during History games (Akkerman et al., 2009). Similarly, studies carried out in History classrooms in the United Kingdom indicated that, embracing the potentials of new technologies provides a powerful motivational tool that mediates dialogical conversations between the past and the present (Hadyn, 2011; 2013).

Warnich and Gordon, (2015) carried out a small scale study on integrating cell phone technology and the application Poll Everywhere as a teaching and learning tool among Grade 9 learners in a school History classroom in South Africa. The results revealed that the majority of the History teachers held high perception levels of embracing the use of cell phone technology and Poll Everywhere in the History classroom although most participants singled out data charges and fees as a hindrance to its utilisation. However, there have been notable obstacles in embracing the use of mobile phones in the History classroom. For example, Haydn, (2013) postulated that the major hindrance of integrating new technologies in the teaching and learning process is that History teachers in the United Kingdom fail to find enough time to explore its use. Similarly, Makoe, (2013) and Warnich and Gordon (2015:42)
observed that the majority of the History teachers in rural schools in South Africa are concerned about the increased work load and the ban on the use of cell phones in schools citing unethical activities such as cheating, visiting inappropriate websites, ‘sexting’ and engaging in cyber bullying. Accordingly, Van der Merwe & Horn (2018) revealed that MobiLex (a mobile dictionary afforded by the use of a smartphone or tablet) holds the potential to expand the historical understanding of concepts democracy and nationalism analysed within a historical context at a university setting.

The above-mentioned studies focused on the use of mobile phones in school History (Warnich & Gordon, 2015); among under resourced rural communities (Makoe, 2013); university setting (Van der Merwe & Horn, 2018) focusing on different contexts in the Netherlands, United Kingdom and South Africa. In this article, we investigate the possibility of using the mobile phone forum on the winksite application in fostering interaction between lecturers and students in a History education course at the Higher Education Institution of Makerere University in Uganda.

A Mobile phone forum and the winksite application

A winksite is a mobile application used for teaching and learning and can be viewed from ‘anywhere’ at ‘any time’ on a mobile phone technology (Wang & Higgins, 2008). Moreover, winksites allow users to build discussions forums that foster conversations and interactivity between students and lecturers. In the context of this research, the forum on the mobile phone application winksite was used to foster interactions between students and students and lecturers and their students. A forum on the other hand is conceptualised as an online discussion site where people hold conversions in the form of posted messages (Woodland & Hill, 2010). Forums allow students to post messages to the discussion threads, interact and receive feedback from students and instructor and foster deeper understanding towards the subject under study (Woodland & Hill, 2010). Interactivity among students can be immediate by sending an instant Short Message Service (SMS) text message. Interactivity involves communication, participation and feedback. Online interactivity has a potential to create a climate that supports cooperative learning, critical thinking activities, and meaningful tutor-student academic collaboration (Muirhead, 2000; Muyinda et al., 2015). We used the term mobile phone forum to illustrate the “learning space” on the mobile application winksite. The forum on this mobile application was used as a platform to afford student-
student, student-teacher as well as student-content interactions reflected via texts/artefacts during a History education course.

**An online learning theoretical perspective**

An online learning theory as proposed by Anderson (2004) was used as the theoretical lens to explain the limited interaction between lecturers and students. Anderson argues that an effective learning environment affords many modalities of interactions between the three macro components namely students, teachers and content. Anderson and Garrison (1998) present the six typologies of interactions namely: student-student, student-teacher, and student-content, teacher-teacher, teacher-content and content-content interactions that serve as the basis of educational process in an online learning environment. These interactions are described as critical to effective learning and take place when the learning environment is learner-centered, knowledge-centered, assessment-centered and community-centered (Anderson, 2004). In this article, the student-content relationship is reflected when the student accesses content from the forum on the winksite mobile application and responds to the questions through posting comments. Student-student interaction is evident where students read each other’s comments and respond to themselves or construct their ideas based on other students’ comments. Teacher-content relationship is illustrated when the teacher posts a topic for discussion on the forum while student-teacher relation is reflected when the teacher/lecturer gives feedback on the comments posed by the students.

An online learning theory further highlights the community or social component of online learning (Anderson, 2004). The interactions on the mobile forum promote a sense of community, social connectivity between the students and students and their lecturer. The level of connectedness among the students results in formation of productive relationships among the history education community members and in collaborative exploration of the subject matter. As suggested by the theory, it is proposed that learning effectiveness in using forums is influenced by human interactions and communication (language) that represents the social practices and the views of students towards forums on the mobile application. Meaningful learning occurs when students are actively engaged in the learning process and working in collaboration with others to accomplish a shared goal (Anderson, 2004).

**The History education course at Makerere University in Uganda**

The History education course also referred to as History methods, is housed
in the History Education Unit (HEU) at the School of Education (SoE), Makerere University, Uganda. Makerere University, SoE is one of the largest teacher training institutions serving Uganda and East Africa at large (Kagoda & Sentongo, 2015). The History education course introduces pre-service History teachers to the general, basic and innovative methods of teaching History to suit the changing needs of the student in the 21st Century. This course is compulsory for all pre-service teachers taking History as one of their teaching subjects. The course encompasses a wide variety of topical issues that range from the philosophy of teaching History, using sources as evidence to teach History, an introduction to traditional and emerging methods of teaching History, designing History curricula, schemes of work and lesson plans, using research and theory to teach History and the integration of educational technologies in History education among others. Neumann (2010) recommends that History education programs ought to provide a clear, systematic understanding of the disciplinary epistemology of historians to shape the thinking of pre-service teachers and simultaneously provide them with effective training of students in the use of primary sources and historical thinking. He continues to argue that, pre-service teachers cannot teach their future learners to do what they cannot do themselves.

The HEU context is faced with challenges of large student numbers with only two lecturers employed to teach over 600 students on day and evening programmes of study. Students registering for History as one of their core subject increased from 300 in 2010-2011 to 500 in 2012-2013, an increase of 60%. By 2015-2020, the number is projected to grow to over 700 (CEES Strategic plan, 2011). This might prohibit students’ access to their lecturers, limit interaction and hence orchestrating an inactive face-to-face lecture session. Many a times, students prepare questions before they attend the lecture but they are not always given an equal opportunity to ask those questions because there is not enough time for the lecturer to answer all the questions often in large classes (Muyinda, 2007). Similarly, the lecturer may want to ask students some questions to trigger and foster their thinking but this may not be ably realised in cases of large class size. Large class sizes provide limited or no provision for lecturer-student and student-student interactions which in most cases limit collaborative construction of knowledge and skills in History education. Against this back drop, therefore, the authors test the use of a mobile phone forum winksite with the possibility of mediating online discussions in the History education class. The mobile phone forum provides potential affordances to counter other technical challenges experienced in
the process of integrating Educational technologies echoed in the HEU. For example, technical challenges such as; unreliable electric supply; fluctuations internet; very few students owning personal computers and laptops make a mobile phone forum a sustainable alternative in the HEU. In agreement with this, Ng’ambi (2006) and Santer (2013) argue that the challenges in African Higher Education is finding a technology that is affordable, accessible, easily adoptable by novice computer users and environments where electricity and internet connectivity might be limited or unavailable.

The access rate of mobile phones is ever increasing as students have access through shared usage and ownership. For example, Kaliisa and Picard (2017) noted that, some Sub-Saharan Africa countries such as Kenya and Uganda stand at 83% and 65% mobile ownership respectively. In relation to access, mobile phones add the dimensions of ‘anywhere and anytime’ connectivity due to their mobility and are switched on most of the time. Most lecturers and students at Sub-Saharan African Universities own a mobile phone, are connected most of the time and are conversant with SMS (Kajumbula, 2006; Traxler, 2009 & Muyinda et al., 2015). For example, a study that engaged with the Adoption of the Substitution, Augmentation, Modification and Redefinition (SAMR) Model to assess ICT pedagogical adoption at Makerere University revealed that mobile phones can be physically accessed and utilised by lecturers to support and communicate to their students (Lubega, Mugisha & Muyinda, 2014). Therefore, if mobile phone technologies can be available and easily accessed they may potentially improve the quality of teaching and learning about the past through enhancing dialogical conversations between past, present and anticipated future. However, it is important to note that mobile phones forums can sometimes disrupt students’ attention if strict classroom/lecture rules are not stipulated on when and how to use them for pedagogical purposes.

Research methodology

A qualitative case study design was employed bounded by time and context the Makerere University and more specifically the History Education Unit (Yin, 2003; Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014). A qualitative investigation into students’ engagement with the forum on the mobile application winksite was followed. This facilitated the examination of the interactions between the teachers and students in the History education class. A sample of 15 students was conveniently drawn from second year History education pre-service teachers. The sampled case study students were invited to join the History
education forum accessible on http://winksite.com/sebbowa/sbbbdor001 on a voluntary basis. The 15 sampled case study pre-service teachers were assigned pseudo names, namely: Peter, Godfrey, Lillian, Rebecca, Ronald, Alfred, Gerald, Babra, Charles, Adam, Chris, Joshua, Mervin, and K004. They were invited and introduced to the History education mobile winksite application. The participants were further oriented through face-to-face interactions and guided on how to engage and interact with the different functional tools on the winksite application and also requested to engage with their phones in case they had further inquiries (see image 1 below). The image shows a screenshot of an interface of the History education mobile application site illustrating the interactive tools available for use on the winksite, namely forums, links, community members and community messages.

Image 1: History education mobile application site

[Image]


In order to access the winksite in Image 1 above, the participants were required to have a mobile phone with blue tooth capability, relatively big screen resolution, good sound capability and phone credit enough to permit them access internet.

Using the mobile winksite application, the lecturer engaged the case study students in a discussion and tasked them to do the following:
Look critically at the picture of slave trade in East Africa given on the winksite mobile application (A slave trade picture had been posted on the winksite). Go to links and listen attentively to the audio recording/podcast on slave trade in East Africa accessible on the URL link http://kiwi6.com/file/d969g154mg (a podcast on Slave trade had been posted)

The participants are then asked to answer the following questions:

What teaching method would you use to effectively reach the content on slave trade in East Africa presented in the podcast? Give reasons for your choice of response?

Image 2: Tasks given to the study participants

That said, the authors, further examined student-student interaction with the forum on the mobile application winksite. The specific activity was:

*Make a reflection on the importance of using a forum on the mobile application as a way of enhancing the teaching and learning in a history education class. This is illustrated in Image 3 below.*

**Image 3: Demonstrating student-student interaction in a History education class**

Following the instructions and tasks highlighted above, participants were asked to use the discussion forum on the winksite application to ask questions
in case they needed any clarifications. They were then dispersed but asked to use their mobile phones to access the History education mobile application site, engage with the tasks put forward and post comments and reflections on the forum at ‘anytime’ from ‘anywhere.’ All their postings and comments were made public. This was done to make it possible for the participants to comment on each other’s postings so as to initiate discussions, negotiations and enhance shared knowledge and skills construction of History meanings.

Data was then collected in terms of responses/texts obtained after students’ engagement with the forum on the mobile application winksite. The data from the different questions and response was analysed using the Critical Discourse Analysis as highlighted in the proceeding section.

**Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**

The term ‘Critical’ in CDA is often associated with studying power relations (Rogers, 2004) while ‘Discourse’ is the analysis and interpretation of the language in use (Gee, 2014). The analytic procedures depend on what definitions of ‘Critical’ and ‘Discourse’, the analyst has taken up as well as his/her intentions for conducting the analysis. CDA is therefore an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse that views language as a form of social practice and focuses on the ways social and political domination are reproduced by text and talk. CDA can describe, interpret and explain the relationships and controversies between power/language and Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) in educational institutions (Brown & Yule, 1983). CDA is amply prepared to handle such controversies as they emerge and demonstrate how they are enacted and transformed through linguistic practices in ways of interacting, representing and being (Gee, 2014; Rogers, 2004). It can also be used to demonstrate how ICTs have become deeply involved in the conception and practice of socio-economic development (Brown, 2012). ICTs work to mediate dialogical conversations through different levels. According to Fairclough, (1989, 1995), analytic procedures include a three-tiered model that includes: description, interpretation, and explanation of discursive relations and social practices at the local, institutional and societal domains of analysis.
Image 4: Fairclough's three tiered model

![Diagram of Fairclough's three tiered model]

Source: Fairclough's three levels (Fairclough, 1995:98).

In this article, CDA is used to describe the understanding of learning through teacher-student interactivity with the mobile phone forum. This is supported by the fact that, analysing discourse from a critical perspective allows one to understand the processes of learning in more complex ways (Brown, 2012).

Analysis and discussions

This section presents and discusses the qualitative responses (texts and artefacts) drawn from students actual engagement with the forum on the winksite mobile application accessible on http://winksite.com/sebbowa/sbbbdor001.

Following the study questions reflected in Image 2 above. All participants agreed that different subtopics on slave trade in East Africa can be facilitated using a variety of teaching methods. This is to cater for the diverse learning styles of students in the History education class. For example, in dealing with the sub-topic ‘reasons for the rise of slave trade in East Africa’ in the History class, learner-centered methods like group discussions, demonstrations and role play which involve learning through active experimentation and reflective historical thinking would be effective, while behaviourist teaching approaches are applicable when students do not have any prior Historical knowledge about the subject under study. This seemingly implies, according to the students, that there is no single best way to teach History but considerations should be given to multiple ways of constructing various History meanings.
The qualitative artefacts/data are reflected in the postings in Image 5 below by Peter, K004, Lillian and Godfrey.

Image 5: Responses provided by participants


Following Image 5 above, data were analysed using CDA in reflection of the Description (Text analysis); Interpretation (Processing Analysis); Explanation (Social Analysis).

Text analysis/description: Teaching methodology

A text analysis/description by one of the students (Peter) went as follows:

I would divide my learners into small group discussion and engage everyone in the learning of history. I always prefer learner centered methods of teaching in my class where as a teacher, I facilitate and guide the learners into constructing knowledge from their previous experiences; I like using interactive teaching methods to create rapport with my students.
This participant expressed confidence when he highlighted a preference for interactive learner-centered methods of teaching. These, he argued, bridged the gap between the students and their lecturers. This is further enhanced by a text/description response by Godfrey who asserted that:

*I would use question and answer technique to teach slave trade in East Africa because I want to assess students learning and also create interactivity with them during the pedagogical process.*

**Interpretation (Processing analysis)**

The above qualitative responses demonstrate pragmatism (practical learning) in the pedagogical process (Ng’ambi, 2008). This seemingly implies that, engaging with interactive learner-centered methods in History classes arouses learners’ imaginations and ability to see the contemporary events through the lens of the people in the past. The teacher’s role shifts to guide and facilitate interpretation and construction of different accounts of the past. Learners’ senses of Historical significance are shaped partly by school experiences, contexts and active involvement in shared heritage with the teacher playing a big role in their conception (Harris & Girard, 2014; Mohamud & Whitburn, 2014).

**Explanation (Social analysis)**

The above sentiments echo that pre-service teachers mainly learn most History topics through constructivist approaches that facilitate active engagement, dialogue and interpretation of history meanings. For example, taking the case of ‘slave trade in East Africa’ discussed in the preceding section: a need for collaborative participation in the learning process is highlighted aimed at bridging the gap between students and teachers. The above findings concur with Ragland (2014), who argues that History teaching and learning agitates for active learning styles that allow students to act as inquirers and interpreters of the multiple accounts of the past as evidence for Historical understanding. History teachers ought to encourage interactive classroom climate that supports shared construction of History knowledge and skills and student-teacher dialogic conversations about the past (Sebbowa, 2016). Research on the use of constructivist approaches in a History classroom indicates high levels of teacher-student interactions, Historical consciousness, deeper understanding and construction of history meanings (Savich, 2009; Guyver, 2016; Mclean, Cook & Stanley, 2017).
Importantly, participants are leaning towards constructivism which opens the possibility of using mobile phone forums to complement the history meaning making process through sending Short Messaging Services; asking and responding to each other’s questions as well as listening to recorded speeches and videos. This seemingly implies facilitation of a formal and informal endless process of learning History in and outside the classroom enabled by affordances of a mobile phone. These constructivist approaches blended with the use of ICT tools particularly mobile phones and are opposed to passive traditional teaching and learning which is still reminiscent for most current history lessons in Uganda (Takako, 2011; Kakeeto, Tamale, & Nkata, 2014; Sebbowa, 2016).

Responses to the reflection on the importance of using forum on the mobile application as a way of enhancing the teaching and learning in a History education class.

The salient qualitative responses to the reflection question were divided into sub-themes, namely: i) collaborative learning- interactivity and ii) Need for continuous online guidance and direction and subjected to CDA as presented in the proceeding sections.

**Text analysis/description: Reflection on the importance of using a forum**

**Collaborative learning- interactivity**

Collaborative learning is reflected in the salient qualitative sentiments given by Peter:

> I gained a better understanding of the topic under study after reading other students’ posts and comments. I obtained lots of knowledge and skills from the different views and opinions shared by participants and the teacher guided us throughout the processes.

While Godfrey was of the following opinion:

> After sharing our experiences on the forums, we obtained a sense of belonging and togetherness which forced us to form mobile discussions groups that have been really helpful.

**Interpretation (Processing analysis)**

The above views highlight the fact that, knowledge and skills about the past can be acquired through reading other students’ posts and comments on the mobile application forum. The collaborative interpretation of historical meanings implied that learning can take place through sharing knowledge.
and obtaining views and opinions of other participants. The use of an online forum enhances shared negotiations and interpretations of historical meanings where students are actively engaged in the pedagogical process (Sebbowa, et al., 2014; Mclean et al., 2017).

Mobile phone forum provide a platform for a fusion of horizons between the past and present where students as representatives of the present attach meaning to the past events (slave trade in East Africa). Seemingly implying that History education then becomes a dialogical process between student-student, student-teacher where the teacher ceases to be the epitome of knowledge but a facilitator of Historical knowledge. Collaborative learning involves a process of learning from each other in a community breeding into deeper exploration of History subject matter. Learning is achieved through a reflective process where students send a comment or question on a mobile forum and receive feedback from fellow students as the teacher directs the learning process. The interaction is mutual and reciprocal, with learning and performance as goals rather than simply information delivery.

**Explanation (Social analysis)**

The above discourse postulates that, with this mobile communication, learning may occur outside traditional school hours as students participate in collaborative activities, like reading and responding to peer posts at ‘anytime’, ‘anywhere’. Because contexts in mobile learning can be situationally constructed any time, any place, schools and classrooms lose the central position as the only place for learning in the formalised learning process; other places or spaces be it a swimming pool or chat room become relevant places for learning (Seipold, 2014:41). According to Anderson (2003), the interaction in the online forum promotes a sense of community and social connectivity between the learners and instructors. The level of connectedness among students results in formation of productive relationships among the class members and in collaborative exploration of history subject matter. Mobile online forums increase student-student, student-teacher relationships in a collaborative learning environment about cultural heritage in history (Nordmark & Milrad, 2012). Similarly, recent researchers have proposed a model for framing online learning that highlights the social interaction-social technology intersection as a key aspect in affording a group of learners to access multiple materials and learn from ‘anywhere’ at ‘anytime’ (Koole, 2009; Rambe & Bere, 2013). Using mobile phone forums encourages students to take initiative in expressing themselves and sharing information with others.
Students become co-producers of knowledge through collaborative knowledge sharing and production. Mobile phone forums therefore have the potential to enable students to take initiative in expressing themselves as shared co-producers of multiple accounts of the past while citing evidence. Furthermore, all participants indicated a need for continuous online guidance.

**Text aAnalysis/description**

**Need for continuous online guidance and direction**

Saliently Rebecca commented:

> I was at home and I got hold of my phone to access the forums on the mobile application but in the process I got confused and lost a sense of direction because there was no one to ask.

While Peter expounded that:

> I was a bit stuck with accessing the forums on the mobile application; I kept on calling another student (Godfrey) to help me get there. I think training on access and use of the forums is very essential if they are to be a success in the pedagogical process.

**Interpretation (Processing analysis)**

The participant uses a persuasive phrase to encourage educators to continuously guide the learning process. There is need for continued educator guidance and scaffolding if successful mobile learning is to be achieved. More often, students lose direction if the teacher does not focus the learning process basing on the objectives of the lesson. The lack of both verbal and visual cues in the online forum environment can cause misunderstanding between the lecturer and the students and among students (Dawson, Preece, & McLoughlin, 2003). Educator guidance and direction while engaging with mobile phone forums is very crucial as it affords students a multi-dimensional interpretation of history with informed constructed accounts of the past. Notably, students have issues with the costs and taxes levied on using mobile phone internet usage while others still own low end phones that are in most cases not internet enabled.

**Explanation (Social analysis)**

Sentiments highlighted in the preceding section indicate that participants look to the educators to provide direction through the mass of messages and to provide encouragement to start using the most relevant material (Salmon, 2002). Although social interaction may be a very helpful precondition, high levels of learning depend on structure, design and leadership are provided in
form of facilitation and direction (Anderson, 2003). This implies that online educators have to constantly play their role of providing and scaffolding online learning activities so as to sustain interest and motivate learners. Ludwig-Hardman & Dunlap (2003) in Thorpe, (2001) make a recommendation for a student support programme with three interrelated elements; i) Identity - the learner has the opportunity to interact with learner support services personnel on a one-to-one basis; ii) Individualisation - the interaction that the learner has with learner support services is individualised based on the specific needs and goals of the learner; and iii) Interpersonal interaction - the interaction is mutual and reciprocal, with learning and performance as goals rather than simply information delivery. These three elements are important in providing direction to the student during the teaching and learning process.

Conclusion

A mobile phone forum on the Winksite application enhance dialogical conversations between lecturers-students, students-students as a helpful precondition for collaborative learning and reflection about the human past. Given that mobile phone technologies have been found appropriate and are sustainable at the Higher Education African context. The authors suggest that educators, particularly History educators, stick to technologies that can be sustained in their contexts. For example, students can use their mobile phones to text their history comments and questions to the lecturer through a given code/phone number which is cheap and does not require any kind of internet connectivity. However, as noted in the discussion above, a significant challenge of loss of direction and guidance during online and offline pedagogical ‘spaces’ was observed. This implies that, if mobile phone forum technologies are to be fully integrated within History education, technical support should be provided and continuous lecturer-student and student-student guidance and scaffolds should be availed to re-orient and focus the integration of mobile technologies in the pedagogical process.

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SHAPING A DECOLONISED SPORT HISTORY CURRICULUM THROUGH THE NATIONAL QUESTION

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Abstract

A renewed interest in decolonising the university curriculum in South Africa was sparked by the student protests of 2015. University faculties and departments throughout the country responded. Sport Science departments, the home of sport history modules, remained, however, aloof and removed from this development. This paper attempts to rupture this silence by addressing decolonisation of sport history at a conceptual curriculum level through the lenses of the National Question. After an introduction, a discussion of decolonisation and decoloniality is presented. This is followed by a conversation on sport history curriculum. Finally, I venture to suggest theoretical underpinnings for a decolonised sport history curriculum.

Keywords: Curriculum; Decolonisation; National Question: Sport history; Sport historian.

Introduction

Alexander (2002:9) and Saunders (1988:2) state that the first attempts at partial or total descriptions of the history of South Africa were written from a completely Eurocentric and white point of view. These include the following sources: Theal (1895), Cory (1965), Theal (1964) and Muller (1974). The history writing of South African sport is not different. To date, only one sport history text book, in Afrikaans (Van der Merwe, 1999) and in English (Van der Merwe, 2007), exists for South African students. None exists in the vernacular languages. The current textbooks are presented in the sport scientific-historical mode, with no critical analysis of the relationship between Western European imperialism, colonisation and sport. Recent developments around themes of decolonisation necessitate a search for epistemologies and pedagogic practices that depart from the scientific-historical mode of writing and teaching.

Curriculum change starts with a political and ideological intent and gets implemented as assessment and policy statements. This article hones in on
the long-standing and diverse political and ideological traditions of thought associated with decolonialism. In the South African context, it is associated with African nationalism, Black Consciousness and non-racialism. African nationalism grew out of a disgruntlement among Africanists with the African National Congress (ANC) for the manner in which whites and other non-Africans were “misdirecting and aborting” the energies of the organisation. This gave rise to the establishment of the Pan-African Congress (PAC) in April 1959 (Mothlabi, 1986) and was vocal in calling for the Africanisation of society. The PAC president, Robert Sobukwe, indicated that to the African youth, education meant service to Africa (Mothlabi, 1986:87-88). The prime mover of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) in South Africa was the South African Student Organisation (SASO) under the leadership of Steve Biko, which was established in Marianhill in December 1968. SASO defined the BCM as one that rejects all value systems that sought to make blacks foreigners in their own land (Mothlabi, 1986:107, 109). SASO and its fellow organisation, the Black People’s Convention (BPC - established in December 1971), were banned by 1977. In April 1978, the Azanian People’s Organisation (AZAPO) was established as a direct successor to BPC and SASO. Mothlabi (1986:276) asserts that the BCM’s education programme was aimed at the destruction of imperialist, racist, tribalist, sectionalist, colonialist and neo-colonist ideas and practices. The non-racial tradition is associated with the Non-European Unity Movement of South Africa (NEUM), later the New Unity Movement (NUM) that traces its historical evolvement to the efforts of Stalinists and Trotskyists to form united-front-type organisations, namely the National Liberation League (founded 1935) and the Non-European United Front (founded in 1938) (No Sizwe, 1979:54). Although the NUM was not a visible force to be reckoned within the FMF movement, the NUM claims that it worked:

... tirelessly for true decolonisation of education since the mid-20th century ... and that the momentum presented by the FMF movement should be embraced. However, the degeneration into naked black nationalism (not even the nuanced “black consciousness” of Biko) by some of the Fallists requires an appropriate theoretical response (New Unity Movement, 2018:4).

The non-racial organs were unique since all organisations of the oppressed people had, until the 1930s, been created and sustained with a liberal-reformist perspective, if not literally under liberal bourgeoisie tutelage (No Sizwe, 1979:55).
A sport history curriculum, according to Clevenger (2017), informed by decolonial thinking, offers the potential consideration of alternative avenues of historical representation. A challenge not taken up by sport historians in South Africa to date is the question: How does decolonisation thinking impact on a sport history curriculum at an institution of higher learning in South Africa? By drawing on conference presentations, key works on decolonisation, sport history and daily conversations, an attempt was made to respond to this question. The use of daily conversations as source material is a legitimate practice and was used in a similar fashion as in the academic work of Adhikari (2002:12). Where deployed as evidence, this personal experience was either clearly indicated or referenced, and was used only to add colour and texture to the argument (Adhikari, 2002:12).

Before proceeding with an attempt at answering this question, the following sub-question was posed: What enables a researcher to comment and make suggestions for a decolonised curriculum? According to Alexander (2002:5), “the [sport] historian does have an angle of vision”. This angle of vision is shaped by life experiences that has commonality with other black experiences (see September, 2018: 119-129). In imitation of Alexander (2002:5) and Adhikari (2002:12), I used the first person singular at times. That I proffer opinions and speculations might disturb the reader. However, the fact that I do propose ideas is a privilege I assume because of my involvement in sport historical research, which on occasion gives me reasonable certainty, but not proof in the strict juridical sense. Furthermore, I can legitimately claim to have had extensive experience of life as a black sport historian working with marginalised communities.

As the author of this research, I have first-hand experience of the colonised sport curriculum. I have had an academic interest in the history of physical education, physical culture and sport since the late 1980s and have used my day-to-day interaction with colleagues to probe issues broadly relevant to the subject. I am therefore a participant-observer in the unfolding of this particular history. Two former colleagues in particular, George van der Ross and Brian Isaacs, need to be singled out for giving me a very basic introduction to Black Consciousness, the NUM and Pan Africanism at a time when only the Congress movement, driven by the ANC, was in the public consciousness of students and teachers. Regular discussions of an informal nature with Barry Firth, Dr Hendrik Snyders and Paul Hendricks, three individuals with divergent approaches to the decolonial project, also shaped
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my thinking around curriculum. I have experienced deliberate racist exclusion from physical education departments at institutions of higher learning, something that was not uncommon to black students prior and during the 1980s (September, 2018:122). I write this research from a left-wing, non-racial position that takes into account that the decolonial and decolonisation discourses are currently dominated by Black Consciousness, Pan-Africanism and African socialism discourses. However, having been mentored since the 1990s in the traditions of left-wing socialist movements that hold steadfastly to the ideals of creating a non-racial society, I create this narrative from that angle.

What is decolonisation and decoloniality?

Decolonisation, according to Mignolo (2018), is a state led-project while decoloniality is in people’s hands. Decolonisation and decoloniality themes are not 21st century inventions and according to Mignolo (2018) again, it is a re-emergence of previous consciousness. Clevenger (2017) states that the 20th century postcolonial works of Said (1978), Bhabha (1994), Fanon (1965) and Spivak (1988), with their efforts to give voice and agency to the colonised and “othered” peoples, continue to exert an influence on historians. Thus, decoloniality becomes conceptual moments, not always a historical moment, and is summarised in a poem as part of Mazwai’s (2018, n.p.) keynote address at a conference with decolonisation as its theme:

> It is an abomination to adore those who oppress you ... who teach children to be better robots. Everything is still the same for the black nation … only the complexion[s] of leaders have changed who take orders from London. These people want to be affirmed by whiteness.

Although arguments on decolonisation and decoloniality have been most successful in challenging the European academic traditions of disciplines and domains, sport science, the overarching area of study for sport history, remains aloof and silent resilient about the topic. In an unpublished oral presentation, Milaras and Mckay (2018) state that [sport] scientists are closeted about issues of decolonisation. When the student protests of 2015 called for the Africanisation of the science curriculum, the sport science fraternity did not respond. As a result, sport science practitioners have not brought about a critical analytical change in the “literature on the so-called philosophy of dance, sport and physical education … that amounts to nothing more than a string of pretentious slogans” (Best, 1978:18). During the 1976 student uprisings, a future sport activist at Stellenbosch University (SU), Andre
Odendaal (1976:n.p), wrote emotively in the student magazine: “We dare not ignore the interactions around us … a frustrated black youth is staring white authority and the pigmentocracy in the face … the resultant anger, fear and suspicion create a situation of relentless struggle. The call must be for … contact between people that are living past one another”. The SU authorities did not respond. Current sport scientists and historians would do well to reflect on Odendaal’s call and ask themselves the same question as Morgan Ndlovu did, when he wrote on decolonisation within another context: “To what extent has past patterns of inventing and packaging history for disunity and domination been reversed and re-directed towards the attainment of an inclusive common belonging by the postcolonial and post-apartheid governments?” (Ndlovu, 2013:9). In my view, curriculum change around decolonisation and decoloniality is an essential corrective to this inertia among the sport science fraternity. Official statistics on sport transformation (Department of Sport and Recreation, 2017) are silent on decolonisation; the statistics are usually presented as bland databases, rendering the information of little value if left uncontextualised.

I argue that decolonisation and decoloniality theories, as they manifest in curriculum studies, cannot be studied in isolation from the National Question (NQ). What is the NQ? Mawbey and Webster (2017:1-2) define the NQ as a century-long discourse on South Africa’s nationhood framed by four popular narratives:

- Colonialism of a special type – the notion that South Africa consists of two nations, the colonised and the colonising, in the same territory;
- The approach that recognises the indigenous African, numerically the largest group as the most oppressed and exploited members of society, and places special emphasis on African leadership, as well as prioritising the conditions of African people;
- The “rainbow nation” which emphasises the multiple identities that constitute South Africa’s diverse population.
- The fourth narrative, non-racialism, often ignored in current discourses, was advocated by the NUM and its predecessor, the NEUM.

The NQ was a concern of the NEUM since its early origins in December 1943 to January 1944. For the NEUM, according to Brown, Giyose, Petersen, Thomas and Zinn (2017: 79), the NQ has “always meant nothing less than the establishment of equal citizenship for the entire population as well as the abolition of rightlessness [sic], poverty and inequality of the nationally
oppressed and economically exploited mass”. The NEUM narrative on the NQ differs starkly from others. Alexander (1994:1) claims, “[E]thnic groups which are taken as self-evidently real today were virtually invented … as a consciously crafted ideologically creation”. However, non-racialism does not imply colour blindness and an NEUM intellectual, Hosea Jaffe, went to great lengths to level charges of Euro-centrism at white South African historians and intellectuals of liberal and radical Marxist persuasion (Lategan, 2016).

Decolonisation therefore is an attempt at a complete break with past hegemonies of colonial attitudes that pervade the current curriculum at institutions of higher learning. Decoloniality has a global history without a common logic of a Western way of reasoning. A frequently-raised concern amongst critics of the decolonising and decolonial discourse centres around the need for precise definition. However, Behari-Leak, Masehela, Marhaya, Tjabane and Merckel (2017) argue that decolonisation is a nuanced and layered concept whose meaning cannot be unlocked using a scientific formula or recipe, since its meaning lies more in its detail than its definition. Decolonisation is the moment where colonised people take over power from colonising agents and either change or continue with past practices.

In the South African context of the 1994 change of government, this (decolonising) moment has been described by the NUM (2018:6) “as a facade … to plaster over the real inequalities [still] prevalent 22 years after liberation”. After all, the South African 1994 moment was an attempt at reconstructing society around capital acquisition. This ties in with a black journalist’s comments on the apparent unity brought about by rugby and stated:

The so-called unity that was introduced with the advent of democracy, has proved to be one of the biggest confidence tricks in the history of the [rugby] game in this country. With sleight of hand, white administrators engineered a process that was far removed from true unity. They succeeded in getting those promoting non-racialism to join their structures. It was a process that destroyed club rugby in the townships. Their promises to develop the game in the townships, by taking it into the schools and by building facilities were forgotten as quickly as they were made. If it was true that South Africa’s victory in the 1995 World Cup had united communities across the country, it was only for a month, and maybe even less (Oakes, 2018, n.p.).

This does not imply that decolonisation moments – in sport in particular- are without merit.
Why decolonisation and decoloniality

I advance ten reasons of merit why sport history curriculum designers need to engage with decolonisation and decoloniality theory. According to Mignolo (2018), the world is experiencing a process of “De-westernising” where the West, particularly America, can no longer control the world through military hegemony, and is threatened, on equal terms, by Iran, Russia and China.

Secondly, the increasing commodification and commercialising of sport science has led to a new morality of knowledge purchasing for those who can afford it. This commodification of knowledge leads to sport science (the subject) and the sport science industry (the business) not being the same. Therefore corporate business, with its huge footprints in sport science industry, cannot bring decoloniality to people (Mignolo, 2018). Decoloniality must come from elsewhere. Thirdly, Denise Zinn, a guest lecturer at the Nelson Mandela University introducing Michalinos Zembylas (2017), gave a compelling reason why universities should adopt a decolonised curricula: “It forms the basis for asking, What is the most important imperative at this time when we think of transforming our curricula?” Fourthly, decolonisation forces us to re-look at our sporting past without romantic lenses of the present. Such a re-look forces the critical-minded academic to question why sport is being “transformed through employing apartheid era racial quota labels, while the transformation of society receives scant attention” (New Unity Movement, 2018). Fifthly, none of us will ever really know what the past was, and in reflection we run the risk of misrepresenting events. However, we would be remiss if we remained silent and we did not begin to try to imagine what the many complex and interlinking factors of the colonial project was. Sixthly, the decolonisation debates, that formed the intellectual foundation for the 2016 protests, force university leadership, as expressed by Cairncross (2018), into spaces of deep thinking, open feeling and collective healing. This holds especially true for black university leadership in the 21st century who have become comfortable in newly-found neo-liberal and materially opulent spaces. According to Cairncross (2018, n.p.), black leaders have the responsibility of:

... initiating, driving and embodying change and of being a beacon and role model, therefore never stumbling, never failing, never showing weakness. [Black leaders have] the responsibility for supporting individually and collectively, socially and academically the young black students and staff who desperately need a light before them to guide them onwards.
A seventh point of justification centres around Cairncross’s issue of black performativity at predominantly white institutions of higher learning. Although Cairncross’s (2018, n.p.) argument is directed at leadership, her observation also holds true for lecturers, who are more vulnerable to bureaucratic onslaughts than their white counterparts:

Layer on to this the insidious, covert racism that permeates so many of our university structures, both in the bureaucracy and the academic leadership. This racism that continuously either consciously or unconsciously undermines black [lecturers] so that the pervasive atmosphere is one of constantly proving that you are worthy.

An eighth justification point for decoloniality is provided by Cairncross (2018, n.p.) who summarises the overall decolonial project within universities, particularly within the health sciences:

Let us not absolve our pathological work culture; let us not absolve overt and covert racism at universities and in society; let us not absolve the capitalist system that makes of our thinking and our students’ [thinking] commodities to be bought, sold and measured. And, finally, let us not absolve ourselves for not changing this system, for not taking care of ourselves and for not taking care of each other.

This point is relevant due to the complicity of the health sciences, in particular the medical fraternity, for providing racism with a “scientific” base. Here, I specifically refer to the work of MacCrone (1936:1108), professor of psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. In the *South African Journal of Science*, MacCrone set out a study for the purpose of “conducting a preliminary survey of the scope and content of group differences as they exist in the country … [to determine] group stereotypes”. A summary of MacCrone’s survey are set out in the following Table 1:

### Table 1: Scientific Group Stereotyping

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group Stereotypes</th>
<th>English-speaking South Africans</th>
<th>Afrikaans-speaking South Africans</th>
<th>Jews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very fond of sport</td>
<td></td>
<td>Very religious</td>
<td>Shrewd at business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligent</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hospitable</td>
<td>Intelligent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Straightforward</td>
<td></td>
<td>Strong family feeling</td>
<td>Industrious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law-abiding</td>
<td></td>
<td>Politically-minded</td>
<td>Thrifty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense of humour</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stubborn</td>
<td>Fond of gambling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good-natured</td>
<td></td>
<td>Good-natured</td>
<td>Energetic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair-minded</td>
<td></td>
<td>Very fond of sport</td>
<td>Enterprising</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The ninth defence point for a decolonial perspective on curriculum is the denunciation of the colonial project by the major South African parliamentary political parties: the ANC, DA and EFF. Finally, universities are intended to provide leadership and mentoring spaces for students through curriculum innovation and practice. If the international call is for a decolonised curriculum, then such innovation and practice should be provided. Presently, many sport history courses are located in health and medical faculties where, according to Lydia Cairncross (2018), “decolonising work is definitely applicable to all aspects of medicine from curriculum to pedagogy”.

A decolonial sport history curriculum should therefore be cognisant of the idea that the decolonisation of sport is part of a broader intellectual project that aims to transcend firmly-held colonial epistemologies (Cleophas, 2018:9). At the core of this project is the effort to understand how colonial narratives became fixed in the sport literature and minds of South Africans and to attempt to redress this situation (Odendaal, 2018:1).

The year 1990 is significant for South African curriculum theorists because of the changes in the political landscape, both inside South Africa, the southern African region and the world (Jansen, 1999:4). In South Africa, following
political and economic pressures from the liberation movements and the international community, the Apartheid state released political prisoners and unbanned political organisations. In the region, the end of the Cold War had recast ideological and political alignments in, amongst others, Angola and Namibia, facilitating the emergence of a post-Apartheid state in South Africa. This post-Apartheid state emerged from a negotiated settlement between two key role players, the National Party on the one hand and the African National Congress on the other hand. This negotiated settlement facilitated South Africa’s entry into international sport. Brown (2006:140) states that the role of the then existing non-racial sport movement under the direction of the South African Council on Sport (SACOS - an organisation that was a home to all liberation movements) was downplayed as the sports wing of the liberation movement because it resisted the terms for lifting the sports moratorium and it kept to its non-aligned stance towards any political tendency. This, coupled with the Euro-centricity of the sport history curriculum, calls for a complete overhaul of the curriculum.

Traditionally universities employed, maybe unconsciously, the Von Ranke method of constructing sport history courses and curriculum. Von Ranke asserted that history should be reported “as it really happened, should never be viewed from one side and that the truth lies possibly in the middle” (Campbell, 1986). This superficial method remained intact for a large period of time in the 20th century. Daryl Siedentop (1990:327) presented the study of sport history in America in the same fashion, stating that the subject is an “interpretation of the past, relating the past to the present and provides guidelines as to what might be expected or what courses might be taken in the future”. Postma (1945:4) claims that sport history was introduced into the South African university curricula in the 1940s and consisted of “a summary of facts with little connection to … economic and political developments”. The thrust of sport history content in the university curriculum centred around Western European civilisations, mainly the Hellenistic, Latin and 19th century British, German and Swedish worlds. These accounts are still present in what Bhabha (2-004:16) calls “unexplained narrow-minded nationalisms”. This calls for a challenge to the assertion that the [South African] sport history curriculum “serves as an information depository … and a barometer for progress” (Van der Merwe, 1999:xi). A limitation of this view, from a decolonial perspective, is that it ignores that sport history records and reports on events in a world, described by Saul (2008:1) as a “horribly unequal and exploitative place”. Therefore, Fanon (2008:62) asserts that “the problem
of colonialism includes not only the interrelations of objective historical conditions but also human attitudes toward these conditions”. Marxist humanists identify these conditions as emancipation from human oppression in the cultural realm (Kneifel, Leatt & Nürnberg, 1986:253). Cultural traditions are shaped by political and economic developments. This is evident in the work of Alexander (1994:1) where he states:

… as Apartheid as a political and economic strategy began to disintegrate, many of the race and class based privileges bestowed on white South Africans by the ill-gotten wealth of colonial conquest and Capitalist exploitation could be salvaged via the reification of cultures and the de facto hierarchisation of the human carriers of these.

History has shown that the sport curriculum of the past is filled with conflict, the present too, and there is no utopian future. Decolonising agents, such as Ndlanzi (2018), argue that colonialism honed in on differences between people and the colonised accommodated colonialism for the sake of peace. Therefore, the sport history curriculum on its own cannot be a tool of liberation because as Raymon Boudon argues in Haralambos and Heald (1984:207): “[T]he key to equality of opportunity lies outside rather than inside the school”. This is so because the curriculum operates in a higher education system that, according to Cairncross (2018, n.p.) is:

... built within a broader society which is inherently unjust. [It is a society] [w]here the very entry into university is policed by the politics of class and racial inequality. [It is home to] a fee-paying system which keeps the majority out, a schooling system which disadvantages the majority and a university environment which alienates and marginalises those few who jump through all the hoops to get in.

Curriculum construction has territory claims and ruling classes attach their identity to it. What the FMF movement in fact did, was to rip the curriculum transformation debate from the bourgeoisie. Those in the Africanist and black nationalist tradition, within the FMF movement, called for a total dismantling of colonised spaces in order for African people to reconstruct their cultural lives in ways that augment core elements of traditional culture, and where reconceptualised cultural forms can be adapted to the modern African world. On the other hand, the non-racial ethos is highly critical of this stance. It focuses rather on the “primacy of class, otherwise the politics of the skin will prevail” (New Unity Movement: 2018:4-5). In short, a decolonial curriculum will vacillate between these tendencies and offer, according to Clevenger (2017), sport historians and academics an opportunity for a rethinking of Western modernity, including its epistemologies employed in sport historical
narratives and different classroom practices.

Past sport historical epistemologies at South African universities were dominated by male sport accounts that were infused by notions of Muscular Christianity. According to Siedentop (1990:69), an important source for the philosophy of Muscular Christianity was the educational ideals of the mid-19th century aristocratic British education system which promoted competitive sport as an attribute of a virtuous and moral life. A decolonised perspective on Muscular Christianity is thus necessary for sport historians. As Buntu (2018) professes in an unpublished public presentation: “[P]ractices of masculinities reflect the degree to which society is teaching manhood, …power and brutality”. These are also elements of most male team games and reflect Western notions of masculinity. On a further point of criticism against Muscular Christianity, a decolonial sport history curriculum takes cognisance of African traditional transcendentalism where the deceased plays an active role in the affairs of the living. A study of rock art, for example of the Southern African Bushmen, reveals much how death is commemorated through dancing (Dowson & Lewis-Williams, 1989:50).

Until the 1990s South African education was characterised by a uniform and predictable curriculum policy environment. Fanon (2008:64) is forthright in his description of environments under which such curriculum policies emerged: “structured racism”. Jansen (1999:4) too states that the apartheid regime managed a centralised school curriculum policy system, which was variously described as racist, Eurocentric, sexist, authoritarian, prescriptive, unchanging, context-blind and discriminatory. It can be stated with certainty that university curricula during the Apartheid era were no different. This lead to at least one South African sport historian’s comment: “[P]resenting sport history in such narrow nationalisms has run its course” (Cleophas, 2016: 62). Such presentations have run their course because, as Fanon (2008: 66, 69) further states, “… [Presentations by narrow nationalisms were responsible for colonial racism … [leaving] the colonized with values of inferiority and dependency”. Adhikari (2005:87) alludes to an inescapable acceptance of an inferiority complex by the colonised, something that was imposed by the coloniser. Decoloniality means epistemic reconstitution when power relations change. However, Mignolo (2018) argues that when the colonised takes over the state, they want to be like settlers and thus reproduce these past complexes without questioning. This results in devising sport curricula where the nation becomes of secondary importance and growth (of economic capital) becomes
more important, leaving the Eurocentric curriculum intact.

**Conclusion**

This paper did not attempt to map out content matter for a decolonised sport history curriculum – that is left for future research. Instead it identified stakeholders in the contestation for such a curriculum. What the author concludes from this contestation for space coincides with a suggestion from Alexander (1994:7): “It is axiomatic that in a more democratic, post-apartheid South Africa, the Euro- and white-centric curriculum must disappear”. Therefore, a post-apartheid sport history curriculum should have at its core the emancipation from oppressive cultures and to subvert all epistemologies, ontologies and axiologies of curriculum intentions that present themselves as being very nostalgic about a privileged colonial era. The crucial contest over control of the decolonised sport history curriculum at institutions of higher learning will always be manifested in the inclination to foreground a particular ideologically-based process emanating from the inherited traditions of the liberation movement. This paper calls for a recontextualised sport history curriculum that foregrounds the non-racial tradition. In this recontextualisation process however, university curriculum planners in sport history need to underpin their courses with decolonial content and engage different lobbies and social movements, referred to in this paper, on specific issues of the curricula canon. All the role players should take ownership of the conceptualisation process of a decolonised curriculum. This does not imply that the outcome, or the enacted curriculum, should be accepted by all. It could however result in a 21st century decolonised sport history curriculum that is conceptualised through broad-based comment and input, especially by academics, sensitive to the NQ, who must ultimately implement it.

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**Abstract**

The challenges of the contemporary demands for the decolonisation history in South African schools and universities require careful attention to the background of history education in our context. This article explores traces of that heritage as it influenced Xhosa language schools in the Eastern Cape during the first half of the twentieth century. Through the examination of the writing of Xhosa history by local scholars it demonstrates a rich tradition of writing that has to date been largely neglected by historians, and presents the potential challenge of this work for an understanding of identity and patriotism both then and now. Through a preliminary examination of school textbooks of the time, with specific reference to the Lovedale Press Stewart Xhosa Readers, I offer suggestions for future research that might be able to inform contemporary debates.

**Keywords:** Colonial education; History curriculum; History in Xhosa schools; Xhosa historiography; History textbook publishing.

**Introduction**

The historical background to the teaching of history in Xhosa schools has been surprisingly neglected. A literature search yielded very little. In view of the current debates over the Africanisation of the subject in schools I therefore attempted to uncover whatever information I could on the topic. Given that it is impossible to gain an accurate picture of the school and classroom culture of the times under review, my enquiry is primarily based on an exploration of evidence relating to the literature that was in use in Xhosa schools. I hope what follows might provide the scaffolding for further research.

In his survey of literature available in Xhosa language readers in 1935, Doke notes that “no (history) textbooks were prescribed for the junior standards, but in Standard IV certain English books are suggested to teachers”. (Doke, 1935; Lestrade, 1967; Schapera, 1967; Bracket & Wrong, 1934; Ward, 1934). We have very little detailed information about what history was taught at primary schools and how it was taught in the early twentieth century. The Cape
Department of Public Education’s voluminous *The Primary School: Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers* (1923/1929) made broad suggestions on these matters which were roundly criticized by WM Tsotsi, a leading member of the Cape African Teachers Association (CATA), for making a distinction between the recommendations for white and black schools. In essence he was against the tendency to assume that Africans could only effectively engage with material that required them to remember the “stories of great man and great deeds simply told”, while white children, he asserted, were being introduced to world history and civics. He also argued for a greater emphasis on South African history if the subject was to provide as platform for “critical citizenship”.

At mission high schools at this time most textbooks were either published in Britain, by Longmans Green or Macmillan, or by South African publishing houses such as Juta or Maskew Miller. The texts used by African high school learners were usually the same as those prescribed in white schools in the Cape, Natal, Orange Free State and the Transvaal. Those that I have been able to trace for the early twentieth century are as follows (those published in Britain): *Macmillan’s South African History Readers* (London: Macmillan, 1903/1906); William C Scully, *A History of South Africa from the Earliest Days to Union* (London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1915/1922) (based on the work of Theal and Cory); Cecil Servaas de Kock, Fowler & CJJ Smit, *Junior Certificate History Course* (London, Longmans Green, 1930). In later years the Fowler and Smit series came to be synonymous with apartheid school history. When I taught high school history at Wynberg Boys High School in Cape Town in the late 1960s their *History for the Cape Senior Certificate and Matriculation* (Cape Town, Maskew Miller, multiple editions) was considered to be the bible for matric candidates. The other texts published in the Cape that I have been able to find are: George McCall Theal, *Short History of South Africa for Use in Schools* (Cape Town, 1888-1908 various editions); Joseph Whiteside, *A New School History for South Africa* (Cape Town, Juta, 1897); Marie Hartill & ED Slater, *Maskew Miller’s Nieuwe Geskiedenis vir Zuid Afrika* (Kaapstad, Maskew Miller, 1912); M Hartill, *Maskew Miller’s Elementary Course of South African History to 1820* (Cape Town, Maskew Miller, 1920); *Maskew Miller’s Historical Reader (new syllabus) for South African Schools* (Cape Town, Maskew Miller, 1920); RB Hawes, *Jutas History for Matriculation Students* (Cape Town, Juta,1924); T Young & FW Reitz (after Theal & Cory) *Maskew Miller se korte geskiedenis van Suid Afrika vir gebruik in skole* (Kaapstad, Maskew Miller, [1921-full date not available]); A Jenner, *Juta’s New History Reader for Primary School, Std. IV* (Cape Town, Juta, first impression, 1932).
The only history texts that I have been able to discover which were prepared exclusively for African learners in South Africa prior to the apartheid era were Rev Joseph Whiteside’s, *A New School History of South Africa* (Cape Town, Juta, 1897, reprinted 1906, 1916); Peter AW Cook’s *South African History for Natives* (London, Longmans, 1932-1943); E Jacottet, *Historiea South Africa – E-Ngolet soeg Likoko* (South African History for Schools), (Moriija, Sesoto Book Depot, 1939); MW Waters, *Stories from History for Bantu Children* (Std. I & II; III & IV; V & VI) (Cape Town, Jutas, [194- full date not available]), and RW Wells, *History for Bantu Schools* (London, Nelson, 1946). The work of Mary Waters needs particular attention as she seems to come closest to a sympathetic treatment of Xhosa history in formal textbooks. Her textbook, *Our Native Land* with a section on “Four Great Africans” – “Moshesh the Statesman”, “Khama the Christian”, “Ndlovukazi the Queen” and “Aggrey the Prophet” and reference to “neighbouring peoples, the Matabele and the Ma Tshona”, and “the role of missionaries and their work” and “the coming of the white man”, mark a significant landmark in historical textbook production.

It is also important to note that the Xhosa Readers used in schools included historical topics and extracts written by a variety of experts in Xhosa and Eastern Cape history, which reflected the practices developed in England relating to the production of language Readers for schools that were developed during the nineteenth century. To the best of my knowledge no research has even been done on these works or on the teaching of history in the mission schools of the Cape prior to the advent of apartheid after 1948.

This narrative neglects the emergence of a strong tradition of popular historical work among the new Xhosa intelligentsia who were concerned to recover the histories of their own people. Some were written in Xhosa and some in English (Maseko, 2017). Much of this work has only recently been made available in translation. I have arranged the works identified with that genre by Jeff Peires and Jeff Opland in chronological order. My major source here refers primarily to Peires’s notes on “Xhosa Historical Writing” in *The House of Phalo*, in which he divides that work into chronological periods (Peires, 1981:175-179).
The early generation of historical writers

Late nineteenth century

Peires (1981) associates the beginning of this tradition with the writings of William Gqoba, Isaac Wauchope, William Ntsikana and John Vimbe. William W Gqoba’s key historical work includes Imbali yama Xosa (The History of the Xhosa People), (1887); Imbali yase Mbo (The History of the Eastern Territory) (1887); Isizatu sokuxelwa kwe nkomo ngo Nongquause (The motive for the Nongquause Cattle Killing, (1888) and Isizwe Esinembali (Xhosa History & Poetry) (Opland, 2015). Isaac Wauchope’s writings includes Inkosi zakwa Ngqika (the Ngqika Chiefs), (1897-1898), Iziganeko 1795-1828 (1898) (Annals of 1795-1828); Amaroti akwa Xosa (the Heroes of Xhosaland), (1908) and The Natives and Their Missionaries (Opland, 2008; Nyamende, 2000).

The later generation: Early 20th century

A number of other writers are also referred to by Peires (1981) as making a contribution to the writing of Xhosa history during the first half of the twentieth century. Many of them draw on a mix of traditional imibongi and shared memory, and the evolving craft of historical analysis. There is no space here to make a critical evaluation of each of these works in terms of the criteria of modern historical research methodologies, but it is sufficient to my argument to establish that there was a healthy grown of historical literature of a variety of kinds at this time. I will list them by the date of their publications, though, given the nature of the constraints on publishing, many of these works were only published long after they were written, or they were published in an abbreviated, self-censored or edited form that does not always do justice to the original.

Most commentators, from AC Jordan to Peires and Opland, agree that the outstanding figure and prolific writer that emerges in this story is Samuel Edward Krune Mqhayi (1875-1945) who manages to span the traditional/
modern divide and remain true to his identity in his rural home at *Niabozuko* (Mount Glory) near Berlin in the Eastern Cape, while navigating the constraints placed upon his writing by the mission and colonial regime. As Lev Shoots (2014) points out, Mqhayi’s “histories” of important Xhosa leaders, though they do not amount to a formal historical account, constitute part of his “larger project regarding the national consciousness of the Xhosa and other peoples” and amount to “a way of pushing back against the loss of tradition” and “correcting stereotypes found in colonial histories” (Shoots, 2014:48-50). He seems to have been the only author/editor listed above whose work appeared extensively in school textbooks such as *The Stewart Xhosa Readers* published by Lovedale Press. Though we have no study of precisely how he influenced the project, an analysis of the contents of the *Senior Reader* demonstrates that a considerable amount of his writing was included. (see Appendix A which provides a list of Mqhayi’s publications included in the *Stewart Senior Xhosa Reader* which was published from 1936 to the early 1940s).

Mqhayi wrote a great deal of material which ranged from the retelling of folk tales and *isibongi*, to modern novels, biography, natural history, poetry and plays, but his work never moves far from the overarching themes of Xhosa history, cultural identity, colonialism, missionaries and Cape politics. His much anticipated work on the history of the Xhosa, *I Bali le Zizwe ezi Ntsundu*, was uncompleted and the manuscript has been lost. The fragments of his historical writing have survived and have been edited and translated by Jeff Opland (2009) and his co-translators/editors, in *Abantu besizwe: Historical and biographical writings, 1902-1944*. This includes a variety of praise poems and historical writings including pieces on Nongqause, Ndlambe, Ngqika, Maqoma, Ntsikana, Rharabe, Sarhili, and Mpande as well as many writings and obituaries of the well-known figures including John Knox Bokwe, Rubusana, Richard Kawa, JT Jabavu, W Wauchope, W Mpamba, JH Soga, Dr AB Xuma, Charlotte Maxeke and many others. This rich scholarship was never to see the light in a consolidated document during Mqhayi’s lifetime.

The works referred to above would have featured prominently in the library of the new elite of the Eastern Cape in the pre-War era. But they have still not made their way into formal historical literature to the present day, in whatever way that is defined. The recording of oral history, and the understanding of how it came to influence the emergent literature of those who had been educated in mission schools, was only engaged with seriously by historians from the time of the publication of Jan Vansina’s *Oral Tradition* in 1961.
This was closely followed by the ground-breaking volume by Monica Wilson and LM Thompson, *Oxford History of South Africa*, Vol. 1, which, strongly influenced by social anthropology, sought to bring African history into the mainstream of historiography for the first time in South Africa. But just as space seemed to be opening up for an Africanist approach to historical research, and the possibility of greater influence for those who situated themselves in the tradition outlined above, the new revisionist Marxist historiography came to dominate the field and class rather than race and ethnicity came to dominate historical scholarship at the end of the apartheid era.

Despite the constraints of apartheid on school curriculum, spaces were opened up for a more flexible approach to the matriculation history syllabus through the Joint Matriculation Board from the 1980s as the curriculum and the examination were specifically designed, in keeping with the New History approach to school history, to stress analytical thinking over rote learning. The changes were demonstrated in a new generation of textbooks like Jan J Breitenbach (ed.). *South Africa and the Modern World, 1910-1970* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1974) and Peter Kallaway (ed.). *History Alive 9 and 10* (Pietermaritzburg, Shuter & Shooter, 1986-7), but these changes displayed scant regard for the tradition of historical writing represented by the Xhosa literary tradition referred to above.

Outside of the formal school curriculum, the Communist Party night schools curricula for adult worker education was concerned to emphasise the disastrous effects of colonialism and dispossession on African peoples in Southern Africa and stressed the creation of an economic underclass through the violence of political and economic control. However there was little recognition of the role of African culture in this account, and the role of African intellectuals and spiritual leaders was seldom highlighted. I am open to correction on this point as I have not been able to locate specific historical writing designed for use in the Worker’s Night Schools.

Perhaps the most significant and sympathetic contribution to a revision of South African history with an emphasis on the role the black community in history prior to the 1960s is to be found in Eddie Roux’s *Time Longer than Rope* (Roux, 1948:7). He set out to write “a general account of the political history of the black man [sic] in South Africa, the battles he has waged, the organisations he has built and the personalities that have taken part in the struggle”. Yet, for all its strengths in foregrounding an African viewpoint relating to the history of South Africa, his focus on the effects of conquest
and modernisation, and the proletarianisation of the African population, this work lacks an awareness of the tradition of historical writing emphasised here.

Finally, the historical writing of members of the Non-European Unity Movement and the Teachers’ League of South African (TLAS) by Dora Taylor (Nosipho Majeke), *The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest*, (Johannesburg, Society for Young Africa, 1952) along with Hosea Jaffé’s, *Three Hundred Years* (Mnguni), (Cape Town: APDUSA, 1988) and *The Contribution of Non-European Peoples to World Civilization* (Wynberg: New Unity Movement, 1992), for all their strengths in emphasising an alternative historical perspective, also fail to recognise the tradition I have highlighted above.

**Conclusion**

The challenges of history education in contemporary South Africa are daunting. The selection of curriculum content, and even the ethos and methodology of the discipline is a site of considerable contention. While the significance of world history for education at university and school is not challenged, the choice of focus relating to African and South African history represents considerable challenges. An attempt to consider our own historiography in all its diversity and the relation of various historical traditions to the theory and practices of the school curriculum seems to provide a key site for an exploration of these complexities and to offer the promise of a secure future for the subject in schools. A key challenge at the present time to those who would “decolonise” the discipline of history and the history curriculum at school and university would seem to be to return to the rich tradition referred to above, and attempt to see how it can be reshaped and revived to enable it to take its rightful place in current historiography.

**Appendix A**

Bennie, WG (Editor). Mqhayi’s contributions to the Stewart Xhosa Senior Reader (Published by Lovedale press in various impressions between 1936 and the 1940s)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ULUHLU IWEZIFUNDO (CONTENTS)</th>
<th>PAGES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HINCWADI ZESIKHOSAZABAFUNDI Umbongo weentaka (poem) (Books of the Learning Centre)</td>
<td>5-7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IITAKA EZIBALULEKILYO EMA-XHOSENII - I & II
(Important features in the Church) 8-20

IMBEKO
(Honour) 21-25

(+ FW Fitz-Simons no SEK Nqhayi) UMZI WEENYOKA
(City of Snakes) 68-73

UKUFIA KWETSHAWE
(Arrival Date) 81-93

1. AA! ZWE LIYA Z, UZA!  
(AA! The world is Coming, Coming)

2. BAYETHI! LANGA LIKHANYA!  
(Put it! The Sun shines)

3. ITSHAWE LASE-BRITANI  
(Awarded to Britain)

IZILO EZIKHULU
(These are the Great) 93-98

U-DON-JADU
(Don-Jadu) 116-122

1. Iinciniiba  
(Ostriches)

2. Amazkhwenkwe  
(Boys)

3. Iintombi  
(Daughters)

IQAKAMBA
(Cricket) 153-158

AA! LWANGANDA!  
(AA! An increase) 187-190

U-MAQOMO  
(Not attributed – but since Mqhayi wrote on this topic it seems likely that it was his work) 190-192

ABU – THWA, AMA-LAWU, NAMA-XHOSA
(Response to Schapera’s contribution on Khoisan) 139 – 242

References


Abstract

Currently the educational system is experiencing a process in which different teaching and learning methods are being used in conjunction with several forms of technology with the aim of improving the educational process. This is only a natural aspect of the educational process when looking at it within a larger societal sphere. When placing focus on subjects – specifically History – it should be noted that History as subject requires the incorporation of more modern technology in order to move away from the traditional method of chalk and talk History instruction.

There are various teaching and learning aids like interactive whiteboards and data projectors but they are however not the latest forms of technology that can be used as a pedagogy tool that place is reserved for Virtual Reality (VR) and the goggles that accompanies it. Virtual Reality is a computer simulated environment – cyberspace/ augmented reality – with which the technology user can interact. Within this cyberspace the user focuses on virtual sights and virtual sounds in an attempt to create immersive experiences through the application of technologies like VR-Goggles which are also known as Head Mounted Displays (HMD’s).

The aim of this article is to introduce Virtual Reality and the accompanying goggles to History educators and look at possibilities on how it can be utilised.

Keywords: Virtual Reality (VR); VR-Goggles; HMD’s; TPACK; Technology; History teaching and learning.

Introduction

When addressing the topic of VR as a pedagogy tool it should be stated that it is not suggested that VR should replace current pedagogies tools but that it should rather be used in conjunction with other pedagogy tools and teaching and learning methods like the traditional chalk and talk method – even this method has its place within the educational system. Furthermore, it should be noted that the use of VR and VR-Goggles can only take place if the advantages and disadvantages thereof is understood especially with regards to its relationship to the learning content (Mandal, 2013). Up until now
in South Africa VR and VR-Goggles have most commonly been used as a method to improve gaming on consoles like the Playstation 4 and has been addressed in the film “Ready Player One” which is an adaptation of a novel written by Ernest Cline. This should however not become the predetermined plateau of VR especially when considering the possibilities it has for the educational environment and more specifically the History classroom. While experimentation with VR in the History classroom has taken place abroad in History classrooms from The United States and in workshops from the UK it is still needs to be thoroughly tested and implemented in South Africa.

**Relationship between technology, pedagogy and content**

In order to have a clear idea of the relationship between VR and VR-Goggles, how it’s used and the learning content it has been found that the TPACK diagram represents this relationship the most correctly.

**Diagram 1: Relationship between technology, pedagogy and content known as TPACK**

![Diagram](source: Koehler; 2018.)

If we look at the diagram above we find that VR forms part of the TPK, TK, TCK and then ultimately of the TPACK. VR can aid in the instruction of History through accurate content-based visual and audio stimuli that will reflect the historical environment that is being studied. It should however be mentioned that VR can’t just be used for the sake of using a modern form of pedagogy tool but that it should be used with a specific purpose in mind that will enhance the teaching and learning of the prescribed content. The problem however and especially in South Africa is that VR is rather being used within gaming and films and not within the educational spheres which results in a predetermined plateau for this technology where in reality that
plateau should not exist. Well-developed VR software and hardware when used as a pedagogy tool allows for an educational process that values learning through experiences within the interactive classroom. This statement can be seen as proven true when looking at both the History classes of Mr Stahl from Franklin Regional and Mr Hanson from Hunter’s Lane High School wherein they make use of VR (News Channel 5; 2017).

**Five steps to incorporate VR**

When looking at the prospect of incorporating VR there are five steps that can be used as a platform that directs the process of its incorporation. These steps are adapted from research done by Nies et al. (2006) regarding when to incorporate technology within to a classroom environment. These steps are as follows:

- **Accepting** – Educators should accept that society and the educational system which is a social construct is changing and therefore History instruction should change/adapt. Due to the advances in technology History has become a multi-disciplinary process and needs to be aligned according to the TPACK.

- **Recognizing** – Educators should recognize where, when and how technologies like VR-Goggles can be used to not only engage with subject content but to also enrich the process of transferring subject content to students.

- **Exploring** – Educators should explore and determine which technologies can be applied to the when, where and how. For this study the focus is on VR-Goggles as pedagogy tool.

- **Adapting** – Educators should adapt their lessons and methods of instruction to include VR-Goggles within the lesson phase identified. This however does not mean that educators should abandon their current methodologies but rather work on a way to incorporate more into their methodology.

- **Advancing** – Within this step the educator analyses the students’ understanding and interaction with VR-Goggles and determines if, when, where and how VR-Goggles should be further actively incorporated with the educational process.

Furthermore, if the above mentioned steps are to be used and VR is to be taken into consideration it should be noted that there are primarily two forms of VR that can be used within the History class. These forms of VR affords the opportunity to secondary and tertiary institutions to use technology – VR – in a way that is more modern and relevant to not only the learners at school but also in the training of the pre-service History teachers as well. According to Black (2017) these two forms are:
Simulations: This computer simulated 3D environment responds to the users’ movements and location in an attempt to allow interaction between the users’ and the subject content.

360˚ video/images: A 360˚ video/image is a video/photograph taken of a real-life location through one/multiple cameras. The video/image with its separate parts are then compiled together on a computer. These videos/images when compiled together are then programmed to respond to the users’ head movements. This form of VR will most likely be used when a low-cost VR software and hardware is being used due to it not allowing interaction like simulations but places the user into a singular 3D environment.

While the above mentioned is the only two forms of VR there are however various forms of VR hardware that creates the above mentioned VR environments. These VR hardware systems are as follows (Black, 2017):

Head-mounted displays (HMD): A HMD is the way in which a person can experience VR. Within the HMD each eye has its own individual screen/projection. These HMD’s can be applied to simulations and 360˚ videos/images and works best when it can track head or movements in real time.

Mobile VR: Mobile VR works through placing a smartphone within a HMD. The sensors within the mobile system’s computing system provides the ability to see in 360˚ view. This form of VR is the least expensive and most accessible due to computing power not being able to run more advanced VR software.

High-end VR: High-end VR are devices made for the solitary use of VR and requires very powerful computers with highly sophisticated graphics cards. This form of VR allows for full body movement and is currently found within The Oculus Rift and gaming systems like the PS4. This aforementioned examples of high-end VR allows a person to be mostly stationary within a certain physical area except for the use of the arms while the avatar that portrays the person within the virtual environment has a full range of motion. If this VR is to be used within the educational environments each student may not have their own equipment and it is due to this that collaboration between educators within a faculty and between faculties should be promoted. The emphasis when incorporating VR into the educational process should be placed on quality over quantity while sharing resources within high quality educational programs. This form of VR hardware has the most possibilities for the educational process but until it can be mass produced it should be used in classes with a relatively low number of students.

360˚ cameras: These cameras are able to shoot 360˚ images in high definition while some of these cameras can even record audio. If a mass distribution and
implementation of this hardware occurs the creation of VR content can more easily be developed.

**Possibilities when incorporating VR into the History classroom**

Immersive VR will allow History students to engage with subject content interactively and immersively instead of passively. These experiences especially in regards to History can’t be obtained in any other way and affords the learner that may not have the opportunity to visit certain historical locations the possibility of an excursion to any historical site which has been recorder within a VR compatible format. Furthermore, when using VR in conjunction to other teaching and learning strategies within the interactive classroom History students with different strengths are engaged within the educational process. This means that students are all given equal opportunities to engage with the subject content according to their academic strengths. While using VR to visit any time period in History the pace of the video/image/simulation can cover multiple months/years during the lesson and is not fully restricted by the class schedule (Pantelidis, 2010).

VR allows the History student to experience that which has already been experienced by thousands while it allows the History educator to provide interesting and meaningful learning experiences to students.

**The making of your own VR-Goggles**

The main problem with the incorporation of VR is however the financial implications of this technology as a pedagogy tool within the education sector. While this can be considered as a hindrance towards the implementation of VR it should not deter the History educator from at least attempting to incorporate VR within their teaching arsenal. VR when adapted to the aforementioned classrooms can make use of HMD’s to provide VR experiences to students even if the VR is low cost. While incorporating VR-Goggles there are low-cost alternative but effective ways to acquire and use this pedagogy tool like making your own VR-Goggles as will be shown in the steps below.

The following is what is needed to make low cost VR-Goggles followed by a step by step illustration of the process:

- Cardboard
- Water bottles
- Sand paper
- Glue
• Syringe
• Water

When all of the resources have been acquired there are 17 steps to follow when creating your own VR-Goggles:

**Table 1: Steps to create a pair of VR-Goggles**

| Steps               | Photograph
|---------------------|-------------
| Step 1              | ![Step 1 Photograph](image1.jpg) |
| Take a water bottle and cut off the top part and use the bottle cap to draw four circles on the part of the bottle |

| Step 2              | ![Step 2 Photograph](image2.jpg) |
| Cut between the circles and then cut out the circles |

---

1 The first cm given in a sentence refers to the horizontal and the second cm in a sentence refers to the vertical unless indicated otherwise.
### How to make the VR-Goggles after the lenses are made

**Step 3**
Glue the circles together but leave an open space at the top to inject the water – 4 circles become 2 circles.

**Step 4**
Use syringe to inject water into the glued together circles until full and then glue the circles/lenses shut.

**Step 5**
Make 2 cardboard cut outs of 15.3 cm x 8 cm

**Step 6**
Make 2 holes within the cardboard cut outs and then insert the lenses within a cut-out.
Step 7
Make another cardboard cut-out with a half circle cut-out from it and a smaller circle cut-out of the larger half circle.
This cut-out is 16 cm and 11.4 cm. At the other side of the cut-out the horizontal is 1 cm and 1 cm thus creating a half circle of 14 cm. At the centre/top of the circle a smaller circle should be cut of about 3 cm and starts at 6.4 cm and ends at 9.4 cm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 7</th>
<th>![Step 7 Image]</th>
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Step 8
Make two more cardboard cut outs of 14 cm and 8 cm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 8</th>
<th>![Step 8 Image]</th>
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Step 9
Start assembling the cut-outs by attaching/gluing the cardboard cut-outs of step 7 & 8. These cut-outs are from the previous step is the sides of the VR-Goggles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 9</th>
<th>![Step 9 Image]</th>
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</table>
Step 10
Add the lenses cardboard cut-out to the rest of the assembled cut-outs above/ touching the small circle of step 10 within step 12

Step 11
Make another cut-out to close the back of the goggles to hold the phone from behind

Step 12
Make a thin cut-out to place between lenses

Step 13
Make a cardboard cut-out to place at the top of the goggles but leave an open space of about 1 cm to fit the phone in
Conclusion

With VR we can take our students outside of the classroom cognitively while remaining in the classroom physically and in doing so we provide memorable teaching and learning experiences that will not only benefit them but benefit the entire History teaching and learning process. VR and VR-Goggles can provide a refreshed feeling when teaching and learning History and while it has certain disadvantages the advantages however provides us with an idea of what we can do within the History classroom. Thus, the financial implications should not deter us from attempting to use VR, a technology of tomorrow, but should rather motivate us to find alternative ways to incorporate VR as a pedagogy tool today.

References


BOOK REVIEWS


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This book is the fourth volume in a series covering African politics in South Africa from 1882 to 1990. It presents the work done by 571 carefully-selected individuals that were critical in forging a way to emancipate African society from colonial and apartheid oppression. The culmination of the profiles of each of these individuals is how they contributed immensely to the making of present-day South Africa.

Although the book clearly identifies its focus to be on African politics, it shows how colonial oppression was experienced by people of different racial profiles such that it was also challenged by individuals from across the broad spectrum of South African society. It covers resistors to the establishment of early colonial systems such as Chief Bambatha, early African nationalists such as John Dube and Sol Plaatje, academics such as Professor DDT Jabavu and Dulcie September, trade unionists such as Clements Kadalie and Lilian Ngoyi, student activists such as Tsietsi Mashinini and Ongkopotse Tiro and representatives of different political formations such as Nelson Mandela, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Fathima Meer, Joe Slovo and Robert Sobukwe.

The characters that are in the book are of various profiles regardless of race, gender, age and political affiliation. While the already well-known historical characters such as Nelson Mandela are in the book, their profiles are not necessarily accorded more space than those of lesser known characters.

It should be stressed that the book does well to put women at the centre stage of shaping South African history, especially by highly recognising their role in the struggle against colonialism and apartheid. Examples of the featured women are Winnie Mandela, Ruth First, Helen Joseph, Mamphela Ramphele, Florence Matomela, Charlotte Maxeke and Ruth Mampati. While all these names may be famous, there are other unsung profiles such as Jacqueline
Sedibe who was “the highest ranking woman in Umkhonto weSizwe (MK)” (p. 476) and Elizabeth Mafekeng who is described as an “outstanding trade unionist” (p. 216). Admittedly, there are more male profiles than those of women in the book, yet the authors make it clear how women from different backgrounds and structures played a pivotal role in South African history.

In terms of style, the book presents a strong sense of authenticity. It demonstrates evidence of thorough research on the particular individuals, painting not just convincing, but very fascinating profiles. Each of the characters has all their full names, including their aliases and maiden names (for those who had them). Also provided are dates of birth and death (where applicable), places of birth and careers. None of the profiles is over-elaborated, so no character seems obviously more prominent than others. However, while the profiles are all brief, they are very detailed.

I would recommend this book to readers who are keen on history for both academic and leisure purposes. This means that History teachers can also use this book as a reference as they prepare for their lessons. Furthermore, all enthusiasts of freedom from all around the world may find this book to be a very rich resource.

**The Black Consciousness reader**


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The book is about the history of blackness and what it means to be black. It is a philosophical account about Black Consciousness (BC) which draws the narratives from interviews, opinions of authors and secondary data. The book recognises Steve Biko as significant within the BC movement history but also identifies other personalities such as Nkosi Albert Luthuli, Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, Ongkhopotse Tiro, Vuyelwa Mashalaba, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, Assata Shakur, Neville Alexander, Thomas Sankara, Walter Rodney, Lefifi Tladi, and Ready D who played an important role in the history of the philosophy. Themes that come into play in explaining the philosophy are politics, land, women, power, art, music and religion. The
book is important in this dispensation in education as we grapple with the topical issue of decolonisation of the curriculum as it posits what it means to be black which is the cornerstone of what decolonisation has to focus on – a redefinition of the entire outlook of blacks from their own context and not from a western lens.

But the drawback of the book is that it does not do justice in drawing black consciousness from the perspective of African philosophy. In fact, nothing in the book is mentioned on African philosophy as the ideal underpinning BC. The philosophy of Ubuntu (what it means to be human = love, respect, dignity) are missing in the entire book. Hence, this is clear when the book concludes with the chapter on land in the sense that nothing is discussed on what land means to black people. That is, for Africans, the concept of land is not only based on a western perspective of just property over which one has title deeds, but it is religion, history, and affirms one’s humanness. Thus, providing the indigenous lens would have made the book perhaps a much more interesting BC reader.

The chapters from 1 to 7 explain how blackness is constructed using religion, art, music, politics, writing, dreams and cohesion of those who developed it throughout history. But the essence of the book is that BC is black pride and not emulation of whiteness. The key concepts defining BC in the book are emancipation, restoring black culture, freedom from white liberalism and anti-black racism, the battle against neo-liberalism, Azania as a name for South Africa and the commandments of BC. The chapter focuses on diverse themes to explain the pride embedded in BC and the authors grapple with the issue at hand, which questions if black people are truly free in the new dispensation of democratic South Africa? The book traces the history of BC from Steve Biko in 1946 when he was born to 2009 when AZAPO earned a seat in the post-apartheid National Assembly. Similarly, throughout these aforementioned years, authors trace significant people who developed the philosophy on BC and how it was used throughout the history of BC. The reader shows how Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe in 1958 led a breakaway from the African National Congress to form the Pan Africanist Movement in 1959 because of his BC standpoint, which opposed the liberal, multiracial ideological slant of the Freedom Charter. It also covers the applications of BC through the march against passes in Sharpeville in 1960, and the Rivonia trial in 1964 where people like Nelson Mandela used BC in court to argue their case are significant. In 1969 the South African Students Organization
constitution formed on BC philosophy with Biko as a leader and strikes like the Soweto Uprising in 1976 occurred. The BC philosophy also led to the death of many people who believed and spread it like Onkgopotse Abram Tiro in 1974 after a speech that focused on BC ideals at Turfloop graduation in 1973. Biko followed in 1977. The authors also show how, due to BC movement parties like the Azanian People’s Organisation in 1978, Azanian Students Organization in 1979, the London Based BC Movement in 1980, were formed. BC is seen by the authors as a state of mind not an ideology, hence they argue that, until today there are still fights by adherents of the philosophy like the PAC and AZAPO, especially on issues like land that the new constitution does not address from a BC perspective.

In Chapter 1, Biko is defined as the hero of the BC but other people who have played major roles in the establishment of the BC movement such as Hendrick Musi, Barney Pityana and Nengwekhulu are also mentioned. The chapter also describes the impact of the American Black Panthers who fought for civil rights in the United States and political activism in other countries as was the case with student protests in Sweden, Brazil, Mexico, Poland Italy and Yugoslavia in moulding Biko’s views about BC. Also given credit is the Jamaican community which in October 1968 fought against their government’s banning of Black Power, thus inciting leaders like Biko to form a similarly radical and black issues-driven student organisation. The role of migrant workers who were politicised in order to spread the BC philosophy is also identified.

In Chapter 2, the author depicts the roots of BC in terms of who sowed it and how the philosophy blossomed. It is argued in the chapter that global influence ensured the success and flowering of the movement. People like Malcom X and the Black Panther socialist students, socialist workers in France, Spain, Mexico and Yugoslavia were militant and virtually shut down their countries fighting for equal rights. Also noted is how, in Africa, from Cape to Cairo, indigenous people were fighting for decolonisation in their countries. Philosophers such as Ngugi wa Thiong’o, Carlos Cooks, Julius Nyerere, Phumla Gqola, Assata Shakur are mentioned among others as key in the prospering BC movement. Similarly, Robert Sobukwe, Patrice Lumumba, Thomas Sankara, and Samora Machel to mention but a few are seen as key influencers of the movement as their beliefs and writings focused on an anti-colonialist agenda. Some of the philosophies that are seen to be fundamental in BC are those that affirm the liberation from oppression of black people like
Chapter 3 reveals how Christian leaders spread the BC movement and that the Bible offered activism for Christians to play a role in fighting against injustices. Christians are applauded for their contribution to the birth of the movement interracially – as is illustrated of Afrikaner Beyers Naude and Lutheran Manas Buthelezi, who used God as their cover to support and fund the liberation movement.

In Chapter 4, the Soweto massacre is depicted as being the most horrendous event in the history of South Africa in terms of the massacre of school children. The Soweto uprising is noted as the event that brought a turning point because it was led by brave teenagers who were influenced by the BC elders and teachers. Youth politics under students’ organisations like the South African Student Movement, and South African Student Organization, are depicted as having played a major role in the eradication of apartheid. Diverse student leaders’ history is thus depicted like that of Tsietsi Mashini, Kgaotso Seatlholo, and Seth Mazibuko among others.

Chapter 5 focuses on the significance of art, acknowledging writers, poets, painters, musicians, photographers and filmmakers within BC. The authors show us the history of some of the arts that was sympathetic to and helped in spreading BC.

In Chapter 6, the role of women in BC is depicted through the actions of Mamphela Ramphela, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and other unsung heroines like, Manku Noruka, Zulaikha Pate, Sibongile Mkhabela among others. The stories of these heroines are outlined in the chapter to explain the significant role they played in promoting BC. The author argues that, as in other organisations, the role of women in BC has been undermined, but through interviews and communication with BC students a list of heroines of the movement has been drawn.

The book concludes with Chapter 7, which is on land and how important it is in the BC movement. Land is depicted as the key issue of struggle for the current BC in the sense that land segregation is informed by class. Land is also seen by the author as key for BC because it is at the heart of black people as it is about the loss of their birthright. The chapter narrates the history behind landlessness of blacks by referring to different Acts like the Native Land Act of 1913 and the Group Areas Act of 1950. It then moves to
discuss the Democratic government constitution of 1994 through Section 26 on Housing where it is stated that all South Africans must be given shelter and are protected from illegal evictions. The Act supports land restoration and the book uses different views of BC people like Julius Malema, Abahlali baseMjondolo, Andile Mngcitama and the Black First Land First Movement to support this.

The book is an excellent reader for teachers and students who want to understand the history behind blackness and black consciousness. It conceptualises black consciousness very well and in simple terms which can be understood by students. In this dispensation of decolonisation of education the book can assist in the understanding of who a black person is and teach students about nation-building through the eyes of black people. The authors used interviews to narrate stories about BC to give context to the BC movement. Examples of different historical figures both famous and not so famous are used in the book to explain the importance of the movement. The book’s drawback lies on some western lens of conceptualising BC which could be strengthened by inserting a black lens of looking at BC. For example, the background of Steve Biko was helpful in understanding BC yet his indigenous Xhosa roots, how he was raised and the values he followed are crucial ways of understanding him better. Even Chapter 3 which focuses on Christianity and BC would have been more interesting if it gave more space to diverse religions including African religion. Such weaknesses illustrate how writing through a western lens can overshadow narratives Africanist writers try to explain.

Exploring decolonising themes in SA Sport History: Issues and challenges


Francois Cleophas (Editor)

Leepile Motlaolwa
University of Pretoria
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The notion of decolonisation has always been acknowledged – many works on decolonisation have been published, but not much has been written on the decolonisation of sport from both an international and South African perspective. Historically, the concept of decolonisation focuses on political
independence from colonisers. The legacy of colonialism and the impact of colonial projects cannot be ignored. As I read Exploring decolonising articles in SA Sport History: Issues and challenges, I was confronted by the notions of racial inferiority and superiority in sport as a result of colonial subjugation and exploitation, as well as the impact of colonial apartheid on black inferiority and white superiority. The book reminded me of how colonialism, especially within the apartheid context, affected the progress of black people in sport. This book resonates with the importance of history in trying to redress the inequalities of the past in sport, and to rediscover our own history, culture and identity.

The title of the book alone provides the reader with an idea of its content, which evoked my curiosity. It articulates the effects of post-colonial history in sport and brings together a most valuable body of knowledge which is necessary to rewrite the history of sport in South Africa and introduce new sport narratives. In the post-apartheid era in sport, this book seems very appropriate. The book broadens the debate on the decolonisation of sport in a South African context and provides a contextual theoretical framework so as to understand South African history in sport.

The introduction by Prof Andre Odendaal, Reflections on writing a post-colonial history of a colonial game (p. 1), highlights how black players contributed to the game of cricket in nineteenth century South Africa. He further reflects on how colonial and apartheid ideologies have been used as an excuse to discriminate against black people.

The chapter on Decolonising sport: some thoughts by Prof Lesley Le Grange (p. 15) deliberates more on the meaning of decolonisation and the implication of decolonisation in sport. Le Grange argues that recognition should be given to indigenous sports because of the connection between indigenous sports and South African cultural traditions. The narratives in this book present opportunities to deconstruct the notion of white dominance in the history of sport, as well as reconstruct the history of sport in South Africa.

Dr Hendrik Synders (p. 23) puts forward a well-considered and relevant argument on the historical significance of sport fans in South African sport history. The story of Gasant Ederoos Behardien reveals different forms of racial stereotyping.

The subsequent chapters in this book narrate the historical accounts of
black people in sport, the exclusion of women in the history of sport and contestation, which Muslim women encountered as they navigated their way in the public space of sport. Venter (p. 55) presents the complexities which existed within non-racial football during the late 1970s. This chapter illustrates the complex process of integration between football structures and constant tension amongst the professional football clubs and administrators.

Dewald Steyn (p. 141) presents his experiences with black athletes, providing insight around remarkable achievements and the history of black athletes as far back as 1863. In doing so, he dispels the myth that black athletes had no significant contribution in sport. The conclusion by Robin April (p. 147) illustrates the impact and legacy of apartheid; people had limited options of what they could become in life and could not fulfil their hopes in the process.

The historical narratives in this book are well articulated and based on accurate relevant research in South African sport history – giving voice to personal experiences. Exploring decolonising themes in SA Sport History: Issues and Challenges offers a deeper historical sport understanding and insight on hidden South African sport history. Most of the chapters reflect on Western Cape narratives, however the sport historical narratives in this book reflect the effects of colonisation in South Africa. Ultimately, this book has the potential to contribute towards the decolonisation discourse in South African sport. Dr Francois Cleophas and the contributing authors have foregrounded the concept of decolonisation in sport. The book is engaging and very informative, definitely worth reading.
SASHT in partnership with CPUT presents

History Teaching Conference

The 2018

WHEN 5 – 6 October 2018
WHERE CPUT Mowbray

THEME
• Bridging the divide between theory and practice in the History curriculum
• Reflecting on the intended-, enacted and assessed curricula as it is manifested in school classrooms

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South African Society
For History Teaching
(SASHT)
32nd Annual Conference
of the
South African Society for History
Teaching
(SASHT)

CPUT Mowbray, Cape Town
5 - 6 October 2018
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Introduction

Welcome to Cape Town! On behalf of the Society I extend a warm welcome to all delegates to the 32nd Annual Conference of the South African Society for History Teaching. After several years in the north the conference returns to the people of the south. The recent good rains belies the real challenge Cape Town has been facing with regard to water security. Stringent restrictions have been put in place reminding its citizens of the very real need to treat water as a scarce resource.

Whilst water might be a scarcity during this conference the programme shows that exciting presentations and workshops are offered in abundance. Delegates are invited to immerse themselves into the affordances of these spaces.

May the conference prove to be a productive experience, one which will allow you to, with greater confidence, bridge the divide between theory and practice.

- Barry Firth
A Short History of SASHT

The South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) was founded in 1986. The year of the implementation of the State of Emergency also saw teachers of history organise themselves with the intention to promote the school subject History as a discipline with its own specialised structure and content.

The name of the Society appears to have been used in two ways. Initially, from the date of its founding until at least 1988, when the first conference at US took place, it was referred to as the Society for the Training of History Teachers. During the annual meeting of the SASHT executive at US, the name change was accepted. By the time the 1992 conference took place, the new name of the Society was widely used. This change was apparently made to ensure that the Society's focus was also inclusive of tertiary history educators from the History Didactics / Teaching Methodology and History Departments.

For many years the SASHT did not use a specific logo to identity itself. After *Yesterday and Today* officially became part of the SASHT activities, this journal's identity was spontaneously used for the SASHT as well (www.sashtw.org.za). Now in its 32nd year, the SASHT continues to serve as a space valued by teachers of history from all quarters of our country.

Members of SASHT Executive

- Mr Barry Firth (President)
- Dr Pieter Warnich (Vice President)
- Dr Kate Angier
- Ms Marj Brown
- Ms Michelle Friedman
- Mr Jake Manenzhe
- Dr Marshall Maposa
- Ms Leah Nasson
- Ms Rika Odendaal
- Ms Gill Sutton
Acknowledgements

The organization of a conference is always a stressful adventure because of all the very small things and all the very important issues that have to be planned and managed. Firstly, I would like to thank the Dean of the Faculty of Education, Prof T Mda, for agreeing to host the conference at CPUT Mowbray. Without the support of the Faculty this conference would not have been possible.

A special thanks to the team at the District 6 Museum and Homecoming Centre for hosting our conference dinner. Their efforts to create a critical space allow us to immerse ourselves, and if only for an evening, to let down our guard and hair.

Thank you, too, to the students and teachers of Alexander Sinton High School who gave up part of their school holidays to contribute to the Conference. Their presence reminds us why this conference is necessary:

Our gratitude extends also to the volunteers who have availed of their time to assist in this conference.

To the Organising Committee I express sincere gratitude for agreeing to serve as a critical soundboard and ensuring that our conference was tailored to values and priorities consistent with the social- and economic realities of our country. To Rika Odendaal, Gill Sutto, Jane Versfeld, Rob Sieborger, Ant Lister, Francois Cleophas and Gordon Brookbanks: Thank you for giving up so many afternoons to structure this conference.

A word of thanks to all the presenters. We applaud your decision to come to our conference to share ideas and knowledge – those very ideas which in time to come will shape our discipline. It is these presentations which bring together this assembly.

Finally, thank you to Dr Cina Mosito of CPUT, and to the Keynote speakers, Dr Mumsy Malinga and Zapiro, whose biographies appear on the next page.
Keynote Speakers

Dr Mumsy Malinga

I am a history teacher and Faculty Head of Humanities at Redhill School where I also head the Diversity (Ubuntu) Committee. I have taught history in the private school sector for 18 years and my passion for the subject does not end in the classroom. I also consult as an education workshop facilitator for SAHA (South African History Archives) and the Apartheid Museum. I am currently in my second year PhD where I am investigating the role of Johannesburg schools in socialising and gendering the youth from 1948 to 1994. I have also done extensive work for uMalusi, ranging from curriculum evaluation to longitudinal study comparing the entry and exit outcomes of CAPS and I have written a textbook. I am also an internal moderator for the IEB history examinations paper 1 and paper 2. My hobbies include reading, especially historical novels and attending lectures and book launches.

Jonathan Shapiro

Born in Cape Town in 1958 and also known as Zapiro. He could not imagine a career in cartooning, so studied architecture at the University of Cape Town. He then could not imagine a career in architecture, so tried switching to Graphic Design and promptly got conscripted.

While in the army Zapiro refused to bear arms and became active in 1983 in the newly-formed United Democratic Front (UDF). His arrest under the Illegal Gatherings Act caused some consternation in the South African Defence Force (SADF) and his being monitored by military intelligence while also participating in the End Conscription Campaign, and designing its logo. His work as a cartoonist began in earnest with a wide range of political and progressive organisations. When the newspaper South began in 1987, he became its editorial cartoonist. He was detained by security police in 1988 shortly before leaving on a Fulbright Scholarship to study media arts at the School of Visual Arts in New York. New York was an eye-opening experience where he studied under comics masters Art Spiegelman, Will Eisner and Harvey Kurtzman.

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What's Happening in Gr 4 classrooms? Your Own Backyard: Making Local History Relevant | **Jongikhaya Mvenene**  
The Use of Oral Tradition, Chiefs' Bulls and Genealogies as Historical Sources in the FET History Classroom | **Denise Bentrovato and Johan Wassermann**  
Entering a Liminal Space: Pre-Service Teachers' Experiences in Enacting a Transformative Curriculum in SA's History Classrooms |
| 13h00 | Roland N. Ndille  
A Flip Through My School History Book: Why I Must Unlearn What I Learnt to Relearn | Phumza Mbobob  
Silent Representation of Historically Significant Couples in the FET History Textbooks: The Mandelas | Pieter Warnich  
Bridging the Divide Between Theory and Practical Teaching: A Critical Reflection by History Trainee Teachers |

**LUNCH**

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Make a Museum Display (Gr 4 Local History Project) | Lucille Dawkshas  
Creative Teaching Methodology in History in the FET Phase | Robert Faltermeyer  
Beyond the Classroom: Online field trips. Using Google Tour Builder to Bring History Excursions and Tours into Your Classroom | Barbara Johannesson  
The British on the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony and the Western Frontier of Xhosa Settlement (GR 7) | Lindsay Wills  
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<td>The Practice of Oral History Projects in Schools and the Potential of Oral History in Civic Education</td>
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<td>Marj Brown</td>
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<td>08h30 - 09h30</td>
<td>KEYNOTE ADDRESS by Dr Mumsy Malinga: The History Teacher in 21st Century South Africa</td>
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<td>Dani Cooper</td>
<td>Expanding the History Curriculum: Teaching for Depth of Understanding in the FET Phase</td>
<td>The Making of the Documentary ‘Salt River High 1976 – The Untold Story’</td>
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<td>Student-Teachers’ Identity and the Teaching of Controversial Issues in History at an Institution in SA</td>
<td>History and Teacher-led Random Control Trials</td>
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### ALPHABETICAL LIST OF PRESENTERS

**SAT 6th VENUE:**

**TIME:** 10h00

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<td>Layers of History in an Unfolding Time Line of Salt River</td>
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**By**

Koni Benson

Salt River Heritage Society / UWC Department of History

**ABSTRACT**

The aim of this timeline is to develop an interactive tool to be used to spark memories of the past and conversations about the future of Salt River. It is a work in progress, that has been developed by present and past Salt River residents who have come together to consider collecting and compiling the history and heritage of the people, the river, institutions and organisations, current and past, of one of the oldest suburbs in Cape Town. Importantly, the initiative emanated from initial discussions between current and past residents who felt that with the real threat of the area being gentrified, there is an urgent need to preserve and record in order to keep the ambience and close-knit community spirit that has been the symbol of many similar suburbs.

The newly formed Salt River Heritage Society (SRHS), has a vision to provide a platform for the documentation and preservation of the history and heritage of the area and its peoples. Can the building of an interactive timeline be used as a mobilizing device to gain deeper appreciation and understanding about what has gone into the making and remaking of the landscape around us, the communities living in the area, and our relationships to the rest of the city, in a way that can open up stories, memories, dialogues, and imaginations about the past and future of the neighborhood? Time will tell.

**KEY WORDS**

Salt River, heritage, memory, dialogue, landmarks, community, gentrification
This paper examines the experiences reported by 75 pre-service History teachers to shed light on some of the complexities of implementing a transformative, human rights-oriented History curriculum in South Africa’s deeply divided and unequal post-conflict society. The analysis elucidates a series of inhibiting factors commonly hindering the implementation of the intended curriculum and thus perpetuating a hidden curriculum that runs counter to government policy and academic teacher training in South Africa. These factors primarily relate to the resistance to transformation posed by obstinate institutional cultures, dated practices by mentor teachers, and learners’ preconceptions fed by unofficial histories.

Ultimately, the analysis indicates a significant disjuncture between curricular policies and theories studied at university on the one hand, and teaching in the real world on the other hand; it thereby points to a resulting experiencing of the context of curriculum enactment as a liminal space, that is, a threshold that acts as a barrier to professional growth. It also provides evidence of largely transformed History classrooms, as illustrated by the centrality of racist and racism to classroom experiences—a sign of the deep-rooted legacies of South Africa’s past which continues to influence the way certain institutions, pre-service teachers, mentor teachers and learners relate to History and to each other.
# Title

**Re-imagining the Journey: Expanding the History Curriculum to Teach for Depth of Understanding in the FET Phase**

**By**

Gordon J Brookbanks  
Westerford High School, Rondebosch

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**Abstract**

While the NSC CAPS does prescribe topics to be taught in the FET Phase of schooling, it does not restrict an educator from teaching additional topics or extending topics. It is suggested additional topics in the Grade 10 curriculum, such as aspects of the 'American War of Independence' and the 'Abolition of Slavery in both the British Empire and United States of America, need to be taught, and the sub-topic in Grade 11 on Pan-Africanism needs to be extended. This is necessary for learners to develop a deeper understanding of prescribed CAPS topics in Grade 12.

This paper explains what, why and how expanding the History curriculum is undertaken. Based on the progression of understanding through the FET Phase, it will be explained how learners are assessed in Grade 12 through a specific Research Task, requiring their understanding of the additional topics and extension of topics in Grade 10 and 11. More importantly, it is suggested this approach provides learners with insights to engage and contribute to current debates in South Africa and the world at large.

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**Keywords**

FET phase, additional topics, understanding, background context, educator, Pan-Africanism, History, current debates
History and Teacher-led Random Control Trials

Marj Brown
Rodean School, Johannesburg

In the spirit of teachers needing to conduct more classroom-based research so that we know what the impact of our subject is on pupils, and their attitudes towards the curriculum context, an investigation was conducted into the attitudes of pupils with regard to race and identity, pre- and post-teaching pseudo-scientific racism.

This is an attempt at doing research with grade 10 pupils, where they are asked 10 questions on race, identity and their attitude to their Continent. A random control group of non-History students was used.

Questions ranged from how pupils view themselves, how others view them (teachers and peers), and the role of race in these relationships. Their attitude towards Africa as a continent and the origins of Humankind being in Africa were also explored.
Shaping a ‘Decolonising Sport History Curriculum’

By

Francois Cleophas
Stellenbosch University

A renewed interest in decolonising the university curriculum in South Africa is the student protests of 2015. University faculties and departments throughout the country responded. The Sports Science fraternity however remained aloof and removed from this development. This paper attempts to rupture this silence by addressing decolonisation of sport history at a conceptual and curriculum level.

After an introduction, a discussion of decolonisation and decoloniality is presented. This is followed by a conversation on sport history curriculum. Next, I dare to provide a theoretical underpinning for an alternative curriculum. Finally, I conclude with suggestions for a decolonized classroom experience.

Throughout this paper, I have tried to highlight the relationship between conceptions and curriculum practice in a sport history setting.

Keywords: decolonisation, sports, alternative curriculum
**Title**: Contextual History: the Place for Neutrality in the South African Classroom

**Presenter**: Dani Cooper
Preatoria High School for Girls, Tshwane

**Abstract**: This paper focuses on addressing sensitive and challenging topics in History education. In both the Senior and Further Education and Training (FET) phases there are a number of topics which require sensitivity, reflection and empathy to be displayed on the part of educators while facilitating learning. These topics include, but are not limited to, Nazi Germany and Apartheid in Grade 9; colonisation and the South African War in Grade 10; Eugenics, themes of Nationalism and Apartheid in Grade 11; and the Civil Rights Movement, Black Power, and the Road to Democracy in Grade 12. My paper focuses on the FET phase topics and discusses our role as history educators in present day South Africa.

History, in any context, is rarely neutral, and in teaching events that have defined current local and global realities, a history educator has to approach their learners with sensitivity to what this teaches them about their world, not just the subject matter. The paper examines the role of reflexivity in education practice, in exploring the dynamics between white educators who teach a majority of black learners as a key example of the educational context in many former ‘model C’ and private schools in South Africa. The paper will also address the generational divide between learners and teachers and how we can productively engage in History education with this in mind.
Towards a Common Sense of Nationhood: Using Cosmopolitan Memories in South African history as Teaching Material

M Noor Davids
University of South Africa College of Education
Department of Educational Foundations

The South African media frequently reports on incidents of discrimination and racial prejudice which diminishes the vision of a non-racial and free society that is enshrined in the Constitution of 1996. Given the universality of globalization, the international community is encouraged to promote peace, well-being, prosperity and sustainability through global citizenship education. While some scholars have rejected the notion of global citizenship, others prefer the concept ‘cosmopolitanism’ which refers to an orientation and willingness to engage with the Other. South Africa has a rich but fading memory of its cosmopolitan history that has been suppressed by apartheid. Despite the colonial-apartheid’s obsession with segregation, culturally diverse communities flourished in major cities but were destroyed by the Group Areas Act (1950).

Given students’ demand for a decolonized education, this article argues for the incorporation of the cosmopolitan history of South Africa into appropriate curriculum spaces to promote a non-racial society. It draws on various historical texts and literature that demonstrate historical cosmopolitanism in South Africa suggested as pedagogical material for use in secondary and tertiary education. Based on the coat of arms ‘unity in diversity’, a new, decolonised notion of cosmopolitanism in South Africa citizenship: ‘cosmubuntism’ is suggested. Cosmubuntism combines cosmopolitanism and Ubuntuism as essential elements of an inclusive identity that is historically empirical and transcends racial and cultural differences that forever gnaws at the nation-building project.

**Key Words**
cosmopolitan, global citizenship, apartheid, decolonization, cosmubuntism, nation-building
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Creative teaching methodology in History in the FET Phase</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By</td>
<td>Lucille Dawkshas</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spine Road High School, Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>My journey has been one of 'how to best teach History', seeking fun, creative ways for learners to engage with the content. I propose to present a 15-20 minute slideshow on, showing examples that have worked in my classes. For the remaining 40-45 minutes I will have a group-work task where participants create activities for specific FET topics. Discussion and reflection shall form part of this section. Participants will be given a CD with useful FET resources such as games, role-play cards, quizzes and graphic organisers. The workshop is suitable for up to 20 participants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keywords</td>
<td>Slide-show, fun, creative, resources, CD</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
This study was conducted to understand the views of rural History teachers on school History as specialised subject knowledge. Seven rural history teachers were engaged using card sorting and semi-structured interviews in order to generate data which were analysed using the thematic data analysis. The study revealed that school History, in the view of the rural History teachers, develops historical knowledge via the study about historical world leaders. Furthermore, school History equips learners with general knowledge through the study about identity which helps learners understand who they are and where they come from. Additionally, the study revealed that school History develops political knowledge via the study about political issues like governance, leadership and leadership styles.

The findings also suggested that school History provides character education through the study of issues like good citizenship which develops morals. Also, the study revealed that school History promotes historical skills like critical thinking and generic skills like planning, information sharing and listening. Lastly, the findings suggested that school History provides employment opportunities for learners in relation to their careers informed by historical knowledge.

**KEY WORDS**
views; rural; History teachers; school History; specialised subject knowledge
**WORKSHOP**

Beyond the Classroom, Online Field Trips: Using Google Tour Builder to Bring History Excursions and Tours into Your Classroom.

**By**

Robert Faltermeier  
Jeppe High School for Boys

---

Have you ever wanted your students to go on a tour or excursion about a topic you teach but it was either too far away or too expensive to do? Google Tour builder can help you bring these tours into your classroom for free. With the onset of VR (Virtual Reality), we can now bring faraway places into our classroom as well as let our students explore parts of the world that they might never get to see.

In this workshop, we will explore how Google Tour Builder allows teachers to build and share online field trips with their students as well as how to customise it for your desired outcomes. We will also see how we can bring assessments into the online tour and help, innovate your lessons and create a journey your students will never forget. This workshop is most suitable for the FET phase but can be allied to the Senior phase.

---

**KEY WORDS**

Excursion, online, explore, journey, innovation, assessment
### Title
**Decolonising the FET Curriculum: Poetry as Method in the History Classroom: Decolonising Possibilities**

### By
**Sarah Godsall**  
Division of Social and Economic Sciences,  
School of Education, Wits University

This paper will explore how BEd students’ understandings of what decolonising the History FET curriculum means in practice, using poetry as a praxis method. The first part of the paper will explore the relationship between student, teacher, and decolonisation through the medium of poetry. Poetry provides a unique combination of orality, personal perspective, artistic license, and potential for historical accuracy. It can also draw students into a lesson. As a device that is somewhat removed from students’ ideas about historical authority, it is an interesting way of investigating ideas of “truth”.

Poetry also provides an entrance to other sensitive topics: one that acknowledges and embraces complexity and pain, and also removes the teacher as mediator, even only for a moment. Additionally, it can open a way to hearing marginalised voices and stories. By using local poets, especially Black Women poets, race and gender are constantly challenged. The paper explores the tensions in decolonising the CAPS History FET curriculum and in using a creative medium such as poetry to do so.

### Key Words
- decolonising
- poetry
- orality
- marginalised voices
- race
- gender
- historical accuracy
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<th>Date</th>
<th>Venue</th>
<th>Time</th>
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<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>Institute 3</td>
<td>10h00</td>
<td>Francois Cleophas</td>
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**The Making of the United Democratic Front (UDF) Memorial: Integrating Theory and Practice**

**Paul Hendricks**  
South Peninsula High School, Cape Town  
and  
Donovan Ward

Our presentation endeavours to engage the collaborative processes embodied in the making of the UDF Memorial and, furthermore, illustrate how through an interdisciplinary method, we merged theory and practice.

We intend to demonstrate specifically how from conceptualisation through to the landscaping, the building of the memorial comprised many pedagogical moments where the historical, educational and art making processes coincided. The design and building process also encompassed integrating symbols, imagery and environmental plant-life that allude to the constructed nature of the past, present and future. These embedded concepts and features are to be elaborated on, particularly as they sought to actively and imaginatively engage the broader public.

**Keywords**
United Democratic Front, interdisciplinary, collaborative, history, art making
**FRI 5th **
**VENUE: 1 TIME: 12h00 **
**MC: Gordon Brookbanks**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>Local History: What’s happening in our Gr 4 classrooms?</th>
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| BY    | Ms Sigi Howes (Ms)  
Centre for Conservation Education, Wynberg |

Local History in the Grade 4 History curriculum has the potential for making history exciting and relevant to our learners. However, it seems that this topic is generally poorly covered in the classroom, and teachers are reluctant to engage robustly with it. The reason appears to relate to teacher capacity. Firstly, there is a lack of understanding of what is meant by local history and how to teach it. For example, one textbook gives Sea Point as a case study example; and there are numerous schools across the Western Cape teaching the history of Sea Point, while ignoring the equally rich history of the area where their schools are located. Secondly, teachers generally have limited knowledge of the history of these areas.

Finding enough information is often a real challenge, and so teachers revert to what they do know — sometimes based on hearsay and legend — or they rely heavily on the textbook. This prevents Local History from being taught effectively, and there is the danger that we are missing the point of it and not using it to strengthen our communities.

<p>| KEY WORDS | local history; relevance; investigate; surroundings; pedagogy; teacher knowledge; building communities |</p>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>FRI 5th</th>
<th>VENUE: 4</th>
<th>TIME: 14h00</th>
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<tr>
<td>TITLE</td>
<td>WORKSHOP</td>
<td>Co-operation and Conflict on the Frontiers of the Cape Colony in the Early 19th century: the British on the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony and the Western Frontier of Xhosa Settlement (Grade 7, Term 4)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPEAKER</td>
<td>Barbara Johannesson</td>
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**Abstract**

PowerPoint presentation:
Background – Dutch at the Cape

**British occupation of the Cape in 1806:**
A turning point in SA history

- The early British (1806) at the Cape – Discussion task
- The expanding frontiers of British settlement
  - Assessment task
- Task: British colonisation crossword and crossword answers
- Fourth Frontier War (1811–12)
  - Assessment task and memorandum
- Additional notes for teachers:
  - Fifth Frontier War 1819 – 1820
  - British immigration (1820 settlers)
  - Beyond the colonial borders
- Case study: Andries Stockenstrom (1836–1838)
  - Assessment task
- Case study: Chief Mqoma: Played a major part in the Sixth War (1834–36) and Eighth Xhosa Wars (1850–53)
  - Assessment task.
A Self-study on the Historical Significance of Symbols and Symbolism: Un-silenced Approach to Historical Significance

Maserole Christina Kgari-Masondo
University of KwaZulu Natal, Edgewood Campus, Durban

Change starts from within and with that in mind it is significant to engage in a self-study in order to evaluate my small contribution in decolonization in my teaching practice and writing of History narratives. The current atmosphere, with its emphasis on decolonization, demands curriculum transformation, which helps in the bridging of the divide between theory and practice in the History curriculum. It is, therefore, incumbent upon every education practitioner to take a critical look at what and how they teach with a view to transform the curriculum. The History curriculum, like those of other subjects, has to be transformed to reflect change that is experienced globally. Western epistemology is still the privileged mode of knowledge-making in historical studies. African and other non-western epistemologies are still sidelined in historical studies. The focus of this paper is on historical significance.

In this study I will use a self-reflective approach. Through self-reflection I will show how African perspectives are excluded from historical study of significance in History. The current formulation of what is historically significant is defined in terms of people, events, and both people and events. Symbols are excluded in such historical narratives. The post-apartheid period requires an epistemology that supports democratic principles of equality. According to South African Government Information, symbols have been critical in enforcing the new South Africa, but why are they not integrated as historically significant in History Education.


KEY WORDS
unsilenced, History, symbols, symbolism, colonization, decolonization, self-study
**WORKSHOP**

Co-operation and Conflict on the Frontiers of the Cape Colony in the Early 19th century: the British on the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony and the Western Frontier of Xhosa Settlement (Grade 7, Term 4)

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<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Barbara Johannesson</th>
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<td>Background – Dutch at the Cape</td>
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<td><strong>British occupation of the Cape in 1806:</strong></td>
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<td>A turning point in SA history</td>
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<td>- The early British (1806) at the Cape – Discussion task</td>
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<td>- Assessment task and memorandum</td>
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<td>- Additional notes for teachers:</td>
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<td>- Fifth Frontier War 1819–1820</td>
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**Key Words**
A Self-study on the Historical Significance of Symbols and Symbolism: Un-silenced Approach to Historical Significance

Maserole Christina Kgari-Masondo  
University of KwaZulu Natal, Edgewood Campus, Durban

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**Keywords:** unsilenced, history, symbols, symbolism, colonization, decolonization, self-study
### SAT 6th

**VENUE:** 4  **TIME:** 9h30

<table>
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<tr>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>How to Mark History Essays</th>
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<tr>
<td>BY</td>
<td>Ant Lister</td>
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<td>SACS, Cape Town</td>
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**ABSTRACT**

Using actual learners’ scripts, participants explore the challenges and nuances associated with marking. This workshop aims to provide participants with the skills to mark examination-type questions consistently and fairly assess extended writing pieces. There will be plenty of space for discussion and guidance.

Ant Lister is Chief Examiner for History Paper 2 in the Western Cape.

**KEY WORDS**

marking, examinations, extended writing
### TITLE

'It takes a village to raise a child’ – A collective approach by the Limpopo Department of Education and the Unisa History Department in capacitating Grade 10 – 12 History teachers

### BY

Henriëtte Lubbe  
University of South Africa, Tshwane  
and  
Jake Manenzhe  
Limpopo Department of Education

This paper explores the collaboration between the Limpopo Education Department and the Department of History at UNISA in capacitating Grades 10 – 12 History teachers in improving poor subject performance in Limpopo. Poor performance could partly be ascribed to the inability of teachers to convey knowledge and History skills to their learners; lack of skills in teaching paragraph and essay writing; lack of knowledge in marking History essays; and inability to design and assess research assignments. When approached to assist, the Unisa History Department offered to present and finance practical teacher training workshops which would address the above needs; create opportunities for teachers to gain social support; suggest ways in which Grade 12 History learners could be prepared more effectively for entrance into tertiary education; involve participants in community-engaged research; and strengthen teacher confidence, which will enable them to teach their discipline more creatively and effectively in the modern classroom.

The paper traces the historical development of the project through time (2014-2018); bridges the divide between constructivist, assessment and community engagement theory and practice; reflects on the value of ‘train-the-trainer’ training for lead teachers; and highlights the impact of the collaboration which is evident in the enhanced quality of research tasks and the significant reduction of the number of School Based Assessment (SBA) marks rejected by UMALUSI.

### KEY WORDS

cognitive level demand; history skills; discursive essay; assessment; History question papers; marking rubric; peer assessment; educator assessment; community-engaged research.
Student-Teachers’ Identity and the Teaching of Controversial Issues in History at an Institution in South Africa

Valencia Tshinompheni Mabalane
University of Johannesburg
Faculty of Education
Department of Education and Curriculum Studies (ECS)

The paper presents the qualitative research findings of a study conducted with history student-teachers. The research was conducted through observing micro lessons, Work Integrated Learning (WIL) lessons and interviewing Further Education and Training (FET) third and fourth year Teaching Methodology and Practicum History student-teachers at an institution in South Africa to investigate the relationship between their identity and the teaching of History controversial issues. The findings revealed that identity impacted and influenced the interaction of student-teachers from different races, cultures, socioeconomic, religious beliefs and ethnic groups and their teaching practice. The findings showed that the 'self' identities of the student-teachers are brought into the classroom and serve as a base and point of departure for every teaching encounter. At times their Pedagogical Content Knowledge (PCK) and professional identity are influenced by their 'self' positively or negatively.

In other cases, student-teachers chose controversial topics based on religion, race and political affiliation. Instead of them engaging and debating the topics to encourage critical thinking, they focused more on race, political affiliation and religion of their fellow student-teachers. Thus, I argue that student-teachers' identities form part of who they are and how they see the world - their world view and interpretation of everything around them, thus impact on their teaching practice.

KEY WORDS: student-teacher, identity, self, controversial issues, pedagogical content
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>FRI 5th VENUE:3 TIME:16h00 MC: Kate Angier</strong></th>
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<tbody>
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<td><strong>TITLE</strong></td>
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| **BY** | Malesela Maepa  
Sols Plaatje University, Kimberley |

**ABSTRACT**

This paper seeks to deal with how Afrocentric theory can be a vehicle to bridging the theory-practice gap in the teaching of history. History as subject raise awareness to the people’s origin, culture and tradition, etc. It is imperative to locate its significance on how its teaching can be applicable to the lives of the people. The paper will look at how Afrocentricity as a theory can provide a historical related solution through teaching and learning of in South African schools.

South Africa as a diverse society, is contested on myriad of issues especially on whose history has to be taught in its racial divide. The paper will also look into the multicultural impact in bridging the theory-practice gap in history teaching at schools amidst the call by the Department of Basic Education to make our History curriculum Afrocentric.

**KEY WORDS**

Afrocentricity, culture, tradition, theory-practice, multi-cultural
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>FRI 5th</th>
<th>VENUE: 2</th>
<th>TIME: 12h30</th>
<th>MC: Leah Nasson</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Representation of Historically Significant Couples in the FET History Textbooks: Silent Representation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Phumza Mbobo</td>
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This article focuses on silence in the representation of South African historically significant couples in FET History textbooks. Historically significant couples are couples who have worked together throughout the years and have developed a relationship thus significantly influencing/impacting events and people in History for those living at the time and for future generations. Their significance is influenced by characteristics such as profundity, quantity and relevance according to (Partington, 1980; Counsell, 2004 & Ford, 2004). Moreover, Triandis (1995); Dawson (2003) & Bradshaw (2006) infer that a historically significant couple has to achieved the following characteristics, namely ground-breaking and stunning change, changed the way people thought at the time and for future generations, improved or made worse the lives of the people living at the time and have had a long lasting impact on the people living at the time and for future generations. Silence is in reference to misrepresentation of one of the partners in the couple.

This article will focus on the relationship between Nelson and Winnie Madikizela Mandela, a married couple who practised monogamy in their marriage. A survey of textbooks and literature shows that women in historically-significant couples are represented as tokens instead of being acknowledged for their contribution in working with their partners in achieving victory, throughout History. This silence is further smeared in schools through FET History textbooks which contradict the principles of historically-significant couples which according to CAPS, represent inclusivity, diversity and to empower young boys and girls equally as potential future leaders of this great country.

**Keywords:** Historical significance, couples, silence, representation, CAPS
### Assessing How Teachers Deal With Local History at the Intermediate Phase of the Primary Schools in the Dr Kenneth Kaunda Education District of the North-West Province.

**By**

Phillip Modisakeng
North-West University, Potchefstroom Campus
Faculty of Education Sciences

**Abstract**

Studying history to most people means studying it on a grand scale: the rise and fall of civilizations, the progress of major social and economic changes; everything in short which affects whole countries, people and world events. The big picture of history as given by these studies is vitally important, but it is worthwhile to remember that those major processes and events we learn about were made up of individuals, families and communities that all played their part in shaping and being shaped by history.

Local history contains a wealth of details and stories that help reveal how societal changes impacted the lives of ordinary people. It can be seen as a ‘microcosm’ or representation of large patterns on a small scale. By investigating local history, one can find documents such as accounts of the first school or church in the village, street names and how that changed the lives of the community.

The aim of this presentation is to explore and assess through a pilot study how intermediate phase teachers deal with local history in the primary schools of the Dr Kenneth Kaunda district of the North West province. Data was gathered qualitatively through a structured questionnaire and interviews. One of the key findings was that teachers need more guidance and support in designing and implementing local history projects.

**Keywords**

local history; intermediate phase; societal changes; microcosm; pilot project
A History teachers’ induction programme should be a deliberate, well-orchestrated, planned process which is aimed at providing guidance and support to novice teachers to make sense of all the theoretical knowledge and limited practical knowledge they acquired during their teacher education programme. When correctly implemented it has the potential to ensure proper assimilation of the novice teacher into the profession, and further enhance teacher performance and retention. This paper reports on the experiences of five novice History teachers of their first two years of joining the profession.

Data for this study was generated through narratives and a focus-group interview. Thematic analysis was employed to make sense of their responses. Some of the feedback included novice teachers’ views that induction was more generic and that it was aimed at making them feel welcomed at the schools and not really exposing them to the realities of their profession. Furthermore, novice teachers felt that it focused more on classroom teaching and insufficiently on didactical competence and finally, that it was based more on older teacher’s perspectives. This therefore highlighted a need for a more History teaching focused form of teacher induction for novice teachers.
The Use of Oral Tradition, Chiefs’ Bulls and Genealogies as Historical Sources in the History Classroom

Jongikhaya Mvenene
Walter Sisulu University, Mthatha Campus, Eastern Cape

This paper explores the implementation of oral tradition, awakuloNkomo (chiefs’ bulls) and iminombo (genealogies) in the teaching and learning of South African History in the further education and training (FET) phase. The focus is on oral tradition, genealogies and awakuloNkomo as important ingredients used in the teaching and learning of History. The overriding aim is to analyse how teachers and learners acknowledge the rich history and heritage of South Africa, thereby nurturing the values enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. An assessment is made of the importance and relevance of these factors in transforming and re-constructing content knowledge, and shaping new perspectives on South African history.

If used critically and objectively, these historical sources play a significant role in de-colonising western-based knowledge (decolonising theoretical framework), and de-construct research approaches that emerged from western scientific research in favour of promoting teaching and research for sustainable development within schools. These sources of history also occupy a central place and play a significant role in the re-enactment of South African history.

KEY WORDS
oral tradition, chiefs’ bulls, genealogies, transforming, decolonising, heritage, research
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<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>FRI 5th VENUE: 1 TIME: 12h30 MC: Gordon Brookbanks</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>A Flip Through My School History Book: Why I Must Unlearn What I Learnt to Relearn</td>
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<tr>
<td>By</td>
<td>Roland N. Ndille</td>
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<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>University of Buea, Cameroon</td>
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I have been teaching History at secondary and university levels in Cameroon for nearly fifteen years now. I have also been engaged in teacher training and work on a regular basis with primary school teachers from where I have had time to study what is on their syllabus and experience what goes on in their classes and training institutions. Before getting to this point, I was a sharp pupil and History was certainly my best subject. No doubt I got stuck to it. But that is not the problem. It is the kind of history I learnt in school. I never knew why until I began to think decolonially. Although I got into History teaching just recently, as an educational historiographer, I offer here a personal reflection of the History education timeline in Cameroon from the advent of Western education; an examination of the History contents and the motives which have guided History curriculum choice in the past and why we are where we are now.

The objective is to use the educational and theoretical positionality that have influenced me to influence others’ learning, understanding and reconstruction of the social formations in which we live. This is what I call learning to unlearn in order to relearn and contribute to shifting the geography of reasoning. My methodology is Living theory: a disciplined process of inquiring into the self by the self, thinking about one’s own life and work as a practitioner so that one can continue developing oneself, one’s work; that of others and by so doing make significant changes in his society. I believe that as one improves one’s practice a new epistemology for educational knowledge is expected to be created and developed.

Keywords: History education, contents, curriculum, decolonial, learning
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<th>FRI 5th</th>
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<th>TIME:</th>
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<tr>
<td>TITLE</td>
<td>Use of Sources and Evidence: The Use of Music to Supplement Teaching South African History</td>
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<td>BY</td>
<td>Sashquita Northev</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Jeppe High School for Boys, Johannesburg</td>
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<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>South Africa has a tremendously rich and diverse history of music that brings to life and tells some of the most delicate stories of our past. This presentation will demonstrate to educators a variety of both popular and influential songs that can be used to supplement teaching South African history. The songs featured will come from both well-known artists and popular folk songs that are familiar to many learners, thus adding to the excitement and dynamic of teaching and learning South African history. The themes covered will clearly follow the content outlined in CAPS and will provide an easy guide with direct links to relevant grades and topic themes, as well as resource materials including music and lyrics and for teachers to create more variety in their lessons. This presentation would be beneficial to educators teaching grade 9, 11 and 12 History who are looking to add to their resource collection.</td>
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<tr>
<td>KEY WORDS</td>
<td>music, songs, resource materials</td>
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<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>The Making of the Documentary 'Salt River High 1976 – The Untold Story'</td>
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<tr>
<td>By</td>
<td>Anwar Omar&lt;br&gt;Sal River Heritage Society</td>
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<td>Abstract</td>
<td>The events of 1976 would forever change the socio-political landscape of South Africa. It was an incredibly tumultuous year and a turning point in the struggle for liberation against discrimination and racial subjugation in South Africa. The June 16 1976 Soweto youth uprising spread like wild fire across the length and breadth of the country and eventually reached Cape Town. The documentary tells the story of a group of ten youths, two teachers and a parent who were arrested under the cruel and oppressive apartheid legislation and depicts the events surrounding their arrest. While the film reflects their experiences, it attempts to represent thousands of analogous stories that have been lost and will never be told. Thousands of activists were similarly arrested across the country and many died whilst incarcerated. The presentation by Anwar Omar the Producer and Director, outlines the scope, objectives and challenges of making the documentary.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Key Words</td>
<td>1976, documentary, Salt River High School, apartheid, activists, challenges, struggle</td>
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A Study of the Experiences of New History Teachers in Cape Town High Schools

Irene Pampallis
Pinelands High School

Much has been written about the challenges facing first year teachers, but little has been written about the specific challenges faced by first year History teachers in South Africa. It seems that little is publicly known about how new teachers try to apply the theory of History education to the practical experience of teaching in the classroom.

I propose a paper based on a small-scale study of the experiences of new History teachers in Cape Town high schools. In addition to the challenges that are common to most beginning teachers (e.g., classroom management, time management, parent interaction, and administrative work) I intend to explore teachers' experiences regarding History in particular. Issues such as mastery of content knowledge, how to deal with controversial topics in the classroom, how to teach historical skills, resource availability, and departmental support and mentorship structures will be among the core topics I investigate. I anticipate that this study will provide important insight into the difficulties faced by the newest members of our profession, and will hopefully go some way towards developing strategies to preserve and improve the energy, motivation and sanity of new History teachers.

**KEY WORDS**
new teachers; History education; pedagogical content knowledge; support
**Title**

**Phumzile Sono**  
Tshepagalang High School, Lethabile

**Abstract**

I will demonstrate how History as a subject can be used as a discipline of enquiry and a tool to shape our children for a better society. Instead of just focussing on careers after school, my experience as a Geography and History teacher, I believe, has reflected that. It requires teachers to be competent in integrating the broader CAPS curriculum when delivering - they can improve the mindset of our children to make them better citizens.

I argue that History teachers need to value this subject as a truly inter-disciplinary crucible where various fields of study and forms of reasoning meet. History by its nature is the study of people and events, but it also enables scientific explanation of possible human behaviour in general, especially by individuals. Teachers with this knowledge and insight are able to improve the lives of learners after their completion of school, and lay a foundation for their careers in different sectors.

**Keywords**

inter-disciplinary, cross-curriculum, mindset, human behaviour
<table>
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<tr>
<th>PRIORITY VENUE: 1 TIME: 15h30 MC: Rob Sieborger</th>
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<tr>
<td>POSTER PRESENTATION</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>An exploration of Skills-Based Learning in Teacher Training</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>BY</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Adrienne van As</td>
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<tr>
<td>School of Education, Two Oceans Graduate Institution</td>
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The challenge of training History teachers for the Intermediate Phase is to let student teachers actively engage with History as a discipline. A lecture-based format ignores the development of discipline-based skills and focus on content coverage. Consequently, students withdraw emotionally and intellectually, and it contributes to poor results in skills development and student engagement. Skills-based learning (SBL) is a popular active learning pedagogy which fits into the constructivist educational paradigm. Research indicates that students remember more when they can use skills, like finding and studying sources and evidence to access, process and express their knowledge.

It is possible for student teachers to experience the dynamic nature of disciplines such as History by ‘doing’ History—encountering History as historians, engaging in the process and problems involved in being a practitioner of the discipline. Engaging students as historians takes careful thought and planning of curriculum, design, learning experiences, resources and assessment. This research project focussed on exploring Skills-Based Learning (SBL) of first year student teachers. This study utilized the evaluation of assignments, individual semi-structured interviews and an end-of-semester survey.

**KEYWORDS**
- History teacher; intermediate phase; skill-based learning (SBL); teacher education
**FRI 5th VENUE:1 TIME:14h00**

**WORKSHOP**

Make a Museum Display (Grade 4 Local History Project)

**BY**

Mark van Rensburg
Centre for Conservation Education

**ABSTRACT**

Using different types of information (sources) that might have been used by teachers during the Term 1 Local History topic, participants in this workshop get the opportunity to bring these together in setting up a small museum display. They are given all the practical skills needed to set up such a display: the vocabulary to do with displays; selecting and grouping different kinds of information; identifying objects and their use; interpreting/zooming old and new photographs; tips for arranging and displaying material; making labels; and being creative and innovative.

NB: Teachers who wish to participate in this workshop are asked to each bring ONE SMALL ITEM that relates back to their own school days as a primary school child (e.g. a little suitcase; an item of uniform; a book; a lunch box; a report; a toy; a photograph). These objects will be used in the displays, but will be returned to the participants after the workshop.

**KEY WORDS**

Grade 4, local history, museum display, labels, innovation
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>The Practice of Oral History Projects in Schools and the Potential of Oral History in Civic Education</th>
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<tr>
<td>BY</td>
<td>Yuxi Wang</td>
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<td>Minzu University of China</td>
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The Grade 9 CAPs curriculum contains an oral history project. Students are required to do an oral history project on how Apartheid laws influenced people’s life through interviews. This research is to analyze the influences that oral history projects have on students. Would the oral history project play a part in civic education? Are students more likely to participate in delivering common good after the project? Will the project cultivate tolerance and respect? These are my research questions.

I employ the theory of empathy to address the influence of oral history project on students. By interpreting the students’ work of the OHP, I argue during the oral history project, students’ empathy is aroused in many ways. OHP male students more aware of the historical roots of their living condition. After the project, students contemplate about the origin of the problems of contemporary society through the lens of history. The limitations of empathy as a prosocial moral motive and its manifestations on the oral history project: are explained. The unbalanced distribution of social and material resources also caused difficulties in implementing the OHP as well as the different practices in the school oral history projects.
**Title:** Bridging the Divide Between Theory and Practical Teaching: A Critical Reflection by History Trainee Teachers

**Speaker:** Pieter Warnich  
North-West University (Potchefstroom Campus)  
School of Commerce and Social Sciences in Education

Practical teaching/Work-integrated Learning (WIL) is an important compulsory pedagogical module for History students who want to follow a career in education. During their visits to schools, History trainee teachers become exposed to the actual school and class situation where responsibility must be taken for the management and execution of certain administrative and methodological activities. For the first time the History trainee teacher will be given the opportunity to build the bridge between the two worlds of theory and practice.

Studies that have been conducted locally and abroad on trainee teachers’ experiences of practical education have shown that the transfer of theory to practice is, in many cases, very low, or even in no way exist. Trainee teachers are thus experiencing difficulties to overcome the gap between theory and practice. As a consequence, there is the inclination for trainee teachers to adapt to the current practices and culture of schools rather than to implement the theoretical insights of teaching and learning in a practical manner.

The objective of this presentation is to explore and report on the challenges final year History trainee teachers experienced in the relationship which exists between theory and practice during their visits to schools over a period of four years. In order to obtain a deeper insight on the trainee teachers’ thoughts, beliefs, experiences, feelings and opinions, a qualitative research design was followed. The analysis of the responses suggested that the trainee teachers not only experienced challenges regarding the teaching and learning of History, but also with certain administrative challenges. In conclusion recommendations are suggested in an effort to overcome these challenges.

**Keywords:** History trainee teachers; practical teaching; work-integrated learning; theory; practice
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>WORKSHOP The Colonial Gaze: Using Visual Sources and Diary Accounts to Foster Historical Thinking Skills (Grade 10 Topic 4)</th>
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<tr>
<td>By</td>
<td>Lindsay Wills, Wynberg Girls’ High School/UCT</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>November 5th, Venue: 5, Time: 14:00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>William Burchell’s ‘Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa’ chronicle his extensive excursions around Southern Africa between 1811 and 1815. Of particular interest are his travel diary accounts and paintings from his visit to the Tswana town of Littakun (Dithakong) in 1812. These are complex sources which provide rich grounds for analysis, and for developing historical thinking skills, especially sourcing, contextualisation and close reading for meaning. Modelled around the Stanford History Education Group’s historical thinking chart, and the principle that sound History teaching employs classroom activities which use source material in a historical manner, this will be a practical workshop in which I aim to model the process of using colonial representations of the Tswana chiefdom, and of the Tswana town of Dithakong/‘Littakun’ with a Grade 10 class. Its theoretical focus is that historical thinking with art and travel diaries is the ability to place the sources within a larger historical context, and to make an argument about the source’s position in a particular time period. One specific intended outcome of the lesson would be that learners are thus equipped to demonstrate their ability to describe and evaluate sources which, whilst problematic and biased, remain useful to historians seeking answers to questions about the past.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Key Words</td>
<td>historical thinking; sourcing and use of evidence; visual literacy; pre-colonial history; Tswana history; classroom practice</td>
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KEYNOTE PRESENTATION TO:
The South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT)
6 October 2018, CPUT, Mobray

THE HISTORY TEACHER IN 21ST CENTURY SOUTH AFRICA

Mumsy Malinga
Redhill School
mmalinga@redhill.co.za

The overall message gained from the different presentations is that History is an important subject and it must be taught in a responsible and meaningful way.

History is not yet a compulsory subject in the FET phase. Yes, the Ministerial Task Team has published its report advising that History should indeed be a compulsory subject.

Is this going to materialise? I have my doubts….

Only next year’s general election will determine, not just where our education is going but the state of our country as a whole.

So if the status quo remains, for the vast majority of your students, you will be the last person to teach them ANY history- much less GOOD HISTORY.

What is your role as a History teacher in 21st century South Africa where you only have two or three years to influence young minds? What story are you going to tell them? What indelible mark are you going to leave them, the legacy that they can be proud of and embrace as their heritage?

Before I elaborate on this challenge I would like to show you a video clip of a speech by Prof Lumumba.

An Insert:
(Prof Lumumba’s video clip - The tragedy of Africa - 9 minutes. Access at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LXS2szrzX7E)

Good History teachers know history. They are lifelong learners. They are passionate about history, about teaching History and about young people.
Such teachers demonstrate a genuine interest and concern for their students and they have the ability to convey a love for history in a classroom setting.

Good History teachers listen to and hear their students; they respect their voices and allow them to freely express their intellectual thoughts and personal opinions.

So, what does being a good History teacher mean in a challenging 21st century South Africa?

It means listening to and respecting diverse viewpoints and attitudes. It means teaching students historical significance while celebrating diversity, modelling democracy and teaching social justice.

We can no longer rely on our leaders to instil good values on our children. Professor. Lumumba painted a gloomy picture of Africa, but it is up to us to take up the challenge of changing that picture, even if it is in small spaces that we occupy our classrooms.

We have to make sure that the stories of Africa we tell encourage our students to stay in Africa and build it up to take its rightful place in the global setting.

The role of a History teacher is to be an activist.

Gone are the days when we let politicians, uninformed pessimists or even parents dictate what happens in the classroom and determine the future our country.

We live in volatile times still reeling from the effects of the Fees Must Fall Movement, Decolonization Movement, Black Hair Movement, etc. - all these movements that seek to drive transformation but also threaten to divide our nation and undo the aspirations that accompanied the advent of democracy.

This is not a political campaign; it is a plea and a challenge. Gone are the days when we as History teachers were dictated to by the constraints of the textbooks published by those whose only interest is the bottom line. We know what our roles are and should be - we know about cause and effect, we have the skills that no other profession can claim to possess.

So why are we not activists? Why are we happy to teach democracy and nationalism but entrust our future to politicians whose only interest is personal gain instead of nation building.

What is stopping us from being activists in our classrooms and exercising our democratic right to not only voice an opinion but also call out what is wrong in society.

It is disturbing to see how many History teachers and historians shy away from controversial issues because they don’t want to upset or offend people.

We need to own our worth, own our truth and own our stories.
We shouldn’t be dictated to by the curriculum, the textbooks or even subject advisers. We live in the 21st century where information is easily accessible but unfortunately common sense, historical perspective, historical significance and ethical dimensions no longer hold value.

What have we done as History teachers to encourage activism in our students?

We spend more time focusing on content that is not relatable to real life. As one historian put it:

_Unfortunately, the more the teachers cover, the less the students remember... Our goal must be to help students uncover the past rather than cover it._

We often hear about decolonising the curriculum- and it scares many of us because we think it means doing away with the content that we love and are familiar with.

What does decolonising the curriculum mean? – For me, it means teaching the Cold War and not leaving South Africa out, teaching the two World Wars and acknowledging the role played by South Africa. It means appreciating diversity that is found in the South African context.

Decolonising the curriculum means allowing multi-perspectivity in history teaching. It means teaching students that ordinary people do make history.

History teaching is very much about the present as it is about the past. As activist historians, our role should not be to overwhelm students with content contained in the textbooks. We need to teach them life skills, survival skills.

So, the role of a history teacher in 21st South Africa is to be an activist!

We have to make a contribution.

In the words of Professor Lumumba: “Let us stop producing education that is free of knowledge”.

THANK YOU
Introduction

Welcome to the SASHT conference, here at CPUT (Mowbray). The conference, hosted for the first time by CPUT coincides with the first cohort of students, for many years, who are graduating with History as one of their majors. Many of these final year History students are serving as volunteers at the conference. I express the sincere hope that this initial involvement of theirs will lead on to greater meaningful participation in future years to come.

Prof Elize van Eeden delivered the inaugural presidential address at the 2015 SASHT conference in Limpopo. Here she spoke of the need to, at times, identify the “proverbial pebble” in the shoe: that issue which so many sense and need foregrounded so that the Society and the teaching of History could be advanced. In this the 4th presidential address, I would like to develop a question and, simultaneously, offer an answer for consideration by our members.

Questions do not emerge haphazardly to simply serve as time-wasting digressions. They serve to highlight those areas, or moments, of doubt or obscurity which, if answered truthfully, could lead on to conscious attempts to resolve the unresolved or determine the undetermined.

This year, 2018, has been a tumultuous year for many, and for a host of reasons. For one, it is the centenary of the birth of former president Nelson Mandela. It is also the centenary of the signing of the armistice ending hostilities during World War 1. Closer to home, 2018 saw the prolonged drought close its grip on Cape Town with real consequences for its beleaguered citizens.

The year 2018 also saw the launch of the report by the Ministerial Task Team on making History compulsory after Grade 9. It was this event which highlighted a particular “pebble” in my shoe. I was informed of the event, not officially, but through the grapevine. It troubled me that the Society, the South African Society for History Teaching, was not initially invited to attend the launch of a report so central to its stated mission. The Society had always, in
my mind, enjoyed a constructive relationship with the Department of Basic Education (DBE). In my mind I understood how the respective efforts of each translated into better practice associated with the teaching of History. How then did it come to be that the SASHT was overlooked, or could be overlooked at such an important moment in the history of teaching history?

After some queries to DBE an invitation was extended to the Society. Fellow executive member, Jake Manenzhe (Limpopo DBE) and I attended the launch of the report, but the question remained.

This occasion, and the perceived snub, led me to consider the space afforded the Society in efforts to shape the teaching of history. Was the Society exaggerating its significance or was it simply a case of administrative bungling on the part of the DBE? There are indeed many ways in which to approach this conundrum, so in Socratic tradition I will now try to tease out the essence of our stated dilemma.

**Why could the DBE ignore (if they did) the SASHT?**

The membership of the Society is relatively quite small. Membership has hovered around 100 paid-up members for several years. Most members are academics associated with institutions of Higher Education and those members, who are school-based educators, are often from ex model-C schools. This trend was only recently challenged after the successful 2015 conference in Limpopo when several teachers from poor, rural schools joined the Society as full members. However, there are thousands of teachers in South Africa responsible for the teaching of History. It could be said that if our membership was extensive our Society could not be ignored.

**Does this mean the SASHT needs to actively recruit members?**

To suggest that the significance of the Society lay in numbers is to equate significance with quantity. Traditionally the significance of the Society has been its ability to serve as a common space for the sharing of ideas as it relates to amongst others, classroom practice, textbook writing and curriculum design on a national and international scale. Its significance lay in its purpose and the quality of its members. What our Society needs are active members who write prolifically about their practice, contribute to or initiate discussions, promote events in their areas and invite other teachers of history to attend conferences and regional functions. It is when our current SASHT members become animated and excited about the teaching of History that others will join.

**Why would anyone join the SASHT?**

Currently members receive two hardcopies of the accredited journal, *Yesterday & Today*. The journal is published in June and December each year.
The Executive Committee acknowledges that much needs to be done to ensure that current members remain members and that our current members are our greatest marketers. To grow the Society will require an effort to ensure that the Society is a caring Society.

How can the Society be rebranded?

A concerted effort will be made to do a membership audit with requisite haste. This has been accepted as a priority function of the core executive. The society must know who its members are. Regular contact between members will be effected in the form of a weekly newsletter in which ideas pertaining to our discipline are shared and discussions promoted.

The development of the website as a site of preference is the other priority project. A generous donation by Prof van Eeden has allowed Ms Rika Odendaal (webmaster) to restructure the website sufficiently that content can now be populated for access by teachers. The webmaster welcomes suitable content and encourages classroom-based teachers to share their ideas on how to deliver effectively on the curriculum.

Conclusion

The question is not whether or not the Society should feel snubbed by not having been invited initially to the launch of the Ministerial Task Team. Instead, the question as yet undefined, relates to our ability to acknowledge all who share our passion. The teaching of history, and its associated knowledges, can never be captured.

By knowing who our members are, and valuing their needs and contributions, our Society can indeed, quite quickly, be transformed into a space characterised by a sense of value: I am reminded of lyrics to the theme-song of a once popular sit-com “Cheers”: “You wanna go where everybody knows your name”.

I, therefore, wish the executive committee well in its efforts to rebrand the Society and encourage all members to take up the cudgels in making the Society resonate in the intimate spaces we inhabit. For only then will we have succeeded in building a caring Society.
This has been a year of transition for the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT). The leadership mantle was handed over to the new committee at the start of 2018. I was asked to convene the regional representatives in mid-February, which I agreed to with some trepidation. The list of regional representatives I received indicated no regional representatives for Gauteng, the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal (Marshall Maposa had stepped down) or Free State. I’m not sure if this is as a result of people “falling through the proverbial admin cracks” or if since 2017 there has been an oversight. While reading Henriëtte Lubbe’s report from last year I realised that the names and contact details for the representatives, as suspected, had gone astray – the new representatives in the Free State and Gauteng for 2017/18 are Mr Knywa Motumi and Dr Valencia Mabalane, respectively. There is yet to be a nominated and elected replacement representative for KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape.

Most activities in the provinces have focused on meeting and attending the Education Department’s required meetings. As Henriëtte Lubbe noted last year “severe work pressure” continues to impact educators. Feedback from representatives, in no particular order, is as follows:

Wilfred Chauke (Limpopo)

The SASHT Limpopo educators continue to work with Jake Manenzhe from the Department of Basic Education, and Henriëtte Lubbe at UNISA, to strengthen their practice and knowledge. All the educators involved have expressed the benefit of working with colleagues and academics. The programme has encouraged, enriched and strengthened teaching practice.

Pieter Warnich (North West Province)

Pieter reported that - “nothing exciting has happened this year”.

However, the History Department at the North-West University did intensive planning to run a Short Learning Programme on creative teaching and learning approaches during March 2019. In particular on how culture and indigenous knowledge systems can be implemented in school History classes through puppetry. This approved course will be offered to the intermediate and senior Phase History teachers. He promised that he will definitely have something to report, including photos, in 2019.
Boitumelo Moreeng (Northern Cape)
Nothing of note to report.

Keneilwe Mosala (Mpumalanga)
Nothing of note to report

Gill Sutton (Western Cape)
The one thing of interest – other than the Ministerial Task Team (MTT) discussion, was a presentation by Prof Amanda Esterhuysen (Wits) on her archeological work on Makapan’s Cave. The desire to hear the archaeology and history of the cave came from Jake Manenzhe’s SASHT conference outing to Makapan’s Cave in 2015 – thank you so much, Jake. Barry Firth also promoted the conference at this event. The feedback was very positive and educators requested further events of this nature. Prof Amanda Esterhuysen is very willing to work with educators, wherever they are in the country.

As we move into a new year, with exciting opportunities for the growth of history nationwide, I believe the regional representatives have the opportunity to make a valuable contribution.
Occasionally the SASHT Executive requests that the SASHT constitution is displayed in an Yesterday & Today edition to inform and/or update their members. Members are invited to request a review of any section of the SASHT constitution at an SASHT General Meeting. Prior consent of a section review must be received in written form by the Secretariat of the SASHT or the Chairperson/vice Chairperson of the SASHT (see communication details in the SASHT AGM-minute).

SASHT Constitution

The South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT)

(An Association of History Educators, Organisations, Publishers and People interested in History Teaching as well as the educational dissemination of historical research and knowledge)

1. CONSTITUTION

1.1 There shall be constituted a body known as the SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY FOR HISTORY TEACHING (SASHT). The provisions herein contained shall be known as the Constitution of the Society, which provisions may be altered by a majority of those members present at a general meeting of members, considering that:

1.1.1 the precise terms of any proposed alteration shall be set out in a notice prior to convening the meeting and/or Circulated to members via electronic medium at least a month before the meeting;

1.1.2 the purpose and objects of the Society shall not be altered without the consent of 66% of the members (via electronic medium and formally communicated/confirmed at the AGM that follows the approved/disapproved alteration.

2. OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the Society (since date of founding in 1986) shall be to assist its members in every possible way and in particular:
2.1 To improve the contact between educators of History training at tertiary level and teachers in the broad educational field.

2.2 To renew a training in the didactics of History education.

2.3 To utilise the expertise of educators teaching History to assist with the training of future History teachers.

2.4 To continuously debate the content of basic and advanced educational programmes in the training of History educators with the intention to continue to improve quality.

2.5 To make history educators and student teachers aware of the relationship between History as an academic discipline and the didactics and teaching of History at school level in order to keep abreast with educational development and academic debates.

2.6. To encourage educators of History to strive towards achieving and sustaining high academic standards in the teaching methodology and in the general knowledge of History as a discipline.

2.7 To make educators of History and student teachers in History aware of the relevance or “value” of History for communities and the nation at large.

2.8 To explore, if the SASHT grows in membership, the idea of identifying and organising committees that can explore and develop certain fields in History to benefit all the educators of History in South Africa.

3. MEMBERSHIP

3.1 Membership shall consist of three types:

3.1.1 Individual membership (History educators or other academically-focused members from institutions) who are fully paid up members of the Society (Annual fees will be determined by the Executive each year and communicated timeously to members and potential members). The individual members representing an educational, institution will be eligible to vote or serve on the SASHT Executive and any committees/portfolios, and will receive electronic correspondence as well as a copy (twice annually) of the peer reviewed and DHET-indexed reviewed SASHT-connected Yesterday & Today.

3.1.2 Group membership (schools, academic institutions, private organisations & publishers): Will pay an annual membership fee determined by the Executive Committee on a yearly basis which will include a membership provision of more than one individual. These members will be eligible to vote but not all be eligible to serve on the committees. Electronic correspondence will be received as well as a copy (twice annually) of the SASHT-connected Yesterday & Today Journal obtained.

3.1.3 Individual membership outside the borders of South Africa: Will pay the annual fee as determined by the Executive Committee in Rand or in another currency as indicated on the SASHT membership form.
The individual members outside the borders of South Africa will be eligible to vote but not serve on the Executive Committee (these members could serve on other committees as occasionally identified, as well as on the *Yesterday & Today* editorial board) and will receive electronic correspondence as well as a copy (twice annually) of the SASHT-connected Journal, *Yesterday & Today*.

3.2 The following persons are eligible as members of the Society:

3.2.1 any History educator/organisation/publisher who subscribes to the objectives of the Society; and

3.2.2 is approved by the Executive Committee as a member.

3.3 Any member may resign by notice to the chairperson, the vice chairperson or the secretariat/treasurer.

3.4 Membership will be held confidential, and it is up to individual members to disclose his or her membership to the general public.

4. MANAGEMENT

4.1 The interests of the Society shall be managed by at least a ten-member Executive Committee consisting of a chairperson, a vice chairperson (when required), a secretariat and a treasurer (this position can also be combined into a secretary-treasurer position) and six to seven additional members as portfolio members and/or regional representatives. These members in the leading position of the SASHT shall hold the respective positions for a maximum of three years, after which they may be re-elected at an annual general meeting (usually to be held in September-October). Two additional members (the guest hosting a conference during the following year and a History educator abroad) may be nominated.

The temporary Executive member hosting the next conference may be nominated fully on the Executive as well, but if not he/she only has a temporary executive position to smooth the conference organization process with efficient communication.

4.2 An election of new Executive Committee members for the SASHT Executive during every third Annual General SASHT meeting should be conducted by one of the SASHT members or an executive member who has been nominated to undertake the task (and not the current chairperson or vice chairperson).

4.3 A process of nomination and election becomes necessary if Executive Committee members have served a three-year term. Both new nominees and retiring committee members are eligible for re-nominating in a re-election. Electing the new SASHT Executive of 10 members through Internet will be conducted at least two weeks prior to an annual SASHT conference. The secretariat manages the term of office of the SASHT Executive, sends out notifications to retiring/re-election status members and invites new nominations, to be done formally and on a standard SASHT nomination form.
4.4 Only fully paid-up members of the SASHT (and preferably only one member per institution in the Society having served in the Society for at least one year) are eligible for election as Executive Committee members. A nominator of a nominee and the seconder (inclusive of the nominee) must all be paid-up members of the SASHT.

The newly elected SASHT Executive from the nominations received will be formally revealed during an annual AGM meeting of the SASHT.

From the ten nominees, fully elected by secret vote and accepted, the positions of chairperson and vice chairperson should be voted for by the newly elected SASHT Executive Committee. This voting process will normally be done after the AGM meeting in the year of election.

4.5 The SASHT Executive Committee may co-opt a member to the Committee in the event of a vacancy occurring for the remaining period of the term of office of the person who vacated the position OR the opening of a vacancy due to any other reason and with the consent of the rest of the SASHT Executive.

4.6 The Executive Committee of the Society may appoint sub-committees as it deems fit.

4.7 Each sub-committee or portfolio of the Executive Committee shall be chaired by a committee member and may consist of so many members as the committee may decide from time to time.

4.8 A sub-committee may co-opt any SASHT member to such sub-committee or portfolio.

5. MEETINGS

5.1 Executive Committee Meetings

5.1.1 Committee meetings shall be convened by the secretariat/secretary-treasurer on the instructions of the chairperson or vice-chairperson or when four committee members jointly and in writing apply for such a meeting to be convened. Three committee members shall form a quorum. Most of the correspondence will be done via e-mail.

5.1.2 SASHT Executive Committee meetings will take place BEFORE an annual SASHT conference and AFTER the conference.

5.1.3 Committee decisions shall take place by voting. In the event of the voting being equal, the chairperson shall have a casting vote.

5.1.4 Should a committee member absent himself from two successive committee meetings without valid reason and/or not replying twice on e-mail requests in decision making, he/she shall forfeit his/her committee membership.

5.2 General Meetings

5.2.1 The Annual General Meeting (AGM) of the Society shall take place during the annual SASHT Conference.
5.2.2 A special general meeting may be convened by the Executive Committee upon the receipt of a signed, written request of at least ten registered members of the Society which request must be accompanied by a full motivation for requesting such a meeting.

5.3 The Executive Committee may call a general meeting as it deems fit.

5.4 The following procedures shall apply to all general meetings:

5.4.1 A minimum of ten members will form a quorum. In the absence of such a quorum, the members present may adjourn the meeting for a period of seven days where the members present at the adjourned date will automatically constitute a quorum.

5.4.2 Decisions shall be taken by a majority vote.

5.5 Finances

5.5.1 All the income of the Society shall be deposited in an account at a bank and/or other approved financial institution. One to two members, consisting of either the chairperson and/or the vice-chairperson and/or the secretary-treasurer if so arranged, shall be empowered to withdraw and deposit funds for the use of/on behalf of the Society.

5.5.2 Any amount that must be withdrawn, and exceeds the amount of R3 000 should beforehand be properly communicated among the two to three empowered Executive members (namely the chairperson, the vice chairperson and, if a position of treasurer exists, the treasurer). All these aforesaid empowered executive members should be able to exercise their signing right (to withdraw and deposit funds) on behalf of the SASHT in the absence of a/the treasurer, but with the consent and approval of the core SASHT Executive.

5.5.3 Proper accounts shall be kept of all finances of the Society as set out in the regulations published in terms of the Fundraising Act, 1978.

5.5.4 A financial report shall be produced by the Executive or Secretary-treasurer (the latter if appointed as such) at the annual general meeting or upon request from the SASHT Executive Committee. Otherwise a full general account at least should be provided in the Chairperson's report.

5.5.5 Financial contributions will be collected from all persons and/or organisations, worldwide, which support the objectives of the Society.

5.5.6 Guest SASHT conference organiser(s)/Society member involved, shall be accountable for transferring the remaining income obtained from organising an annual conference into the SASHT bank account, as part of the effort to strengthen the SASHT’s financial capacity. Any contributions, towards the covering of conference expenses by the Society are on a strictly voluntary basis.
6. RIGHT TO VOTE

Each individual subscribed member (and one member of a subscribed institution) has one vote at any meeting.

7. CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Any amendment to this Constitution shall only be effected by a two-thirds majority decision at a general meeting or via proper E-mail communication prior to a general meeting; or a special general meeting, and further provided that seven days’ prior notice was given of the proposed amendment.

Notice is to be given in the same manner as a notice for a general meeting.

8. DISSOLUTION

8.1 The Society may dissolve, or merge, with any other association with a similar purpose and objectives in each case only:

8.1.1 On a resolution passed by the majority of members present at a duly constituted general or special general meeting of members; or

8.1.2 On an application to a court of law by any member on the ground that the Society has become dormant or is unable to fulfil its purpose and objectives,

8.1.3 On a merger, the assets of the Society shall accrue to the Society/Association with which the merger is affected.

8.1.4 On dissolution, the assets of the Society shall be realised by a liquidator appointed by the general meeting or the court, as the case may be, and the proceeds shall be distributed equally amongst such Societies/Associations with similar objectives as may be nominated by the last Executive Committee of the Society.

9. MISCELLANEOUS

9.1 Every Executive member/ordinary member of the Society shall be entitled at all reasonable times to inspect all books of account and other documents of the Society which the custodian thereof shall accordingly be obliged to produce.
The *Yesterday & Today (Y&T)* Journal for History Teaching in South Africa and abroad

**Editorial policy**

1. Y&T is a scholarly, peer-reviewed journal (accredited since the beginning of 2012).
2. The Y&T journal is a journal for research in especially the fields of history teaching and History discipline research to improve not only the teaching, but also the knowledge dissemination of History. The Journal is currently editorially managed by the North-West University and published under the auspices of the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT).
3. Contributions may be either in the humanities (historically based theoretical discourses), or from education (best practice workshops, or focused content research with a fundamental theoretical basis reflecting History or other histories). Articles, in which interdisciplinary collaborations between the humanities and education are explored, are also welcome.
4. Regional content mostly considers quantitative and qualitative research in Southern Africa, but international contributions, that may apply to History teaching and research in general, are equally welcome.
5. Authors may submit individual contributions or contributions created in teams.
6. All manuscripts are subjected to a double-blinded review process.
7. The language of the journal is English. However, abstracts may be in any of the 11 official languages of South Africa.
8. Contributions must be accompanied by an abstract of not more than 250 words.
9. The titles of articles should preferably not exceed 20 words.
10. The names of authors and their institutional affiliations must accompany all contributions. Authors also have to enclose their telephone and fax numbers and E-mail and postal addresses.
11. The Harvard or the Footnote methods of reference may be used (see the last pages of the journal for the reference guidelines for more detail on the Harvard and Footnote reference methods). The authors’ choice of which reference method will be respected by the editorial management. References must be clear, lucid and comprehensible for a general academic audience of readers. Once an author has made a choice of reference method, the Y&T guidelines for either the Harvard reference method or the Footnote reference method must be scrupulously followed. The guidelines for referencing according to the Harvard method are provided on the last pages of the journal. The most recent *Yesterday & Today* journal articles could also serve as guideline.
12. Editorial material with images (illustrations, photographs, tables and graphs) is permissible. The images should, however, be of a high-density quality (high resolution, minimum of 200dpi). The source references should also be included. Large files should be posted in separate E-mail attachments, and appropriately numbered in sequence.

13. Articles should be submitted to the editor electronically at: pieter.warnich@nwu.ac.za and also to his administrative assistant, Ronelle van Staden at: 20505957@nwu.ac.za. Notification of the receipt of the documents will be done within 48 hours.

14. The text format must be in 12pt font, and in single spacing. The text should preferably be in Microsoft Word format.

15. The length of articles should preferably not exceed 8 000 to 10 000 words, or 15 to journal pages.

16. Articles which have been published previously, or which are under consideration for publication elsewhere, may not be submitted to the Yesterday&Today journal. Copies of the Journal is also electronically available on the SASHT website at www.sashtw.org.za.

17. For scientific research articles, page fees of R220.00 per page (for 10 pages R2 200) will be charged from the author’s institution. However, in the end it remains the responsibility of the author to ensure that these fees are paid.

18. The journal utilizes the Portico digital preservation system in order to create permanent archives of the journal for purpose of preservation and restoration.

19. Yesterday&Today is an Open Access journal which means that all content is freely available without charge to the user or his/her institution. Users are allowed to read, download, copy, distribute, print, search, or link to the full texts of the articles, or use them for any other lawful purpose, without asking prior permission from the publisher or the author. This is in accordance with the Budapest Open Access Initiative (BOAI) definition of Open Access.

20. The journal has a registered deposit policy with SHERPA RoMEO. This policy indicates to institutions whether they are allowed to upload a duplicate copy of an article by an author affiliated with the home institution, into their institutional repository (Green Open Access). The following link to SHERPA RoMEO can be followed: http://www.sherpa.ac.uk/romeo/issn/0038-2353/.

21. Copyright and License terms remains with the authors/s of the article/s. All articles published Yesterday&Today can be re-used under the following CC licence: CC BY-SA Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.
Reference guidelines

Yesterday & Today

Template guidelines for writing an article

1. **Font type**: Adobe Garamond Pro (throughout document)/Arial (if the first font type is unavailable).

2. **Font size in body text**: 12pt.

3. **Author’s details**: ONLY provide the following: Title, Campus & University and E-mail address
   
   **Title**: 10pt, regular font; **Campus & University**: 10pt, italics; and **E-mail address**: 10pt, regular font. (Consult previous articles published in the Y&T journal as an example or as a practical guideline).
   
   **Example**: Pieter van Rensburg, Vaal Triangle Campus, North-West University, p.vanrensburg@gmail.com.

4. **Abstract**: The abstract should be placed on the first page (where the title heading and author’s particulars appear). The prescribed length is between a half and three quarters of a page.
   
   **The abstract body**: Regular font, 10pt.
   
   **The heading of the Abstract**: Bold, italics, 12pt.

5. **Keywords**: The keywords should be placed on the first page below the abstract.
   
   The word **‘Keywords’**: 10pt, bold, underline.
   
   Each keyword must start with a capital letter and end with a semi-colon (;). **Example**: Meters; People; etc. (A minimum of six key words is required).

6. **Heading of article**: 14pt, bold.

7. **Main headings in article**: ‘Introduction’ – 12pt, bold.

8. **Sub-headings in article**: ‘History research’ – 12pt, bold, italics.


10. **Footnotes**: 8pt, regular font; **BUT** note that the footnote numbers in the article text should be 12pt.
    
    The initials in a person’s name (in footnote text) should be without any full stops. **Example**: LC du Plessis and NOT L.C. du Plessis.
11. **Body text**: Names without punctuation in the text. Example: “HL le Roux said” and NOT “H.L. le Roux said”.

12. **Page numbering**: Page numbering in the footnote reference text should be indicated as follows:


13. **Any lists** in the body text should be 11pt, and in bullet format.

14. **Quotes from sources in the body text** must be used sparingly. If used, it must be indented and in italics (10pt). Quotes less than one line in a paragraph can be incorporated as part of a paragraph, but within inverted commas; and NOT in italics. Example: An owner close to the town stated that: “the pollution history of the river is a muddy business”.

15. Quotes (**as part of the body text**) must be in double inverted commas: “…and she” and NOT ‘…and she’.

16. **Images**: Illustrations, pictures, photographs and figures: Submit all pictures for an article in jpeg, tiff or pdf format in a separate folder, and indicate where the pictures should be placed in the manuscript's body text. All visuals are referred to as Images.

   Example: Image 1: ‘Image title’ (regular font, 10pt) in the body text.

   Sources of all images should also be included after the ‘Image title’.

   Example: Source: ‘The source’ (regular font, 9 pt). Remember to save and name pictures in the separate folder accordingly.

   **Important note**: All the images should be of good quality (a minimum resolution of 200dpi is required; if the image is not scanned).

17. Punctuation marks should be placed in front of the **footnote numbers** in the text. Example: the end.1 NOT “…the end1.

18. **Single and left spacing** between the sentences in the footnote.

19. **Dates**: All dates in footnotes should be written out in full. Example: 23 December 2010; NOT 23/12/2010 [For additional guidelines see the Yesterday & Today Reference guidelines].

20. Language setting in Microsoft Word as **English (South Africa)**; do this before starting with the word processing of the article. Go to ‘Review’, ‘Set Language’ and select ‘English (South Africa)’.

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*Reference guidelines*

Yesterday & Today, No. 20, December 2018
The footnote or Harvard reference methods – some guidelines

Both the footnote reference method and the Harvard reference method are accepted for articles in Yesterday & Today. See some guidelines below:

The footnote reference method

Footnote references should be placed at the bottom of each page. Footnotes should be numbered sequentially throughout the article and starting with 1. Archival sources/published works/authors referred to in the text should be cited in full in the first footnote of each new reference. Thereafter it can be reduced to a shorter footnote reference. Do not refer to the exact same source and page numbers in footnotes that follow each other.

The use of the Latin word “Ibid” is not allowed. Rather refer to the actual reference again (or in its shortened version) on the rest of a page(s) in the footnote section.

The titles of books, articles, chapters, theses, dissertations and papers/manuscripts should NOT be capitalised at random. Only the names of people and places (and in some instances specific historic events) are capitalised. For example: P Erasmus, “The ‘lost’ South African tribe – rebirth of the Koranna in the Free State”, New Contree, 50, November 2005, p. 77;

NOT


PLEASE NOTE: Referencing journal titles imply that every word of the journal must start with a capital letter, example: Yesterday & Today Journal.

Examples of an article in a journal


Example of a shortened version of an article in a journal

From:

To:

[Please note: ONLY the title of the article is shortened and not the finding place.]

Examples of a reference from a book


JJ Buys, Die oorsprong en migratiebewegings van die Koranna en hulle rol in die Transgariep tot 1870 (Universiteit van die Vrystaat, Bloemfontein, 1989), pp. 33-34.

[Please note: The reference variety to page numbers used.]

Example of a shortened version of a reference from a book

From:

To:
JA Conforti, Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement…, p. 23.

Example of a reference from a chapter in a book


Shortened version:
Reference guidelines

Example of a reference from an unpublished dissertation/thesis

Examples of a reference from a newspaper

or
Zululand Times, 19 July 1923.

Archival references:
• Interview(s)
  Provide at least key details such as: Name of interviewee and profession; the interviewer and profession and date of interview

• Example of interview reference
  K Rasool (Personal Collection), interview, K Kotzé (CEO, Goldfields, Johannesburg Head Office)/E Schutte (Researcher, NWU, School of Basic Science), 12 March 2006.

• Example of shortened interview reference (after it has been used once in article)

• Example of an Electronic Mail - document or letter
  E-mail: W Pepler (Bigenafrica, Pretoria/E van Eeden (Researcher), 22 October 2006.

• National archives (or any other archive)
  National Archive (NA), Pretoria, Department of Education (DoE), Vol.10, Reference 8/1/3/452: Letter, K Lewis (Director General) / P Dlamini (Teacher, Springs College), 12 June 1960.

[Please note: After the first reference to the National Archives or Source Group for example, it can be abbreviated to e.g. NA or DE.]
A source accessed on the Internet


A source from conference proceedings

First reference to the source:


Shortened version:


GENERAL:

Illustrations

The appropriate positioning of the image should be indicated in the text. Original copies should be clearly identified on the back. High quality scanned versions are always welcome.

Authors, PLEASE obtain copyright and reproduction rights on photographs and other illustrations.

Copyright on all material in Yesterday & Today rests within the Editorial Advisory Committee of Yesterday & Today.
Reference guidelines

The Harvard reference method

References in the text

References are cited in the text by the author’s surname(s) and the year of publication in brackets, separated by a comma: e.g. (Weedon, 1977:13).

If several articles by the same author and from the same year are cited, the letters a, b, c, etc. should be added after the year of publication: e.g. (Fardon, 2007a:23).

Page references in the text should follow a colon after the date: e.g. (Bazalgette, 1992:209-214).

In works by three or more authors the surnames of all authors should be given in the first reference to such a work. In subsequent references to this work, only the name of the first author is given, followed by the abbreviation et al.: e.g. (Ottaro et al., 2005:34).

If reference is made to an anonymous item in a newspaper, the name of the newspaper is given in brackets: e.g. (The Citizen, 2010).

For personal communications (oral or written) identify the person and indicate in brackets that it is a personal communication: e.g. (B Brown, pers. comm.).

Ensure that dates, spelling and titles used in the text are accurate and consistent with those listed in the references.

List all references chronologically and then alphabetically: e.g. (Scott 2003; Muller 2006; Meyer 2007).

List of references

Only sources cited in the text are listed, in alphabetical order, under References.

Bibliographic information should be in the language of the source document, not in the language of the article.

References should be presented as indicated in the following examples. See the required punctuation.

• Journal articles
Surname(s) and initials of author(s), year of publication, title of article, unabbreviated title of journal, volume, issue number in brackets and page numbers: e.g. Shepherd, R 1992. Elementary media education. The perfect curriculum. English Quarterly, 25(2):35-38.
• **Books**

Surname(s) and initials of author(s) or editor(s), year of publication, title of book, volume, edition, place of publication and publisher: e.g. Mouton, J 2001. *Understanding social research*. Pretoria: JL van Schaik.

• **Chapters in books**


• **Unpublished theses or dissertations**


• **Anonymous newspaper references**


• **Electronic references**

Published under author’s name:


Website references: No author:

These references are not archival, and subject to change in any way and at any time. If it is essential to present them, they should be included in a numbered endnote and not in the reference list.

• **Personal communications**

Normally personal communications should always be recorded and retrievable. It should be cited as follows:

Personal interview, K Kombuis (Journalist-singer)/S van der Merwe (Researcher), 2 October 2010.