

Yesterday & Today

No. 18, December 2017

The Yesterday&Today is a scholarly, peer-reviewed and educationally focused History journal. It is indexed by the South African Department of Higher Education and Training. The journal is currently published in conjunction with The South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) under the patronage of the North-West University. Open access to the journal is available on the SASHT, the SciELO and the Boloka websites. The Website addresses to find previous and current issues of the Yesterday&Today journal are:

<http://www.sashtw.org.za>

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Two peer-reviewed issues are annually published.

Journal focus and vision

Scientific research articles in the following field of research are published (covers 75% of the Journal):

History teaching: Refers to research reports dealing with the methodology (didactics) and practice of History teaching.

Educational history: The history of any education-related theme is reported.

History research: Relates to any historical content or theme, especially represented in the History curricula of Southern Africa. It is recommended that all the contributions should reference to either the GET or the FET or HET curriculum content. A theme of choice should also be linked to ways of HOW to educationally utilise the latter in teaching History in general, and or the classroom in particular.

Hands-on articles in the following field of research are published (covers 25% of the Journal):

Hands-on reports: Are articles based on authors' personal experiences/opinions with history within or outside the classroom.

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should secure the copyright of using images not developed by the author. A summary/abstract in any one of the official South African languages must be included. Contributors are encouraged to submit articles written in a clear, reader-friendly style.

The Editorial accommodate peer reviewed articles and practical hands-on articles. However, it's only the peer- reviewed articles that are acknowledged by the DHET for being accredited and valid for subsidy purposes.

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The footnote or Harvard reference methods are prescribed for article contributions to the journal. Also refer to the last pages of this publication and the most recent issue of the journal available on the SASHT's website: <http://www.sashtw.org.za> for more information. The use of the correct citation methods and the acknowledgement of all consulted sources is a prerequisite. One complimentary hard copy of an issue will be send to contributory authors of articles.

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EDITORIAL

The Editorial Board is delighted to announce that *Yesterday&Today* has made more great strides in increasing the visibility, accessibility, impact and distribution of the journal nationally and internationally. An application was submitted during March of this year and in October it was accepted into the Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ). The DOAJ is an online directory that indexes and provides access to quality open-access, peer-reviewed journals. The statistics show that per month more than 300 000 people from all over the world visit the DOAJ.

This last issue of *Yesterday&Today* for 2017 covers a variety of gem-like, well-argued research articles. The readers can look forward to learning more about the Afrikaner women's history at secondary school level, what it takes to teach History well and effectively, Cameroonian History textbooks, History education in Hungary, the reflective praxis of the name Social Sciences, and the implementation of technological tools in the teaching and learning of History.

Charl Blignaut kicks off in the first article, *Integrating Afrikaner women's history in senior secondary school CAPS through an evaluation of women's "sense of independence"*, by motivating the need to integrate women's history with the curriculum. After evaluating the content in which women currently feature and outlining the challenges of integrating women's history, he concludes by postulating that the History Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS) policy document is totally lacking in contextualising gender and integrating women's history, despite its claims that it supports citizenship within a democracy. In an insightful manner that serves as an example, Blignaut demonstrates how the Afrikaner women's "sense of independence" in their resistance against colonialism can be integrated with the teaching and learning of CAPS content at senior secondary level.

In the first of two international contributions, entitled *What do I have to know to teach history well? Knowledge and expertise in History teaching – a proposal*, Christian Heuer, Mario Resch and Manfred Seidenfuss focus on one of the key questions in History pedagogy: How does expertise arise from knowledge, and what does a History teacher really need to know to teach History effectively and efficiently? Founded on the general consensus that knowledge and competence exemplify the central parts of professional knowledge, the Heidelberg Model for Competence in History Teaching (*Heidelberger Geschichtslehrerkompetenzmodell: HeiGeKo*) was developed. This

model aims to describe the professional competence of the History teacher by including domain-specific facets in its design, including knowledge of History, knowledge of History didactics, motivation, and teaching perception as the variables that steer the teaching and learning process in the History class. Through the proposed *HeiGeKo* model the authors attempt to initiate an ongoing discussion about the professional competence of History teachers.

In *Historical knowledge-genre as it relates to the reunification of Cameroon in selected Anglophone Cameroonian History textbooks*, Raymond Fru and Johan Wassermann analyse three textbooks against the backdrop of Anglophone plight linked to the reunification of French and British Southern Cameroons in 1961. Through a qualitative content analysis methodology using a postcolonial interpretivist lens, three Anglophone Cameroonian History textbooks were purposively selected in order to explore their representation of historical genres and knowledge as they relate to the reunification of Cameroon. The findings were inter alia that the relevant authors employed explanatory, narrative and descriptive historical genres in the textbooks. These genres revealed distinct characteristics of factorial and consequential explanations of elite historical characters, events and places. The study furthermore showed an evident discourse of an Anglophone identity/nationalism in the textbooks. Lastly, Fru and Wassermann found that the Anglophone History textbooks in Cameroon – in contrast with the trend internationally – have not followed the progression from a substantive to a procedural view of historical knowledge.

Karl Benziger, in *The strong state and embedded dissonance: History education and populist politics in Hungary*, focus on the state's presentation of Hungary's interwar history as opposed to that found in textbooks and curricula. Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's stated aim is to create an illiberal state, but an embedded dissonance found in texts undergirds the dream of a liberal republic found in the failed revolutions of 1848 and 1956. The Hungarian past remains unsettled and political parties in the contemporary state utilize selective segments of this history to legitimize their respective platforms. An examination of history texts, curricula, and the state's presentation of history help us to better understand the development of strong state politics in the 21st century.

In *Rethinking the reflective praxis of the name Social Science: Pedagogical 'mischief' in the Grade 4 to 9 Social Science curriculum*, Maserole Christina Kgari-Masondo argues that the integration of the Geography and History components of Social Sciences occurs administratively and is therefore

disconnected and pedagogically speaking “mischievous”. Drawing qualitatively from the experiences and perceptions of Social Sciences Post-Graduate Certificate Education trainee students, the “mischiefs” embedded in the curriculum are discussed and exposed. She consequently calls on policy makers and textbook writers for a reflective praxis by adopting an integrated “border crossing pedagogy” Social Sciences curriculum that includes diverse knowledge and not only western epistemology. Kgari-Masonda believes that such an approach will not only impact largely on the design of the curriculum but also on textbooks, as no textbook exist that integrates History and Geography or vice versa.

The seasoned History teacher, Paul Haupt, in the hands-on article, *Reaching beyond the confines of the classroom. A hands-on discussion of the implementation of rapidly improving technological tools in History pedagogy*, creatively shares his experiences and insights on technology and teaching. For the History teacher to remain relevant in the 21st century classroom and to keep the subject on the forefront of intellectual interrogation of world events, he believes that a multiplicity of technology tools should be utilised. He discusses the advantages of utilising technology and how the application thereof will not only benefit learners, but also the entire school community. At the same time, he warns against the dangers of using technology in the classroom and makes some suggestions on how to circumvent it. In conclusion he gives examples of useful and available technological tools whereby History teachers and learners can benefit in the teaching of History in order to maximise their learning potential.

In the book review section, Ntombiyoxolo Mqadi critically reviews Johann Wassermann’s publication: *Teaching Social Sciences: Intermediate and Senior Phases*. This is followed by Fezeka Gxwayibeni’s review of Carolyn Hamilton and Nessa Leibhammer’s *Tribing and Untribing the Archive: Volumes 1 & 2*.

The annual presidential report and the AGM minutes of the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT), which are traditionally covered in the December issue of *Yesterday&Today*, do not appear in this issue. Due to practical considerations, the Editorial Board decided that these contributions will be published in the July 2018 edition. However, information is provided on the September conference held at the River Sun Hotel in Vanderbijlpark, where the SASHT acted as host for the International Society for History Didactics (ISHD).

Also in this edition a copy can be seen of the front page of a new book that will be released in January 2018. The book, entitled *Teaching & learning History and Geography in the South African classroom*, was edited by Elize van Eeden and Pieter Warnich, with Aubrey Golightly acting as the consulting editor for the Geography section. This long-awaited publication is the first to consider teaching and learning History and Geography as interconnected disciplines and will benefit specialists and prospective specialists in the fields of the education sciences and the social sciences.

The Editorial Board would further like to take the opportunity to extend their congratulations to the new elected Executive of the SASHT for the 2017-2020 term. The members are: 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-Kroon and Ms Gill Sutton. The respective portfolios will be announced at a later date, when other members may also be co-opted. To the outgoing Executive, thank you for your inputs and contributions over the past three years.

Professor Elize van Eeden served on the Executive for a period of 25 years – first as secretary and for the past nine years as chairperson. The Editorial Board extend their appreciation for her untiring efforts to keep the SASHT standing during difficult times (see Henriëtte Lubbe’s note of appreciation that appears in this edition). On the next page Professor van Eeden shares her memories with *Yesterday&Today* about her time serving on the SASHT Executive.

THE SASHT: PERSONAL MEMORIES, IMAGINARIES AND REALITIES

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It was in 1994, I remember, after some years of involvement and membership in the less-than-a-decade-old South African Society for History Teaching, that I was “nominated” to become the secretary of the SASHT. It was no extraordinary formality. Most probably it could be viewed as a one-way prior-to-conference decision-making by the leadership to ensure no difficulty at the SASHT General Meeting when it would be announced that a volunteer was needed to fill the secretary position. All those present – I remember about 50 to 60 then – “gladly” took note of the “volunteer”, thereby implying that the activities of the SASHT at least would be assured of continuity. I do remember, at the 1994 GM, that the author of *All that glitters*, Emelia Potenza, dryly observed that the stereotype of having only a woman in the position of secretary should be changed. I cannot remember if the leadership responded to this remark, but it made an impression on me as a 34-year-old. I was tasked to take over from Dr Maritz Broodryk from the erstwhile University of Port Elizabeth. With a PhD in Regional History Studies awarded in 1993, I had in some way only departed with my higher education career. I was excited to also help make a difference in the newly established democratic South Africa.

Somehow life’s odds always seem to have been pulling against the academic dreams and wishes I aspired to. What educators and historians thought would be a “spring” for History after 1994, turned out to be a battle for disciplinary survival. A new educational dispensation and ideas about History in the broader domain have allowed for some challenging years – also for the SASHT. In 1996 the SASHT mouthpiece, the journal *Yesterday and Today* (as it was written then), published its last issue under Prof Pieter H Kapp from the University of Stellenbosch. A lack of interest and educators not renewing their subscription fees mainly led to this solo decision-making. I cannot remember if the broader leadership had been consulted and if any of the rest of the

executive had been approached to take up the challenge of taking over the Y&T editorship. Be it as it may, the leadership since then has also frequently changed while the SASHT struggled to host its biennial conferences as a result of no interest, probably no trust in the “Afrikaner” perceived initiative, and most definitely a bag full of other perceptions, realities and imaginaries about people leading the SASHT: The country’s political record related to the past in which History was viewed as a major culprit, and the in-the-mind labelling of historians at tertiary institutions as being ideologically linked to apartheid or ideologically opposing apartheid ... even if that was only imaginary (as we know now in more realistic terms 23 years later). Because of perceptions and stereotypes, therefore, so it seems, some individuals were embraced in the new dispensation while others felt marginalised but certainly not less enthusiastic about History and history teaching.

With a few mainstays in the SASHT like Mr Jimmy Verner and Prof Rob Siebörger and some years later, also Dr Pieter Warnich of the NWU (who hosted a very successful SASHT conference in Potchefstroom in 2006), the Society has indeed pulled through since 1997 to 2005, despite the loss of a few anchors who were associated with the Society, such as Prof Martin Trümpelmann of the Rand Afrikaans University (currently known as the University of Johannesburg). This continuity in difficult times for History was also made possible by continuing to organise conferences; distributing a quarterly information brochure (hard copy and electronic); voicing the Society’s concerns to the 20-30 or so active members and also the several other “dormant” acting members. At the time, and at all times, some members were also involved in the writing of school textbooks. Efforts to establish healthy cooperation with the Department of Education seemed to have reached a pinnacle in 2006 when the SASHT, with the financial support made possible by the outgoing Dr Nishana Parsard of the Gauteng DoE, organised a workshop in Vanderbijlpark for more than 100 History teachers under the appropriate title “Empowering the History teacher”. I remember how the recently 2017-elected executive, Michelle Friedman (who had been a speaker on resources during one of the 2006 workshop sessions) battled to find the venue through Vanderbijlpark’s maze of boulevards, but the wait with a longer tea session was worth the while. I also remember Rika Odendaal’s presence at the workshop, and today she is a solid pillar in the SASHT team and manages the SASHT website as well as the national SASHT quiz, entitled: *Made SA*.

The years 2005-2006 can indeed be seen as a milestone and turn-around-time for the SASHT. The SASHT “executive” (by then still not in a strong and very constitutionally structured position to properly organise annual elections, but Mr Jimmy Verner efficiently managed as chair up to 2008), continued its pro-activeness by starting the first website for a History Society in South Africa. A few initiatives thereafter have turned around the Society profile and position. The first of many initiatives was to re-instate the *Yesterday&Today* journal in 2006 by publishing a special issue. The financial support from the North-West

University to ensure that the 10-year dormant journal would be resurrected properly should not be underestimated. After six years of publishing well-researched articles and very informative hands-on articles the Society was granted accreditation by the DoE and gained the support of the quality gate-keeper body, the Academy of Science of South Africa (Assaf).

Since 2005 the biennial SASHT conferences have paved the way for hosting annual conferences. I took over from Jimmy as Chair of the Society in 2009 when the SASHT Executive exercised their vote and, in fact, all started to become more involved. At this point in time it was Patrick McMahon of Crawford College, and already involved for some years, who hopped on the SASHT “bus” and has since been a committed companion in the SASHT executive. Not only did he maintain the website for many years, but has he also ensured continuity on the SASHT facebook page after Mathew Marwick of Maritzburg College’s passionate initiatives in this regard in 2013. Patrick (and Jimmy) annually assisted Rika with up-to-date questions for the *Made SA* quiz. Pieter Warnich also took over the *Yesterday&Today* editorial task from me, which absolutely helped me to also be able to pay attention to other SASHT matters.

The SASHT thrives on passionate educators of History who have been willing to give that extra time, not for the record and win-a-medal-time, but to serve fellow colleagues, the community and our children in lecture halls. In this regard it would be a sin to proceed to any thought of the SASHT after 2010 without thinking of Ms Henriette Lubbe of Unisa who, with very hard work and an outstanding efficiency and a warm personality, was in 2011 able to embrace the cultural representativeness of South Africa at that year’s conference in Benoni, Gauteng, entitled “Youth and History”. Since 2012 the SASHT has travelled all over the country: To the Western Cape, KZN, Limpopo and the Eastern Cape to host conferences with the kind assistance of executive members. Personally meeting with former political activist and motivational speaker as keynote at the SASHT conference in Limpopo in 2015, Mr Barney Pityana, will always incite special memories.

With Henriette as Deputy Chair of the Society since the 2011 election the activities of the elected regional representatives have been reported on regularly and well supported. To me it was an eye-opener to have become acquainted with so many initiatives on the ground with regard to the education of History. Some outstanding and notable SASHT “infantry”, if I will be forgiven for making distinctions in this regard, are Limpopo’s representative and SASHT executive member, Mr Jake Manenzhe, as well as Mr Barry Firth of the Western Cape, from 2017 the newly elected SASHT President (the SASHT recently spontaneously did away with the word “Chair”). I will always fondly carry a very special memory of Barry, travelling to conferences on his motor bike, no matter how far. This is a wow and inspiring!

In looking back, after 25 years of official involvement (but I can also testify to being “around”, assisting and observing even prior to 1992 and in the pioneering days of the Society), I will always remember the regular, active and supportive SASHT members who participated (and still do!) in conferences and debates on contentious issues. The membership of close to a 100 nowadays, has picked up again since 1994 and it is hoped that its strength, inside and outside official membership boundaries, will escalate to benefit the Society and its doings for the sake of quality education in History. Today the SASHT has a healthy bank balance, and has as a result, as in the past, also been able to support needy members and supporters to attend conferences and host workshops. The *Yesterday&Today* journal has progressed to be an outstanding academic publication and internationally its visibility and usability reflect in the statistics. In 2017 the SASHT also hosted the conference of the International Society of History Didactics in South Africa as a first for Southern Africa. History education and the educators of History in South Africa are indeed well on course and I am proud to have been part of it so far and hope to be for as long as possible in the future. Proudly South African I will always be! I am equally excited about the newly elected SASHT executive under the guidance of Barry Firth (President) and Pieter Warnich (vice-President) who will take the Society’s vision and mission into a new era of creative initiatives. My warm blessings and good wishes to all those on this very special bus that will continue moving forward with efficient navigators.

WORDS OF APPRECIATION BY THE DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON, HENRIËTTE LUBBE



Since Prof Elize van Eeden became chairperson of the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) in 2009, she worked tirelessly to consolidate, invigorate, expand and strengthen the reputation of the Society. She also managed to reinstate the Society's journal, *Yesterday & Today*, in 2006 after it had closed down in 1997, and worked extremely hard to develop the publication into the formidable, accredited academic journal that it has become.

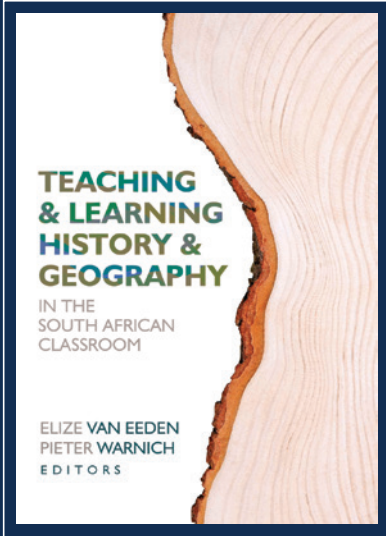
In addition, Elize supported an initiative in 2011 to make the Society more representative of all South Africans, thereby displaying transformational leadership without which the SASHT would not have grown and prospered. She further started a website for the Society in 2005, a Facebook page around 2011, an annual online Quiz in 2015, and initiated the appointment of regional representatives tasked to publicise the many activities of the Society and broaden its membership base.

Last but not least, Elize inspired people crossing her path with a remarkable range of qualities: she is intelligent, creative, focused, committed, extremely hard-working, energetic, productive, organised, independent, confident, resilient, reliable and consistent. More importantly – she is emotionally mature, trustworthy, compassionate, understanding, tolerant, appreciative, loyal, and ethical.

We say good-bye to a remarkable person with enormous gratitude in our hearts and wish her well!

(The SASHT say thank you to Henriëtte for her remarkable services rendered as deputy chairperson from 2011-2017).

New publication



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This book is the first to consider teaching and learning History and Geography as interconnected disciplines in the South African context. Drawing on prodigious research, experts in the fields impart recommendations for education students and teachers in social sciences programmes on how to teach, understand and assess these subjects purposefully. Dealing with both specific needs of the History and Geography syllabi and the broader curricula, the book guides readers through developments in these fields, new focus areas and teaching possibilities unlocked by technology.

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INTEGRATING AFRIKANER WOMEN'S HISTORY IN SENIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL CAPS THROUGH AN EVALUATION OF WOMEN'S "SENSE OF INDEPENDENCE"

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Abstract

In 2011 the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) for History at senior secondary school level was released. The content selection was directly influenced by the notion that History supports citizenship within a democracy. This opened the avenue for women's history to be introduced on senior secondary level. The aim of this article is twofold, namely to motivate the need to integrate women's history in implementing the senior secondary History CAPS by evaluating the content where women features and to provide an historical overview of Afrikaner women's role in South African history as an example of integrating Afrikaner women's history in the teaching of the CAPS content. The theories and methodologies of gender history are of the utmost importance to realise the civic aims of the CAPS, but the discussion of gender is beyond the scope of this article. This article identifies the lack of focus on women in the History CAPS despite the claim that history supports citizenship within a democracy by also representing gender-issues. Challenges to integrating women's history are then outlined. As an example of how women's history can relate to the major CAPS topics, an integrative and compensatory history of Afrikaner women is provided through evaluating women's "sense of independence" by describing their role in key events that shaped South African history, resistance against colonialism, and the development of proto-nationalism.

Keywords: Teaching History; Senior secondary school; Women's history; Gender history; History curriculum; Afrikaner women.

Introduction

In 2011 the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement for History in senior secondary school was released. In the definition of history in section two of the Statement, it is declared that History supports citizenship within a democracy by "reflecting the perspectives of a broad social spectrum so that

race, class, gender and the voices of ordinary people are represented” and by “promoting human rights and peace by challenging prejudices that involve race, class, gender, ethnicity and xenophobia”.¹ The placing of gender on the agenda can be applauded, but this entails a thorough engagement with the existence of gender differences, the social construction of gendered identities, the contingency of gender, and dichotomies taking the form of hierarchical oppositions. This also includes a particular emphasis on women’s history that “strives to make students sensitive to the way meanings, past and present, are assigned to femininity and masculinity and how these meanings change”.² Although women are supposedly included in the curriculum, they are in fact nearly absent from the content.

Regarding engagement with gender as a concept, the History CAPS shows a total lack of contextualising gender and integrating women’s history into existing structures. It is my contention that women were included haphazardly and in an ill-informed manner on the side of policy makers. The limitations of the senior secondary CAPS History Curriculum have been extensively considered by P Kallaway in an excellent article published in *Yesterday and Today* in 2012.³ Among other aspects, he critiques the mentioned idea of civic education as not adhering to “the necessary condition for good history teaching...” and quotes Counsell in emphasising the need to “bring the epistemic tradition of history to the classroom in forms that allow the students to understand the grounds on which valid claims about the past can be made”.⁴ I am in agreement – even gender need not be incorporated via civic aims, but by adhering to the rich tradition of gender history as valid field of historical inquiry. However, within the context of the CAPS document, it would be fruitful to view women’s history in light of the civil responsibility as at least a noble aim concerning the inclusion of women and the acknowledgement of gender as a factor in history.

My aim with this article is twofold, namely to motivate the need to integrate women’s history in teaching the senior secondary History CAPS based on an evaluation of the content featuring women and to provide an historical overview of Afrikaner women’s role in South African history to demonstrate the integration of Afrikaner women’s history in the teaching of the CAPS

1 Department of Basic Education (DoE), *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement: Grades 10-12: History* (Pretoria, Department of Basic Education, 2011), p. 8.

2 G Ten Dam & R Rijkschroeff, “Teaching women’s history in secondary education: Constructing gender identity”, *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 14(1), 1996, p. 75.

3 P Kallaway, “History in secondary school CAPS 2012 and beyond: A comment”, *Yesterday&Today*, 7, July 2012, pp. 23-62.

4 P Kallaway, “History in secondary school CAPS...”, *Yesterday&Today*, 7, July 2012, p. 33.

content. The theories and methodologies of gender history are of the utmost importance to realise the civic aims of the CAPS, but the discussion of gender is beyond the scope of this article. This article aims to start the discussion by throwing light on the lack of focus on women in the History CAPS despite the claim that History supports citizenship within a democracy by also representing gender-issues. Furthermore, challenges to integrating women's history are outlined. As an example of how women's history can relate to the major CAPS topics, an integrative and compensatory history of Afrikaner women is provided through evaluating women's "sense of independence" by describing their role in key events that shaped South African history, resistance against colonialism and the development of proto-nationalism.

The near absence of women: Further limitations of the CAPS History Curriculum

The History CAPS content selection was directly influenced by the notion that history supports citizenship within a democracy. This opened the avenue for women's history to be introduced on senior secondary level. However, as Kallaway shows, the document does not elaborate on how this notion is to be reconciled with traditional goals of history teaching.⁵ The inclusion of women's history presupposes its own traditional goals which are effectively summarised by G Fain: "The phenomenon of the appearance of the role of women in historical development is intended (and rightly so) to characterize the broader influence of all women and their contributions to political, cultural and economic history".⁶ In this section, I evaluate the content of the History CAPS documentation to identify problems associated with the inclusion – or exclusion – of women in the curriculum. This is done by looking at three topics specified in CAPS, namely topic one and six of Grade ten and topic three of Grade twelve.

Women are only mentioned three times in the whole spectrum of history covered from Grade ten to twelve. Topic one of Grade ten focuses on "the world around 1600". Teachers are to include, in all units, the role of women in society. This consists of a comparative overview of China, the Shongai Empire, India, and European societies.⁷ Kallaway argues that to engage with the role of women in this broad overview is an unrealistic call.⁸ There is no

5 P Kallaway, "History in secondary school CAPS...", *Yesterday&Today*, 7, July 2012, p. 30.

6 G Fain, "Teaching Women's History", *Clearing House*, 68(5), May/June 1995, p. 268.

7 DoE, *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement: Grades 10-12: History*, p. 13.

8 P Kallaway, "History in secondary school CAPS...", *Yesterday&Today*, 7, July 2012, p. 38.

mention of exactly where and how teachers should include women in the overview. I doubt that school libraries or public libraries in rural areas will have information on this broad inclusion of women. There is of course extensive research available on women's history in this era. The Renaissance is a case in point, exemplified by one of the first ever classic women's histories written by J Kelly-Gadol: "Did women have a Renaissance?"⁹ She reconceptualised the Renaissance through her "discovery" of women's role in this transitional era. It is an excellent example of women's role in society. However, given the lack of focus on women's history in the curriculum it is unlikely that all teachers were exposed to these studies at tertiary level. The faculties of education in South African universities prepare teachers to teach the curriculum and students are not confronted with the broad classic trends in Humanities on the level of "history proper" taught by the respective departments of history. Therefore, it remains unclear to me how teachers can be expected to incorporate the influence of women successfully within this topic without explicit and well-informed guidelines and applicable resource material.¹⁰ One is left with the idea that women were mentioned as an afterthought to adhere to the civic goals without much consideration or knowledge of the field's epistemic background.

The second mention of women brings us to South Africa. Women are never again mentioned in a global context despite the emphasis on teaching History through a comparative approach. Topic six of Grade ten covers the South African War and the Union of South Africa. The role and experiences of women in the war are emphasised.¹¹ However, the First Boer War is not mentioned. This leads to a lack of context, which may lead to disproportionate views, as women also played a role in this war. By excluding it, it is not possible to demonstrate the important notion of a continuous female influence that needs to be emphasised.¹² A good deal of material is available on this topic - as Kallaway also points out¹³ - including on women's history. However, emphasising the *experiences* of women is different from evaluating their *role* in the war and thus granting them *agency*. Consequently, teachers can fall into a reductionist trap regarding women in the South African War, namely by focusing on their *suffering* only. In its current form, the door is left open for reductionist interpretations of women's experience of the war as the content

9 J Kelly-Gadol, *Did women have a Renaissance?* (Boston, MA, Houghton Mifflin, 1977).

10 See the next section on the nature of including women effectively in a curriculum.

11 DoE, *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement: Grades 10-12: History*, p. 18.

12 See the overview of women's sense of independence.

13 P Kallaway, "History in secondary school CAPS...", *Yesterday&Today*, 7, July 2012, p. 41.

mentions the concentration camps and “experiences of Afrikaners”¹⁴ and women in the same breath. The History CAPS mentions that “the section on the South African War from 1899 to 1902 needs to reflect recent research”.¹⁵ As will become evident in my exposition of women’s sense of independence, research on women’s role in the war abounds, but mainly in scholarly journals and academic anthologies. If teachers were not exposed to this at university level, or are not purposely provided with current research, they might struggle to find relevant sources to place women in context of recent studies.

Women only rightfully pop up in topic three of Grade twelve dealing with the civil society protests from the fifties to the seventies. Although this is a commendable attempt to include women, the elaboration in the overview is highly problematic. The unsubstantiated claim that “black women see themselves first as black, and white women see themselves first as white” is appalling, at least in my opinion. Such a statement can only be regarded as a gross overgeneralisation, as no evidence is provided to support that this was the case for *all* women, or that this was a conscious personal conviction. It also excludes alternative convictions possibly held by women in shaping their identities and roles in history, such as a woman considering herself firstly as wife to her husband or mother to her children, or a child of God.

In the same section the “middle class Black Sash” is mentioned.¹⁶ The irony is biting, as the implication here seems to be that the Black Sash too saw themselves first as white, rather than human beings or even women, regardless of the fact that they fought for equality and inclusivity. They were indeed white women who used their racial position to protest the unjust laws of Apartheid. But it would be an apparent oversimplification to assume these women necessarily firstly regarded themselves in terms of black-white opposition. This statement is a blatant insult to the Black Sash Movement that sowed the seeds of non-racialism and human rights for all. This attests to an over-emphasis on race and the lack of epistemic consideration of the theoretical underpinnings of women’s and gender history on the side of policy makers. When working with women and gender, essentialist notions like this should distinctly be avoided or else fail in achieving civic goals. Gender, for

14 The use of the term “Afrikaners” is problematic in this context. It supposes the monolithic nature of identity whereas historians made an immense effort to show identity is fluid. This term only came to be used as a standard ethnic label during the first part of the twentieth century and well after the war. The “Afrikaners” have mainly been referred to as “Boers” during the war. Kallaway drove the point home that we cannot view history through the lens of hindsight or presentism. See P Kallaway, “History in secondary school CAPS...”, *Yesterday & Today*, 7, July, 2012, p. 28.

15 DoE, *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement: Grades 10-12: History*, p. 18.

16 DoE, *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement: Grades 10-12: History*, p. 28.

example, is contextual. G Ten Dam and R Rijkschroeff rightly argues that:¹⁷

Femininity and masculinity are not intrinsically the same or different. The meaning of gender varies according to context. Femininity, masculinity, and the unequal relationship between men and women are social manifestations that can assume a different form again and again.

Kallaway justly points out that the curriculum “tends to ignore complexity and *context* and reverts excessively to narrow notions of race and nationality in what appears to be a quest for ‘relevance’”.¹⁸ Today, the chairperson of the Black Sash is a black woman – so much for presentism and “relevance”. Furthermore, in terms of resistance movements, no mention is made of the Liberal Party and Progressive Party. As Kallaway mentions: “One cannot help wondering why this is so!”¹⁹ Helen Suzman and her contribution certainly merits mentioning at the very least.

Topic three of Grade twelve is presented in a vacuum and further bolsters Kallaway’s argument, quoting Tosh, that “any feature of the past must be interpreted in its historical context”.²⁰ If this is not done, students tend to think in “bubbles” instead of seeing history as extended progression.²¹ The liberation of women extends as far back to the Enlightenment and consequences of the French Revolution. No history of this phenomenon can begin without at least considering Mary Wollstonecraft – not to mention First Wave Feminism. Furthermore, the political role of women need not only be a focus on women’s liberation, as I show in the short history of Afrikaner women’s sense of independence.

The South African senior secondary History curriculum lags behind dreadfully where women’s history is concerned. In comparison, the Dutch example of dealing with women’s history in senior secondary school, from as early as the 1990s, can be mentioned. In 1990 and 1991 women’s history in senior secondary school was included as a compulsory theme of examination in the Netherlands. A group of professional historians were advised by and accountable to the Dutch Ministry of Education. Women’s history was supported by arguments on both an individual and social level by reappraising the roles of women in the past to enable students to better understand their

17 G Ten Dam & R Rijkschroeff, “Teaching women’s history...”, *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 14(1), 1996, p. 75.

18 P Kallaway, “History in secondary school CAPS...”, *Yesterday&Today*, 7, July 2012, p. 28.

19 P Kallaway, “History in secondary school CAPS...”, *Yesterday&Today*, 7, July 2012, p. 47.

20 J Tosh, *Why History matters* (London, Palgrave/Macmillan, 2008).

21 P Kallaway, “History in secondary school CAPS...”, *Yesterday&Today*, 7, July 2012, p. 32.

present gendered society.²² The final examination topic adhered to the standards of women's history: "Continuity and Change: The Position of Women in the Netherlands and United States of America, 1929 to 1969". Women featured in terms of family, work, and politics.²³ This speaks of an integrative and truly comparative approach. The main difference between South Africa and the Netherlands is that the latter had a clear aim with women's history and understood that its significance "extends beyond the acquisition of subject matter knowledge" through the advice of women's historians who provided the much needed background to the Dutch Ministry of Education. As such the epistemic background of women's history was incorporated successfully and purposefully into the existing curriculum structures. It also places women in a contrary light – they did not only *struggle* for equality – they were *visible* and *contributed* in all aspects of society.

Kallaway points out throughout his article that the curriculum does not engage with revisionist challenges posed to historiography since the seventies.²⁴ The gross over-emphasis on race is a case in point. However, since the sixties, one of the major challenges to History as a discipline and all historiography in general has been the rise of women's history as a legitimate historical topic. Great strides have been taken these past fifty years and it is safe to say that women and gender have become indispensable to our understanding of history. The lack of almost any true engagement with women's history in the CAPS content attests to a possible ignorance on the part of policy makers or the inherent political motives of the History CAPS that contributes, in my opinion, more to racial division than the inclusive ideals set out in the understanding that history supports citizenship within a democracy. In effect this renders civil goals unattainable. Race and class are represented throughout the content, but gender is lacking. Women's history can indeed contribute to a more inclusive perspective on History. A starting point would be addressing the apparent lack of inclusivity promoted by the curriculum namely the near absence of women. This need not be the case and I would subsequently like to briefly highlight inclusivity standards as applicable to a History curriculum.

22 G Ten Dam & R Rijkschroeff, "Teaching women's history...", *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 14(1), 1996, p. 72.

23 G Ten Dam & R Rijkschroeff, "Teaching women's history...", *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 14(1), 1996, p. 73.

24 P Kallaway, "History in secondary school CAPS...", *Yesterday&Today*, 7, July 2012, p. 44.

The need to integrate women's history in teaching the senior secondary History CAPS

In a few instances I have referred to the epistemic background of women's and gender history. I am of the opinion that the teaching of women's history should adhere to these standards. The reason is that women's history is a complicated project with an inherent ambiguity. In the words of one of gender history's greatest pioneers, JW Scott, women's history "is at once an innocuous supplement to and a radical replacement for established history".²⁵ Scott shows that writing a mere supplement, adding women to "established history" as an afterthought, is not enough. She expresses it as follows: "women cannot just be added without a fundamental recasting of the terms, standards and assumptions of what has passed for objective, neutral and universal history", for that view of history "included in its very definition of itself the exclusion of women".²⁶

How does one adhere to this standard when teaching women's history? To truly include women would mean rewriting the curriculum. It is unlikely that this will happen to the extent necessary anytime soon. However, there are ways in which teachers can include women in existing curriculum structures. Feminist scholars refer to an *integrative* approach.

G Riley shows that by 1979 women's history was recognised as a legitimate field and writing about women has "been implemented with a vengeance".²⁷ However, during that time women's history was not yet incorporated into all American History courses. She mentions the complexity of women's history and discusses the six ways in which women's history can be incorporated into existing curriculum structures. These six approaches are as follows: 1) "remedial" (remedying the omission of women); 2) addressing women's history through the study of "Great Women"; 3) the "oppression"-approach (the mentioned view of women's history as a "struggle"); 4) the "political" way of viewing women (focusing on women's liberation); 5) social history (home and family); and the sixth teaching device, namely viewing "women in" (women in social movements, women in war, women in colonial South Africa, et cetera).²⁸ All of these approaches have their virtues and shortcomings and Riley effectively points out that not one of these approaches are sufficient if they are used in isolation as *the only* lens through which women are viewed. As an alternative

25 JW Scott, "Women's history", P Burke (ed.), *New perspectives on historical writing* (Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), p. 50.

26 JW Scott, "Women's history", P Burke (ed.), *New perspectives on historical writing...*, p. 58.

27 G Riley, "Integrating women's history into existing course structures", *The History Teacher*, 12(4), August 1979, p. 494.

28 G Riley, "Integrating women's history...", *The History Teacher*, 12(4), August 1979, pp. 495-497.

she proposes an “integrative approach” to arrive at an effective teaching strategy. She elaborates that “the integrative technique utilises some combination of part or all of the above viewpoints in a mix that is comfortable for the instructor, students and course involved”.²⁹ This approach is the nearest that adheres to the standards set out by Scott as “[t]he integrative technique is intended to make women’s history jibe with other course content, rather than riding shakily and rather obviously upon its crest”. Although proposed in 1979, no women’s historian would argue that this approach does not adhere to the tradition of teaching women’s history today – especially where there is a need to incorporate women into curriculums where they are still absent. It is evident that the History CAPS does not follow this approach where women are concerned.

Thus far I have focused on pointing out shortcomings of the curriculum in my critique of it. I now turn to considering how to address these shortcomings, given the fact that policy cannot be changed overnight, and may remain unchanged despite scholarly calls to do so. Firstly, the aims of the curriculum may be realised through engaging with the policy document in innovative ways. Secondly, the content and women’s history can also be approached in an integrated way where possible. Women can be *properly* incorporated in history teaching by means of Riley’s integrative approach. In the following section I present an integrative history of women that can “jibe” with other course content and also supply a much needed context for the CAPS content through the discussion of women’s role. It focuses on Afrikaner history, touching on “key events” in South African History. This short history mainly serves as a compensatory approach to an integrative history of Afrikaner women up until the beginning of the twentieth century based on the CAPS content.³⁰ It is especially relevant to topic six of Grade ten (The South African War and Union).

A short history of Afrikaner women’s sense of independence up until the nineteenth century

Brief historical background: The first instances of Dutch-Afrikaans women’s sense of independence

The roots of the pursuit of independence among the group of white people in South Africa who would eventually become the Afrikaners, can be traced back to the eighteenth century trekking farmers of the Cape. In 1657 Jan

29 G Riley, “Integrating women’s history...”, *The History Teacher*, 12(4), August 1979, p. 497.

30 The fluidity of identity is pointed out through showing how Afrikaner women’s identity evolved through history.

van Riebeeck allowed nine Company officials to farm as “vryburgers” (free citizens/burghers) with the objective of providing food for the refreshment post. The numbers of the free burghers grew as immigrants from the European continent accelerated the natural increase of the white population in the Cape. Since the Dutch East India Company had never intended the post at the Cape to become a colony, the Company could not keep up with the needs of a growing new nation on African soil. Back in 1706 Dutch women already joined their men in protesting against the corrupt rule of governor WA van der Stel. They aired their grievances verbally to “landdros” (magistrate) J Starrenberg who reported to Van der Stel: “the women are just as dangerous as the men, and they do not keep quiet”.³¹ One of the first instances where a sense of freedom was articulated was the struggle of the Cape Patriots for more civil rights and freedom from the Company, but they also expressed their aversion to the Company’s rule.³² This was during the period 1784 to 1785. AP van Rensburg states that the patriots drew up documents signed by “eminent citizens of the Cape of Good Hope... representatives of the volk”. The signatures of quite a number of women also appear on these documents.³³

Thus the burghers steadily began turning their backs on the Company, the sea and commerce and by their *isolation* in the interior began to develop a lifestyle of their own. CW de Kiewiet comments on this isolation and says “... this isolation sank into their character, causing their imagination to lie fallow and their intellects to become inert. Their tenacity would degenerate into obstinacy, their power of endurance into resistance to innovation, and their self-respect into suspicion of the foreigner and contempt for their inferiors”.³⁴ So a love for the *unregulated* freedom and a desire for its preservation germinated among these new Africans.

With the isolation from the motherland as well as the challenges and sense of independence in the frontier areas, the white settlers gradually began losing their ties with the Netherlands and other mother countries. A sense of independence on the frontier took the burghers in the direction of a *new* identity although certain basic legacies from Europe lived on. It should be kept in mind, however, that at this stage the burghers did not yet have a nationalist feeling of solidarity among themselves. This would only come about in the nineteenth century.

31 AJH van der Walt et al., *Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika* (Kaapstad, Nasou, 1965), p. 82.

32 L Maritz, “Afrikanervroue se politieke betrokkenheid in historiese perspektief met spesiale verwysing na die Women’s National Coalition van 1991 tot 1994” (Ph.D., University of Stellenbosch, 2004), p. 3.

33 AP van Rensburg, *Moeders van ons volk* (Johannesburg, Afrikaanse Pers Boekhandel, 1966), p. 111.

34 CW de Kiewiet, *A history of South Africa: Social and economic* (London, Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 17.

As the burghers adopted farming with livestock their need for land increased and the borders of the “refreshment post” kept on expanding. The stock farmers soon became trekking farmers (who roamed about in a nomadic way with their stock to available pastures). They were pioneers on a living/open frontier.

The border or “frontier” is a most interesting phenomenon in history which reached a particular peak in the colonial expansions of the nineteenth century. Lamar and Thompson writes that the frontier should be regarded “not as a boundary or a line, but as a territory or zone of interaction between two previously distinct societies”.³⁵ It was on the frontier that definitions of civilisation were created on the foundation of anti-civilisation. Words like “barbarism, savagery, heathenism” are very often used to describe conditions on the frontier and to justify colonial expansion.³⁶ In South Africa of the nineteenth century the entire area outside Cape Town can be seen as a “frontier area”. The interaction on the frontier during the nineteenth century indicated that one of Lamar and Thomson’s “previously distinct societies”, namely the Cape trekking farmers, began penetrating the territory of the already settled black communities of South Africa by “opening” the frontier. “Opening” the frontier supposes that new influences are brought within the zone by a new community. With reference to this E Cloete writes:³⁷

Frontiers are said to ‘open’ with the arrival of the intruding society. Like much colonialist rhetoric the connotation of opening can be read analogous with the idea of ‘bringing the light of civilization, with freeing an area from ‘savagery’ and ‘barbarism’... [s]uch a dichotomy often provides the justification for further expansionism and colonization.

The group of trekking farmers on the Eastern frontier of the Cape fits this description by Cloete very well. W Postma follows a distinctly colonial rhetoric when writing about Afrikaner women’s part in “opening” the frontier. He narrates that these people took their own ideas on civilisation into the interior with the aim of “taming” the wild open regions by bringing the “light of civilisation” and “opening up South Africa for Christianity and Civilisation”.³⁸ E Stokenström concurs with this and mentions that the whites on the frontier “did not lapse into barbarism altogether... “mainly for two reasons”: “The old pioneers took along the Bible to be a light on their dark road” and “another reason why the farmers of the old stock on the frontier

35 H Lamar & L Thompson, *The frontier in history: North America and Southern Africa compared* (New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1981), p. 7.

36 EL Cloete, “Frontierswomen as volksmoeders: Textual invocations in two Centuries of writing” (M.A., University of South Africa, 1994), p. 43.

37 EL Cloete, “Frontierswomen as volksmoeders...”, p. 44.

38 W Postma, *Die Boervrouw: Moeder van haar volk* (Bloemfontein, Nasionale Pers, 1918), p. 84.

retained their character and morals in the wild interior was that they were accompanied by *women*” – the bearers of the traditions like European concepts of “home” and “family” as well as morality.³⁹ It was mainly circumstances on the frontier that contributed to the development of a strong individualism among the trekking farmers and to fanning further the custom of being “independent” – a process which undoubtedly also influenced the women. For generations they were accustomed to very little or virtually no control by government, neither were there institutional factors which could restrict them. It is therefore understandable that any threat to the *status quo* would elicit great resistance.

Both the expansion movement to the Eastern frontier and the *isolation* of the trekking farmers nurtured a love of freedom and self-determination which would later become one of the most distinct characteristics of the Afrikaner. FA van Jaarsveld writes “from the border pioneer a new kind of colonist emerged ...” and H Giliomee speaks about “[a] special kind of burgher”.⁴⁰ Van Jaarsveld, in a more balanced way, also concurs with De Kiewiet’s view quoted above when elaborating on the characteristics of the growing nation: “There were characteristics like individualism, advanced by the isolated farms, and independence, skilfulness, obstinacy, resistance to coercion, love of freedom and of the veld with its open spaces”.⁴¹ When the British occupied the Cape in 1795, and with permanent British governance in 1806, the new government would be confronted with exactly these characteristics.

In order to show that women exhibited a strong sense of independence we need to look at its manifestations in times when it emerged most noticeably. Typically this happened when women’s “freedom” was jeopardised. In other words women’s *struggle* for independence from Britain will be analysed in terms of their *sense* of independence and its articulation/manifestation.

During the course of the nineteenth century there were mainly three events which provide sufficient evidence of Afrikaner women’s reaction to British domination. During the first, namely the Great Trek there was not as yet any ethnic consciousness among Afrikaners and the “spirit of independence” should be seen in the light of the trekking farmers’ *status quo* on the border. During the second and third event, namely the so-called “wars of independence” there already was something that can be called nationalism

39 E Stokenström, *Die vrou in die geskiedenis van die Hollands-Afrikaanse volk* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia, 1921), p. 232. Stokenström’s own emphasis.

40 H Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people* (Richmond, University of Virginia Press, 2003), p. 21.

41 FA van Jaarsveld, *Die ontwaking van die Afrikaanse nasionale bewussyn, 1868-1881* (Johannesburg, Voortrekkerpers, 1959), p. 16.

or at the very least proto-nationalism.⁴² The nature of women's sense of independence had changed in the time between the Great Trek and the South African War. Women's part in this struggle for independence should be seen in this light, since the women saw their own struggle for independence as the struggle against British rule.

Voortrekker women's sense of independence during the Great Trek

In the exposition above frequent reference was made to the trekking farmers. This group of people trekked into the Cape interior, mainly in search of new pastures for their livestock. There also was a second group of emigrants who would leave the Cape Colony, but for political reasons, namely the Voortrekkers who took part in the Great Trek. The mass-migration of those taking part in the Trek was in resistance against British governance and an expression of their will to determine their own fate.

Conditions in the frontier areas compelled the colonists who lived there to take action. There are many reasons for the Great Trek but they can be summarised in the words of Giliomee "... as a lack of land, labor and security, coupled with a pervasive sense of being marginalized".⁴³ The feeling of being marginalised was fanned by the British administration of the Cape and chiefly by a widespread dissatisfaction with Ordinance 50. The causes of the Great Trek are generally interpreted as a lack of labour as a consequence of the Ordinance and the liberation of slaves; as well as a shortage of land and security; but in particular for women, the equalisation of races was also a cause.⁴⁴ This equalisation conflicted with the women's religious principles influenced by the Dutch Reformed Church. The pioneers' faith was based in Calvinism which taught that if the Christian convictions and customs of a group of people were suppressed, subjects were allowed to throw off the yoke of the government.⁴⁵

Women's positions were strengthened by the fact that church membership was restricted to white persons. By 1790 about ninety per cent of the huge Stellenbosch congregation were confirmed members of the church. The white community, the slaves and other servants who formed part of the black community, were therefore distinguished from one another by the restriction

42 H Giliomee, "The beginnings of Afrikaner ethnic consciousness", L Vail (ed.), *The creation of tribalism in southern Africa* (London, Currey, 1989), pp. 21-54.

43 H Giliomee, *The Afrikaners...*, p. 144.

44 L Maritz, "Afrikanervroue se politieke betrokkenheid...", p. 3.

45 DJ Kotzé, *Nasionalisme: Geskiedenis en pan-nasionalistiese bewegings* (Kaapstad, Tafelberg, 1970), p. 22.

of church membership. The result of this was that children born of mixed blood were entered in the slave register and could not lay any claim to the estate of the family. In this way the European woman would strengthen her position in the community.⁴⁶ The emancipation of slaves and the equalising of races under Ordinance 50 would pose a threat to this position.

To the Dutch-Afrikaans women religion was therefore one of the main reasons for leaving the Cape Colony. One example of such a woman was Anna Steenkamp, a cousin of Piet Retief. She saw the equalisation of slaves as conflicting with God's laws and with the natural distinction between race and religion.⁴⁷ Pioneer women therefore felt that their freedom was jeopardised by the social equalisation of people belonging to different status groups. Maritz says that "race exclusivity, based on Christian convictions, was the motivation behind the desire to move away from the British government and govern themselves".⁴⁸ Thus some of these influences contributed to some of the sources from that time being of the opinion that women were more determined to trek than men.⁴⁹

Based on this, it seems reasonable to deduce that that women's motives to move did not stem from a sense of community or a feeling of patriotism and solidarity for an ethnic group. The reasons for the Great Trek was something that moved the pioneers *personally*. LM Kruger mentions that before 1870 there was a kind of "individualism" or "pre-individualism" among the pioneers.⁵⁰ This means there was a lack of common discourse. The spirit of independence and feeling for their own among the women who took part in the Great Trek should therefore be seen in light of the already mentioned *status quo* on the frontier. Nevertheless the women were conscious of the fact "that they were participating in unusual and significant events"⁵¹, seeing that the reasons for the Trek were not only social and economic, but also political. This becomes clear from the diary of Anna Steenkamp. About her diary she writes "This writing is made for my family, children and grandchildren who are still living in the interior at the moment, so that they can know why their parents and grandparents left their country ..." and about the political aspect

46 H Giliomee, "The rise and fall of Afrikaner women", 2 August 2003 (available at <http://www.litnet.co.za/seminarroom/afwomen.asp>, as accessed on 10 September 2016), pp. 7-8.

47 A Steenkamp et al., *Die dagboek van Anna Steenkamp en fragmentjies oor die Groot-Trek* (Pietermaritzburg, Natalse Pers, 1939), p. 11.

48 L Maritz, "Afrikanervroue se politieke betrokkenheid...", p. 4.

49 H Giliomee, "The rise and fall of Afrikaner women...", p. 14.

50 LM Kruger, "Gender, community and identity: Afrikaner nationalism in the *Volksmoeder* discourse of *Die Boerevrou*, 1919-1931" (M.A., University of Cape Town, 1991), p. 54.

51 EL Cloete, "Frontierswomen as volksmoeders...", p. 49.

she writes “it is unnecessary to quote anything more about these disputes since I am conscious that you are familiar with all these matters”.⁵² Women were so closely involved in the events that Anna Steenkamp just assumed the reader would be familiar with them.

Voortrekker women actively took part in the Great Trek. They left the Cape Colony in family units, in other words, the women did not join the men *after* the trek, but were entirely part of the challenges and hardships accompanying it. This means that they later also felt that they (who had shared in the hardships of the Trek) could lay a claim to self-governance and independence from a foreign power.

During the course of the Great Trek women often contributed to the pursuit of self-governance by serving as great motivation in difficult times. Shortly after the Voortrekkers' arrival in Natal there was some indecisiveness among the trekkers since Mpanda, half-brother of Dingaan, posed a real threat. Delegorgue, a French traveller and natural scientist writes that if Mpanda took one more step “... the advice of the women would prevail, for the African Dutch women have strong opinions and do not hesitate to make them known. The husbands do as their wives bid them”.⁵³ In this case the women's opinion was that the men had to stay and resist Mpanda.

Voortrekker women often took an active part in the many battles and skirmishes of the Trek. Hendrina Joubert (wife of Piet Joubert) remembers how women chopped off the hands of Zulu impis who tried to untie the wagons. She also remembers that watch was kept at night and that even young girls took turns to stand guard. She describes it as follows:⁵⁴

We did not know the word “nervous”. Do you know what the women did? They had no use for something like nerves ... they had to cast the bullets. Casting bullets while the spears whistled above their heads. It often happened that the Zulu's came up to the laager without being noticed to try and untie the wagons. Many a woman, I myself as well, kept an eye open if we were not busy casting bullets ... then we would see a hand appearing, nothing but a black hand trying to untie the wagon, and we would chop off the hand. There stood the men, shooting, there were the girls behind their fathers, loading the rifles, there were the women, casting bullets ... we could not even call to them, we chopped off the hands.

The “feeling of independence” among Voortrekker women can also be seen as a desire once more to have the peace and quiet of a settled home. The

52 A Steenkamp et al., *Die dagboek van Anna Steenkamp...*, p. 11.

53 A Delegorgue, *Travels in Southern Africa* (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1990), p. 83.

54 R Koopman, *Wat mev. joubert vertelt* (Kaapstad, HAUM, Dasseau, 1915), pp. 23-25.

domestic sphere was the place where Voortrekker women's authority resided. It is interesting that this very opinion was articulated by women later on. R Postma writes: "The Voortrekker woman took her domestic surroundings along with her. Even on the road she made the wagon into a home where her husband could find a place to rest and her children could be taken care of and taught, where God's Word could be opened and read in a devout atmosphere".⁵⁵

It is understandable that women's active participation in the Trek made them feel that they had a right to independence from Britain and self-governance. This feeling among women certainly was best expressed in the events surrounding the annexation of the Republic of Natalia and the controversy around Susanna Smit.

The first substantial group of whites who penetrated Natal were the Voortrekkers. By 1839 there were approximately 6000 Voortrekkers living in the Republic of Natalia, south of the Tugela River. In 1843 Britain was on the verge of annexing this territory. Britain's objective, among others, was a strategic one, to prevent other European powers from gaining a foothold on the southern tip of Africa. At the beginning of August 1843 the British High Commissioner, Henry Cloete, arrived in Pietermaritzburg to negotiate the annexation of the Republic by Britain. A document was presented to the Volksraad (House of Representatives) setting out the articles of annexation. In Pietermaritzburg members of the Volksraad debated on whether they should accept the annexation, trek away or remain there and resist Britain. The Voortrekkers had limited options.

While the commissioner was staying in Pietermaritzburg a deputation of Voortrekker women, led by Susanna Smit, wife of the reverend Erasmus Smit, came to see Henry Cloete. Here Susanna Smit very clearly verbalised the Voortrekker women's sense of independence. The most significant evidence of Susanna Smit's public statement can be found in the commissioner's report:⁵⁶

The state of suspense in which I was kept was agreeably relieved by a formal deputation which I received from the standing committee of the ladies of Pietermaritzburg, headed by Mrs Smit, the wife of a person officiating as missionary. The spokeswoman commenced by declaring that, in consideration of the battles in which they had been engaged with their husbands, they had obtained a promise that they would be entitled to a voice in all matters concerning the state of this country; that they had claimed this privilege, and although now repelled by the Volksraad, they had been deputed to

55 R Postma, "Die kind en die Groot Trek", *Huisgenoot Gedenkuitgawe*, p. 156.

56 J Bird, *The annals of Natal – 1495 to 1845*, 2 (Cape Town, Maskew Miller, 1888), pp. 258-259. The contemporaries' reference to blacks was revised in this quotation.

express their fixed determination never to yield to British authority; that they were fully aware that resistance would be of no avail, but they would walk out by the Drakensberg barefooted, to die in freedom, as death was dearer to them than the loss of liberty.

According to G Preller, who used eye witnesses' recollections when compiling his popular histories of the Great Trek and the South African War, Smit narrated the story of the Voortrekkers' journey into the interior. She spoke about the uncertainty of life on the Eastern border of the Cape Colony, the lack of sympathy the farmers received from the British authorities and the final necessity to move away from the colony. She further told of the "wild country and its wild inhabitants", the loss of life they suffered at the hands of the Zulu and their eventual victory at Blood River. After Smit had addressed the commissioner, another woman, Johanna Maré, read a petition signed by 400 women. In this petition they attacked the British government for their intended take-over of the Republic at a time when at last they had peace in the region and the farmers had settled.⁵⁷ Emotions seem to have run high in the hall. FL Cachet relates that one of the women in the meeting was so agitated that she wanted to attack the commissioner: "So high did emotions run that a woman in the Volksraad Hall at Pietermaritzburg wanted to attack Commissioner Cloete with a sword".⁵⁸ The women's attitude towards him annoyed Cloete very much. He felt that they had far too much to say and regarded it as "a disgrace on their husbands to allow them such a state of freedom".⁵⁹

Although the words of Susanna Smit were used in the service of Afrikaner nationalism in the twentieth century and events revolving around her statement were hugely romanticised,⁶⁰ the whole affair says much about women's sense of independence. There are two dimensions to Susanna Smit's public statement to the commissioner. In the first instance there was the distinct wish *not* to live under British rule. It would leave the feeling that the whole trek, every hardship of which was shared by the women, had been in vain. The hardships of the Trek without doubt fanned women's sense of independence specifically from Britain since they had *moved away* from British rule. In the second place there is a deeper dimension indicating that Voortrekker women had a very vigorous sense of independence for women of that era. This was the desire to have a say in matters of the government of the Republic. Not

57 GS Preller, *Andries Pretorius: Lewensbeskrywing van die Voortrekker kommandant-generaal* (Johannesburg, Afrikaanse Pers Boekhandel, 1940), pp. 293-294.

58 FL Cachet, *Worstelstrijd der Transvalers* (Amsterdam, Höveker & Wormster, 1989), p. 248.

59 J Bird, *The annals of Natal – 1495 to 1845*, p. 259; K Schoeman, *Die wêreld van Susanna Smit, 1799-1863* (Cape Town, Human en Rousseau, 1995), pp. 112-159.

60 EL Cloete, "Frontierswomen as volksmoeders...", p. 55.

only does the Great Trek give evidence of the Voortrekker women's (later Afrikaner women's) sense of freedom, but their active participation in the Trek undoubtedly also fostered the feeling of independence among them and, as Susanna Smit's statement clearly shows, made it easier for women to articulate it. Susanna Smit's descendants' struggle against British domination reached its peak during the nineteenth century in the form of the First "Anglo-Boer War". During the First as well as the Second "wars of independence", or "wars of liberation", Afrikaner women played an essential part.

The Boer women's sense of independence during the "wars of independence"

With the annexation of Transvaal the Voortrekkers' "individualism" changed into a sense of solidarity with one another. Before the 1870's there was a distinct lack of a sense of community, and Giliomee says that "extreme individualism, self-aggrandizement and even anarchy" had a hey-day in the two republics before the late 1870's.⁶¹ The annexation of Transvaal in 1877 changed this and gave a start to Afrikaner nationalism. EJP Jorissen confirms this in his "Transvaal memories, 1876-1886" by making the following remarks:⁶²

The consciousness of a 'fatherland' grew slowly, and unless it fills all heads and hearts, self-interest, or what one takes for it, still rules ... The Boer lived on his own farm, free from contact with government: a king in his own realm. If his peace was disturbed and he was compelled to meddle in political matters, it was not the interests of the country or of the state but those of his friends, his clique or his church which stirred his heart. Only after, and definitely as a result of, the annexation did the consciousness of being citizens of a country awake among the Boers.

The first British annexation of Transvaal in 1877 initially did not evoke much reaction. R Haggard writes that "the majority of the inhabitants, who would neither fight nor pay taxes, sat still and awaited catastrophe, utterly careless of all consequences".⁶³ This state of affairs is not surprising considering the lack of a common consciousness and state institutions which up to that stage were characteristic of the Transvaal. However, within the next few years matters quickly changed. There was an extensive rise of a common consciousness which converted into mobilisation strategies against Britain. These strategies included huge meetings of Transvaal burghers in "national" gatherings, a journey all through South Africa by the leaders of the "Zuid-Afrikaansche

61 H Giliomee, "The beginnings of Afrikaner ethnic consciousness", L Vail (ed.), *The creation of tribalism in southern Africa*, p. 24.

62 EJP Jorissen, *Transvaalsche herinneringen, 1876-1886* (Amsterdam, De Bussy, 1897), pp. 21-22. My own emphasis.

63 Quoted by LM Kruger, "Gender, community and identity...", p. 59.

Republiek” and a media campaign in the paper *De Volkstem* which had become the mouthpiece of Transvaal’s struggle against British annexation.⁶⁴ Kruger mentions that especially the national gatherings offered the opportunity for the development of a community feeling among the Boers.⁶⁵ Jorissen writes about one such a meeting that “the different parties, political and of churches, gained the insight that there was something higher than these small circles, that there was a Fatherland which encompasses everything and everybody”.⁶⁶ It is therefore clear that the sense of independence held by the old colonists, pioneers, Voortrekkers and Boers converted into something like a patriotic feeling in the late 1870’s – the rise of proto-nationalism.

The Boer women were not excluded from this process. Giliomee records that women were at the heart of the Transvaal rising against the British annexation in 1880-1881 which led to the victory of the Boers at Majuba and the retreat of the British from the Highveld.⁶⁷ O Schreiner supports Giliomee’s view and sketches a picture placing women in the centre of the uprising.⁶⁸

The Transvaal War of 1881 was largely a woman's war; it was from the armchair beside the coffee table that the voice went out for conflict and no surrender. Even in the [Cape] Colony at the distance of many hundred miles Boer women urged sons and husbands to go to the aid of their northern kindred, while a martial ardour often far exceeding that of the males seemed to fill them.

Schreiner’s opinion that the women were sometimes more determined than the men, found concrete expression in the South African War. It is important to keep in mind that in the Boer communities women were often actively involved in public and political matters, although they had no political rights. SB Spies elaborates on this involvement of women by mentioning “that women ameliorated the harshness of pioneering conditions, played a leading role in educating their children and used their ‘womanly power’ to support or incite their men during times of political crisis”.⁶⁹ Moreover women’s influence was strongly based in their positions as the crux of huge, sound family units. Olive Schreiner writes on the position of the Boer woman that “[a]s a rule she not only brings to the common household an equal share of material goods, but, and this is infinitely of more importance, she brings to

64 EL Buys, “Die drukkers- en uitgewersbedryf in Transvaal, 1857-1902” (M.A. dissertation, Rand Afrikaans University, 1988), p. 54; LM Kruger, “Gender, community and identity...”, pp. 58-59.

65 LM Kruger, “Gender, community and identity...”, p. 59.

66 EJP Jorissen, *Transvaalsche herinneringen...*, 1876-1886, p. 44.

67 H Giliomee, “The rise and fall of Afrikaner women”, p. 15.

68 O Schreiner, *Thoughts on South Africa* (Johannesburg, Africana Book Society, 1976), p. 176.

69 SB Spies, “Women and the war”, P Warwick & SB Spies (eds.), *The South African War: The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902* (Harlow, Longman, 1980), p. 162.

the common life an equal culture. The fiction of common possession of all material goods... is not a fiction but a reality among the Boers, and justly so, seeing that the female as often as the male contributes to the original household stock".⁷⁰ With the outbreak of the South African War most of these family units were disrupted and women in their own way also took part in the war and the struggle against Britain. It was during the war that women's sense of independence changed into a kind of fanatic republicanism, a nationalism which assumed fidelity to the Boer republics and was recorded by many contemporaries who wrote about the war.⁷¹

On 11 October 1899 Boer women took control of the farms when their husbands were called up to the commandos. Together with their children they ensured that the farming was carried on. Other women again, who did not have sufficient food or clothing or who felt threatened by the indigenous people, moved to the towns.⁷² For as long as the British were kept at bay on the borders of Transvaal and the Orange Free State, the women played an incredibly important role in the war, at both a spiritual and a material level. They sent letters and messages of encouragement to the burghers on commando as well as supplies from the farms.⁷³ This pattern changed forever with Lord Robert's invasion in the Western part of the Orange Free State in March 1900 and General Buller's seizure of Transvaal in June 1900. The policy used by Roberts, Buller and later Kitchener regarding the women and children is significant for this section of the article. The way they saw Boer women portrays a notion of these women's sense of independence and the Boer women's reaction to the steps taken by the British throws further light on this.

The enormous suffering and hardship that women were prepared to go through left both the Boer men and the British speechless. Women hid in mountains, woods or in the plants on river banks, others walked around in the so-called *vrouwen laagers* (women's laagers) to prevent themselves from being caught and sent to the concentration camps.⁷⁴ Other women assisted the Boers in an organised way by spying on the British for them. This facet of women's struggle against Britain is set out in Johanna Brandt's publication "The Petticoat Commando".⁷⁵

70 O Schreiner, *Thoughts on South Africa*, p. 175; H Giliomee, *The Afrikaners...*, pp. 231-232.

71 E van Heyningen, "The voices of women in the South African war", *South African Historical Journal*, 41, November 1999, pp. 22-34.

72 F Pretorius, *Die Anglo-Boereoorlog* (Kapaastad, Struik, 1998), p. 54.

73 F Pretorius, "The fate of Boer women and children", F Pretorius, *Scorched earth* (Cape Town, Human & Rousseau, 2002), p. 37.

74 H Giliomee, "The rise and fall of Afrikaner women" ..., p. 15.

75 J Brandt, *Die Kappie Kommando of Boerevrouwen in geheime dienst* (Cape Town, HAUM, 1915).

In the struggle against British imperialism many Boer women even threatened to take up arms if their men were too cowardly.⁷⁶ Although women did not take up arms in an organised way there are isolated incidents where they were indeed involved in battles. Examples of these are M Kranz who was with the men during the campaign in Natal and H Wagner from Zeerust “who spent five months fighting in the laagers and trenches without her identity being revealed”.⁷⁷ There were also other women but these examples serve to prove that the women were fully conscious of what was jeopardised by the war, and that they, just like the men, were prepared to fight for its preservation. There even is evidence that women’s sense of independence was stronger than that of the men, as transpires from their conduct towards men who had left the front. After devastating losses in the second phase of the South African War the burghers of Transvaal by June 1900 were ready to surrender. Two factors stemmed this: the Free State burghers under President MT Steyn, and the Boer women of the two republics.⁷⁸

H Bradford refers to GM Theal’s comment on Boer women’s sense of independence during the war when he says: “Remember, the women are the fiercest advocates of the war to the bitter end. For independence the Boer women will send husband and son after son to fight to the last”.⁷⁹ Women not only attempted to dissuade their husbands from giving themselves up, but in many cases forced them to. Men who had left their commandos returned to a home where there was bitter resistance against the fact that they were not on the front. The wives of these men in some cases refused to feed them, threatened to take their places in the commandos and made it clear that they regarded the men as cowards.⁸⁰ Many instances were recorded of women who were of the opinion “Go and fight. I can get another husband but not another Free State”. “Remain loyal to your duty... I can always find another husband but not another Transvaal”. JH Breytenbach writes that Boer women could reprimand deserters and renegades far more effectively than the Boer generals could.⁸¹

After the British had vanquished the Free State towards the middle of 1900, there already were many *hensoppers* (Boer’s who gave up arms) who had

76 E Brink, “Man-made women: Gender, class and the ideology of the *volksmoeder*”, C Walker, *Women and gender in Southern Africa to 1945* (Cape Town, David Phillip, 1990), p. 276.

77 SB Spies, “Women and the war”, P Warwick & SB Spies (eds.), *The South African War...*, p. 162.

78 H Giliomee, “The rise and fall of Afrikaner women” ..., p. 14.

79 GM Theal, quoted by H Bradford, “Gentlemen and Boers: Afrikaner nationalism, gender and colonial warfare in the South African War”, G Cuthbertson, AM Grundlingh & ML Suttie, M.L (eds.), *Writing a wider war: Rethinking gender, race, and identity in the South African War, 1899-1902*, p. 47.

80 H Bradford, “Gentlemen and Boers...”, G Cuthbertson, AM Grundlingh & ML Suttie, M.L (eds.), *Writing a wider war...*, p. 49.

81 JH Breytenbach, *Geskiedenis van die Tweede Vryheidsoorlog, 1899-1902*, 5 (Pretoria, Nasionale Pers, 1983). p. 451.

surrendered. Boer women's sense of independence emerges forcefully towards those who did not show the same sense. M Marquard tells of one Boer woman's opinion of them: "[W]e think the men should be on commando instead of meekly giving up their arms to, and getting passes from, the English".⁸² In one of the concentration camps the British contemplated separating the *hensoppers* from the women in the camp because the women had such an attitude of hatred against them.⁸³ A Grundlingh writes that one *hensopper* in a concentration camp wrote that he was "unmercifully persecuted by the anti-British sex".⁸⁴ The fact that the Boer woman's sense of freedom and resistance against Britain was extremely strong, is mitigated by her willingness to undergo the inhuman suffering in the concentration camps, as well as the comfort they derived there from the idea of independence.⁸⁵

The scorched earth policy of the British as well as the system of concentration camps was part of Britain's military strategy. The support given by the women on the farms, complicated matters for the British. Moreover the resistance of the Boers on commando was fanned by the women. So Britain definitely was also confronted by the Boer women's sense of freedom as becomes evident from Kitchener's words to Roberts: "... there is no doubt the women are keeping up the war and are far more bitter than the men..."⁸⁶

Women's help to the commandos as well as their espionage activities posed a real threat to the British. It was this threat that formed one of the main reasons for the establishment of the concentration camps. Kitchener expanded the camps not only to settle the burghers who had given themselves up but also the Boer women and children. His reason is clearly set out in a telegram he sent to the Secretary of War in London: "Every farm is to them [the Boers] an intelligence agency and a supply depot so that it is almost impossible to surround or catch them". The women who had moved to the towns after the outbreak of the war also housed and hid Boer spies there.⁸⁷ On women's espionage the war correspondent Edgar Wallace said "[w]omen have played

82 M Marquard, *Letters from a Boer parsonage* (Cape Town, Purnell, 1967), p. 78.

83 H Giliomee, "The rise and fall of Afrikaner women" ..., p. 13.

84 AM Grundlingh, *Die 'Hensoppers' en 'Joiners': die rasionaal en verskynsel van verraad* (Pretoria, HAUM, 1979), p. 142.

85 Of course this is not applicable to every woman who experienced the war but it gives an idea of the feeling among the majority of Boer women.

86 Letter: HH Kitchener / F Roberts, quoted by SB Spies, "Women and the war", P Warwick & SB Spies (eds.), *The South African War...*, p. 168.

87 SB Spies, "Women and the war", P Warwick & SB Spies (eds.), *The South African War...*, p. 164.

a great part in this war, not so much the part of heroine as of spy” and that “through ill nature women and children make war on us”.⁸⁸

Although women's suffering in the concentration camps was used to fan nationalist sentiment among the Afrikaners after the war, the statements by women in these camps do give a sense of the significance they attached to liberation from British rule. E Steenkamp writes about a certain Boer woman, Janse, who on her death bed found consolation in the thought that the war was not in vain: “Every woman who died in this war has suffered for freedom and justice for their nation and future generations. They seek no monuments for this, no honour for themselves. The greatest honour that they can receive is the realisation of the ideal for which they died”.⁸⁹ The republicanism of Boer women in the camps is also confirmed by E van Heyningen who relates that Boer women were not silenced by the British officers but “[in] the camps they often expressed their anger loudly and vigorously”.⁹⁰ H Bradford agrees with this by pointing out that “[w]omen were not... imprisoned for flaunting republican sympathies”.⁹¹ So Boer women could publicly air their views on Britain as well as their hatred for everything British. So much so that British troops began to feel uncomfortable about the extent of this hatred. Bradford mentions that they remarked “Boer woman – strong, fierce, and uncompromising – is a force to be reckoned with”.⁹²

Giliomee follows the same train of thought as Bradford, pointing out that the Boer surrender to Britain caused the women to cling all the more to their own culture. In reaction to the scorched earth policy of the British, a Boer woman wondered whether she should allow her children to continue learning English. Another Free State woman reflected on the qualities which distinguished her from the British and her answer was republicanism, history, the language and “hatred of the [British] race”.⁹³ A British visitor after the war, JR Macdonald, remarked “[it] was the *vrouw* who kept the war going on so long. It was in her heart that patriotism flamed into an all-consuming heat. She it is who returns, forgiving nothing and forgetting nothing”.⁹⁴

88 E Wallace, quoted by PM Krebs, “The last of the Gentlemen's wars: Women in the Boer War concentration camp controversy”, *History Workshop* 33, 1992, p. 44.

89 E Steenkamp, *Helkampe* (Johannesburg, Voortrekkerpers, 1941), p. 115.

90 E van Heyningen, “Women and gender in the South African War 1899-1902”, N Gasa (ed.), *Women in South African History* (Cape Town, HSRC, 2007), p. 93.

91 H Bradford, “Gentlemen and Boers...”, G Cuthbertson, AM Grundlingh & ML Suttie, M.L (eds.), *Writing a wider war...*, p. 48.

92 H Bradford, “Gentlemen and Boers...”, G Cuthbertson, AM Grundlingh & ML Suttie, M.L (eds.), *Writing a wider war...*, p. 49.

93 H Giliomee, “The rise and fall of Afrikaner women” ..., p. 13.

94 JR Macdonald, *What I saw in South Africa* (London, Echo, 1902), p. 24.

Women's republicanism and sense of independence did not wither with Britain's victory over the Boer forces. The following quotation from a study by Van Heyningen is an excellent example of women's feelings after the war:⁹⁵

Still they can never take from us the feeling that we are Republicans and Freestaters, let them call us what they will. We were born and bred here; we have the old traditions, which alone can make a nation; our fathers and brothers have fought for the country, and they and our grandfathers have helped to build up a dynasty which has been the freest in the world; and what is more the enemy have not and can never have "the taal", as we know it – the taal which will not die out for 50 generations of Englishmen and more. They are strangers in a strange land, and will remain so – for this war has taught us what we are – has brought out the Afrikanerism which hitherto has lain dormant in us. Even today, the entrance of the enemy here has caused hundreds of irresolute men and women to feel what they are losing, and [therefore] to side entirely with us. And in this question women cannot be left out. It is not the boer who will long continue to breed race-hatred which is inevitably between us & the enemy – it is his wife who sitting alone on her farm, does & will instil into her children, that intense hatred of the Englishman, which she looks upon as part of her religion. The Boer goes to market, sells his wares to the English; gets to know & tolerate & perhaps even like him in time. But the Boer woman – never. An Englishman especially at such a time as this is to her as a red rag is, to a bull.

The above are the words of Elsa Levisseur as quoted by Van Heyningen. It effectively summarises the sentiment of many Boer women after the war. To women holding this point of view the "struggle" against Britain was clearly not something of the past. With the dawn of a new century, women's sense of independence would embed itself even deeper in the emerging Afrikaner identity. However, the seeds have been planted for the construction of the *volksmoeder* (mother of the nation) to bear fruit in the new century. As an Afrikaner identity construction the *volksmoeder* would give meaning to Afrikaner womanhood and would both empower and constrict women in the years to come. The South African War shaped the *volksmoeder*-identity into a coherent form and historical material was used by both nationalist politicians and Afrikaner cultural entrepreneurs to construct an enduring image of womanhood. Although the old "bitter end" generals of the war would become the leaders of the Afrikaners in the beginning of the new century, it by no means entailed that Afrikaner women were indifferent towards politics. Women's sense of independence and patriotism during the war would obtain for them a central place in public life. This place was not necessarily a say in political matters but manifested as a symbol of Afrikaner values (although used by male Afrikaner nationalists). Therefore women were

⁹⁵ E van Heyningen, "The voices of women...", *South African Historical Journal*, 41, p. 28.

not mere instruments in male hands but after the war made their mark in society by means of a huge number of women's associations. Van Heyningen writes "The war drew women into public political life. The changes in white women's role in society between 1902 and 1914 testify to the function of the South African War in breaking the conventional mould and modernising South African society".⁹⁶

Not only would women after the war enter the public sphere by belonging to women's associations, but women's matters also came on the political agenda of the post-war Afrikaners. The reason for this is that gender relations are altered during any war. The observation has been made that war gave women "considerable independence and public experience, often leaving them with a greater familiarity with confronting local bureaucracy than their husbands had when they returned from the front, the experience brought with it... a pride and social identity".⁹⁷ In the exposition in the previous section on Boer women's sense of independence during the war, it is clear that some women rose above their circumstances in spite of the dire conditions in the concentration camps and laid even more legitimate claim to political agency than in the past.

Conclusion

The above history places women firmly within the *context* of key events in South African history and the history of the Afrikaner. It integrates women in a remedial way by showing their role in history. Reference is made to certain "Great Women" who are specifically mentioned. The "oppression" of women is outlined and inferred in terms of how they navigated their "inferior" position by means of their sense of independence.⁹⁸ Although these women were not suffragists or feminists, the "political" is emphasised by looking at how women claimed a special place for themselves through their influence. Their importance as the crux of large family units and their role in the "home" (even if it was a wagon) is touched upon and the whole history follows the "women in" approach to show their role *in* the broad spectrum of history through the lens of their sense of independence. This integrative approach

⁹⁶ E van Heyningen, "The voices of women...", *South African Historical Journal*, 41, p. 43.

⁹⁷ J Fentress & C Wickham, *Social memory: New perspectives on the past* (London, Blackwell, 1992), p. 141.

⁹⁸ Focusing exclusively on the oppression and "dreadful circumstances of women" leads to the fallacy of judging contemporaries by twenty first century standards and also tends to underrate the experiences of other contemporaries who also experienced oppression. See G Riley, "Integrating women's history...", *The History Teacher*, 12(4), August 1979, p 496. Focusing on how women maneuvered their position in dire times with a focus on their own convictions avoids this pitfall.

emphasises women's agency and cast them in their rightful role as historical subjects who exerted an influence on the course of history. The same approach can be used to include the role of women of other races and ethnicities.

I acknowledge the shortcomings of this history. It does not serve as a complete alternative or explanation for the content in the History CAPS and only focuses on Afrikaner women, but my aim was to provide an example of *integrating* women into the existing content. I also see this as a way of providing the context that Kallaway showed to be lacking, and at the same time focus on women. The focus need not only be on this specific period. Women's role in the formation of Afrikaner nationalism during the twentieth century has been extensively covered.⁹⁹ This is another avenue where women can be integrated. It includes their role in the language movement as well as social and cultural movements. The History CAPS only mentions the male dominated FAK, Broederbond and Afrikaans media – while nationalist women's organisations abounded.

If women's history is not taken seriously, the idea of citizenship-democracy will never be realised. As I mentioned previously, the idea of a "supplement" in women's and gender history is *highly* problematic. However, the CAPS History Curriculum leaves us with little choice. Supplements, then as a feasible alternative, need to be integrative if they are to adhere to the standards of women's history. Critical feminist historians in South Africa are in the position our colleagues around the world found themselves in during the 1960s and 70s with regard to our school curriculum. This is lamentable, but it should also appeal to our social responsibility. In the end, it is the responsibility of the historian to stand guard over our discipline. Platforms like *Yesterday and Today* can be used to supplement the curriculum in terms of making history more accessible to teachers – histories that both engage with current historiography and adheres to a truly integrative approach to women's history.

From this discussion, it becomes evident that women have played a continuous and fierce role in South African history. By ignoring women as contributors to society, to the extent apparent in the History CAPS, is concerning as it encourages ignorance amongst our children and an incomplete sense of our history as South Africans in context.

99 C Blignaut, "Untold history with a historiography: A review of scholarship on Afrikaner women in South African history", *South African Historical Journal*, 65(4), 2013, pp. 596-617.

“WHAT DO I HAVE TO KNOW TO TEACH HISTORY WELL?”

KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERTISE IN HISTORY TEACHING – A PROPOSAL¹

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Abstract

Recent international research has made it clear that empirical educational research and investigations of individual subject didactics are paying increasing attention to the quality of History teachers. History didactics is now attempting to answer one of the key questions about the professionalization of History teachers: How does expertise arise from knowledge and what does it take to teach History well and effectively? This contribution presents the Heidelberg Model for Competence in History Teaching (Heidelberger Geschichtslehrerkompetenzmodell: HeiGeKo) in an attempt to initiate an international discussion about domain-specific profiling of professional conduct in History teaching from theoretical, research methodological, and pragmatic perspectives.

Keywords: History Teachers as Educators; Competencies; Knowledge and Expertise; History Education.

Introduction

The following suggested discussion is centered on the key question in History didactics about the relationship between knowledge and expertise with respect to the competent conduct of educators who teach history (Husbands, 2011). Or, more simply and more concretely, about one of the current “fundamental questions” (Thünemann, 2016:44) of (not only) History didactics: What does

¹ This publication was made possible through funds provided by the State of Baden-Wuerttemberg and the Research Colleges at the Universities of Education in Heidelberg and Ludwigsburg within the framework of the program for research and young researchers entitled “Effective Competence Diagnosis in Teacher Training (EKoL)”.

one, as a teacher, really need to know in order to be able to do something? From the perspective of History didactics, which, as the “science of historical learning” (Rüsen, 2013:254), generates precisely this knowledge that one needs to do something – namely, to teach history – a question also related to teacher education emerges: “To what extent is it possible to synthesize competence through the transfer of knowledge?” (Neuweg, 2015:28; authors’ translation).

Thus, the institutionalized professionalization process for History instructors, which is understood as an individual development process of the career biography, is the central point of the following theoretical deliberations about competence. Based on the underlying paradigm of the knowledge-based expert, knowledge and competence, as well as on the convictions and actions of the History instructor, represent the focus of the research interest. This is about professional knowledge as the cognitive portion of competence “that is required for the accomplishment of professional tasks” (Bromme, 2014:49; authors’ translation), and about the connection between knowledge and competence that is relevant for practice.

History didactics as a knowledge-generator

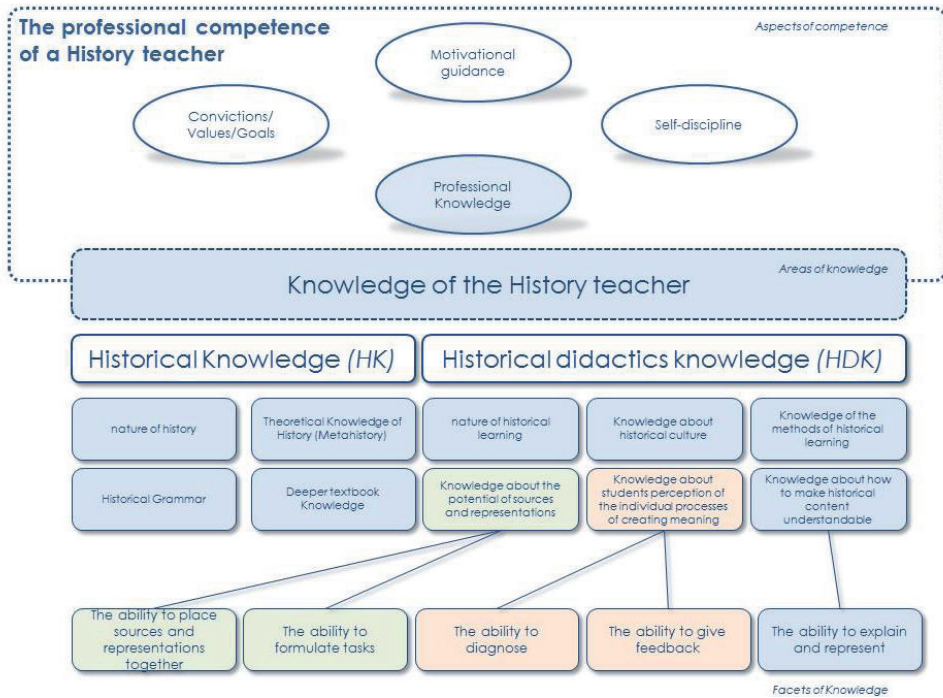
Within research on teacher education and according to the general concept of “Professional Competence”, both cognitive and affective aspects of competence are recorded, both of which need to be understood as valuable characteristics of a teacher’s professionalism (Baumert & Kunter, 2006).

From this research, one learns that the quality of an individual teacher in action depends on aspects of her/his competence related to her convictions, her motivational guidance, and her capabilities for professional self-discipline and professional knowledge. The concept of competence underlying this approach defines competence in combination with these newer research approaches within teacher education, namely as something that is domain-specific, multidimensional and that includes an in-built ability to perceive and solve problems, whilst also being flexible and able to be taught (Weinert, 2001).

Based on the premise that the professional competence of History teachers is only domain-specific, a more professional model for judging competence in action in the History classroom has been developed, known as the Heidelberg Model for Competence in History Teaching (HeiGeko) (see Image 1). This model was design within the framework of the Research College at the University of Education in Heidelberg, Germanys’ program for “Effective

Competence diagnosis in Teacher Training” (EKoL). Within the framework of this interdisciplinary research college, the competence development of prospective teachers is empirically examined in the course of their training. In this context, the presented model was theoretically modelled on the basis of the scientific proposals available so far and tries to record the facets of knowledge empirically by so called vignette tests. With its help, we are trying to make a model of domain-specific facets of knowledge, abilities, and skills that a teacher needs in order to teach history as a narrative mode of sense-making, in a high-quality way that is effective and successful with respect to student performance (Hasberg, 2010; Jung & Thünemann, 2007; Sauer, 2012).

Image 1: Heidelberg Model for Competence in History Teaching (HeiGeKo)



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Source: Compiled by authors.

In terms of the professional competence of instructors, there is a broad general consensus within international research that knowledge and competence represent the central components of professional knowledge. The theoretical taxonomy of teacher knowledge, first presented in 1986 by the American psychologist, Lee S. Shulman (Shulman, 1986; 1987), which consists of

Pedagogical Knowledge (PPK), Content Knowledge (CK), and Pedagogical Content Knowledge (PCK), is now internationally established and has initiated numerous empirical studies (Depaepe, Verschaffel & Kelchtermans, 2013). Within empirical research on the professionalization of teachers and following Shulman, it is assumed that a broad cross-linking of individual areas of knowledge is an important precondition for high quality instructional conduct and, accordingly, that the action competence of instructors derives from a “multiple knowledge base” (Herzog, 1995:261; authors’ translation).

The knowledge areas of historical knowledge (HK) and historical didactics knowledge (HDK), in particular, have a central role in the competent activity of History instructors in their specific domain. In order to operationalize the Heidelberg model for competence in History teaching (HeiGeKo), the knowledge areas HK and HDK were therefore profiled domain specifically by theory-based modeling of individual knowledge facets.

Knowledge of History

We understand the knowledge area HK as “the disciplinary knowledge about the subject content” (Bromme, 1995:107; authors’ translation) of History, insofar as it has been generated by and legitimized in the discourse of historical science (historical research, History theory, and History didactics). This area of knowledge covers formal, content-based, theoretical, declarative, and procedural aspects of knowledge (see Neuweg, 2011:454; Fenstermacher, 1994) and it can be divided analytically, based on theory, into four interdependent facets of knowledge. Because History, as a subject, does not merely adopt and simplify the results of highly specialized historical research but, rather, transforms them, it can also be said that curricular knowledge represents a special facet of historical knowledge (deeper “textbook knowledge”) (Neuweg, 2011:457). This curricular knowledge of the History instructor is extremely culturally specific and contains differing narratives that depend on the country and region (see Gautschi, 2017). The History instructor also requires profound knowledge about the way in which the science of History functions as a science (“conceptualizations of the discipline”) (Husbands, 2011:87) about how historical knowledge is generated and legitimized, as well as about how historians work when they occupy themselves academically with History (the nature of history).

This knowledge primarily covers the historical investigative procedures of heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and representation. The nature of history

facet is closely related to the facet of historical-theoretical knowledge. We thus describe the reflective knowledge of History instructors with which they can understand what they are doing when they occupy themselves with "History". Therefore, this facet of knowledge consists of more than awareness of the procedures of historical science; it is, essentially, the theory of understanding historical science (Rüsen, 2013:24) and it reflects, amongst other things, the difficulty and scope of historical understanding. In the course of time, every science, including historical science, has developed its own language, with which it can record and describe its domain-specific, in this case, historical phenomena. Understanding the grammar of this scientific language and its "procedural concepts" (Husbands, 2011:87), is essential for comprehending and teaching History (the grammar of the historical). In particular, the impossibility of having a comprehensive curricular knowledge of History requires command of the central categories (time, event, progress, development, etc.) and terms (revolution, domination, industrialization, etc.) of historical thinking, in order to understand current and presented narratives as the creation of meaning and to actually narrate historically: "They are not what history is about but they shape the way we go about doing history" (Lee & Ashby, 2000:199).

Both professional historians and History instructors possess this kind of historical knowledge. But History instructors also know how to transform this knowledge so that it is effective for individual students in terms of the learning and educational situation. History didactics, as a science, provides a system of categories and principles that gives students access to History as a narrative for creating meaning or to empower them to create their own historical meaning through experiencing time. We call this knowledge, which consists of propositional aspects of knowledge, case studies, and knowledge about strategic action, knowledge of History didactics (Dick, 1994:134).

Knowledge of History didactics

By now, the fact that the actual object of the subject of History is not the past is really trivial. The past is not available to us; it no longer exists. Thus, when teaching history, one occupies oneself with something that is no longer there by trying to find answers to current historical questions. In order to profile this field of knowledge as domain-specific knowledge of History didactics, we differentiate between six aspects of knowledge within the field. Knowledge about the didactics of History (KHD) connects the domain-specific historical

knowledge of a History instructor to the area of interdisciplinary pedagogical-psychological knowledge (PPK), which, according to Shulman, is the “amalgam” between the two (Shulman, 1986:23). Knowledge about History didactics is needed to make the contents of History understandable and at the same time accessible to learners through a narrative creation of meaning (creating and understanding meaning; see Shulman, 1986:9; Neuweg, 2011:457).

Since its establishment as an independent scientific discipline, the didactics of History has addressed the task of “investigating the constitution and establishment of historical awareness as a significant factor of human self-identity and as an essential prerequisite for sound social practice descriptively/ empirically and, simultaneously, regulating it didactically and normatively” (Bergmann & Rösen, 1978:9; authors’ translation). In terms of teaching history, one of its tasks, regarding “the theoretical and methodological tools of historical science, expressed conceptually by historical theory, is didactically based reflection on how to distinguish what is worth learning from what is possible to learn” (Bergmann & Rösen, 1978:13; authors’ translation). The didactics of History, as an independent discipline, is thus “an institutional form of reflection about historical thinking” (Pandel, 2013:21; authors’ translation), with its own categories, terminology, and fundamental principles. As the didactics of a science and as a didactics of “thinking about everyday life” (Pandel, 2013:21; authors’ translation), it is committed to life in the contemporary world: “to be able to teach history competently naturally requires familiarity with the subject-specific forms and contents of historical thinking. But the scientific treatment of historical learning is not limited by these prerequisites” (Rösen, 2013:253; authors’ translation). KHD is thus not solely practice-oriented knowledge about actions as competence; instead, it extends beyond a pure transfer function in schools. This facet of knowledge therefore deals with having command of historical-didactic principles such as perspectivity, contemporary relevance, source orientation, or procedures (e.g., subject analysis, merit judgment, value judgment) as the fundamental “grammar of the subject” (Mayer, 2009:115.).

Hence, in the model presented here, KHD, as an independent facet of the knowledge area of subject didactics, is modeled without reference to the action situation in teaching and to the concrete application situation (nature of historical learning). Teaching history at school, however, represents just one institutionalized sphere of encountering history. The past, whose absence is present is present esthetically, politically, and scientifically, in the real-life

world in a wide variety of forms staged by the media, as published research results and instruction, but also as historical movies, reenactments, or graphic novels. Since the 1980s, this ensemble of representations of the past has been described by the term historical culture (Rüsen, 1994) and it has become one subject of research. However, this collection of “cultural realities” (Konersmann, 2006:58; authors’ translation), which is both formative and characterized cannot be adequately explained and understood with the logic and rationality of scientific History and deeper textbook knowledge alone. Hans-Jürgen Pandel, an expert in History didactics, has described this very accurately with the phrase “knowing a lot is not enough” (Pandel, 2009; authors’ translation). History instructors thus need knowledge about historical culture (Pandel, 2007:40); in other words, knowledge about the various logics and grammars of historical culture stagings and about their staging in the media (knowledge about historical culture), in order to find and produce real-life points of reference for historical learning. Ultimately, designing conditions for learning and communication in History classes is the basic daily task of a History instructor. We describe the knowledge about rules of History didactics as the facet of knowledge that deals with the methods of historical learning. This methodological knowledge, understood as the knowledge required for the domain-specific design of learning situations within the framework of History classes, comprises knowledge about subject-specific lesson planning, about the various subject-specific teaching methods (e.g., historical project work), and about the corresponding basic methodological principles (e.g., enquiry-based learning). However, it does not include the practice of historical learning, i.e., applying rules in concrete History teaching (Pandel, 2013:249).

The knowledge facet “knowledge about the historical-didactic potential of sources and representations” covers the selection and processing of sources connected to the planning and execution of history teaching. In order to be able to provide answers to historical questions, one looks for, within the framework of the historical method, “the presence of the materials” (Droysen, 1977:9; authors’ translation), so that they can be collected and ordered: “And history is just this – an undertaking in which materials are collected” (Danto, 1980:17). These materials consist of sources and representations from which possible answers can be generated, in order to “be able to tell stories that one needs to orient oneself in the temporal dimension of one’s own life practice” (Rüsen, 2013:258; authors’ translation). Thus, History instructors must be in a position to examine sources and representations in terms of their historical-didactic potential, in order to employ them for the staging of historical

learning processes, so that learners can gain historical competencies.

Knowledge about “students’ perception of the historical and individual processes of creating meaning” is described in a further facet of knowledge. This facet refers to knowledge about “conceptions and preconceptions that students of different ages and backgrounds bring with them to the learning of those most frequently taught topics and lessons” (Shulman, 1986:9). Taking students’ perceptions into account is essential for staging learning opportunities that take the development of competence and the interests of students seriously. History instructors must be able to recognize the patterns of historical creation of meaning in students’ remarks and accept them as such, in order to diagnose students’ knowledge and processes of understanding, so that they can react appropriately in the teacher-student interaction. This will allow them to employ target-oriented interventions for the creation of reflected historical awareness and to ensure increased competence of students (Pandel, 2007:46). Giving explanations is the key activity of teaching when dealing with the representation of the historical as “history” (Leinhardt, 1997:231), because History connects historical events meaningfully by locating them in a temporal relationship between cause and effect (Pandel, 2017:121). History as an explanation is the answer to historical questions about why. Following the studies on analytical historical philosophy, the realization that History, as a meaningful, i.e., explanatory relationship of historical events always has a narrative character, has gained broad general acceptance. History is thus, simultaneously, always both narrative and explanation (Danto, 1980:231). Teaching History thus always takes the ability to tell stories about History for granted, because the past, which no longer exists, has to be represented and collectively negotiated as “History” in classroom activities. In terms of controlling cognitive processes in History classes, instructors should therefore be in a position to make historical connections, concepts, and interpretations understandable for learners in an appropriate way, using suitable forms of conversational communication. What is important here, above all, is the structuring of the learning target, explaining, and making concepts, developmental lines, or traditions understandable, maybe with reduced complexity, where appropriate. Therefore, the knowledge facet “knowledge about how to make historical content understandable”, describes access to subject-specific options for representation and explanation that determine the choice of appropriate teaching methods (teaching-learning concepts, forms of work) and social forms for History classes. On this basis, it is possible to give individual students goal-oriented feedback.

The historical knowledge and knowledge about History didactics that History instructors have gathered during their training and that is available to them can, however, only affect students via instructional activities (see Shulman, 1986; Neuweg, 2011:457). Consequently, it first becomes practical and a "competence" when it is applied to concrete teaching situations.

Knowledge in teachers' actions

We assume that, for the transfer of the Heidelberg Model for Competence in History Teaching (HeiGeKo) to concrete teaching practice, History instructors can act competently in a historical-didactically relevant situation (for example, formulating suitable learning tasks) if they possess a repertoire of relevant domain-specific knowledge (historical and historical-didactic knowledge), relevant domain-unspecific facets of knowledge (PPK), as well as knowledge, skills, and abilities that allow them to master emerging problems and difficulties during the formulation of learning tasks. However, this by no means says that, even when instructors possess this knowledge, they can also act in a knowledge-driven way in this specific situation. Practice, with all of its complexity, too often resists the application of various knowledge areas: "In real-world practice, problems do not present themselves to the practitioner as given. They must be constructed from the materials of problematic situations which are puzzling, troubling, and uncertain" (Schön, 1983:4). Finding problems always precedes solving problems. In order to solve a problem, instructors must want to notice it, as such, then interpret this awareness on the basis of their professional knowledge (knowledge-based reasoning), in order to, finally, act competently. Nevertheless, whether professional competence is converted into performance, understood as observable professional activity of an instructor, depends on other conditions and requirements, including, amongst others, motivation (Voss *et al.*, 2015:189). The relationship between knowledge and action thus acquires a further dimension that has proved to be crucial for the basic concept of competence: "The relationship between knowledge and action is motivational, not logical" (Herzog, 1995:263). Accordingly, the application of knowledge is not controlled by knowledge. Activity routines do not become part of such situations; instead, new situations constantly occur that can only be resolved competently. This "user intelligence" (Neuweg, 2011:464; authors' translation) cannot, in turn, be knowledge-shaped. Thus, the two areas – professional knowledge and professional teaching awareness – constitute competence, i.e., competent teacher activity.

In addition to individual motivation (“teacher enthusiasm”), convictions and subjective theories (“teacher beliefs”) exert a strong influence on the competent activity of History instructors in terms of “competence” related to the choreography of teaching (Voss, 2011). In particular, a constructivist conviction, whereby learners are regarded more as actors in their own learning processes and less as recipients, together with a strong motivation and fascination for the subject being taught, ultimately lead to better student achievements (Staub & Stern, 2002). The individual convictions, subjective theories, motivational situation, and value concepts represent the background against which instructors recognize problems in the relevant situations as such and combine these with their professional knowledge, so that they can act adequately, according to the situation. The transitions between the individual facets of knowledge from the various areas, the convictions and subjective theories of the instructors, as mental representations, are thereby fluid. Knowledge can only be separated with great difficulty from attitudes and subjective theories (Fenstermacher, 1994:29): “This is related to the fact that, in the mind of the teacher, components of knowledge, beliefs, conceptions and intuitions are inextricably intertwined” (Verloop, Van Driel & Meijer, 2001:446). Therefore, in the model presented here, the convictions and subjective theories of History instructors are differentiated heuristically, based on their “epstemic status” (Fenstermacher, 1994:29), from areas of knowledge and their facets, according to whether they are generated by science or legitimized by beliefs (see Baumert & Kunter, 2011:41).

Perspectives for the practical training of History teachers

Within the field of History didactics, we know only little about how teachers orient themselves in their everyday teaching, what they refer to and from where they derive these points of reference – summarized as “knowledge in action” (Schön, 1983). The relationship between “formal” and “practical” knowledge (see Fenstermacher, 1994) in terms of the development of competence in professional actions and, in particular, in terms of individual facets of competence such as, for example, the diagnosis of historical thinking remains unknown to us: how does the explicit “academic knowledge” of the novice become implicit “practical knowledge” and competence of the expert? The available empirical results demonstrate that novices are not able to

competently apply their doubtlessly available knowledge in relevant, complex, and domain-specific teaching situations.²

The didactics of History, as an independent science, makes space for possibilities available – Jeismann once termed this, very appropriately, a “system of coordinates” (Jeismann, 1988:6; authors’ translation) – in which History instructors can feel safe, if they know it. Academically transferred knowledge of History didactics (the nature of historical learning) is thus the necessary precondition for professional action competence, but it does not generate “rules for practice” (Jeismann, 1988:6; authors’ translation). The didactics of History is necessary but not sufficient for competent action in History classes (Heuer, 2017). The question about how knowledge transmitted at the tertiary level becomes competent instructor action during teaching represents, not least, an investigative-methodological challenge for empirical research (Resch, Seidenfuß & Vollmer, 2017).

Conclusion

With the Heidelberg Model for Competence in History Teaching (HeiGeKo), presented here, we have attempted to develop a model that profiles the didactics of History and whose concreteness could make its mark on the international discussion about the professional competence of History teachers. We have tried to describe the professional competence of the History teacher, the competent teaching of History, as a process in which the knowledge areas of knowledge of History, knowledge of History didactics, motivation and teaching perception are the central variables guiding action in History classrooms. From a professional theoretical and domain-specific point of view, knowledge of History didactics in particular plays a central role in order to be able to perceive, classify and assess problems that occur as such. Our theory-based model can thus be understood as an attempt to clarify relevant elements of History teaching, but does not claim to represent the practice of History teaching. When applied to the relationship between theory and practice in History teacher training, this means that the academic knowledge of History didactics imparted in academia cannot lead to the knowledge of the concrete teaching situation, but the independent way of thinking about History is in this sense the basis for reflection on which

2 Compare results presented at the Conference of the South African Society for History Teaching and the International Society of History Didactics on 13 September 2017 in Vanderbijlpark (South Africa) entitled “Diagnosing” and “being able to formulate tasks” – (Belonging) to the vignette-based gathering of didactical competences of History teachers at the beginning of the practical apprenticeship.

didactic decisions are made. In this respect, we are therefore talking about the History teacher's didactic professionalism, which we believe is the central professional skill of the History teacher. Thus, History didactics as the central vocational science of the History teacher becomes the focus of the discussion about what a History teacher needs to know in order to teach History in a high quality way.

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HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE-GENRE AS IT RELATES TO THE REUNIFICATION OF CAMEROON IN SELECTED ANGLOPHONE CAMEROONIAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

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Abstract

Since the 1961 reunification of French and British Southern Cameroons, discourses of marginalisation, assimilation, “francophonisation”, “frenchification” and internal colonisation have emerged in public and academic circles to describe the plight of the minority Anglophone population of Cameroon in the reunified country. An important element of this plight has been the systematic abrogation of the federal constitution that was adopted as basis for the reunification. The calls therefore from the Anglophone populations have mostly revolved around two options: Either a return to federal form of government which was the basis for reunification or the establishment of an autonomous state for Southern Cameroons.

Against this backdrop of Anglophone plight linked to reunification, this study sought to analyse Anglophone Cameroonian History textbooks with regards to their application of historical genres and knowledge as it relates to the reunification of Cameroon. The study adopted a qualitative approach using an interpretivist paradigmatic lens. The methodology employed was qualitative content analysis of three purposively selected Anglophone Cameroon History textbooks. The findings revealed that the textbooks employ explanatory, narrative and descriptive historical genres. These genres were all characterised by factorial and consequential explanations of actions of elite historical characters, selected historical events, and places. Furthermore, it was realised that the textbooks made use of a highly overt substantive form of historical knowledge in the explanation of reunification – a form of historical knowledge indicative of rote learning. Lastly, there was an evident discourse of an Anglophone identity or nationalism in the textbooks by function of the historical genre and knowledge types exposed.

Keywords: Anglophone; Cameroon; Historical genre; Historical knowledge; Reunification; Textbooks.

Introduction

Cameroon is one of few countries that witnessed official colonisation by three European powers at different times in its history. It is also one of only two countries in the world, the other being Canada, that presently use both English and French as national official languages. The country has as a colonial legacy two sub-systems of education and a bi-jural legal system to accommodate its Anglophone and Francophone populations.

Before the arrival of the European colonisers the territory and people that make up present day Cameroon existed as sovereign ethnic entities. The beginning of Cameroon as a conglomerate of states under colonial administration started with German colonial rule in 1884. This lasted for 30 years during which period Germany “negotiated and established the country’s international boundaries, set up the institutions for modern administration and gave rise to the idea of belonging together or being Cameroonian amongst the people of the various ethnic groups and traditional states of the territory” (Fanso, 1999:282). However, with the defeat of the Germans during World War 1 Cameroon was portioned between Britain and France in an agreement that saw the former and the latter receive respectively one-quarter and three-quarters of the territory (Awasom, 2000; Fanso, 1999; Njeuma, 1995). Scholars such as Awasom (2000) and Konings and Nyamnjoh (1997; 2000) have argued to the effect that this disproportionate partitioning of Cameroon was the foundation of a future Anglophone minority and a Francophone majority. This became a crisis in the reunified Cameroon of 1961 with claims of marginalisation emanating from Anglophone Cameroonians. In light of the above, it can be insinuated that the process of reunification of 1961, and the post-colonial nation-state (re) construction, were bound to be challenging from the perspective that “separate colonial state formation[s] and the development of territorial differences in languages and cultural legacies [had] laid the spatial and historical foundation for the construction of Anglophone and Francophone identities” (Awasom, 2002; Konings & Nyamnjoh, 2003:10).

The post-World War II era witnessed a spirit of decolonisation that swept across the African continent. This trend was succinctly articulated on 3 February 1960 by the then British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan while addressing the South African parliament in Cape Town. Macmillan encouraged his government to adopt a policy of decolonisation and referred to the winds of change that was blowing across Africa as a political fact (Ovendale, 1995). From a Cameroon perspective, the decolonisation process

led to France granting independence to French Cameroon on 1 January 1960 whilst on the other side a plebiscite was organised in the British Southern and Northern Cameroons on 11 February 1961 on whether the people would want to achieve independence by joining Nigeria or French Cameroon. With the outcome of the plebiscite for British Southern Cameroons being in favour of reunification, the French and British Cameroons were reunified on 1 October 1961. Meanwhile Northern British Cameroon voted in the plebiscite to join Nigeria and was accordingly integrated into the Saruana province of northern Nigeria (Fombad, 2011). However, contrary to Anglophone expectations, reunification was far from providing an equal partnership between Anglophones and Francophones. It turned out to be nothing but absorption, assimilation, marginalisation, and exploitation of the Anglophone minority by the Francophone dominated state and by the Francophone population as a whole (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 2003; Konings & Nyamnjoh, 1997/2000).

It is against this background of post-reunification tension in post-colonial Cameroon that this article set out to explore the nature of the historical genre and historical knowledge in selected Anglophone Cameroonian History textbooks as it relates to Cameroonian reunification. The following research question underpins this study: What is the historical genre-knowledge in Anglophone Cameroon History textbooks as it relates to reunification?

In order to address this research question, this article constitute of the following sections: a review of literature on reunification and textbooks as the focal phenomena for this study; issues of methodology; analysis of the data and findings; discussion of the findings; and conclusion of the study. It is also necessary to point out that the findings and discussions of this study were viewed through a postcolonial lens.

Literature review

The key substantive concepts at the focus in this article are reunification and History textbooks. The literature reviewed was consequently divided into two sections.

Reunification

From a conceptual angle reunification is understood differently in different circles. Tromble (2007:4) used the word “reconnecting” in a social welfare context when he referred to reunification as a “process of reconnecting

children in foster care with their families”. This understanding is similar to the view of Jarausch (2010:501) who examined reunification from a geo-political perspective and came to the conclusion that reunification refers to “a restoration of the natural state of things as they had been, before the division”. The implication of the above mentioned conceptualisation is twofold: Firstly, reunification may manifest in different forms, for example, social and/or political and, secondly, for it to occur there had to have been a pre-existing union prior to the division, partition or separation of the entity in question. Thus, reunification may be understood as the reunion or reintegration of a family, a group of people, a nation or a state that had, as a result of certain circumstances in the past, been caused to split. In the context of this study, the notion of reunification refers to the reintegration into a nation state of different political entities that had been united as a people at some point in the past but were later partitioned and caused to separate, either in accordance with their own free will as a result of internal factors or else involuntarily as a result of an imposition on the inhabitants.

According to Hart-Landsberg (2009), it is not possible to view reunification as an unambiguously good process but, rather, it should be viewed as a highly contested procedure. This ambiguity explains the controversial discourses that often emerge in countries that have experienced reunification or are hoping to achieve it. The examples in this regard include North and South Korea, Somalia and Somaliland, and West and East German. In the sections below, we present the German case study of reunification scenarios as it relates to that of Cameroon.

One major consequence of the surrender of Germany in 1945 and the armistice that followed was a decision taken at the Teheran conference by the principal world powers to the effect that the defeated Germany be governed jointly by a four-power military commission, with Berlin as a separate but similarly administered entity (Ritter & Hajdu, 1989). The partition of Germany started with a decision by the USA, Great Britain and France to amalgamate their zones into a Federal Republic of Germany – FRG (West Germany) in September 1949. This was followed in the next month by the establishment of the German Democratic Republic – GDR (East Germany) in the Soviet zone of Germany. The establishment of the FRG and the GDR signified the beginning of a permanent partition of Germany into two states with different political and ideological orientations (Ritter & Hajdu, 1989). In August 1961, the partition between East and West Germany was

consolidated and reinforced with the erection of a Berlin Wall. This partition of Germany is synonymous to the partition of German Cameroon between Britain and France during the course of World War I which formed the basis of the reunification that came about in 1961.

In line with the circumstances of its partition as seen above, the German reunification that happened in 1989/1990, manifested as a peaceful revolution, especially on the part of the East German citizens of the GDR (Jarausch, 2010). From the East German perspective, therefore, it was hoped that reunification would be the solution to their political and economic misery. This view is not dissimilar to those held by the Southern Cameroonians upon reunifying with French Cameroon (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 2000/2003). In support of this view, Behrend (2011:61) contends that many of the GDR citizens who had voted for German unity had done so with the expectation that, in a short time, their situation would match that of their West German counterparts. However, this was not to be. Two decades after reunification, reunified Germany is still a divided country along West and East Germany lines, with claims of discrimination emanating from former GDR citizens (Behrend, 2011:64) who felt they bore the “brunt of German reunification” (Scholz, 1994:108). Thus, in view of the above, the experience of the reunification of Germany has been described in certain circles as merely the one-sided and fast absorption of East Germany by West Germany (Hart-Landsberg, 2009). This description puts the Germany scenario on par with that of Cameroon in terms of the claims of marginalisation and assimilation of the Southern Cameroons in the reunified Cameroon. These claims are made against the context of Cameroon still largely being divided along lines of Anglophone and Francophone lines.

Textbooks

From a pedagogic perspective, Lin, Zhao, Ogawa, Hoge and Kim (2009), argue that History textbooks remain, in most countries, the most powerful means with which to provide people with an understanding of their own History as well as that of the world. Thus, History textbooks remain a significant source of pedagogical content knowledge for both teachers and learners with these textbooks providing an organised system of ideas and information and, thereby, helping to structure the teaching and learning of History (Sewall, 2004). In addition Pingel (2010:30) notes that “textbooks provide expertise, are time savers, and provide security for both teachers and

students in outlining content, scope and sequence”. The indispensable nature of textbooks is seen in the fact that teachers in many instances rely on the textbooks as central to their teaching.

However, in spite of the fact that textbooks are vital instructional resources, some scholars have questioned their neutrality stating, for example, that textbooks do not transmit facts and information or knowledge only but also norms, rules of societies and ideologies (Sakki, 2010). Additionally, textbooks also “seek to anchor the political and social norms of a society” (Schissler, 1989-1990:81). In support of this Apple and Christian-Smith (1991:3) submit that “texts are not simply delivery systems of facts. They are at once the result of political, economic and cultural activities, battles, and compromises. They are conceived, designed, and authored by people with real interest. They are published within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources and power”. This side of the role of History textbooks evokes the question of the underlying purpose of History education. Maric (2016) has problematized this further by asking if the purpose of History education is to build critical, active, and responsible citizens? If so it should choose a historical genre and knowledge around sensitive and controversial topics to develop critical thinking, so as for learners to acquire the concept of multi-perspectivity, while developing the ability to foster dialogue. On the other hand, he continues that if History education serves simply to transfer certain preconceived, one-sided narratives, then it excludes the variety of experiences and dialogue on interpretations, and does not foster inquiry. This depiction of the dual face of History education speaks to textbooks because it is through these constructed resources that the goal of History education is many a time fostered.

Scholars such as Lin *et al.* (2009) and Polakow-Suransky (2002) have acknowledged that History textbooks, in particular, and textbooks in the humanities and social sciences in general, incorporate certain attitudes and ways of looking at the world. In these textbooks, particular opinions and interpretations are presented (Schissler, 1989-1990). This suggests that textbooks do not deserve their reputation as impartial tools that simply teach learners facts and skills. Rather, the suggestion is that textbooks are always politically sensitive. And as Schissler (1989-1990) points out that if examined in accord with these premises, then textbooks can be an excellent resource with which to analyse social and historical consciousness's. The political nature of textbooks is supported by Engelbrecht (2006:3) who argues that

“textbooks embody the selective tradition – it is always someone’s vision of legitimate knowledge and culture, one that in the process of enfranchising one group’s cultural capital disenfranchises another’s”. Textbooks thus seek to enforce and reinforce cultural homogeneity and promote shared attitudes and historical memories, and consequently involve a struggle over public memory (Crawford, 2000).

Methodology

This was a qualitative study whose focus was on revealing the historical genres and knowledge types in Cameroonian Anglophone History textbooks. A qualitative approach was adopted because of the need for an in-depth, intricate and detailed understanding of the reunification phenomenon by means of depth rather than quantification (Creswell, 2009). We therefore assumed the interpretivist paradigm with the view of understanding the nature of these genres and knowledge types as represented in the selected textbooks. Stevens, Schade, Chalk & Slevin (1993) submit that research carried out in the interpretivist paradigm is called qualitative research. This position clarifies the link between the choice of approach and paradigm for this study. The methodology that we employed was qualitative content analysis. This was done since our purpose was to compress the text on reunification into categories, based on explicit rules of coding (Stemler, 2001). The three Anglophone Cameroonian History textbooks that constituted the sample for this study were purposively chosen on the basis that they each contain a chapter or section dealing with reunification. It was those specific sections of the textbooks that were considered for the analysis of the historical genres and knowledge. Table 1 below shows the details of the three textbooks that we purposively selected for the study.

Table 1: Showing sampling of Anglophone Cameroonian History textbooks

AUTHOR	YEAR	TITLE	PLACE/ PUBLISHER
Fanso, V. G	1989	<i>Cameroon history for secondary schools and colleges. Vol. 2: The colonial and post-colonial periods</i>	London, Macmillan
Victor Julius Ngoh	1996	<i>History of Cameroon since 1800</i>	Limbe, Presprint
Tazifor Tajoche	2003	<i>Cameroon history in the 19th and 20th centuries</i>	Buea, Education Book Centre

All the textbooks were approved in the official Cameroonian textbooks list for the 2014/2015 academic year (document: No 0614/MINESEC/CAB). It is also important to note that all three textbooks have been selected at least once in the official textbooks lists for Anglophone Cameroonian schools over the past five academic years. Moreover, the General Certificate of Education (GCE) syllabus also officially recommends these textbooks for the teaching of History in Anglophone schools.

In this study, we have attributed colour codes to the three textbooks mentioned above. These codes were used for the analysis and for the discussion. We refer to *Cameroon history for secondary schools and colleges. Vol. 2: The colonial and post-colonial periods*, as the Green Book; *History of Cameroon since 1800* as the Red Book; and *Cameroon history in the 19th and 20th centuries* as the Blue Book. Apart from the convenience factor in the coding, these colours are representative of the original colours on the cover pages of the respective selected textbooks. The units of analysis comprised of both visual and verbal text. Visual and verbal texts in this study were taken as features that play complementary and collaborative rather than exclusive roles in a text (Hagan, 2017; LaSpina, 1998; Wu, 2014).

The qualitative content analysis instrument employed consisted of specific historical genre and knowledge methods as will be explained below. Coffin (2006) submits that History, like other school subjects, has a specific language and that each piece of writing in history has a distinct purpose relating to wider disciplinary practices, which she titles as 'genre' (p. 1). The genre here signifies the manner in which the text is written for the purpose of communicating its message to its audience. This could be in the form of style, structure, choice and placement of content such as headings, visuals, or tables. The identification of the text genre served as a springboard for the analysis by situating the text within a certain category of historical writing from where it was possible to then understand the historical knowledge types propagated. This implies that the historical genre type was not considered in isolation from the historical knowledge types but rather was seen as the building blocks of this dualistic relationship of historical genre-historical knowledge type. The process of identification of the historical genre types of the text involved a combination of the typology of history genres as seen in Table 2 below which allowed genres to be classified according to the type(s) that appeared in the textbooks.

Table 2: Historical genres – An adaptation from Martin (2007:57)

Genre type	Sub-genre	Description
Autobiographical recount: One sided narrative	Recording or explaining genre	The story of my life (oral History)
Biographical narrative: Third person/Alternative side		The story of someone else's life
Historical Account: Explaining/Argumentative/ Interpretation genre Many people One-sided and multi-sided perspective	Factorial explanation	Complexifying the notion of what leads on to what
	Consequential explanation	Complexifying the notion of what leads on from what
	Exposition	Problematic interpretation that needs justification

In line with the historical genre, the historical knowledge of the texts on reunification was considered in light of the substantive and procedural forms of knowledge as summarised in the Table 3 below.

Table 3: Substantive and procedural historical concepts (adapted from Martin, 2012:8)

Substantive historical concepts	Procedural historical concepts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Substantive concepts refer to subject matter and content knowledge of • History in the form of key terms, themes, actors and events. • Also known as propositional knowledge or first order concepts of History. • It is the content or substance of History. • It represents the statements of facts of History. • It focuses on historical themes, actors. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Procedural concepts are specific methods and procedures that give disciplinary structure. • They contribute to the construction of substantive knowledge. • They consist of skills for structuring and giving sense and coherence to events in history. • This is also known as know-how history or second order concepts and include: cause and effects; historical significance; historical time; historical empathy; contextualisation. • They are the conceptual tool needed for the study of the past as a discipline and the construction of the content of historical knowledge.

Lévesque (2008) has conceptualised historical knowledge as dependent on two intertwined, interdependent and complementary (not conflicting) strands of knowledge: substantive and procedural knowledge. In his view, while substantive knowledge of History refers to factual, narrative and descriptive content of historical events, procedural knowledge on the other hand deals with the systematic, methodical processes involved in understanding History. Typically, substantive knowledge of History is found in expectations of students' learning, such as the students' understanding of certain terms, events, phenomena, or personages while procedural knowledge concentrates on the concepts and vocabulary that provide the structural basis for the discipline (Lévesque, 2008). Procedural concepts are not what History is about, the substance. They are the conceptual tools needed for the study of the past as a discipline and the construction of the content of historical knowledge. Ultimately, procedural forms of historical knowledge are more desirable for modern History teaching and learning by virtue of its emphasis on enquiry skills and multi-perspectivity.

Using the analytical tools of historical genres and knowledge the findings were compared across the three textbooks. The aim was to produce firm findings so as to answer the research question posed.

Analysis

The Green Book

The text of the Green Book adopted a historical genre type that falls under the category of explanation and narrative creation. The use of the explanatory genre was seen to incorporate factorial and consequential descriptions to support the reunification narrative. The result was a clear absence of argumentative or interpretive explanations. This historical genre style was also achieved through a narrative text structure that impedes possibilities for engagement with the text. Moreover, the narrative and explanatory process of the text involved the use of clear chronological time markers for events and activities related to reunification. The timeline of events as described and explained in the text started from an early date and progressed sequentially through to later dates. The fact that these dates are included in the topics and sub topics on reunification indicates that their application is purposive rather than by chance. Furthermore, an analysis of the historical participants identified within the explanatory genre indicates the use of specific and generalised participants. Through the foregrounding of three high profile

politicians throughout there is a sense of an acknowledgement of the role of big men as the driving force of the reunification process to the exclusion of ordinary Cameroonians. This finding is corroborated by the visual text whereby only Cameroonians of the elite class are depicted in the various reunification related images. Conversely, these big men worked within specific established structures such as the United Nations that were identified in the text as generalised participants.

In terms of historical knowledge, the text failed to expressly identify and make use of procedural concepts of History in its presentation of reunification. This absence is an indication that the text promotes rote learning and in the context of reunification it was seen that such knowledge are aligned with the aim of grooming submissive citizens who will uncritically submit to the master narrative on reunification rather than challenging it. The possibility here is that any form of challenge will cause chaos and disrupt social harmony between Anglo and Francophone Cameroonians. The Green textbook is therefore not a neutral disseminator of historical knowledge on reunification but rather an active accomplice to the agenda of the government to create a certain kind of citizenry.

Notwithstanding this lack of overt promotion of procedural knowledge, the analysis of the text revealed a certain incidental use of procedural concepts that were only possible to understand through an analysis of their implied use within the text. It was through this process that procedural concepts such as cause and effect, historical time, and historical significance were analysed within the text. However, because their use is incidental rather than purposive, it supports the earlier claim that the text promotes a substantive form of historical knowledge rather than its procedural opposite. This is coupled with the fact that the other more critical procedural concepts such as use of sources/evidence, change and continuity, historical empathy or perspective taking could not be found in the text even through the analysis of their implied use.

There is therefore a visible link between the historical narrative and explanatory genre type and the historical substantive knowledge types used in the text in that the explanatory genre supports and is in turn supported by the use of substantive concepts. This historical genre-knowledge type link and consistency also has implications for the nature of school History in Cameroon and the role of textbooks and reunification. There is an presence of a chauvinistic discourse established through the domination of male characters and the complete silencing of female historical figures. In line

with the previous point, there is also a discourse of exclusion seen through the silencing of the subaltern and the domination of political and traditional elites in the reunification process.

The Red Book

The first finding from the Red Book is that the text falls within a purely explanatory historical genre category, and is consequently void of possibilities for argumentation and interpretation. The text is largely narrative and descriptive and are characterised by explanations that are factorial and consequential in nature. This is in addition to the fact that the text comprises of verbal material with a complete absence of visual text. The nature of presentation of the narrative text is done in a very simplistic bullet, list and numbered format which supports and strengthens the argument of its focus on factorial and consequential explanations. Such genre type was seen as an attempt to promote factual historiography on the reunification with the implication that it denies the learner opportunities for engaging critically with the text and various historical possibilities. In this regard the content must be accepted as the truth without contestation. It is therefore intended for memorisation rather than engagement in a disciplinary manner.

The domino effect of the nature of historical genre type in the text is that it implies a concentration on substantive concepts of History at the expense of the procedural ones. This finding means that the text makes explicit and elaborate usage of first order concepts in its factorial and consequential narrative on the activities around reunification such as the actions of the main protagonists, and historical events and places. In foregrounding substantive concepts, the text makes use of specific and generalised participants but also unique and organisation concepts and does so in a purposively narrative using a clear chronological frame to avoid nuancing the representation. By foregrounding influential people such as traditional rulers and politicians and giving them agency, there is an effort to expose the learners to knowledge on the reunification that is centred on the actions of big men.

However, in spite of this clear and explicit substantive knowledge focus the findings also uncovered certain elements of procedural historical knowledge implicitly embedded within the narrative. The following procedural knowledge types were uncovered in the text: the idea of historical time; historical causation; historical significance; and change and continuity. Without being explicitly expressed, these procedural concepts were seen to contribute in a

covert manner to advancing the understanding of the reunification narrative in the text of the Red Book. But because their usage is not clearly spelled out, we take it that the intention of the author was not to highlight their importance but rather to simply advance the factual information through substantive knowledge. It was found that the text follows a clear chronology of events that is supported with the use of relevant dates. Even though these dates are not directly linked to the broader picture on reunification, it is still easy to implicitly pick out that the events follow each other in the manner in which they occurred. Moreover, using Partington's (1980) idea of historical significance, certain events were seen to be represented as being more significant than others in the process of reunification. Analysed in terms of importance, profundity, quantity, durability and relevance (Partington, 1980), the Milner-Simon agreement to partition former German Kamerun and February 1961 were the two historical moments presented in the text as highly historically significant. Furthermore, there was evidence of the second order historical concept of change and continuity. The one example used to demonstrate this concept is the 1961 plebiscite in British Cameroons whose outcome served as a statement of intent for British Southern Cameroons to reunify with French Cameroon and for the Northern Cameroons to integrate with Nigeria. The implementation of the statement of intent through political negotiations overseen by the United Nations changed the political future of these territories and took their destinies in different directions. The fact that this situation has survived post-colonial turbulences makes it very relevant as an example to describe the covert use of the concept of change and continuity in the text. Conclusively, the knowledge type of the text was analysed as highly substantive but with the implicit use of some second order procedural concepts.

The Blue Book

The first finding in terms of genre is that the text of the Blue Book is written in a factorial and consequential explanatory genre category. This historical genre promotes common sense understanding of reunification that is for the effect presented in factual, numbered and bulleted explanations.

The historical genre type has implications for the form of historical knowledge used in the text. A factorial and consequential explanatory genre is most likely to promote substantive knowledge. The text of the Blue Book was seen to promote a substantive knowledge of History through a presentation

of reunification in the form of facts and first order concepts. The substantive knowledge was analysed in terms of unique and organisational concepts. The unique concepts revealed the names of individual persons used in the text. These persons were seen to be of the categories of politicians and the traditional elite therefore raising the point that these people were the role players in reunification. The unique concepts were also considered in terms of the places mentioned in the text and the events highlighted. The majority of places mentioned were linked the plebiscite that was also important in presenting a breakdown of the plebiscite results. This added to the significance of the plebiscite as an event. Apart from the substantive concepts that were explicitly used in the text, certain procedural concepts could also be deduced from the text. Second order procedural concepts such as causation, time, and change and continuity were identified in the text. Summarily, in terms of the text historical genre and knowledge type it could be said that the findings are interrelated such that one contributes to the other and the other helps explain and understand the one. To be more specific, the factorial and consequential explanatory text genre relates to a substantive version of historical knowledge as the explanations themselves constitute second order unique and organisational concepts.

Discussion and findings

The historical genre analysis of the Anglophone textbooks produced a common pattern – that being that they all adopted, with reference to reunification, a summative master narrative consisting of a factorial and consequential explanatory genre. This implies the existence in the selected Anglophone textbooks of a historical genre that emphasises simplistic agreed upon explanations by means of listed causes and consequences together with other related factual information on reunification. In spite of this general pattern across all three Anglophone textbooks, the manner in which the different textbooks adopted and applied the explanatory genre differed slightly. The differences lie in the fact that, while in the Green Book the explanatory historical genre is reflected in a narrative format of the text as a story that can be read and understood, both the Red and Blue textbooks applied the explanatory genre in the form of lists and bullets. This marks the explanatory genre of the Red and Blue Books as simplistic and exclusively aimed at rote learning. However, all three Anglophone textbooks presented a genre of history that aimed at presenting facts rather than opportunities for engagement by means of historical thinking on reunification.

Another comparative element of the historical genre type of the Anglophone History textbooks is their use of visual text in the form of pictures. The analysis revealed that both the Green and the Blue Book made use of visual text whilst the Red Book ignored this form of textual representation. This implies that the history of reunification is seen in the Red Book merely as a form of written text serving the purpose of memorisation and retention. Nonetheless, visual textual reunification content used in the two instances as explained did not give opportunities for the visuals to serve any interpretative purposes. This means that the visual texts were only meant to complement the narrow explanatory functions of the verbal text thereby reinforcing that historical genre type.

Another factor worth mentioning as a function of the historical genre of the selected Anglophone textbooks is that all three constitute narrations of the actions of influential people related to reunification. Even though it was seen in the books that influential people from Anglophone Cameroons were foregrounded at the expense of those of Francophone Cameroons, the argument remains that the books ignored the contributions of ordinary Cameroonians in the process of reunification. This is also true of the idea that these historical actors are predominantly male thereby insinuating that female characters, just like other ordinary Cameroonians, were insignificant players in the reunification process.

With the underlying historical genre for all the Anglophone textbooks being factorial and consequential explanatory, narrative, descriptive and simplistic, the implication is that the Anglophone textbooks are rigorous in their rigidity in their presentation of reunification. Such factual rigidity further implies that the purposes of the Anglophone textbooks on reunification are to present the content as truthful and agreed upon and meant for consumption by the learners with acceptance and without questioning and thinking. There is therefore a penchant towards a single narrative of reunification which in a nutshell says history is not provisional and open to debate. Consequently, in the Anglophone textbooks other historical genre types that could disrupt such a narrative were not engaged with.

A question that can be asked here is why the authorship of the sampled Anglophone textbooks would prefer the presentation of reunification from the perspective of the explanatory historical genre when, as the literature reviewed earlier in this article, revealed claims of marginalisation of the Anglophone population within the (re)union (Awasom, 2002; Fanso, 1999;

Konings & Nyamnjoh, 2003). The answer to this question probably lies in some of the characteristics of postcoloniality. In this regard, the postcolonial theory reveals that subalternism was a practice whereby the previously colonised elites, such as the textbook authors in the context of this study transformed themselves into the new colonisers over their compatriots upon the attainment of formal independence – a situation that the theory also refers to as internal colonisation (Hamadi, 2014; McClintock, 1993; Tosh, 2009; Walia, 2001). By adopting a historical genre in post-colonial Anglophone texts that does not seek to uncover ideological representations, the authors and publishers of the Anglophone textbooks are creating a subaltern group in their learners through exclusiveness, silencing of their voices and any other histories or simply by creating a top-down approach to history. From this perspective the Anglophone textbooks and their authorship, in terms of the historical genre adoption, are post-colonial but far from being postcolonial where the former concept is linked to time frame after official colonisation and the latter referring to prevalent colonial conditions (coloniality) after the official end of colonisation (Hitchcock, 1997; McLeod, 2000). This is largely so because of their failure to adopt historical genres that encourage critical historical thinking on reunification and that integrate sociocultural approaches to history that would give the subalterns a voice. Therefore, in this state of affairs, the complicity seem to lie with the state as much as the authors who take aim at premising History education and Cameroonian reunification around nationalistic and patriotic agendas rather than as a critical endeavour. Consequently, the historical genres of the selected Anglophone textbooks could be seen to be inclined to a discourse of Anglophone nationalism, as a form of resistance to the political status quo – a phenomenon that is akin to and typical of post-colonial Africa.

Comparing and contrasting the historical knowledge types of the three Anglophone books shows that there was a clear link between the historical genre adopted and the nature of historical knowledge of the texts. This implies that each genre had implications for the kind of historical knowledge that the particular text espoused. It emerged that all the Anglophone textbooks adopted an overt and explicit use of the substantive form of historical knowledge with regard to their representation of reunification. This aligns with the explanatory historical genre as the genre specificity for all the texts. The indication was therefore that Anglophone Cameroonian textbooks encouraged a factual explanation of the content of reunification without any opportunities to engage with different narratives and perspectives. In line

with the substantive knowledge emphasis of all the textbooks, the trend was also that different elements of second order procedural concepts were used in all the textbooks in an incidental rather than purposeful manner. Some of the procedural concepts found in the textbooks included cause and effect, historical significance and change and continuity. However, used incidentally implied that the textbooks did not intend to promote those concepts as a form of historical knowledge that students should acquire as a result of studying reunification but that the concepts only emerged incidentally as a part of the textual narratives. The consequences of a substantive form of historical knowledge was that the Anglophone textbooks promoted established narratives on the reunification that foregrounded Southern Cameroons and protected such narratives through not giving opportunities for learners to form their own opinions and to critique the text through different procedural historical thinking engagements. This leaves learners and teachers of History vulnerable to the ideas of the authors and producers of these textbooks who are able to teach their ideas and perspectives on the reunification largely unchallenged.

Further, a trend was observed in all three Anglophone textbooks on the use of unique substantive concepts related to representation of people. In this regard, we noticed that for all the Anglophone books, the unique substantive people mentioned all fell within the categories of political figures and traditional rulers. These people, who could be referred to as “big or influential men” were presented by these texts as the main architects of reunification. What the focus on these “big men” also implied was that the textbooks did not consider any role of ordinary citizens or women as historically significant in the reunification endeavours. The argument could therefore be made that the Anglophone textbooks in terms of the application of unique substantive historical knowledge related to people, displayed a form of elitist and patriarchal or male chauvinistic history that denied a historical voice to the Cameroonian subaltern. Taking this further, was the consideration of the regional extraction of these political figures and traditional authorities represented in the texts. The analysis of the unique substantive concepts in terms of people further indicated that the political figures and traditional authorities highlighted in the texts were largely of Southern Cameroons’ extraction and very few were from French Cameroon. What this reveals is that the textbooks present reunification as the active efforts of Southern Cameroonians and a passive French Cameroon participation. This was interpreted as an attempt by the Anglophone texts to promote Anglophone nationalism through their depiction of the reunification process as driven solely or largely by Anglophone efforts.

That being the case, the Anglophone textbooks could therefore be implicitly sending a message that issues related to reunification, including contemporary ones, should be resolved by the Anglophone community considering that the process from its beginnings was controlled by them.

Another finding that emanated from the analysis is a discourse on Anglophone nationalism and identity. The question here is why would Anglophone textbooks push forward an agenda that is more pro Anglophone than pro national in terms of the Cameroonian nation state? As a start, we recall Hart-Landsberg (2009) who suggested that it is not possible to view reunification as an unambiguously good process but, rather, it should be viewed as a highly contested process. Going by this it could be argued that the nationalism advocacy depicted in the textbooks is in line with the nuanced nature of the reunification project generally. The desire to promote an Anglophone identity could be explained in terms of the perceived marginalisation of the Anglophone Cameroonians by the Francophone Cameroonians in a majority dominated Francophone Cameroon. This marginalisation was captured by authors such as Awasom (2000); Chem-Langhëë (1995); Fanso (1999); Konings and Nyamnjoh (2003). The argument presented by the above authors is that the federation that followed reunification was a sham federation which, although safe for appearances, was actually a preparatory stage for the annexation of Southern Cameroons through the assimilation of their territory into a highly centralised Francophone unitary state. Therefore, it could be argued that the quest for an Anglophone identity and the promotion of Anglophone nationalism as revealed in the historical genre and knowledge of the Anglophone textbooks could be explained as part of the Anglophone resistance to their perceived marginalisation and treatment as second class citizens in reunified Cameroon as well as to counter the “Frenchification” efforts of the Francophone led regime.

Conclusion

This study employed a qualitative content analysis methodology in the analysis of three purposively selected Anglophone Cameroon History textbooks with regards to their representation of historical genres and knowledge as it relates to the reunification of Cameroon. The findings revealed that the textbooks employ explanatory, narrative and descriptive historical genres. These genres were all characterised by factorial and consequential explanations of actions of elite historical characters, selected historical events, and places. Furthermore,

it was realised that the textbooks made use of a highly overt substantive form of historical knowledge in the explanation of reunification – a form of historical knowledge indicative of rote learning. Lastly, there was an evident discourse of an Anglophone identity or nationalism in the textbooks by function of the historical genre and knowledge types exposed. This study revealed that Anglophone textbooks in Cameroon have not followed the trend in other countries of progression from a substantive to a procedural view of historical knowledge. Through promoting highly substantive form of historical knowledge and explanatory genre, the textbooks ensured that the single intended narrative of an Anglophone identity and nationalism on reunification could be disseminated unchallenged.

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THE STRONG STATE AND EMBEDDED DISSONANCE: HISTORY EDUCATION AND POPULIST POLITICS IN HUNGARY

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... the bankrupt state that has been placed upon our shoulders is a result of the suppression of our Revolution... we cannot understand that the party leaders, who made us study from books that falsified the Revolution now rush to touch the coffins as if they were charms of good luck!

Viktor Orbán speaking at the funeral of Imre Nagy, 16 June, 1989¹

Liberal values mean corruption, sex, and violence, it looks like Western Europe has forgotten about white workers. There was the national state, the liberal state, and the welfare state, and now Hungary is building a state based on labor, which as far as its character goes, is not liberal.

Viktor Orbán speaking at the 25th Tusványos Free University and Student Camp in Romania, July, 2014²

Abstract

The hopefulness that accompanied the establishment of the Republic of Hungary in 1989 was soon tempered by divided politics that seemed unable to address systemic economic woes facing the nation. Though the 1956 Revolution remains foundational, parts of the polity remain uneasy with the concept of the liberal state and instead hearken back to the Christian National politics of the interwar years to legitimize a vision of the Hungarian nation not dependent on institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), let alone the European Union (EU) which Hungary joined in 2004. The promise of economic prosperity found in EU member states such as Austria remains elusive and many Hungarians yearn for the social security system of the 1970's communist era while at the same time subscribing to a resurrection of the strong state. The populist rhetoric of Prime Minister Viktor Orbán draws sharp contrast between the EU's dream of a Europe without Borders and the localized/nativist vision of Hungarian national identity that resonates with a large part of the polity that provided his FIDESZ (Young Democrats)/KDNP (Christian Democrats) coalition with parliamentary majorities in 2010 and 2014. Further to the right, Jobbik (the better ones) excoriates both gypsies and Jews for undermining the state. The current refugee crisis has been cast by Orbán

1 H Kamm, "The funeral of Imre Nagy," *New York Times*, 17 June 1989, p. 6.

2 Magyar Nemzet Online, 27 July 2014 (available at <http://www.mno.hu/tusvanyos/orban-viktor-teljesbeszed-1239645>, as accessed on 29 July 2014), pp. 1-3.

as an Islamic tide that will reconfigure Europe into bloodless and docile societies. Orbán's decision to build a fence in summer 2015 to keep out refugees seems prescient to those subscribing to these nativist beliefs. The State forwards a public presentation of history that absolves the interwar regime of the Lord Protector Miklós Horthy, 1920-1944 of alliance with the Axis and genocide. Though there remains substantial opposition to current nationalist sentiment, the prospects for the survival of liberalism seem bleak without a unified opposition. Interestingly, there remains an embedded dissonance in History curriculum and texts that challenges the State's interpretation of History. This article studies the state's public presentation of history in contrast to that found in curriculum and textbooks to understand the contrast between Orbán's stated aim to create an illiberal state and stories found in texts that undergird the dream of a liberal republic found in the failed revolutions of 1848 and 1956. Disturbingly, previous regimes that extolled the strong state have imaginatively rearranged history so that the two strains of political desire antithetical to each other are reconciled. How does the Hungarian case help us better understand the resurrection of strong state politics that seem to have infiltrated the global stage?

Keywords: Politics; Memory; Historical Narratives; History Education; Hungary.

Introduction

The hopefulness that accompanied the establishment of the Republic of Hungary in 1989 was soon tempered by divided politics that seemed unable to address systemic economic woes facing the nation. Though the 1956 Revolution remains foundational, parts of the polity remain uneasy with the concept of the liberal state and instead hearken back to the authoritarian Christian National politics of the interwar years to legitimize a vision of the Hungarian nation not dependent on the EU which Hungary joined in 2004. Prime Minister Viktor Orbán now embraces a rhetoric far different from what he proclaimed in 1989 that draws sharp contrast to the EU's dream of a Europe without borders. Orbán's nativist vision for Hungary resonates with a large part of the polity which provided his FIDESZ (Young Democrats)/KDNP (Christian Democrats) coalition with parliamentary majorities in 2010 and 2014. Currently, the state forwards a presentation of history that absolves the interwar regime of Lord Protector Miklós Horthy, 1920-1944 of alliance with the Axis and genocide that took the lives of over 560,000 Hungarian Jews.

This article studies the state's presentation of Hungary's interwar history in contrast to that found in curriculum and textbooks to understand the contrast between Orbán's stated aim to create an illiberal state and stories that create

an embedded dissonance found in texts that undergird the dream of a liberal republic found in the failed revolutions of 1848 and 1956. Disturbingly, previous regimes that extolled the strong state have imaginatively rearranged history so that the two strains of political desire antithetical to each other are reconciled. The Hungarian past remains unsettled and political parties in the contemporary state utilize selective segments of this history to legitimize their respective platforms. As political scientist Katherine Verdery states, “Nationalism is a kind of ancestor worship... the work of contesting national histories...challenges the genealogy”.³ In this light, the bitter twentieth century history of Hungary marked by successive defeats and occupations looms large, understating Charles Lemert’s assessment of contested history in politics where, “ghosts continue to trouble the living”.⁴ How do the contradictions found in Hungarian history texts, curriculum, and the state’s presentation of history help us to better understand strong state politics in the twenty first century?

Historical political context

Hungary’s long history goes back to its founding as a Christian Kingdom by King Stephen the First (Saint Stephen) at the beginning of the eleventh century. The Magyars were a warlike steppe people who entered the Carpathian Basin in the ninth century. The feudal kingdom encompassed a large portion of eastern central Europe and acted as an effective block to Ottoman expansion into central Europe, especially after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The feudal kingdom reached its apex under Mátyás Corvinus 1458-1490 who not only captured the Hapsburg stronghold in Vienna, but had the largest library in Europe at that time.⁵ Tragedy struck with Hungary’s defeat at the Battle of Mohács in 1526 by the Ottoman Empire. In 1699 Ottoman suzerainty was replaced by that of the Hapsburgs who had driven them out. The Crown of St. Stephen then came into the hands of the Hapsburgs until 1867. Hungarian rebellions and intrigues all ended in disaster with perhaps the most notable being the liberal 1848 Revolution.⁶

3 K Verdery, *The political lives of dead bodies: Reburial and post socialist change* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1999), p. 41.

4 C Lemert, *Durkheim’s ghosts: Cultural logics and social things* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 26-27.

5 L Makkai, “The Hungarian’s prehistory, their conquest of Hungary, and their raids to the West to 955”; “The foundation of the Hungarian christian state, 950-1196; J Buk, “The late medieval period, 1382-1526”; P Sugar, P Hanák & T Frank, *A History of Hungary* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press), pp. 8-22, 69-73.

6 Ferenc Ráckóczy II led a failed War of Independence against the Hapsburgs 1704-1711. K Péter, “The later Ottoman period and Royal Hungary 1606-1711”, *A history of Hungary* (London, I.B.Tauris, 1990), pp. 117-120.

Hungary's misfortune seemed to be reversed in 1867. The establishment of Austria Hungary encouraged a baroque political culture, in part because though Hungarians controlled their domestic policy, foreign policy and the treasury was controlled by Vienna. Hungarians were undeterred by this and reimagined the Hungarian Kingdom reborn.⁷ As historian Paul A. Hanebrink points out, "themes of national death and rebirth" have a long tradition in Hungary going back to their defeat and occupation by the Ottoman Turks.⁸ The public mood could be found in this rebirth that trumpeted a past in which the Hungarian state and culture triumphed in Central Europe. This narrative was reflected in buildings such as the Mátyás Templom, a gothic church that was rebuilt during this period and in monuments prepared for the millennial celebrations of the Hungarian Kingdom in 1896 such as the Fisherman's Bastion and the central monument at Heroes Square depicting the arrival of the Hungarian tribes into the Carpathian Basin.⁹ Spectacular funerals of once defeated heroes further emphasized the perception that Hungary had finally reemerged from a past marked by multiple defeats. The return of the remains of the 1848 revolutionary Lajos Kossuth in 1894 from Turin, Italy included three days of mourning.¹⁰ This sentiment was fueled by burgeoning industrial and urban development that encouraged a more liberal politics that promoted an inclusionary narrative as indicated by the enfranchisement of Hungarian Jews.¹¹

At the same time however, this trend was pulled towards an exclusionary narrative by the intense nationalism that this rebirth unleashed. In spite of the diverse ethnicities found in the Kingdom, Hungary embarked on a policy of *magyarization* in which non-Hungarians were forced to assimilate into Hungarian culture and society. As historian Alice Freifeld notes, the millennial celebrations in Budapest included ethnographic exhibitions that demonstrated a hierarchy that placed Hungarians at the top stoking deep resentments among Serbs, Romanians, and Germans among others.¹² A

7 Baroque political culture refers to calculated artificiality through spectacle, monumentality and what R Wolin refers to as the "seduction of unreason" in *The seduction of unreason: The intellectual romance with fascism: From Nietzsche to postmodernism* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2004); K Benziger & R Weiner, "The tragedy of Orbánism: Budapest Baroque extended" (Paper, 24th Annual Conference of Europeanists, University of Glasgow, July 2017), p. 17.

8 P Hanebrink, *In defense of christian Hungary: Religion, nationalism, and anti-semitism, 1890-1944* (Cornell, Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 67-68. Hungary was defeated by the Ottoman Turks in 1526 at the Battle of Mohacs.

9 J Lukacs, *Budapest 1900: A historical portrait of a city and its culture* (New York, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1988), pp. 32, 44, 71-72.

10 J Lukacs, *Budapest 1900...*, p. 120.

11 V Ranki, *The politics of inclusion and exclusion: Jews and nationalism in Hungary* (New York, Holmes and Meir, 1999), pp. 30-32, 34, 53.

12 A Freifeld, *Liberalism and the crowd in liberal Hungary, 1848-1914* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), pp. 275-276; B Anderson, *Imagined communities* (London, Verso, 1983), pp. 104-106.

cyclorama painted in 1895 by Árpád Feszty and displayed at the millennial celebrations depicts a mythical battle between Hungarians and Moravians for possession of the Carpathian Plain captures this sense of militant Hungarian triumphalism.

The dream of the restored kingdom was shattered by World War I. The defeat of the Central Powers at the end of the war resulted in Hungary losing two thirds of its territory at the Treaty of Trianon, 1920. A Bolshevik Revolution in 1919 ended with Budapest being occupied by the Romanians who benefitted from Hungary's partition gaining Transylvania and the close to 1.7 million Hungarians living there. This helped stoke a counterrevolution that was fueled by a deep-set populist narrative that celebrated catholic nationalism and scapegoated outsiders, notably Jews as being responsible for the nation's woes. Jews had largely backed liberal reform that fueled modernization in opposition to the conservatism of the Catholic Church and its loyalty to monarchical rule. After the Bolshevik revolution Jews were conflated with communists. At the helm of this project was Miklós Horthy who helped re-establish the Hungarian kingdom. His near fanatic anti-Bolshevism was matched only by his desire for territorial revision and included a banning of the communist party, strong anti-union positions, and the first anti-Semitic laws in post-World War I Europe.¹³

Horthy attempted to steer clear of Europe's treacherous waters during the 1930s, but the opportunity to regain large tracts of land lost in 1920 proved too tempting for Hungary to resist alliance with the Axis powers. Hungary gained large portions of its' old kingdom at the expense of Czechoslovakia and Romania through the two Vienna Awards, 1938 and 1940. Germany's request for Hungarian assistance against Yugoslavia enabled Hungary to regain parts of its southern realm and seemed to dangle the possibility of recouping parts of southern Romania.¹⁴ Importantly, Hungary's relationship with the Axis was aided by a powerful pro-German faction that strongly favored both alliance and adherence to policies carried out in Germany, which included genocide. Under the leadership of Prime Minister László Bárdossy, Hungarians deported nearly 18,000 Hungarian Jews from the lands acquired in the second Vienna award to the Ukraine where they were murdered by German Einsatzgruppen and their accomplices at Kamenets-Podolski August 27-28, 1941. This was followed in January 1942 by a massacre in Újvidék,

13 P Hanebrink, *In defense of christian Hungary...*, pp. 82-83, 106-107; T Sakmyster, *Hungary's admiral on horseback: Miklós Horthy, 1918-1944* (Boulder, East European Monographs, 1994), pp. 162-165.

14 D Cornelius, *Hungary in World War II: Caught in the cauldron* (New York, Fordham University Press, 2011), pp. 140-141; I Kershaw, *Hitler: 1936-1945 Nemesis* (New York, W.W. Norton and Company, 2000), pp. 362, 366.

located in present day Serbia, that killed 1,200 Jews and Serbs. Public outcry over these events coupled with Axis reversals led to the diminution of the pro-German faction in the government and Hungary's first attempt to negotiate a way out of the war. Between 1942-1944, Jews living within the borders of the Hungarian Kingdom were relatively safe.¹⁵

The Germans aware of Hungary's negotiation attempts, occupied Hungary on March 19, 1944. The fortunes of the Hungarian pro-German faction and fascists were reversed as Horthy approved the German's choice for Prime Minister. Hungarians kept fighting with their ally and their bureaucracy and Gendarmes became the primary agents of the genocide that took the lives of over 420,000 Hungarian Jews. Historian Krisztián Ungváry claims that at least 200,000 Hungarians participated in the process. Responding to pressure brought against him by the likes of President Franklin Roosevelt, Horthy acted to stop the deportations of the Budapest Jews on July 6. Finally, though it led to a German staged coup against Horthy he came close to pulling off an armistice on October 15, 1944. German occupation re-opened the door closed to the German faction in 1942, but without active Hungarian cooperation this stage of the Holocaust could not have unfolded as it did.¹⁶ Hungary's continued attempt to extricate itself from the war ultimately led to a *coup d'état* in October 1944 and Horthy was replaced the Hungarian fascist Ferenc Szálasi who continued the genocide until Hungary collapsed in April 1945.

Hungary was occupied by the Soviet Union and paid a heavy price for going to war. The Republic that came into being at the end of the war was replaced by a Stalinist State in 1948. The brutality of the Stalinists ultimately led to the 1956 Revolution that echoed the liberal demands of 1848 and it was the communist prime minister Imre Nagy who established multi-party governance. The Revolution was crushed and Nagy was hanged on June 16, 1958. Hungarians lived under the Soviet yoke, albeit a more comfortable one, until 1989 when the velvet revolution that included the funeral and reburial

15 R Braham, *The politics of genocide: The holocaust in Hungary*, I (New York, Columbia University Press, 1981), pp. 154-157; K Ungváry, *A Horthy Rendszer, Mérlege: Diszkrimináció, Szociálpolitika és Antiszemitizmus Magyarországon* (Sizing up the Horthy Era, discrimination, social politics, anti-semitism in Hungary) (Pécs-Budapest, Jelenkor Kiadó, OSzK, 2013), pp. 502-503; P Hanebrink, *In defense of christian Hungary...*, pp. 193-195; K Benziger, "The trial of László Bárdossy: The second world war and factional politics in Hungary", *Journal of Contemporary History*, 40(3), 2005.

16 Z Vági, L Csős, & G Kádár, *The holocaust in Hungary: Evolution of a genocide* (Lanham, Alta Mira Press, 2013), pp. 71-73, 103, 134-135, 147; K Ungváry, *A Horthy Rendszer...*, p. 544; P Hanebrink, *In defense of christian Hungary...*, p. 198.

of Imre Nagy ushered in the Hungarian Republic on October 23, the day the 1956 Revolution began thirty- three years earlier.¹⁷

The Republic and discontent after 1989

The establishment of the Republic of Hungary in 1990 brought liberal reforms, but without the economic take off for which many Hungarians had yearned. Hungary seemed like a poor cousin in comparison with its neighbor Austria. Neo liberal economic policies led to over one million jobs being lost under the government led by the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) leaving many Hungarians yearning for the system of social security under the second communist regime. The Hungarian polity rejected the MDF in 1994 and the Socialist Party (MSZP) whose forerunners, the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party (MSZMP) had been toppled only four years previous were elected. The Socialists embarked on a series of austerity measures demanded by the IMF and World Bank. Hungary's debt was lowered and lured investment, but at the expense of many Hungarians who seemed left out of this new prosperity.¹⁸

Hungarian dissatisfaction with the economy provided an opening for Orbán and FIDESZ who now positioned themselves as a center right nationalist party posed against the travails brought on by the IMF and a series of corruption scandals that plagued the MSZP coalition. FIDESZ had initially been founded as a liberal party but in the years following the establishment of the Republic, were unable to gain traction with the electorate and remained a small party. Orbán, eager for power and fervently anti-communist, skillfully utilized Hungarian dissatisfaction with the economy and explained their problems framed in a nationalist narrative that provided scapegoats and legitimized Hungary's interwar years under the suzerainty of Miklós Horthy in a bid to destroy the Socialist Party and their ideas.¹⁹

Hungary's alliance with the Axis resulted in genocide, a country in ruins, and an occupation by the Soviet Union that would last until 1991, but as the historian Tony Judt points out many Hungarians view the two longer lasting communist regimes as having done more damage to Hungary than was done

17 K Benziger, *Imre Nagy, martyr of the nation: Contested History, legitimacy, and popular memory in Hungary* (Lanham, Lexington Books, 2008), pp. 35-36, 42-43, 48, 64.

18 L Szamuely, "The costs of transformation in central and eastern Europe", *The Hungarian Quarterly*, 37, 1996, p. 67. According to P Lendvai, Hungary's indebtedness fell from 21 to 8.7 billion dollars and yet the value of the Hungarian Forint continued to decline in *Hungary: Between democracy and authoritarianism* (New York, Columbia University Press, 2012), p. 68.

19 C Gati, "Backsliding in Budapest", *The American interest*, January/February 2012 (Available at <http://www.the-american-interest.com/articles>, as accessed on 2 March, 2012), pp. 1-3; P Lendvai, *Between democracy and authoritarianism*, pp. 77-78.

under the brief suzerainty of the Nazis. In this light, many Hungarians see themselves as the victims.²⁰ In this light, Horthy's alliance with the Axis had allowed the nation to remain sovereign until March 1944. His attempt to gather the Hungarian nation was noble and his anti-Bolshevism prescient. The interwar years provide a bridge to the past glory of the Hungarian Kingdom. This interpretation of history, consigned to oblivion during the two communist regimes forcefully resurfaced with the founding of the Republic in 1990. The reburial of Miklós Horthy in his hometown in 1993 is emblematic of this revision.²¹

Viktor Orbán and his FIDESZ/KDNP coalition now embrace illiberal democracy more in line with that described by Fritz Stern in which obedience, strength and heroism are the virtues to be most admired.²² Majoritarian politics following the 2010 election helped usher in this "state of mind" that poses the opposition and the EU as exogenous entities. No wonder then that the FIDESZ/KDNP coalition look to the authoritarian politics of the interwar years as a source of legitimacy.

The resurgence of this localized nationalist rhetoric has given rise to several right-wing parties, the most notable being Jobbik (the better ones) who received 14.56% of the mandates in the 2014 election making them the second largest party in Hungary.²³ They compete with the Fidesz coalition to set the national agenda helping to pull politics further to the right. Jobbik are great admirers of the Hungarian fascist Ferenc Szálasi and believe that Jews and Gypsies are outside of the national polity. Jobbik's unconstrained rhetoric resonates with a sizeable portion of the electorate including a younger generation who have adopted these views.²⁴

Viktor Orbán's promise of a new constitution came to fruition in 2011 and could set the stage for transforming Hungary from a Republic to the illiberal state he has promised. Not only does the constitution provide a means for stacking the courts through early retirements, it creates "detailed rules" for the media that the National Media and Telecommunications Agency uses to

20 T Judt, *Postwar: A history of Europe since 1945* (New York, Penguin Books, 2005), pp. 827-828.

21 T Ungvári, "Culture and crisis: The pains of transition", B Király & A Bozoki, *Lawful revolution in Hungary, 1989-94* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1995), p. 285. K Verdery asserts that post socialist legitimacy is based on rejection of the immediate past, making reburials part of this process in *The political lives of dead bodies...*, p. 52.

22 F Stern, *The failure of illiberalism: Essays on the political culture of modern Germany* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf), pp. xvii-xviii.

23 "Marad a Kormány", *Népszabadság*, 7 April, 2014, p. 1.

24 J Kirchick, "Meet Hungary's new fascists", *Tablet Magazine*, 24 April, 2012 (available at <http://www.tabletmag.com/jewish-news-and-politics/96716/meet-europes-new-fascists>, as accessed on 29 April, 2012), pp. 1-4; Z Vági, L Csösz, G Kádár, *The holocaust in Hungary...*, p. 362.

impose fines and issue licenses.²⁵ Importantly it enshrines a version of history that legitimizes the Christian National politics of the interwar years. The National Avowal states, "... Saint Stephen... made our country a part of Christian Europe one thousand years ago... We date the restoration of our country's self-determination, lost on the nineteenth day of March 1944, from the second day of May 1990, when the first freely elected body of popular representatives was formed".²⁶ In one stroke the constitution legislated history by separating the Horthy regime from its collaboration with the German occupation and separates itself from Hungary's two communist regimes. How does this revision play out in the construction of public history, curriculum and textbook production?

Curriculum, textbooks, and the strong state

Centralizing public education is key to this process and like regimes of the past, both communist and authoritarian, controlling the historical narrative is intimately linked to political legitimacy. While the Council of Europe's recommendations for History curriculum argue against ideological manipulation of history, the States' public presentation of history attempts to cover up troubling parts of its twentieth century past, including genocide.²⁷ History education is a critical component in the development of civil society. Interestingly, textbooks continue to provide contrast, or an embedded dissonance to the State's public presentation of history. An examination of the contemporary presentation of history, education policy, curriculum, and text set against the past practice of Hungary's post World War I regimes helps us understand how the current regime walks a fine line between democratic and authoritarian practice.

Between 1990-2010 the National Curriculum provided a frame for what needed to be taught in the schools, leaving a fair amount of flexibility to teachers and local communities, reflecting a trust in liberal values seemingly promised with the establishment of the Republic. This was a reaction to the highly centralized curriculum found under the two communist regimes in which control of the historical narrative was of paramount importance.²⁸ With Orban's promise of an illiberal state, control of curriculum is again

25 Magyarország Alaptörvénye (hereafter Fundamental Law of Hungary) Magyarország Alaptörvényét az Országgyűlés a 2011 Április 18-I ülésnapján fogadta el. Article IX, 15. According to P Lendvai, pro-government pronouncements dominate 75% of political programming. See P Lendvai, *Between democracy and authoritarianism...*, pp. 218-220.

26 Fundamental law of Hungary, 10656.

27 History teaching: Council of Europe recommendations (Council of Europe, 2013), pp. 24-30.

28 Hungary, Ministry of Culture and Education, National Core Curriculum, 1996, p. 15.

deemed critical and has been re-centralized. The Ministry of Education is now a subsidiary unit of the Ministry of Human Resources. The National Curriculum sets out a series of standards and outcomes meant to ensure that Hungarian children are competitive globally and well prepared for the *érettségi* (school leaving exam). The *Alaptanterv* (The National Core Curriculum) explains what must be taught at a given grade level and provides benchmarks for student achievement, whereas the *Kerettanterv* (The National Core Curriculum Framework) explains what must be taught including themes and number of hours the teacher must spend on each theme. Textbook choice and distribution has been centralized under the newly created Oktatáskutató Fejlesztő Intézet (Institute for Educational Research and Development). Teachers can select from two textbooks, but Guilds such as the Hungarian History Teachers Association (TTE) worry that this would sharply reduce teacher's freedom, given their previous freedom to select from a much wider array of texts. According to TTE President, László Miklósi, the main goal of the new national common core is to promote the government's nationalist agenda.²⁹ Hungary's long history provides both opportunities and obstacles for a politicized historical narrative given its history that glorifies both monarchy and liberal revolution. It is this contested history that creates an embedded dissonance which can act as a stumbling block for the State's goal of political socialization.

Liberal revolution

The new National Core Curriculum mandates that students understand the significance of the Hungarian migration into the Carpathian Basin to set the stage for an ascendant national narrative.³⁰ In accord with the National Avowal previously reviewed, students learn about the Kingdom of St. Stephen that reaches its apex in the construct of the Renaissance kingdom of Matyás Corvinus 1458-1490, that was counted among the great European powers of the time.³¹ This is a story found not only in curriculum, but in the public presentation of history on holidays. For example, St. Stephen's Day is a national holiday that connects the past greatness of the Hungarian Kingdom to the present through fairs that include folk dancing and performers dressed

29 D Varga, "Állmosított tankönyvellátás" (State controlled textbook distribution), *Népszabadság Online*, 18 December 2013 (available at <http://nol.hu/belfold/20131218-allamosított-tankonyvellatas?ref+sso>, as accessed on 20 December 2013), pp. 1-2; Kormányrendelet jelöli ki tankönyvekért felelősöket (The government will name who is responsible for textbooks) *Népszabadság Online*, 30 December 2013 (available at http://nol.hu/belfold/ujabb_vizfej_itt_a_nemseti_tankonyvtanacs?ref+sso, as accessed on 2 January 2014), pp. 1-2.

30 4.1 Problems of origin, Nemzeti Alaptanterv (NAT) 2012 final, pp. 80-81, 86, 91.

31 9-12 Kerettanterv, Történelem, Társadalmi, és Állampolgári Ismeretek, pp. 14-17.

in traditional garb along with a dramatic procession of St. Stephen's hand through the streets of Pest. The glory of the Hungarian Kingdom is on full display for all to see. Equally as important however, is the celebration of the failed 1848 Hungarian Revolution against the Hapsburgs. The heroic narratives found in commemorative ceremonies and textbooks emphasize not only the intense nationalism brought out by the event, but in the liberal ideals found in Sándor Petöfi's *Nemzeti Dal* (national verse) and the twelve student demands that included freedom of the press and a multiparty system.³² All regimes since the establishment of the Dual Kingdom in 1867 have celebrated 1848. What follows is a brief sampling of the ways this liberal revolution has been presented in textbooks under authoritarian rule.

In the wake of the World War I defeat students were told to persevere. A map in one textbook from the Horthy era not so subtly detailed the events of the 1848 Revolution over an outline in the shape of the great medieval kingdom. Publicly the values of nationalism were connected to the Hungarian medieval kingdom. In this light, the valiant fight of the 1848 Revolutionaries embodied a continuation of this quest to return Hungary to its rightful place as a European power not as a liberal Republic, but Constitutional Monarchy under the guidance of its Lord Protector, Miklós Horthy.³³ The re-annexation of lands regained through deals brokered by the Axis figured prominently in texts verifying earlier admonitions for Hungarian students to persevere.³⁴ After WW II and the communist accession it was Joseph Stalin who completed the work of Lajos Kossuth.³⁵ Interestingly, the textbooks continued to highlight the liberal themes embodied in the national verse and the student demands of 1848. The danger of politicizing history was revealed in 1956 when students resurrected these demands found in their textbooks.³⁶ And yet, the story continued to be highlighted during the

32 Petöfi's stirring poem memorized by children begins Talpra Magyar, hi a haz! (Rise Hungarians, the homeland is calling) was written on 13 March, 1848. For a discussion of the student demands see I Deák, *The lawful revolution: Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians, 1848-1849* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1979), pp. 69-73.

33 I Havas & L Lóránd, *A Magyar Nemzet Története-A Mohácsi Vésztől Napjainkig Világtörténeti Kapcsolatokkal*, A Polgári Fiúiskolák IV Osztálya Számára (Budapest, Franklin-Társulat, 1928), pp. 105, 131-137; E Varády, *A Magyar Nemzet Története*, A Leánygimnázium, Leány Liceumok, Leány Kollegiumok (Budapest, Athanaeum Irodalmi és Nyomdai RT Kiadása, 1934), pp. 77-78, 86.

34 F Marczinkó, JP Vitéz, E Varády, *Magyarország Története A Szatmári Békétől Napjainkig* (Budapest, Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1942), pp. 82-85.

35 A Freifield, "The cult of March 15: Sustaining the Hungarian myth of revolution, 1849-1999", M Burcur & N Wingfield, *Staging the past: The politics of commemoration in Hapsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the present* (West Lafayette, Purdue University Press, 2001), pp. 264-276.

36 G Heckenast & G Spira, Munkája, *Magyarország Története II Rész, 1526-1849* (Budapest, A Tankönyvkiadó Nemzeti Vállalat, 1950), pp. 111-114. The sixth edition of the text published in 1955 includes three detailed maps, a timeline, and over 33 plates of personages, battles, concluding with pictures of Marx and Engels, pp. 167-211: Appendices includes a full page reserved for the national verse.

second communist regime as an event pivotal to creating national solidarity.³⁷ In 1989 the unofficial public celebration of the 1848 Revolution on 15 March foreshadowed the public outpouring at the funeral of Imre Nagy Prime Minister of Hungary on 16 June 1989. It was this event that publicly delegitimized the communist regime and made plain the Hungarian demand for liberal democracy, a point underscored by Viktor Orbán who was one of the featured speakers at the funeral.³⁸ In spite of the current political turn in Hungary, 15 March and 23 October, that commemorate the 1848 and 1956 Revolutions, remain national holidays that are memorialized across Hungary through public monuments, literature, and as part of the national curriculum.

Genocide

Portrayal of the Hungarian genocide is more problematic and avoidance was one way of coping with this history. In the immediate wake of World War II during the short-lived Republic, 1945-1947 textbooks claim that it was the desire for territorial revision resulting from Trianon that led to disaster. A Roman Catholic secondary history text from 1947 claims that, though the Hungarian elite wanted the lost territory back, “they never learned how Hungarians lived across the border”. The concept of *Faj Magyar* (Pure Hungarian) trumpeted by the Arrow Cross is denounced stating that they “denied the assimilation of the past 100 years”. A Reform Church text claims that Revisionism took Hungary on “a tragic path that led to disaster”. Though the horror of the Szálasi regime is mentioned in the Reform text, neither text refers to genocide.³⁹

Downplaying Hungarian complicity in the Holocaust provided cover for the little Nazis in Stalinist Hungary and fortified the narrative of avoidance. Creating solidarity within the communist party became paramount after World War II and so many lower level functionaries who had cooperated with the fascists or the pro-German factions during World War II avoided prosecution and found work through the party.⁴⁰ Responsibility for genocide is laid at the feet of the Germans and their fascist allies, thus absolving the

37 In spite of the Soviet presence in Hungary textbooks and curriculum highlighted Imperial Russia's role in suppressing the Revolution features Russian military officers announcing to the Czar, “Hungary is at your feet”, M Unger, *Történelem a gimnáziumok III* (Budapest, Tankönyvkiadó, 1971), p. 197.

38 K Benziger, *Imre Nagy martyr of the nation...*, pp. 21-24, 27-28, 108.

39 I János, *Magyarország Története: A Sztálmári Békétől Napjainkig – A Katolikus Gimnáziumok és Leány Gimnáziumok VIII* (Budapest, St. István Társulat, 1947), pp. 111-112, 114-115; Z Varga, *Magyarország Története II A Sztálmári Békétől* (Debrecen, Országos Református Tanáregylet Könyvnyomda – vállalata, 1946), pp. 223-224.

40 P Kenez, *Hungary from the Nazis to the Soviets: The establishment of the communist regime in Hungary, 1944-1948* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 46-47.

Hungarian proletariat. The Horthy regime is blamed for the rise of fascism and claims that many fascist organizations were influenced by the Church. *Munkaszolgálat* are mentioned, but the Jewish origins of the forced laborer battalions remain unexplained. Later we learn that the “fascists killed off the cream of the community” that included tens of thousands of Hungarians who died at the hands of the Gestapo or in death camps, and hundreds of thousands of Jews who were also murdered.⁴¹ A 1952 text asserts that Horthy stopped deportations and attempted to come to terms with the allies in 1944 only to remain viable in politics after the war; whereas a 1955 text asserts that the First anti-Semitic law was designed to “deter attention from class warfare”. Though the details of how the deportations of the Hungarian Jews was carried out remains absent, the text briefly discusses the establishment of Ghettos, the yellow star, and the deportation of 450,000 Jews during the German occupation.⁴² All texts refer specifically to the horror of the Szálasi regime.

The same pattern of narrative continued during the second communist regime under János Kádár, 1956-1988. Hitler’s aim to destroy European Jewry is made explicit as is the means to achieve this end with a description of concentration camps and gas chambers and include pictures such as the selection of those Hungarian Jews at Auschwitz. Ribentrop’s testimony at Nuremburg is used to damn the Horthy regime in which he claimed that Hungarians were the first to want to join the Axis and participate in the Soviet invasion. The *Népbíróság* (People’s Tribunals) dissolved the Gendarmes and other fascist organizations, but no details are given.⁴³ The massacre at Kamnets- Podolski is left out.

After 1989 the narrative was slowly altered. Textbooks proliferated as teachers and schools were allowed the freedom to choose and create curriculum. Although choice was tempered by the national school leaving exam set by the State called the *érettségi*, critical in determining placement in higher education. Many texts included changes only to reflect the current change of regime in 1989, leaving many parts of texts untouched. This in turn, left many within the academic community urging for substantial curriculum

41 L Lukács, *Magyarország Története III Rész, 1849-1950* (Budapest, Ideiglenes Tankönyv, 1950), pp. 152-154, 163-164, 173, 176.

42 L Lukács, *A Magyar Nép Története III Rész, 1849-1948* (Budapest, Tankönyvkiadó, 1952), p. 253; I Nagy et. al., *A Magyar Nép Története III Rész 1849-1948* (Budapest, Tankönyvkiadó, 1955), pp. 185, 258.

43 E Balogh, *Történelem a gimnáziumok IV. osztály számára* (Budapest, Tankönyvkiadó, 1969), pp. 223-224, 241-242, 248; E Balogh, *Történelem IV Gimnázium* (Budapest, Tankönyvkiadó), pp. 253-258, 264, 302.

change.⁴⁴ On the other hand some texts began addressing issues such as the connection between Nuremburg and People's Tribunals.⁴⁵ Among the texts I had the opportunity to review, the most detailed coverage is provided by the Műszaki Kiadó and attempts to get at the much more complicated story of the interwar years. The consequences of the anti-Semitic laws and the ascendance of the German faction in Hungarian politics are explained including the massacre at Kamnets-Podolski. The Nuremburg trials receive attention as do the Hungarian War Crimes trials, though separated from one another.⁴⁶ According to László Miklósi, what is evident and different from other texts are the questions and exercises provided in the text that force students to think critically about not only legal, but moral responsibility. He believes this is critical to the development of Hungarian civil society.⁴⁷

The current Fundamental Law addresses the affront to the nation caused by Trianon. The new National Core states that students must understand the plight of Hungarian minorities living in areas that had been "ripped away" from Hungary. But there is a certain disjuncture between the national core and history as students must understand the consequences of the two Vienna Awards that resulted from its alliance with the Axis.⁴⁸ If Trianon was illegitimate and the nation remains torn asunder, how is a teacher supposed to teach about the relationship between the Anschluss, Munich, 1938, and the Vienna Awards? In addition, students are required to understand the consequences of Hungary's anti-Semitic Laws and the Holocaust including the genocides perpetrated prior to the German occupation at Kamenets-Podolski, 1941 and Újvidék, 1942. Finally, students must know about People's Tribunals, although the connection between Nuremburg and international law remains unclear.⁴⁹ A review of three textbooks used in the 2013-2014 school year provide a clue as to how the narrative is manipulated by the current regime.

One text for the twelfth year favored by history teachers who believe that it provides the best preparation for the *érettségi* was published by the Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó. In it the injustice of Trianon is certainly presented, but

44 Professor of History and History didactics Marion Nagy interview by author, 14 May 2014; G Gyapay, "Some current issues in Hungarian History teaching", History teaching in central and eastern European countries, 2 (April-June, 1996), pp. 39-40.

45 B Dürr, *Történelem 8, Az általános iskola 8. osztálya számára* (Debrecen, Korona Kiadó, 1993), pp. 55-56, 101-102, 112-113, 134-135.

46 CS Dupcsik & I Repárszky, *Történelem IV, Középiskola Részére* (Műszaki Kiadó, 2011), pp. 148-149, 152, 187.

47 L Miklósi (President of the Hungarian History Teachers Association), interview, K Benziger (Author), 5 March and 15 May 2014.

48 Kerettanterv – OFI, 6/2014.(1.29).számú EMMI rendelet az egyes köznevelési tárgyú Miniszter rendeletek módosításáról (Ministerial directives about the modification of public education), pp. 40-48.

49 Kerettanterv – OFI, 6/2014, pp. 48-55.

after the Second Vienna Award, 1940 Prime Minister Pál Teleki worries that “Germany would ask too high a price”, foreshadowing the disaster that befalls Hungary. The issue of Hungarian anti-Semitism and collaboration in the genocide is also highlighted, as is the fact that Horthy stopped deportations only after being pressured by the international community. Though there are descriptions of the Újvidék massacre, the Kamanets-Podolski massacre appears unnamed on a chart.⁵⁰ The *Mozaik* and *Nemzedékek Tudása* editions for eighth grade follow the same story line and the *Mozaik* edition includes several interesting exercises in which students explain what territories Hungary might regain, but also how they might be gotten. Another asks students to write a letter protesting the anti-Semitic laws.⁵¹ The horror of the Szálasi regime appears in all texts, and all texts provide pictures and graphic information regarding both the war and the Holocaust. German occupation sets off the endgame in all three texts, and though Hungarian collaboration in the genocide is clearly mentioned, the problems of war crimes and crimes against humanity are given uneven treatment.

Instead of providing narrative and analysis the gimnázium text has students engage in an independent study. Students are told that what seems simple is actually more complex, and it asks students to evaluate some of the same questions asked at Nuremberg. For example: Are leaders of the economy collaborators? Is one guilty for following a command? The questions themselves are good, but more coverage centered on the development of international law needs to be addressed in the text to fully engage the student in the momentous legal and moral issues raised by the tribunal. The *Nemzedékek Tudása* publication asks students: What was Bárdossy’s questionable crime? What was Szálasi’s unquestionable crime? Here the text provides a deliberate distortion of history by clearly damning the German backed Prime Minister Ferenc Szálasi while prevaricating about the Horthy government’s role in the first stages of the Hungarian genocide and its open collaboration with Germany in 1944. The *Mozaik* text asserts that “The people’s courts and judges named by the government had no legal knowledge,” and so political vengeance played a role, “but many who were tried were guilty”.⁵² The student needs more information about the People’s Court’s. There were indeed legal blunders, but the spirit of

50 M Száray & J Kaposi, *Történelem IV középiskolák, 12. évfolyam* (Budapest, Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 2012), pp. 110, 132-143.

51 P Bencsik & A Horváth, *Történelem: A huszadik század története Állampolgári ismeretek 8* (Szeged, Mozaik Kiadó), pp. 63, 96-98; P Horváth, *Történelem 8, az Általános iskolások számára* (Budapest, Nemzedékek Tudása Tankönyvkiadó, 2011), pp. 85-92.

52 M Száray & J Kaposi, *Történelem IV középiskolák...*, p. 154; P Bencsik & A Horváth, *Történelem: A huszadik század...*, p. 101; P Horváth, *Történelem 8...*, p. 130.

the Nuremberg principle and the demands placed on Hungary through the Armistice agreement with the United Nations was carried out.

Though these three texts address this bitter history there is clear discomfort confronting international law head on which seems to conform with the government's distrust of international institutions. The 2014 purchase by the government of the publisher Apáczai Kiadó includes a text by Ferenc Bánhegyi that was included as one of the choices for the 2014 - 2015 school year. Though the text covers much of the same material, it lacks clear analysis. For example, a short biography of Adolph Hitler describes him as a shy, simple soldier, and a good organizer. According to László Miklósi, he is not glorified, but because of the lack of comment, the wording might suggest that "he wasn't such a bad guy". Instead, the text states that had the terms of Versailles not been so "damning," Hitler might not have been successful. In another section concerning Hungary's Nobel Prize winners, it is stated that "scientists [such as Leo Szilard and Edward Teller who are pictured in the text] in the 1930's began leaving Hungary by the dozens" without explaining why.⁵³ The lack of analysis provides the reader with a superficial understanding of the interwar years and skips over significant questions regarding ethical and legal responsibility of the Horthy government. The State's public presentation of Hungary's interwar history goes even further in its attempt to absolve the Horthy government of its relationship with the Axis and genocide.

Public history in Orbán's Hungary

Contradictory memorialization of heroes and events are familiar features of the political landscape as exemplified by a short walk from the Hungarian Parliament to Szabadság Tér (Freedom Square). The liberal Republic is celebrated through a statue of Imre Nagy erected on the fiftieth anniversary of the 1956 Revolution. He gazes back at the Parliament where a statue of the 1848 Revolutionary Lajos Kossuth presides over a square named for him. Further along one encounters Ronald Reagan, a stalwart supporter of neo liberal economics that stands in the shadows of a monument celebrating the liberation of Hungary in World War II by the Soviet Union. Each monument sets off its own narrative as to its place in Hungarian history, but it is the next set of monuments that provide the viewer with the revised history enshrined in Orbán's new Constitution.

⁵³ F Bánhegyi, *Történelem 8. Évfolyam* (Celldömölk, Apáczai Kiadó, 2013), pp. 35, 73; László Miklósi, interview by author, 15 May 2014; L Miklósi, *A Zsidóság helye a Magyar tankönyvekben* (Hungarian Jewry's place in Textbooks); A Tanulmány, "Sorsok Háza-Európai Oktatási Központ", szakmai tartalmáért felelős közép és kelet-Európai Történelem és Társadalom Kutatásért Közalapítvány megbízásából készült, December 2013.

On 21 July, 2015, a new monument was completed on Szabadság Tér commemorating the occupation of Hungary on 19 March, 1944 by Germany during World War II. The statue depicts a German eagle swooping down on the Archangel Gabriel, who symbolizes the Christian Hungarian Kingdom. From its inception the monument stimulated protest not only from the *Mazsibisz* (The Federation of Jewish Hungarian Communities) but from the center left, and historians. For example, on February 1, 2014 a small crowd of between 250 and 300 persons braved the frigid Hungarian winter on Szabadság Tér in Budapest to protest against the proposed monument. Construction began on 8 April, 2014. Protesters from the Liberal and Democratic Coalition (DK) initiated a protest in which the worker's scaffolding was carefully taken down at the end of each workday which ultimately led to arrests. For them, the monument portrays a narrative of World War II in which Hungary lies helplessly at the mercy of the Third Reich and unable to effect agency during the German occupation, resurrecting a highly charged debate regarding the responsibility of the interwar regime for this stage of the Holocaust.⁵⁴ Those opposed to the monument saw a deliberate attempt by the state to appropriate history, especially as the monument was completed under the cover of darkness.

The location of the new monument seems to underscore the government's continued attempt to court the right wing. Less than a year before, on 3 November, 2013 a statue to Horthy was dedicated at the Reform Church of the Homecoming located on the same square. Horthy's founding of the Church coincided with the First Vienna Award in 1938 in which the Axis gave back a substantial part of Slovakia to Hungary. The pastor of the church, Loránt Hegedüs, claimed that it was natural to pay tribute to Horthy because he was a "true reform believer". Reminiscent of the interwar period, Hegedüs called those protesting the statue the "army of yellow stars" who were part of a "cult of suffering".⁵⁵ Significantly, the event was attended by Jobbik.

At the same time the narrative of avoidance stimulates contest as evidenced by a counter-memorial erected in front of the government's March 19, 1944 memorial at Szabadság Square. Arrayed in front of the official memorial are artifacts from the victims of the Holocaust that include shoes, suitcases,

54 "Nem avatják fel a nemzet megszállási emlékművet (The nation's occupation monument is not going to be unveiled)", ATV, 21 July, 2015 (available at <http://www.atv.hu/belfold/2104021-nem-avatjak-fel-a-nemzet-megszallasi-emlekmuvet>, as accessed on 22 July, 2015), pp. 1-3.

55 The Reform Church did not agree with Hegedüs and considered whether he should be defrocked. T Lengyel, "Zsidóva védekezett Hegedüs Loránt (Loránt Hegedüs blames the Jews while defending himself)", *Népszava*, 31 January 2014, p. 10.

photographs, and letters. The memorial attracts a large number of tourists and onlookers. Condemnation of the official memorial is explicit. For example, one of the messages on the counter-memorial reads “My mother died at Auschwitz, thank you Gabriel”.

The power of images to shape and manipulate the history of the Holocaust has been well discussed. For example, Soviet presentation of the holocaust shifted according to need. A photograph by Dmitrii Baltermant entitled “Grief” displayed in 1942 was presented to the Soviet public as Jewish victims murdered by the Germans to rouse outrage about the barbarity of the occupiers, whereas by 1965 the picture was used to memorialize “human tragedy”.⁵⁶ Following the war Soviet ideology celebrated the triumph of the proletariat over fascist oppression and so the Holocaust was conflated with the great struggle of the proletariat and ignored.⁵⁷

In Hungary too, presentation of the Holocaust has shifted according to political need. In 2004 the state funded Holocaust Memorial Center was opened in Budapest that includes a permanent exhibition entitled “From Deprivation of Rights to Genocide”. Indicating that in many ways at least at the national level Hungary was willing to confront its past. The ascendance of Christian Nationalist politics has reversed this trend.⁵⁸ Obscuring the history of genocide is of paramount importance to the government. They are aided in this attempt by an exogenous agency called the Veritas Institute created to adjudicate questions of history for the government. The institute has been placed in between the government and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. At a conference held on 13 May, 2014 at the Academy of Sciences historian Gábor Gyáni claimed that the Veritas Institute was enabling the government to “use history education to legitimize their power”. According to historian Mária Ormos, though Germany had occupied Hungary in 1944, the active participation in the genocide that followed made it impossible to view Hungarians as victims especially since the “majority including the intellectuals helped build an altar for the victims”.⁵⁹ More recently, the Director of the Veritas Institute, Sándor Szakaly claimed that Hungary’s Numerus Clausus Law 1920, that limited the number of Jews who could attend university, had not denied access to Jews but instead had “opened doors for others”. In the

56 D Schneer, “Picturing grief: Soviet holocaust photography at the intersection of history and memory”, S Farmer, “going visual: Holocaust representation and historical method”, *The American Historical Review*, 115, 1 February 2010, pp. 42-45, 116-120.

57 JE Young, *The texture of memory* (New Haven, 1993).

58 Z Vági, L Csösz, & G Kádár, *The holocaust in Hungary*, pp. 359-361.

59 G Miklós, “Gőzerővel retusálják a múltat (They very diligently retouched the past)”, *Népszabadság*, 14 May 2014, pp. 4-5.

same interview he said that he could not rule out a statue for Horthy's Minister of Culture, Balint Homan. His comments brought quick denunciation from the opposition who called for his resignation. According to Szabolcs Szita, Director of the Budapest Holocaust Museum, Homan was an ardent supporter of the German faction within the Horthy government and that the Numerus Clausus law, Europe's first twentieth century anti-Semitic law, most certainly denied access to Jews. Though FIDESZ distanced itself from Szakaly's remarks they continue to rely on the institute for guidance.⁶⁰ It is a narrative of avoidance that enables right populist narratives to thrive.⁶¹

Conclusion

Leaving out unsavory parts of a nation's history is certainly not new. The current debate over the monuments at Szabadság Tér and the interwar years only underscore the contradictions created by majoritarian interpretations of the past. Appealing to a more chauvinistic narrative resonates with a significant number of Hungarians. Saul Friedländer claims that in times of crisis, whether perceived or real one searches for the vestige of the past from communal memory that represents what is permanent and lasting.⁶² Hungary's inability to right its economy since the establishment of the 1989 Republic has helped stimulate a populist strain of Christian National politics that at once appeals to those yearning for the social security of Hungary's second communist regime under János Kadar, 1956-1988 and at the same time pines for a past connected to the Hungarian Kingdom last reimagined by Admiral Miklós Horthy, 1920-1944. These two strands of yearning, which would otherwise be anathema to each other demonstrates a rearrangement of historical memory that has been carefully manipulated by Prime Minister Viktor Orbán and his FIDESZ/KDMP coalition to forward a vision of an illiberal state that highlights national values in contrast to the E.U.

Hungary is dependent on the EU for the modernization projects it needs to attract investment. For example, infrastructure projects that include Budapest's new number four subway line and new trams have been largely

60 Hírek (News), "Numerus Clausus", *168ora*, 30 Junius, 2016, p. 5.

61 One is reminded of Primo Levy's essay, "The memory of offense", *Bitburg in moral and political perspective*, GA Harmon, ed. (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 135-137.

62 S Friedländer, *When memory comes* (Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1979), p. 69.

funded by the EU.⁶³ And yet, in a speech given on 15 March 2016 Orbán blamed the EU for a “mass migration” that would threaten Christianity and Europe’s nation states, and then in a not too subtle tip to eugenics, alluded to the danger of blending cultures and populations.⁶⁴ The nativist sentiment that is intimately intertwined with the intense nationalism evoked by both Orbán and Jobbik was fortified by the passage of close to 400,000 largely Muslim refugees through Hungary during the summer of 2015. A fence built that year was erected to staunch the flow.⁶⁵

Many Hungarians perceive being left behind economically in the EU and this is not just perception. *Magyar Nemzet* recently reported that 30% of Hungarians live below the poverty line.⁶⁶ In this light, the promise of a strong state offers a promise to control Hungarian destiny, whereas globalism forwarded by the EU seems naive. Cosmopolitans both outside and inside the borders are dangerous. The terrorist attacks in France and Spain only seem to reinforce the notion that the enemy is at the gate providing justification for the wall that was built to keep them out. Horthy’s interwar politics promised to right the wrongs done to Hungary, but ultimately failed to produce the imagined great European kingdom he had promised. What we are left with is a lost cause populist narrative that at once explains defeat and dangles the possibility of redemption through the return of the strong state.

Hungarians have long been accustomed to illusion in politics and the Orbán regime follows a pattern that began in the nineteenth century. White washing the history of the interwar years is critical to Orbán’s project because it is rewritten to provide an easily digested story that enables the polity to view itself as a victim while avoiding uncomfortable questions of genocide and war

63 Between 2007-2013 EU contributed over 720 million Euros to the Metro 4 project. Between 2014 and 2016 the EU will spend 34 billion Euros on projects projects that will further enhance Hungarian infrastructure and quality of life in order to make Hungary more attractive for investment. A Ambrus & H Miklos, “Huxit vagy amit akartok: EU nélkül csak a sokk biztos (Huxit or whatever you want: Without the EU only [economic] shock is sure)”, *Népszabadság*, 5 July, 2016, pp. 1, 6. This article was written in response to an almost casual suggestion that Hungary should consider following the U.K.’s lead.

64 March 15 is a national holiday that commemorates the failed Hungarian Revolution of 1848. “Glory to the heroes, honor to the brave: Viktor Orbán, 15 March, *Hungary Today*, 18 March 2016 (available at Hungarytoday.hu/news/museum-glory-heroes-honour-brave-prime-minister-viktor-orbans-march-15-speech-full-47458, as accessed on 19 March, 2016).

65 G Sarnyai, Nagyön drága less és lehet, hogy semmit sem ér a hatázar ([The fence] along the border will be very expensive and may not work at all), *Magyar Nemzet Online*, 18 June, 2015 (available at <http://mno.hu/belfold/nagyon-draga-less-es-lehet-hogy-semmit-sem-er-a-hatazar>, as assessed on 19 June 2015).

66 T Wiedemann, “Lét minimum alatt éla magyarok harmada (One third of Hungarians live below the poverty level)”, *Magyar Nemzet Online*, 15 May, 2017 (available at <https://mno.hu/belfold/letminimum-alatt-el-a-magyarok-harmada-2398975>, as accessed on 16 May 2017), pp. 1-2.

crimes.⁶⁷ The story of the resurrection of the Hungarian Kingdom is a familiar one that has its origins in the nineteenth century, reinterpreted and repeated in the twentieth and now twenty-first centuries. Never mind that these stories bear little resemblance to an historical narrative.⁶⁸

As we have discussed, the success of Orbán's revised narrative of the interwar years is thwarted by an embedded dissonance found within the triumphal story of Hungary presented in curriculum and in text. There is unquestionably a disjuncture between the ideals of liberal revolution and the idea of the strong state. Orbán's promise to create a vibrant strong state continues to resonate with around 24% of the voters leaving Jobbik to compete with the MSZP for second place, each polling around 13% of the polity. The big problem remains with the close to 38% of Hungarian voters who have no party or are undecided.⁶⁹ In this light one wonders how carefully Hungarians are paying attention to this debate over the history of Horthy's Hungary and its role in genocide. Large scale demonstrations opposing the government have taken place, but have not resulted in a unified opposition movement leaving state interpretation to be crafted by a minority. Both Fritz Stern and Erik Fromm warned that illiberal narratives had to be challenged in order to sustain the liberal state.⁷⁰ Have a majority of the polity adopted the illiberal "state of mind" in which decision making, that includes the political socialization of their children, is left only to those in authority?

67 R Braham has repeatedly called attention to this problem since 1989 warning, "History is a formidable weapon... particularly... dangerous in the hands of chauvinistic nationalists bent on shaping history". "An assault on historical memory: Hungarian nationalists and the holocaust", *East European Quarterly*, 33(4), 1999, p. 421.

68 E Hobsbawm notes, "National identity is above all a device for defining the community of the innocent and identifying the guilty who are responsible for our predicament" and that "Nationalism requires too much belief in what is patently not so". *Nations and nationalism since 1790: Programme, myth, meality* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 12, 174.

69 "The summer break is the voters" (available at www.zavecze.hu/nyar-pihenon-valsztok, as accessed on 21 August 2017).

70 F Stern, *The failure of illiberalism*, E Fromm, *Escape from freedom* (New York, Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1968).

RETHINKING THE REFLECTIVE PRAXIS OF THE NAME SOCIAL SCIENCE: PEDAGOGICAL 'MISCHIEF' IN THE GRADE 4 TO 9 SOCIAL SCIENCE CURRICULUM

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Abstract

The article depicts the global history of the Social Science (SS) curriculum to illustrate that already by the 19th century Geography and History had been divided. The influence of non-integration of the SS was mainly by Geographical determinism which promulgated that the natural environment prescribes how people live, suggesting that all people living in a specific natural environment would respond in the same way when engaging with their environment. Such thinking inferred that human agency and culture had no role in such interaction. As a result some historians have neglected the environment in the study of History, which in turn served to further set boundaries for integration in SS. South Africa also subscribed to such a division as policy makers stipulated categorically in the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) of Grade 4 to 9 that, SS is integrative in nature but has to be taught and administered as distinct Geography and History components. Integration occurs administratively when exam marks have to be combined as one to comprise SS – which is mischievous as it does not depict the reflective praxis of the subject pedagogically. The teaching and learning in terms of the content is divided into Geography and History but the summative is the only indicator of an integrated subject. From literature surveyed no investigation on the set topic has been undertaken in SA. The article thus proposes that non-integration of SS pedagogically speaking is 'mischievous' in the teaching and learning of SS in schools because the name negates what occurs practically in the teaching of the subject. The article through qualitative research drawing from interviews of trainee teachers enrolled in the Post Graduate Certificate Education doing SS at the University of KwaZulu- Natal enlightens the 'mischiefs' embedded in the SS curriculum. Drawing from some of the trainee teachers' views the conclusions and recommendations of the article are that, SS has to be integrated because as it is pedagogically misleading and compromises the quality of teaching in the learning area. This implies that, SS is an integrated subject and has to be taught as such because Geography cannot be taught without History or vice versa, because the one without the other equates with an incomplete learning area.

Keywords: Integration; Pedagogy; Geography; History; Social Studies; Mischief.

Introduction

South Africa (SA) as in many parts of the world has made great strides in transforming History and Geography curricula as independent subjects within the SS learning area. CAPS for SS in the intermediate and Senior Phase (Grades 4 to 9), describes the pedagogy of these two distinct subjects – detailing how each should be taught and learned. The theory serving as the basis of any curriculum is not a matter of unassuming speculation. Curricula are entrenched in research and theoretical principles fundamentals that essentially include usually recognised and accepted action principles of the learning area's ethical and other directorial philosophical reflections. Upon such theoretical bases, curriculum praxis (practice) makes ever-new practical knowledge because of the particulars of the position governing both the curriculum and the educator and those served. As argued by RT Regelski praxis-based knowledge constantly takes a peculiar form for a particular practitioner but, notably, within the common theoretical, ethical, and philosophical stance of the profession.¹ As a result, there are no customary method outcomes for any practitioner or for the overall profession. Nonetheless, for RT Regelski there are results but they are standard and might be “just standards of care” rooted in the profession's theoretical and ethical premises. SS education as such has developed no such shared action ideals concerning ends and so the issue of theory-guided practice or of a curriculum ethic remains ambiguous, even controversial. Hence RT Regelski referring to music teaching puts forward that it becomes problematic for curricula that lack ideals as the basis for ethical accountability, actual outcomes as they tend to be relevant only to the classroom rather than to the world outside school. For SS it means there are issues with the connection between the name of the learning area and therefore the praxis.

The praxis is in relation to integration pertaining to the teaching and learning of SS. The issue of integration is complex and is supported by some authors and interviewees in this study while others dispute using diverse reasons. But the question remains about the name as it depicts the learning area as one while in practice it is divided subjects. Thus, it is important to adopt RT Regelski's views of critical professionals in this instance. For him

¹ RT Regelski, “On ‘methodolatriy’ and music teaching as critical and reflective praxis”, *Philosophy of Music Education Review*, 10(2), 2017, pp. 102-123.

it allows ideology critique as it permits professionals to evaluate conditions that alienate them or learning areas to bring about 'right results' for students.² Such outcomes require teachers not to teach as they were taught, but practice cooperative interactions between teachers, parents, community members, administrators and learners on valued outcomes SS has to produce. This is praxis reflection which focuses on action based SS curriculum reflecting the communities it serves and empowering learners with critical lifelong learning skills to engage in such a context. It is a curriculum that has outcomes based on common models from society that form action ideals.³ It is a suggestion for a SS curriculum that purports for lifelong education rather than only academic output. In the subject learners will be taught sciences of societies as the name depicts. This shows a curriculum that is interdisciplinary in nature as it allows for the integration of a diversity of knowledges.⁴ Hence the question that arises in this article is: Does the name SS reflect the practice of what the learning area stands for in its curricula?

In responding to the above question it is important to understand the term reflective praxis. According to Aristotle praxis refers to the practice of doing something which is committed to right living through the search of human good.⁵ Schwandt elucidates praxis as a word that is different from practice in the sense that it is used for a certain process of social action that is not instrumental as it does not deliver about unambiguous products that involve a kind of methodological capability.⁶ But Y Waghid sees praxis as a way of doing something that has moral and ethical implications. Educationally it is concerned with valuable output not focused into making action which has an end aim of producing a specific object but focused on lifelong learning which empowers learners with values and ethics that assist them in nation and self-building. Thus, praxis "is a form of 'doing action' precisely because its end can only be realised through action and can exist in action (discourse) itself".⁷ It means that SS praxis depends on cooperative consensus among all stakeholders about how the learning area can be taught to produce action ideals that are reflexive of its name. This indicates reflectivity as a condition to praxis because as an action it "involves critically examining one's personal and theoretical dispositions and, at the same time, investigating how one's personal and theoretical, commitments can transform patterns of critical

2 RT Regelski, "On 'methodolatriy'...", *Philosophy of Music Education Review*, 10(2), 2017, p. 112.

3 RT Regelski, "Action learning", *Music Educators Journal*, 69(6), 1983, pp. 55-57.

4 Y Waghid, *Democratic education: Policy and praxis* (Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch University Publishers, 2002), p. 69.

5 Y Waghid, *Democratic education...*, p. 69.

6 Y Waghid, *Democratic education...*, p. 64.

7 W Carr, cited in Y Waghid, *Democratic education...*, p.64.

inquiry”.⁸ As such reflective praxis focuses on encouraging people to engage in self-assessment in order to come up with practices that would bring change in people’s understanding of themselves and their practices to produce human good in society. Hence, this article deals with the SS learning area as it is one of the official subjects taught in schools that can assist in promoting essentially worthwhile ends as it deals with social sciences. It helps learners understand people and the world in which they live. But there are gaps in the teaching and learning of the subject linked with its reflective practice which makes it not fully contribute to holistic standards of ethical care.

As an ex-teacher of History and head of department of Humanities (Geography and History) and currently a lecturer of Social Science Education who studied History and dealt with some Geographic themes at PhD level I have faced many challenges with the teaching and learning of the subject. The challenges I encounter are also subsequently experienced by the students I teach who have enrolled in the Post Graduate Diploma in Education (PGCE) (a one year teaching course which is normally done by students who obtained their three years Bachelor’s degree). PGCE students are considered to be experts in both Geography and History as they are accepted in the course because they have a degree that has both subjects. In my personal communication with them they raised challenges pertaining to the management and administration of the subject and mentioned the discouragement which affects their love of the subject.⁹ They raise the issue of teachers who are not qualified to teach the subject and little time apportioned for the learning area as major hurdles. Some interviewees raised the pertinent issue of a divided subject that is integrated only through marks and not content. The powers that be are silent about integration of SS and how it could be done. Reform in SS has always been in developing the two subjects as separate entities but perhaps the call for authorities is to direct more energy on how integration can happen¹⁰, and put in place textbooks that adhere to that. This requires solutions that would assist in quality learning and teaching. As put by M Van Manen curriculum apprehensions are practical concerns and require practical decisions from educators.¹¹ RT Regelski takes this further by suggesting that:¹²

8 Y Waghid, *Democratic education...*, p. 65.

9 MC Kgari-Masondo (Personal Collection) and D Mosina (Research Assistant), interviews, University of KwaZulu Natal Post Graduates Certificate in Education 2016 Social Science students, June 2016-November 2016.

10 SJ Thornton, “Geography in American History course”, *Phil Delta Kappan*, 88/7, 2007, pp. 535-538.

11 M Van Manen, “Linking ways of knowing with ways of being practical”, *Curriculum inquiry*, 6(3), 1977, pp. 205-228.

12 RT Regelski, “On ‘methodolatry’ ...”, *Philosophy of Music Education Review*, 10(2), 2017, p. 102.

A true profession is that praxis relies upon underlying theory and the fund of widely accepted practice-based knowledge generated by theory that is required to deal with the extensive variety of predictably unique problems and needs presented by those served. Teaching clearly deviates substantially from these conditions.

In this sense ‘mischief’ can explain the SS curriculum. The word SS does not carry with it the practical hurdles pertaining to the implementation of the subject. As entailed in the words of RV Bullough that, words bring mischievousness and words name worlds and form realities.¹³ SS in words depicts an integrated learning area but pedagogically it is not. The confusion is also evident at the university where I work – some lecturers are not certain what SS entails. It is always a question of whether it is History, and Geography or SS. These uncertainties stem from the reflective praxis of the implementation of the learning area in relation to its name which leaves a misconstrued sense of reality of the pedagogics of SS. This explains why SS has been plagued by intellectual skirmishes over its purpose, content and pedagogy since its commencement as a school subject in the early part of the 20th century. Re-examining the name SS for the teaching of Geography and History from Grade 4 to 9 in SA is an action discourse that is aligned with praxis reflection because, it is a critical inquiry compelled by the emancipatory concern, since its resolve is to contribute to change in people’s understanding of themselves and their practices and thus frees them from the constraints of society.¹⁴

A pedagogical “mischief”

Globally, the past century has witnessed an increase in changes in History and Geography Education pedagogy and content. An interdisciplinary approach has been part of the debates concerning the teaching of the subjects.¹⁵ Though some scholars continue to promulgate studying and learning in a disciplinary¹⁶ fashion, on the contrary some current debates encourage interdisciplinarity. But, little has been done on how SS integration can occur in SA. Despite all the advances on improving SS education teaching there remain gaps or missing links in terms of the content taught and its relevance to the society it

13 RV Bullough, “Becoming a student of teaching”, DA Breault & R Breault, *Experiencing Dewey: Insights for today’s classroom* (Routledge & Kappa Delts Pi, New York, 2014).

14 H Giroux, *Border crossing: Cultural workers and the politics of education* (London, Routledge, 1992), pp. 30-40.

15 M Summers, A Childs, & G Corney, “Education for sustainable development in initial teacher training: Issues for interdisciplinary collaboration”, *Environmental Education Research*, 11(5), 2005, pp. 623-647 (available at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full>, as accessed on 24 October 2017); D Lambert, & J Morgan, *Teaching Geography 11-18: A conceptual approach* (McGraw-Hill Education, United Kingdom, 2010); Kgari-Masondo, “Incomplete history curriculum? Teaching socio-environmental history in SA High Schools. From an indigenous perspective”, *Yesterday&Today*, 10, 2013, pp. 101-124.

16 S Wineburg, *Reading like a Historian: In American anthem* (San Diego, CA, Holt Rinehart and Winston, 2005).

caters for and makes the content not easily accessible to learners. Such missing links cause tension between the official SS taught in schools and unofficial pedagogical strides that learners acquire from the media, friends, family and in their personal experiences. Subsequently, the missing gaps would bring the subject matter and pedagogy in line with on-going research and it would ensure a rounded focused curriculum. Embracing an integrated SS curriculum is critical as it will deal with the purpose of History and Geography; that of imparting the skill of multi-perspectivity and values aligned with nation building. In divergence CAPS only indicates multiperspectivity as a skill for History teaching.¹⁷ This is an important point as it shows that the stipulation of CAPS of an SS curriculum that is divided but designed to complement the knowledge (content, skills and concepts) outlined in each does not reflect the praxis it envisaged. The important argument that CAPS raises is that, the SS curriculum “aims to provide opportunities for learners to look at their own worlds with fresh, critical eyes”.¹⁸ This is a noble vision which challenges the SS curriculum to be in line with current debates in the SS on inter-disciplinarily in research and policy making. The debates in SS teaching in SA have missed some important aspects aligned with the teaching and learning of the subject such as: the reflective praxis, integration, and addressing the content in a multidisciplinary way. This shows that there still remains much work to be done in ensuring that SS is kept on par with research and produces quality content for learners and teachers in schools.

From literature surveyed there is a dearth on ways of integrating SS in South African schools. As far as the present researcher has ascertained no study has been undertaken critiquing the name conferred to SS by investigating whether it is aligned with the pedagogical practices of the subject. SS focuses on social sciences which is an integrated subject about diverse epistemologies and has to be taught as such. My applications insinuate an innovative kind of SS for the academic study of Geography and History in an integrated manner by ensuring all themes in History or Geography are taught drawing from the two learning areas in a collaborative manner.

Method and approach

In an analysis of SS as an integrated subject I rely on interviews and

17 Department of Basic Education, Republic of SA, *National Curriculum Statement. Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS)*. National Curriculum Assessment Statement for Social Science Senior Phase, (Pretoria, Government Printing Works, 2011), pp. 5, 10-12.

18 Department of Basic Education, Republic of SA, *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS): Social Sciences Senior Phase*, Final, (no date), p. 7.

documented literature. The research problem in this study has pointed towards the use of the qualitative approach as the strategy of inquiry. That being so, it follows then that the research design from the current study has to come from a number of alternatives skewed towards the qualitative approach. For the purpose of this study, the qualitative, naturalistic approach which is phenomenological is used, because it allows the researcher to produce rich information and to understand community beliefs from within.¹⁹ The goal is not to understand phenomenon with pre-existing sets of formulae used as a criterion for measurement. Qualitative researchers generate data in the form of written or spoken language, or in the form of observations that are recorded in language and analyse the data by identifying themes.²⁰ Another reason why this study falls within a qualitative approach is because it allows me to do an in-depth analysis to understand the phenomenon under study. This links well with the phenomenological methodology as it allows the researcher to produce rich information and to understand the phenomenon under study from within and suspend judgements about its beliefs or practices²¹ as the use of discourse analysis of day to day language use of trainee teachers' pedagogy in SS. The methods allow each of the participant's accounts to be examined in great detail as an entity in its own right before a move to more general claims in a narrative account that includes detailed extracts from other participants' accounts.²² As the study is qualitative a case study sits comfortably with the approach because it "offers a multi-perspective analysis in which the researcher considers not just the voice and perspective of one or two participants in a situation, but also the views of other relevant groups of actors and the interaction between them".²³ The focus of this article is on teachers' perceptions of SS integration and therefore the way forward. The study is therefore aligned to elicit deep information from the teachers as they show or tell their lived experiences which later turns to their thoughts as they suggest strategies to avert the challenges. As a result the critical paradigm is employed in this study because it is driven by emancipatory interest as the SS curriculum implementation is flawed with challenges and the practitioners

19 K Durrheim & D Painter, "Collecting quantitative data: Sampling and measuring", M Terre Blanche, K Durrheim & D Painter (eds.), *Research in practice: Applied methods for Social Sciences* (Cape Town, University of Cape Town Press, 2006), pp. 131-159; MT Blanche et.al, *Research in practice* (Cape Town, University of Cape Town Press, 2006), p. 132; L Cohen, L Manion, & K Morrison, *Research methods in education* (London and New York, Routledge Taylor & Francis group, 2011), p. 18.

20 MT Blanche et.al, *Research in practice...*, pp. 132-159.

21 L Cohen et.al, *Research methods in education...*, p. 18.

22 J Tosh, *The pursuit of History: Aims, methods & new directions in the study of modern History* (London and New York, Longman, 2015), pp. 220-221.

23 J Nieuwenhuis, "Qualitative research designs and data gathering techniques", J Maree (ed.), *First steps in research* (Pretoria, Van Schaik Publishers, 2007), p. 75.

need agency in transformation of the subject to reflect the practices it purports.

The reflective praxis of the SS curriculum by embracing integration of History into Geography and vice versa; will be a pilgrimage of ensuring depth required in the study of SS. This means that the proposal in this article is valid as it is yet another technique of helping learners acquire knowledge from diverse societies in SS. In order to understand how knowledge development and the curriculum functions Y Waghid argues that, it is acquired from mindful organised rational human experience, and also other traditions of the world which is placed under diverse disciplines.²⁴ On the other hand A Bernstein and F Provost argue that the results of such knowledge processes should be ranked differently for diverse users because of varied techniques people use in data construction.²⁵ As such the process of knowledge production becomes complex since researchers have to construct it, then it goes to policy makers to be decontextualized, from here textbooks and training institutions eventually duplicate such data, when it reaches teachers it becomes reproduction. Hence M Gibbons et.al suggests two modes of knowledge development academically. Mode one focuses on structured and organised knowledge production which draws from disciplinary style of knowledge construction which is not reflective of society it serves as it is rigidly based on science as the only standard to measure progress and authenticity.²⁶ While mode two focuses on an extension of mode one and is mainly based on rational human experience and is transdisciplinary in approach drawing from diverse epistemologies.²⁷ In this sense mode two is socially accountable in terms of knowledge development because it embraces the fact that “the issue on which research is based cannot be answered in scientific and technical terms only. This means that, for mode two to be more effective it requires mode one which focuses on a sound discipline based curriculum. This conjectures that any curriculum that is sound has to reflect the praxis of its society. As suggested by AM Rocca curriculum transformation is very complex but doable and they have concerns that are practical requiring practical decisions.”²⁸

24 Y Waghid, *Democratic education...*, p. 67.

25 A Bernstein & F Provost, “An intelligent assistant for the knowledge discovery process” (Paper, Centre for Digital Economy Research, Sten School of Business, 2001(available at <https://archive.nyu.edu/jspui/bitstream>, as accessed on 27 October 2017).

26 M Gibbons, C Limoges, H Nowotny, S Schwartzman, P Scott, & M Trow, *The new production of knowledge: The dynamics of science and research in contemporary societies* (Sage, 1994).

27 Y Waghid, *Democratic education...*, p. 67.

28 AM Rocca, “Integrating History and Geography: Classroom teacher’s idea notebook”, *Social Education*, 58(2), 1994, pp. 114-116.

The approach adopted in this article does not refute the significance of SS as is but proposes ways of pushing to a balance of M Gibbons' two modes of knowledge development within the subject. The curriculum, and teaching of the subject have to embrace a strong discipline of History and Geography but in the same note draw from trans-disciplines to ensure quality and sound knowledge production so it reflect the name SS. Trans-discipline is pivotal but has to be grounded also in understanding one's discipline as a distinct learning area which is not a stand-alone as an island but as a member of the other disciplines. This surmises that the rigidity in SS through its strict routines linked with pedagogical policies has limited the teaching and learning in the subject to flourish to the greatest heights. As put by RV Bullough that "maintaining routines becomes the end of education rather than a means for achievement".²⁹ It is a call for curricula such as SS to engage in breaking the norm and transform for progress and not for change sake and engage with mischiefs surrounding even the words accorded to its name. The use of critical discourse, drawing from interviews and secondary data will help in illuminating the proposal further.

A case study of twenty PGCE students from the University of KwaZulu Natal was interviewed in 2016 on SS integration. Ethical clearance to undertake the research was obtained from the University of KwaZulu- Natal Ethics Committee on the 29th of August 2016 under protocol reference number HSS/1295/016M. Their names in this article are pseudo names to protect their identity for ethical reasons. Most of the trainee teachers interviewed were Black and they all studied Geography and History at school and at University. At Edgewood Campus, Blacks are the majority as my sample depicts. Hence the views of the interviewees declare that indigenous knowledge (IK) has to be integrated in SS so as to ensure rounded understanding for learners. In this project the conceptualisation of indigenous and indigenous knowledge moves away from Hirst's views of perceiving indigenous people as only African people and not people of other continents which includes their knowledge thereof.³⁰ The views of D Njiraine, DD Ocholla and OB Onyancha fit appropriately with this article as it universalises the concept of indigenous and indigenous knowledge – they opine that the words are usually used when referring to people who inhabited a geographic location before it was colonized and this

29 RV Bullough, "Becoming a student...", DA Breault & R Breault, *Experiencing Dewey...*, p. 79.

30 M Hirst, "Critically engaging indigenous knowledge systems", *South African Museum Association Bulletin*, 28(1), 2002, pp. 3-7.

is aligned with their knowledge of such communities.³¹ In this article the word “system” is not used when referring to IK because it does not only reify IK, but also diminishes it to a treasure box of some clever philosophies that have been exhumed from an exceptional source (indigenous communities).³² Equally since SS deals with human issues their knowledge is pivotal and must be revered as part of the learning area and such content is normally lacking in the curriculum.³³ SS has indigenous themes³⁴ and it makes sense that they have to be studied in a decolonised fashion which is part of the current debates on curriculum transformation and fits well with integration proposed in this article. As such the recent development worldwide of an education system that has to be economically aligned is problematic because it absurdly or incongruously makes people participate in the oppression of aspects of the curriculum content and approach that ought to ensure quality teaching and learning such as oversight of integration of learning areas and also IK and the people believing in it.³⁵ Such omissions are normally done citing financial burden as the reason and in the process quality teaching and learning are compromised.³⁶

This article seeks to investigate the SA schools SS curricula from Grade 4 to 9 and pedagogical practices in classroom teaching to indicate the deficiencies embedded in the current study of the learning area. It is the duty of Social Scientists to report things as they are, hence the article tries to show the contradictions between the name SS and the pedagogics behind the learning area. “Multi-perspectivity” is one of the pertinent SS concepts highlighted by the CAPS Grade 4 to 9 curriculum and it is also lacking in the pedagogical and construction of SS textbooks. The CAPS document defines “multi-perspectivity” as the many ways of looking at the same thing. Such perspectives may arise because of different points of view of people in the past according to their position in society, the different ways in which

31 D Njiraine, D Ocholla & OB Onyancha, “Indigenous knowledge research in SA and Kenya: An informetric study”, *Indilinga: African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems*, 9(2), 2010, pp. 194-210.

32 LS Masuku van Damme, & EF Neluvhalani, “Indigenous knowledge in environmental education processes perspectives on a growing research arena”, *Environmental Education Research*, 10(3), 2004, pp. 353-370.

33 MC Kgari-Masondo, “Incomplete history curriculum? ...”, *Yesterday&Today*, 10, 2013, pp. 101-124.

34 These are themes that deal with indigenous people and require the knowledge process from their own context. For example if one teaches on Ghandi or Indian slaves in SA we have to draw from the Indian context - their knowledge process taking into cognizance the diverse Indian beliefs within the culture. Similarly if is African indigenous themes like issues of land or content relating to them it is important to draw from the knowledge of the group one studies and not impose western standards in studying such communities who were colonised and subjugated historically.

35 LS Masuku van Damme & EF Neluvhalani, “Indigenous knowledge in environmental education processes perspectives...”, *Environmental Education Research*, 10(3), 2010, p. 356.

36 MC Shug & B Cross, “The dark side of curriculum integration...”, *The Social Studies*, 1998, p. 56.

Social Scientists have written about them, and the different ways in which people today see the actions and behaviour of people of the past.³⁷ This is part of the integration that SS lacks and is betrayed by its name that purports the study of both History and Geography but practically it is not done so.

The history of SS

To locate the history of SS in SA it is important to trace it back internationally as the country was colonised by Britain and it embraced western standards in its education spheres. According to EW Ross the learning area SS can be traced back to when it was first used as a school subject by TJ Jones in 1905 in his article that was expanded into a book “Social Studies in the Hampton Curriculum”.³⁸ In this book his concern was to enlighten Americans into understanding that young African and Native Americans needed to understand the powers and the social operations for them to be fully integrated into the society of their country. In this instance he was able to detect the pedagogical mischiefs as the learning area was not reflective of the American social context. He was inferring that SS curriculum has to teach about social order and social forces operational within it and techniques to drive and respond to that social authority. As a result, his call was answered in 1916 when the National Education Association Committee created SS as an established scope and sequence of courses that define the contemporary curriculum in America. As such in SA historically Geography and History were taught separately until during the post-apartheid period where attempts were made to integrate the subject under Outcomes Based Education (OBE).³⁹ But there still remains gabs as SS still does not fully embrace in its pedagogy that centres on sciences of all the community it purports to serve.

In SA during the apartheid dispensation the Geography aspect of SS was taught as a study of the physical rather than the human world⁴⁰ and History was based on events and great leaders. The content was Eurocentric and IK has been ignored, or if integrated it was taught using western epistemology lens by downplaying IK. The SS curriculum was taught as Geographic determinism propagating the view that the natural environment dictates how people

37 Department of Basic Education, Republic of SA, *National Curriculum Statement...*, pp. 10-12.

38 EW Ross, *The Social Studies Curriculum: Purposes problems, and possibilities* (University of New York Press, Albany, 2006).

39 D Wilmot, “The inception phase of a case study of outcomes-based education assessment policy in the Human and Social Sciences Learning Area of C2005”, *South African Journal of Education*, 23(4), 2003, pp. 313-318.

40 AM Rocca, “Integrating History and Geography...”, *Social Education*, 58(2), 1994, p. 536.

live.⁴¹ This interpretation adheres to the grand theorists that disregard human agency and power. The view ignores the fact that people living in the same settlement can respond differently to their environment because of different forces such as culture, religion, class, race and so forth. The new SA in the late 1990s as part of its Curriculum 2005 program introduced curriculums that tried to accommodate the knowledges of all people but this is still a dream as this article tries to elucidate. OBE was one of such curriculums and it brought integration in terms of the subjects History and Geography but many teachers were not trained to master both subjects and found integration difficult.⁴² Moreover Historians and Geographers feared for the independence of their subjects. They felt that their subjects will be subsumed into the other learning areas⁴³ which is a cause for concern because a learning area must not survive because of practitioner's fears of losing their jobs but because of its efficacy and relevance. Hence, under CAPS the policy makers reverted to a disciplinary based SS curriculum and integration occurs through combining assessments of learners' end of the term. But the latter curriculums like the Revised National Curriculum Statement (NCS) (Grades R–9) between 2000-2002 and currently CAPS took another turn of integration whereby knowledges of those previously disadvantaged; indigenous people is condoned as important. But still a problem remains – how should IK be integrated in the curriculum?

In the late 20th and 21st centuries SS under CAPS began to be taught more for meaning not memorisation. The pedagogical methods began to be modernised whereby information technology started to be used in teaching. Application skills have been employed especially in the 21st century to empower learners with creative, analytical and critical skills. Human agency serves as a key in the teaching and learning of the subject. Hence the segment of Geography focused more on Human Geography and became a focus as well as other Geography sections. But such content is still taught from a Eurocentric perspective.⁴⁴ With regard to shifts in the History part of SS, AM Rocco argues that map work began to be used to make History incidents more meaningful and more memorable. But still SS has not enjoyed the integration its name stands for – embrace knowledges of communities it serves and also embrace multidisciplinarity in its pedagogy.

41 AM Rocca, "Integrating History and Geography...", *Social Education*, 58(2), 1994, p. 537.

42 L Chisholm, et.al, A South African curriculum for the twenty first century, *Report of the review committee on Curriculum*, (2005).

43 AM Rocca, "Integrating History and Geography...", *Social Education*, 58(2), 1994, p. 36.

44 LS Masuku van Damme & EF Nehluhalani, "Indigenous Knowledge in environmental education...", *Environmental Education Research*, 10(3), 2010, pp. 353-370 .

Research has shown that since its inception the SS curriculum has been plagued by intellectual battles over its purpose, content and pedagogy and these disagreements have shaped the learning area and energised it.⁴⁵ Since curriculum development is work in progress M Weber's "ideal type" hypothesis is pivotal and relevant in dealing with the historical drawbacks of SS pedagogy and curriculum. It calls for an implementation of the new "ideal type" SS curriculum.⁴⁶ This will be a great transformation to the SS curriculum received from the early 20th century to-date. As M Weber puts it:

An ideal type is a conceptual formulation in Social Science that is regarded as a working hypothesis until its realistic worth has been demonstrated by observation.

Why not integration?

Many reasons are placed by scholars about unconstructiveness of integration of SS, some are valid while some are mischievous.⁴⁷ According to MC Shug and B Cross the benefits of curriculum integration are not worth the costs because:⁴⁸

The costs of curriculum integration are high, real, and certain. Conjecturing that the benefits of integration are low, vague, and difficult to measure. Meaningful curriculum integration requires a large investment in staff development and planning.

His view suggests that SS cannot be integrated because of financial burdens related to resources, retraining of staff and more so not perceived as beneficial. The interviewees who disprove integration mentioned the fact that the retraining of teachers would be required as many teachers are not specialists in both subjects. As opined by one informant, Ms Interesting: "I feel it is easier for learners to leave SS as is because they are able to focus on one's subject from an expert teacher at a time. For an example they will do History at a time then jump to Geography". This means that strong discipline content as put by M Gibbons mode one knowledge construction philosophy is key when disapproving integration.

Another reason preventing integration is job security. When SS was introduced both practitioners of History and Geography feared that their disciplines

45 EW Ross, *The Social Studies Curriculum...*, p. 19; AM Rocca, "Integrating History and Geography...", *Social Education*, 58(2), 1994, pp. 114-16.

46 M van Manen, "Linking ways of knowing...", *Curriculum Inquiry*, 6(3), 1977, p. 209.

47 MC Shug & B Cross, "The dark side of curriculum integration in Social Science", *The Social Studies*, 89, 1998, pp. 54-57

48 MC Shug & B Cross, "The dark side of curriculum integration...", *The Social Studies*, 89, 1998, p. 56.

would be subsumed into SS.⁴⁹ It is because through globalisation economic benefits are the core of societal developments and that has an impact on the teaching and learning of SS. The new trend globally of an education system that has to be economically aligned is problematic because it paradoxically or ironically makes people participate in the oppression of what SS has to embrace: all knowledges of societies (like IK).⁵⁰ This means that job security is normally the core consideration when it has to deal with the reorganisation of the curriculum. As put by AM Rocca the current curriculum system echoes almost a mechanical value system as it has a means – end rationality that styles an economic model.⁵¹ But what about the reflective praxis of the SS curriculum? Considering M Weber's notions on "ideal type" MC Shug and B Cross' views are not valid because: the "ideal type" is not just a fictional mental construct it exists and is an employed proposition until its realistic value has been established by observation.⁵²

Thus, can we conclude with MC Shug and B Cross' views that the benefits of SS curriculum are low and are not worth the costs? Using M Weber's "ideal type" curriculum, any re-construction of any learning area to achieve the ideal is worth pursuing because real curricula is ever changing for the benefit of progress, societal interests and nation building . Hence, EW Ross argues that, SS curriculum content is the most inclusive of all subjects.

SS textbooks and integration

Research and the fieldwork conducted for this study indicates that in SA content representation in textbooks is critical to understanding schooling as textbooks are mostly used as part of the curriculum especially in a SS classroom. According to RS Blumberg they occupy up to 80 percent of classroom time.⁵³ The curriculum requires specific content to be completed and mainly the textbook writers use the curriculum to ensure that it tallies with themes prescribed. Worst of all is the official endorsement that only accepted books that are in line with the curriculum are the ones recommended to schools. This then renders textbooks to be indispensable sources for teaching and learning. Subsequently, this has dire ramifications to creativity, critical thinking, multi-

49 AM Rocca, "Integrating History and Geography...", *Social Education*, 58(2), 1994, pp. 114-116.

50 LS Masuku van Damme & EF Nehluhalani, "Indigenous Knowledge in environmental education...", *Environmental Education Research*, 10(3), 2010, p. 356.

51 AM Rocca, "Integrating History and Geography...", *Social Education*, 58(2), 1994, pp.114-116.

52 M Van Manen, "Linking ways of knowing...", *Curriculum Inquiry*, 6(3), 1977, p. 206.

53 RS Blumberg, "The invisible obstacle to education equality: Gender bias in textbooks", *Prospects: Quarterly Review of Education*, 38(3), 2008, pp. 345-61.

perspectivity and the fact that knowledge in textbooks should always be in line with current research to deal with missing links that may occur. This explains why from literature surveyed no textbook has been written in SA that integrates SS. Hence S Wineburg argues that, a well-known problem in History (and SS my emphasis) education is that educators customarily see their prime duty being that of “covering” an enormous prescribed curriculum with the assigned textbook.⁵⁴

An analysis of the curriculum and the textbooks’ representations of SS is important, because non-integration as it exists in the contemporary SS curriculum and the teaching of SS can perpetuate misrepresentations of SS and bias towards such content. This is a call for the curriculum to have as its second order concepts⁵⁵ a “border crossing pedagogy” that would allow for the integration of SS which consequently has ramifications to textbook writing. According to H Giroux “border pedagogy” recognises and actively promotes the recognition of ‘other histories’ and ‘other geographies’ (my emphasis) and that venture on its own also aids in the integration of Geography into History and vice versa.⁵⁶ As shown in literature the learning of SS should be an enquiry for students so that they have the opportunity to develop manifold perspectives, investigation skills and critical thinking habits.⁵⁷ This implies that communication between textbooks, curriculum and contemporary research can assist in impacting on effective SS curriculum and textbook writing.

It is a call for policy makers and also textbook writers of SS to ensure reflective praxis in the SS subject by adopting progressive solutions to deal with the mischiefs detected in the curriculum by ensuring integration in their writings – and include the social, physiological, psychological, economic, cultural, and environmental aspects as part of the studies of societies entailed in the SS curriculum. This also includes the integration of diverse knowledge and not only western epistemology. SS must not be written in an uncritical manner as if it is static and is not linked with structures of society like Geography on its own as most of the themes are detached from studies of societies hence it needs History to make-up for the drawback. It has to be shown to students

54 S Wineburg, *Historical thinking and other unnatural acts: Charting the future of teaching the past* (PA, Temple University Press, 2001); S Wineburg, *Reading like a Historian...*

55 Second order concepts like; empathy, significance, cause and consequence, continuity and change, indigenous knowledge, environment, gender and class. These are threshold concepts that assists learners to understand SS.

56 H Giroux, *Border Crossing...*, pp. 30-40.

57 K Barton & L Levstik, “Why don’t more history teachers engage students in interpretations?”, W Parker, *Social Studies today, research and practice* (New York, Routledge, 2010), pp. 34-42; B van Sledright, “What does it mean to think historically ... and how do you teach it?”, W Parker, *Social studies today, research and practice* (New York, Routledge, 2010), pp. 113-120.

that structures of society are social constructs and are invented.⁵⁸ This is the appreciation of Turner's insight that the master key to History is to be found in the relation of Geography to that History.⁵⁹ This then is cause for concern as put by Barnard (2001) that such "curricula and textbooks used within schools deserve careful examination, as they both represent the political and social climate of the time in which they were written".⁶⁰ But in SS such textbooks need to be rewritten because of the missing links identified in this article. This is supported by AM Rocca by stating that, SS textbooks are found lacking in offering detailed information in History and Geography. Thus missing links in any curriculum have a bearing in textbook constructions, and can cause tension in what is perceived as official and unofficial SS learning area which if not dealt with can further contribute to problems in people's understanding of SS and hamper effective engagement in nation building which is critical when teaching and learning sciences about societies (SS).

Reflective praxis: SS or Geography and History?

Research on SS integration does not identify the problems relating to the adaptation on the name of the learning area to the two separate subjects it embraces; but identifies economic⁶¹, political⁶² and social⁶³ reasons. The concept SS as it stands in the CAPS is an anti-reflective practice model as it does not speak to the sciences of society it serves drawing from both subjects. Drawing from RT Regelski's suggestion on music curriculum SS also needs to "use disciplined critical thinking derived from supporting disciplines and curriculum" and also embrace the fact that it is "the responsibility of each member of a self-critical community where professional competence is judged in terms of benefits for those served".⁶⁴ The Sesotho idiom explains this fact better – *leina leile borelong* meaning that it is important to name a person or object what and who you want it to turn into. A question arises – does SS reflect its name in practice?

The majority of interviewees argue that SS does not reflect the practice of the subject pedagogically.⁶⁵ To use LS Mitchell's words it is "dis-connection"

58 P Gilroy, "Race ends here", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21(5), 1998, p. 842.

59 AM Rocca, "Integrating History and Geography...", *Social Education*, 58(2), 1994, pp. 114-116.

60 CE Schrader & CM, Wotipka, "History transformed?...", *Feminist Formations*, 23(3), 2011, p. 69.

61 MC Schug & B Cross, "The dark side of curriculum integration...", *The Social Studies*, p. 57.

62 SJ Thornton, "Geography in American History course", *Phi Delta Kappan*, 88(7), 2007, pp. 535-536.

63 SJ Thornton, "Geography in American History course", *Phi Delta Kappan*, 88(7), 2007, p. 535.

64 RT Regelski, "On 'methodolatry' ...", *Philosophy of Music Education Review*, 10(2), 2017, p. 113.

65 MC Kgari-Masondo (Personal Collection) and D Mosina (Research Assistant), interview, PGCE student, 20 September 2016.

because it portrays a world of disconnected “end-products”.⁶⁶ It suggests that the teaching and learning of SS portrays a disengaged learning area and has pedagogical disjuncture because the teaching and learning objectives are not in line with its name. This is taken further by an interviewee Mzele that:⁶⁷

Social Science learning area could be defined as a discipline that integrates both the Geographic and the Historic disciplines. My view on this current SS being separated into specific disciplines is of great misfortune. This being, because in teaching History, Geography basically needs to be incorporated and vice versa.

Issues related to integration cannot be used as an excuse to betray what SS has to resemble as a learning area – united subject that focuses on sciences of society. Excuses posed by scholars like SJ Thornton that teachers are rarely knowledgeable in both SS subjects⁶⁸ and MC Shug and B Cross’ views about financial burden of integration⁶⁹ hold water but cannot be used to misrepresent the learning area pedagogically. As is, SS appears as if the subjects (History and Geography) are in competition with each other. As MC Schug and B Cross have argued students perform badly in SS because of instruction in discipline.⁷⁰ But, in my SS modules at the University of KwaZulu- Natal, I employ integration. From January 2015 I engaged in a new venture of trying to revamp the SS curriculum and deal with some of the mischiefs in the learning area. My courses are organised in such a way that I teach students how to teach the current SS curriculum and the new “ideal type” SS where integration can be applied.⁷¹ This practice has worked exceptionally well and shows that debates on integration in SS in SA have to be activated so as we develop the subject to its pinnacle and make history in this 21st century. Some of the missing gaps in the curriculum like indigenous knowledge, and environmental issues are immersed in the teaching and learning of SS because

66 LS Michelle *Young Geographers: How they explore the world and how they map the world*, 4 (New York, Bank Street College of Education, 1991), pp. 6-7.

67 MC Kgari-Masondo (Personal Collection) and D Mosina (Research Assistant), interview, Mzele, 28 September 2016.

68 SJ Thornton, “Geography...”, *Phi Delta Kappan*, 88(7), 2007, p. 538.

69 MC Schug & B Cross, “The dark side of curriculum integration...”, *The Social Studies*, p. 57.

70 MC Schug & B Cross, “The dark side of curriculum integration...”, *The Social Studies*, p. 55.

71 I focus on History themes as they have stories behind and then use the themes to relate with the Geographical theme that can suit the content chosen in History. For example: The Soweto Uprising here learners are focused on causes, course and results of the strike. I then encourage my students to teach map work theories relating to the theme. Also climatology fits well as a teacher can teach theories around climatology and apply to Soweto while in the process of teaching about the Historical content of the uprising. Population Geography also suits well as here learners can learn about the population in Soweto in 1971 and the migration process. This I ask my students to apply in any theme they can find that can embrace both subjects. The students interviewed applied the principles in their year of PGCE and concurred that during their teaching practice they found the application doable. Though others found the practice difficult at times because teachers in schools did not allow them as the focus is on discipline rather than transdisciplinary approach.

they are part of the learning area.⁷² As succinctly reiterated by an interviewee by not integrating SS it is “missing out on an opportunity to add value to lessons with extra context”.⁷³ Another informant, Bubbly mentioned that, the separate delivery of SS is not appropriate because learners have to understand how the two subjects (History and Geography) relate to each other.⁷⁴ This means that, for reflective praxis to be done properly it has to start with the name of the learning area, to the curriculum planning, and implementation. Integration of Geography into History and vice versa would not only increase the amount of significant geographic content taught but also enrich the History subject as shown elsewhere in the article. This brings to the fore another important debate of introducing SS right through to matric and also allowing Geography and History to be taught separately.

IK has powerful idioms illustrating important outputs of integration. The idiom in isiZulu- *izandlaziyagezana* and seTswana *mabogo dinku a thebana* (hands washes each other) illustrates co-operation. Unity and collaboration are important. In terms of SS it means for the subject to reflect on its practice it has to be taught and organised in a collaborated fashion. To use MC Schug and B Cross’ words:⁷⁵

Curriculum integration provides a means to teach academic content in different ways. Integration does not replace, ignore, or reduce the academic content. Integration is not the end but rather a means to teach academic content.

Integration of SS: Border Crossing Curriculum

The integration of SS requires attention of policy makers and educators urgently. Authorities have been silent about how this could be done. A systematic curriculum development including materials needs to ensure integration in SS as an isolated phenomenon. Naturally educators who encompass the knowledge of Geography and History would do a great job in integrating the two subjects together for themselves. But college and university courses on the two subjects seldom seem to engage in integration. Most History teachers have no qualification in Geography and vice versa and they

72 Some of the themes within the learning area have critical gaps that require filling. They lack second order concepts or threshold concepts used in SS. For example; environment is missing in History teaching and learning. In Geography issues of History of themes is missing. Both subject lack focus on indigenous knowledge if it is used it is minimal.

73 MC Kgari-Masondo (Personal Collection) and D Mosina (Research Assistant), interview, Mr Vuyo, 28 September 2016.

74 MC Kgari-Masondo (Personal Collection) and D Mosina (Research Assistant), interview, Bubbly, 28 September 2016.

75 MC Schug & B Cross, “The dark side of curriculum integration...”, *The Social Studies*, p. 56.

need ready-made SS materials to assist them.⁷⁶ Though complex, interviewees who learnt about and practically employed it argue that it is doable. The reports of studies of G Vars support integration⁷⁷ meaning that collaboration is attainable though challenging. It just needs committed practitioners of SS who are willing to engage in a “border crossing” strategy as the crossing deals with contradictions and allows for creative solutions thereof.

Research on SS integration has shown tensions in SS teaching and understanding which can be termed as competing SS.⁷⁸ This indicates that diverse groups in society fight for the recognition and acceptance thus ensuring that they fight for a certain History and Geography to be recognized (official SS) and another to be pushed to the periphery (unofficial SS). Therefore, SS classrooms end up faced with missing links as teachers and students grapple with what is acceptable and unacceptable SS. This indicates that there is a pivotal connection between official and unofficial SS and this relationship has a bearing upon students and teachers of SS. This brings contradiction to learners and educators because officially SS is one learning area that is integrated as the name of the learning area confirms but practically it is divided through teaching and academic performance of learners and also amalgamated when teachers have to combine the summative assessments to make it SS.

Using A Low-Beer⁷⁹ and R Phillips⁸⁰ analysis of official history in this instance, official SS is content that is taught in schools, and is what influences a child in the community, media, space lingua and through heritage sites. The content is eventually decided by the state and teachers are legally obliged to teach all prescribed topics of the official SS in the curriculum. Political power informs what has to be included in the SS curriculum. Hence A Low-Beer maintains that official history is led by political economic power and in modern societies it is institutionalized. On the other hand unofficial Geography and History brings to the fore tension towards what is taught in the SS curriculum. Nonetheless, the mischief of calling the subject SS yet it is not taught in an integrated fashion is noticeable and creates pedagogical tension embroiled with missing links. Teachers are not empowered to deal

76 MC Kgari-Masondo (Personal Collection) and D Mosina (Research Assistant), interviews, African Diks, Old Soul, Passionate, Study, Beautiful, Focused, No name, 26 September 2016 and Interesting, 28 September 2016.

77 G Vars, “Integrated curriculum in historical perspective”, *Education Leadership*, 49(2), 1991, pp. 14-15.

78 F Furedi, *Mythical past, elusive future: History and society in an anxious age* (London, Pluto Press, 1992), p. 8; MC Schug & B Cross, “The dark side of curriculum integration...”, *The Social Studies*, p. 55.

79 A Low-Beer, “School history, national history and the issue of national identity”, *International Journal of Historical Learning Teaching and Research*, 3(1), 2003, pp. 1-6.

80 R Phillips, *Reflective teaching of History 11-18: Meeting standards and applying research* (A&C Black, 2002).

with such a puzzle. Unofficial SS thus, finds its domain at the gaps of social life, places and concerns. The powerful images people find in the media, society, special languages and heritage sites gathered outside the official environment have profound implications for the ways in which children are influenced and socialized which causes the state to re-conceptualize the way SS is taught. Hence H Kaye (1996) argues that such History is normally feared because of its ideological and cultural significance.⁸¹ Similarly in the Geography subject such competing knowledge has been identified by A Nyong, F Adesina, and B Elasha in their article on climate change mitigation and adaptation strategies.⁸² They illustrate and also suggest that, incorporating IK can enhance the development of sustainable climate change mitigation and adaptation strategies because of the richness in local content, relevance to local people.

A widespread literature has been written on the teaching of the official SS curriculum. But there is a dearth of investigation on how to construct an integrated SS and how to teach it. The unofficial SS embraces the “ideal type” curriculum envisaged in this article that must be drawn from the unofficial to the official teaching and learning of SS. Hence, R Phillips maintains that:⁸³

The dimensions and boundaries of the ‘unofficial’ need to be explored in greater detail. By considering the symbols, images, versions, texts, institutions and media which bombard children daily with images of the past. It requires consideration of their potential effects and the ways in which they relate to the ‘official’ versions.

In terms of SS pedagogy it implies that, the unrecognized integration of Geography into History and vice versa requires recognition so as to bridge the gaps learners engage with outside the classroom whereby the way they learn about society is not divided but integrated. As put by MC Schug and B Cross:⁸⁴

Advocates of integrated curriculum never tire of repeating the claim that people in real jobs, in the real world, rarely solve problems that fit neatly into narrow categories suggested by academic subjects. Real people, in real jobs, use communication and problem-solving skills that cut across disciplines.

The main impact of teaching SS in a divided manner is the eruption of conflicting views; and can cause confusion to students if mischief of the

81 H Kaye, *Why do ruling classes fear History & other essays* (London, Macmillan, 1996).

82 A Nyong, F Adesina, & B Elasha, “The value of indigenous knowledge in climate change mitigation and adaptation strategies in the African Sahel”, *Mitigation and Adaptation Strategies for Global Change*, 12(5), 2007, pp. 787-797.

83 R Phillips, “Contesting the past, constructing the future: History, identity and politics in schools”, *British Journal of Education Studies*, 46(1), 1998, p. 45.

84 MC Shug & B Cross, “The dark side of curriculum integration...”, *The Social Studies*, 1998, pp. 55-56.

pedagogy is not addressed by all concerned. This can lead to problems in understanding SS as put by an interviewee that, the negative part of non-integration of SS develops students who are not constructive as they are faced with unsolved mysteries of a subject that is integrative from its title but content is divided.⁸⁵ She mentioned the fact that calculations are there in Geography and are rigorous pertaining maps but in History there is none but students also deal with places and maps. Since the SS curriculum does cater for the teaching and challenges of the contradictions in SS, students will not be empowered with ways and skills of dealing with the missing links within the subject. This is exacerbated by the overloaded SS curriculum which forces teachers to teach Geography and History for two terms.⁸⁶

“Cultural border crossings”⁸⁷ pedagogy is important here because it empowers the teacher with skills to help students to understand diversity and multiculturalism. In the process students will best understand their identity as South Africans in a globalized world. The “border crossing pedagogy” would also be relevant as the educator will assist learners to reconstruct and demystify the tension in SS. Hence H Giroux maintains that:⁸⁸

Border pedagogy extends the meaning and importance of demystification as a central pedagogical task... students must be offered opportunities to read texts that both affirm and interrogate the complexity of their own histories... to engage and develop a counter discourse to the established boundaries of knowledge... In this perspective, culture is not viewed as monolithic or unchanging, but as a shifting sphere of multiple and heterogeneous borders where different histories... intermingle... There are no unified subjects here, only students whose multilayered and often contradictory voices and experiences intermingle with the weight of particular histories that will fit easily into the master narrative of a monolithic culture.

It is promising for the solution to the tension between the official and unofficial SS because the National Curriculum as entailed in the CAPS document states that its aim is to alter the curriculum inherited by the new SA from the apartheid regime by building it to be grounded on the values that inspired the Constitution Act 108 of 1996. The values are based on the remedial of the divisions of the past and institute a society based on democratic principles, social justice and basic rights, also to improve the quality of life

85 MC Kgari-Masondo (Personal Collection) and D Mosina (Research Assistant), interview, Self-Determined, 24 September 2016.

86 MC Kgari-Masondo (Personal Collection) and D Mosina (Research Assistant), interview, Humble, No name, Mr Educated and Determined, 27 September 2016 and Interesting, 25 September 2016.

87 H Giroux, *Border crossings...*, p. 49.

88 H Giroux, cited in R Phillips, “Contesting the past...”, *British Journal of Education Studies*, 46(1), 1998, p. 49.

of all citizens and liberate the potential of all in SA.⁸⁹ In relation to SS it is a call for integration of knowledges that the content of SS focuses on which is part of the decolonization debate. The skill of multiperspectivity endorsed in the teaching of History SS illustrates that CAPS contains some post-colonial discourse many SS teachers hardly ever contemplate. Nevertheless, even though CAPS does not put it explicitly how to deal with the gaps between the reflective praxis of the curriculum it promotes the principles of dealing with such tensions. As K Jenkins and K Brickley have argued about the National History Curriculum of England and Wales, similarly one can claim that the SS official curriculum in essence 'allows' interpretation, to possibilities and multiplicity of dissimilar meanings and knowledges but they are pushed to the centre.

Conclusion

A critical reflective curriculum opens itself to transformation of its content and practice that is linked with changing times and therefore is able to adapt to the needs of its society. As RT Regelski puts it; professional praxis involves an ethical obligation of getting the right outcomes that are concrete to empower students throughout life and such results are the value-added principles.⁹⁰ Thus, professionally SS as has been shown in this article, highlight that there are mischiefs relating to SS reflective praxis based on the teaching pedagogy and the name accorded to the learning area – Social Science which depicts that much work needs to be done in terms of research in the field. A question thus arises: Does SS as the study of society embrace knowledges embraced by communities on which it focuses? This means that it has to embrace the reflective praxis in line with the name of the subject.

SS is dominated with western knowledge and other epistemologies such as indigenous ones are pushed to the periphery. As noted by SJ Thornton that the curriculum of SS is more of the western knowledge and implementation of western skills.⁹¹ This implies that the SS received needs to be reworked to ensure that it deals with mischiefs embedded in it – by allowing Geography and History as SS subjects to reflect in a balanced manner in both the physical and human world of the society it serves. Since CAPS purports to ensure that it promotes human rights, inclusivity, environmental and social justice through content and context chosen for the syllabus it is thus pivotal that SS

89 Department of Basic Education, Republic of SA, *National Curriculum Statement...*, p. i.

90 RT Regelski, "On 'methodolatry'...", *Philosophy of Music Education Review*, 10(2), 2017, p. 117.

91 SJ Thornton, "Geography in American History course", *Phi Delta Kappan*, 88(7), 2007, pp. 535-538.

embraces inclusivity of analysis of the communities in an integrated fashion.⁹² It is envisaged that their insertion will assist in meeting the objectives of teaching SS; those of helping citizens to engage in collaboration towards the common good.⁹³ This suggests that the value embedded in SS of instilling harmonious societal engagement and understanding dynamism can be realised by ensuring integration of SS which can be a catalyst towards the current venture in academia of decolonisation of the curriculum. This vision envisaged in this article has an impact on textbook writing, teaching and learning pedagogy, curriculum construction and positioning of the subject SS within its discipline and modus operandi that entails integration as its embedded vision. Thus, it is a stringent call for the revisiting, revising and the rewriting of the SS curriculum received in SA. Even though there is considerable work to do I believe that the proposals are already valuable to researchers, policy makers and teachers.

92 Department of Basic Education, Republic of SA, *National Curriculum Statement ...*, p. 5.

93 KC Barton, & LS Levstik. *Teaching History for the common good* (New York and London, Routledge, 2004), p. 7.

HANDS-ON ARTICLE

HISTORY EDUCATION: REACHING BEYOND THE CONFINES OF THE CLASSROOM.

A HANDS-ON DISCUSSION OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF RAPIDLY IMPROVING TECHNOLOGICAL TOOLS IN HISTORY PEDAGOGY

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Abstract

Since the dawn of the twenty-first century the technological tools at the disposal of teachers have improved exponentially. In the current education environment, the History teacher can reach far beyond the confines of a classroom, and is able to engage with the content of a study of human behaviour in a way that touches the humanity of students. A teacher in a single classroom can challenge students' ability across an array of platforms and over an internet which both allows for the dissemination of ideas and the acquisition of information at a speed and with a reach heretofore unknown and unavailable to the pedagogue. In a rapidly changing and increasingly less predictable political, economic and cultural milieu, it is incumbent on the History specialist to instil in those who engage with the past, present and future, a humanity which transcends simplistic political demagoguery and narrow bigotry which is gaining traction internationally. The skills of discernment and thoughtful analysis of fact, opinion and belief that is the forte of an historian can counterbalance intolerance and a disturbing resurgence of inhumanity. The teaching of History can influence a generation to build a more caring and humane society and modern technology can enhance the ability of a teacher to engage with learners beyond the confines of their classroom.

Keywords: Technological tools; History pedagogy; Human behaviour; Humanity; Discernment; Counterbalance; Convergence.

Introduction

The dawn of the twenty-first century brought with it a huge degree of complexity. As if it were a portend of things to come, the apocalyptic predictions of the millennium bug (Encyclopaedia Britannica, n.d.) collapsing the world of computing and bringing an abrupt end to technological advances made in the preceding few decades, gripped the programming community in

a frenzied effort to produce “fixes.” This presage of a retreat into a new dark age bereft of the computing power that has enabled people to navigate the frenetic pace modern man had become accustomed to, came to nought. Moore’s Law which holds that computing power more or less doubles every twenty-four months (Moore, n.d.), galloped ahead unabated and both computing power and internet connectivity continued their inexorable advance, profoundly changing society. The world has become technologically integrated. The impact has been immense in all spheres, including economics, politics and the realm of inter-personal relations. The social dynamic has been altered and social media has become a widely used platform of communication.

The individual has gained instant access to a mass audience. The amateur journalist, news reporter and photographer have instant access to a world-wide consumer of unfiltered social media. A tweet storm in Thailand propelled a revolution. The Arab Spring erupted across North Africa and the Middle East on the back of this new social dynamic. Indeed, even the old world pundits of the political arena have been shaken as their algorithms faltered and their predictions came up short. Brexit was set in motion against the most solid predictions of unshakeable European solidarity. Then followed an election in the UK which propelled the likes of Jeremy Corbyn to within a whisker of the office of the First Lord of the Treasury. Across the pond the mighty USA elected the seemingly unelectable to rule by tweet. In France the Macron phenomenon swept into the Elysee at the helm of a newly formed organisation which has relegated the old establishment to the periphery. A resurgence of an angry Right and an angry Left is manifesting itself in almost every region. Uncertainty has become the new norm.

The contemporary History classroom must be a venue for investigation and discussion. It is in the safe environment of academic consideration that debates about the contentious topics of the modern age need to surface. The History teacher, to remain relevant and to keep the subject at the cutting edge of intellectual interrogation of our world, dare not shy away from the topics of the moment and the issues of our time – learners should feel that the classroom is a safe place to express their views. Although the History classroom cannot deal with all the issues affecting society, relevant points need to be openly addressed when the curriculum allows.

It is, in the midst of all the uncertainties, all the complexities, all the arguments and viewpoints, still incumbent on the History teacher to promote tolerance and a more humane and caring society.

For the first time in recorded history the teacher has at his/her fingertips technology which helps extend the teacher's influence and reach far beyond the physical walls of a classroom. This powerful tool could be placed in the hands of educators if there is adequate planning and efficient implementation accompanies it. An interconnected world of handheld wireless devices, the lightning speed of digital transmission via fibre optic cables, immense processing power in the smallest sliver of silicon – all of this is available at an exponentially diminishing cost. The reach is phenomenal and the classroom must become a force for good and a cauldron of fresh ideas, absorption of information and facts.

Technological tools of the modern classroom

The modern classroom has changed dramatically in the past few decades. Chalk and talk is being adapted to the world of the modern generation in many areas. Interest in a subject can be grasped and held if the participants in the process are addressed in a manner that we have grown accustomed to. As technology has crept into the daily experience of folk the world over, the convenience and ease of use, the variety of senses appealed to and the engaging mechanisms of conveying ideas and messages have converged on the classrooms of the next generation.

Didactics, and specifically History Didactics, has reached a stage at which the teacher and student are at the cusp of an increasingly dynamic future scenario. Delving into the past is worthwhile in its own right and can be enhanced by a judicious use of technology. These two elements must be juxtaposed. The critical need for this will be explained in subsequent sections of this discussion. Suffice it to serve at this juncture as a launching point to explore the types of tools available to the History teacher now.

Schools are ideally situated for both the private and state sectors to become actively involved in rolling out a key element that will enhance development. A developing nation, such as South Africa, need no longer be held back because the developed world is galloping ahead and taking care of its own interests, often at the expense and to the detriment of the under-developed or developing nations. One of the major “Game Changers” for the developing world is bound to be e-Education. If a nation aspires to the wealth and power of advanced nations, it needs to grasp the nettle and roll out connectivity and access to knowledge.

There is a case to be made for schools to spearhead this advancement. There is a school in every community (be it an urban middle-class community, a working-class neighbourhood or a rural farm environment). This extends the reach of a “Game Changing” strategy to every corner of the country and the possibility of equalising the access to knowledge, wealth, power and intellectual engagement with the issues of the day, has not yet been fully exploited. Technology can be a “great equaliser” and afford every citizen, wealthy and poor alike, at the pinnacle of academia and semi-literate alike, the opportunity to advance their own position in the world and contribute their hitherto untapped ability to make a difference in society.

State resources need to be poured into a comprehensive e-learning strategy which, coupled with the increasingly available high speed connectivity of fibre optic hardware, can turn schools everywhere into Wi-Fi hotspots, WAN and LAN hubs not only for the learners and teachers at those institutions, but also for the communities which surround them. The cost of a massive connectivity roll-out can, in the opinion of the author, be offset by the exponential growth in the economy that this strategy can precipitate, although this can only be confirmed if research is undertaken in this field. The reduction in poverty, the generation of employment and wealth will make its way back into state coffers and afford the opportunity to alleviate a myriad other social ills which plague communities across our land. The obvious security issues and the ills of unfettered social media should not deter this type of development, but serve as a challenge to engage minds and work towards strategies to overcome these potential hazards, as well as others which will no doubt arise. The challenge of finding solutions to problems is what energises lives. Were we to live in a “problem free” world without the attendant ills of unfettered social media, the purpose of intellectual engagement would dissipate and there would be little incentive to stretch the mind and the intellect and live a full and significant life.

In the classroom the role of the History teacher now takes on a whole new dimension. Not merely dispensing knowledge (Google is effective at a certain level in that respect), the teacher is not only a facilitator, but is unshackled by the need to pass on vast amounts of detailed factual knowledge, and can fulfil a role the History teacher has always had, but can now attend to in a more focused and intensive way. The impact of decisions past and present can be unpacked with greater clarity and a generation of empathetic and compassionate citizens could be enhanced. Discussion and engagement and the formation of relations between thinkers, students of the nature of the

human condition, and across generations can be forged in a History classroom with access to a realm of ideas hitherto compartmentalised.

It is critically important that sophisticated classroom management software is placed at the disposal of the responsible educator. From the teacher's laptop, hand-held device, or desktop computer, access to the devices in the hands of the learners must be provided and control over those devices when in classroom use should be in the hands of the teacher. At the flick of a keyboard switch all or some of the devices can be restricted or temporarily disabled. On the teacher's screen the displays of each of the learners should be available for responsible monitoring. Key phrases or words could be flagged and the educator alerted. Above all, firewall software needs to be in place to deter abuse and restrict access to questionable sites and material of dubious educational value.

Such sophisticated software is available currently that plagiarism can be instantly flagged and innovative ways need to be found to offset the huge cost of this software. The private sector and state need to find ways to collaborate and facilitate schools' acquisition of versions of these products which would be useful in their contexts. Device control can be monitored and restricted so effectively (and the software is being developed at such a rate that it is improving day by day) that examinations can safely be conducted using these hand-held pieces of equipment or laptops.

Textbooks are being made available electronically which enhance the learning experience (not necessarily as a replacement for books with actual paper and printed pages). The teacher can assign readings, get feedback on the length of time a student has spent engaging with the material, monitor the notes being made as annotated material, push useful video clips, referencing, notes and audio either self-recorded or downloaded from useful sites – with proper referencing and cognizance of copyright.

One of the most useful aspects of all of this is the fact that teaching material generated at local school level can be uploaded as resources for under-resourced schools and teachers. The e-Learning Portal in the Western Cape is making phenomenal strides in this respect. Sharing knowledge is one of the most enriching experiences any educator can engage in. Receiving criticism, critiques and comments is one of the most useful elements to encourage personal academic and intellectual growth.

The future of the development of technological tools which will be useful in the History classroom is exciting and ignites the passion of everyone engaged

in teaching. Their use must be encouraged, albeit with circumspection, given the pitfalls alluded to briefly.

What does this mean for the didactics of a History classroom? Simply this: it can place in the hands of students and teachers technology to gather knowledge, engage with it as individuals and as class groups, contribute new knowledge, perspectives and ideas to an audience beyond the classroom. Distance need no longer be a barrier; indeed, language is no longer a barrier. Instant translation of the spoken and written word is already available and astoundingly reliable.

Grappling with human behaviour past and present

History is essentially a study of people and society. It encompasses the entire range of human behaviour and is multi-disciplinary in the truest sense. Technology serves to enhance the delivery of the subject material to the student. The tools also enable deep delving into the content and thinking about the impact in terms of past, present and future interpretation and scenario planning.

Of the greatest importance, though, is the historian's ability to contextualise events, place them in a perspective that reflects the age in which they occur and ultimately draw insights from the past which enhance the future of humanity.

Teaching discernment

Cognizant of the complex nature of humanity, it is imperative that the history teacher is not merely the conduit of factual information and recorded knowledge. It is of paramount importance that the learners are taught not merely to learn about the past and the present, but that they are taught how to engage with knowledge accessed on the Web in a responsible and useful way.

The multiplicity of technological resources and the wide range of media makes this a daunting responsibility. It is critical that discernment is taught with great precision. A disturbing new phenomenon has reared its head on the social media platforms, namely, fake news. Along with this, it can be safely assumed, would be "fake history", "alternative facts" and phenomena of equally dubious validity which may be named equally euphemistically. As access to platforms is democratised, amateur journalists abound. The fellow with an alternative and malevolent agenda is able to publish with the same ease as reputable journalists and writers. How do we recognise the fake

disinformation and distinguish it from that which has a solid foundation? Cross-referencing? Finding alternative sources? Recognising the reputable sources as well as the possible satirical intent. The History educator must be at the forefront of teaching the kind of discernment which assists in avoiding these very dangerous pitfalls.

Despite the danger posed by false information, the benefits of the technology far outweigh the nefarious motives of those posting reams of nonsense.

Counterbalance intolerance and the inhumanity of man

One of the most significant challenges for the History teacher is teaching compassion with which to temper man's inhumanity to man. A study of the actions of people will unveil the most horrendous aspects of the human condition.

Conclusion

Like never before the History classroom has become connected to the world. The advantages are manifold and the benefits outlined. Pitfalls there are indeed. It is with great circumspection that the new technology has to be embraced.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Teaching Social Sciences: Intermediate and senior phases

(Oxford University Press, 180 pp. ISBN 978 0 19 042145 8)

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The book titled *Teaching Social Sciences: Intermediate and senior phases* is a great compilation comprising six chapters that engages with issues concerning the teaching of Social Sciences in the intermediate and senior phases. The six chapters deal with issues like the history of social sciences, the need for teaching History and Geography, using an Ubuntu-based pedagogy and integrating ICT when teaching Social Sciences.

The first chapter is about the Social Sciences in the South African curriculum whereby the history of social sciences in South African education is traced covering even the apartheid era up to the present day. This chapter gives an idea of the aspects that inform the designation of the social sciences in the current Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS). The second chapter of this book focuses on integrating the philosophy of Ubuntu when teaching social sciences in intermediate and senior phases. In this chapter, the author highlights that it is of significance not to teach only for Ubuntu; rather teach through Ubuntu.

Chapters 3 and 4 focus on the teaching of History and Geography in the Social Sciences intermediate and senior phases. In Chapter 3, the book provides an explanation of the teaching of History in the Social Science intermediate and senior phase. The need to teach History in the Social Sciences intermediate and senior phases is explained with factors such as the need to develop and enhance learners' awareness of local, national and international historical events leading to learners knowing and understanding their history and heritage. A further factor is the need to awaken learners to their true identity. By reading this chapter alone, one gains an understanding of second order concepts and how to make sense of historical.

In Chapter 4, the author highlights the significance of teaching Geography in the Social Sciences intermediate and senior phases. The author highlights that teaching Geography in the Social Sciences is important because it develops learners' knowledge in terms of location of places on the map. The author also stresses that teaching Geography in the intermediate and senior phases assists learners in terms of understanding how to make this world a better place to live in by applying sustainability and being open minded about phenomena that cause natural disasters.

The author of Chapter 5 focuses on the teaching of Social Sciences in the intermediate and senior phases through media and ICT. In this chapter, the author discusses the integration of ICT when teaching Social Sciences and explains the reasons for using ICT. One of the main points highlighted in this chapter is how ICT helps in the improvement of learners' understanding. In Chapter 6, the author engages on planning to teach and assess Social Sciences in the intermediate and senior phases. Some of the steps to consider when planning Social Sciences lessons and assessments are recommended.

There is sound coherence in the manner in which the chapters are arranged, with each chapter focusing on a unique, but relevant issue. Even for teachers of other subjects could find this book useful in terms of teaching philosophies, strategies and application. For example, the integration of media and ICT can be applied to other disciplines. The language used in this book used is comprehensible, which makes this book is user-friendly. Both novice and experienced teachers will find this book of practical assistance.

The book can be of good use not only for South African Social Sciences teachers, but also for those from other parts of Africa and the rest of the world. However, it is especially important for teachers on the African continent who still struggle to find books that are relevant to their context. The African lenses used in the book make it very significant at a time when there are debates about the nature of education in a post-colonial dispensation. It would be highly appreciated if the authors of this book came together again to compile a book similar to this one for the teaching of History and the teaching of Geography for the Further Education and Training phase and even for higher education as well.

Tribing and untribing the archive: Volumes 1 & 2

(University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2017, 322 pp. ISBN 978-1-86914-339-8)

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Tribing and Untribing the Archive is a culmination of collaborative initiatives led by two prestige academics who are the editors of this publication. Carolyn Hamilton is a leader of Archive and Public Culture Research Initiative (APC) at the University of Cape Town and Nessa Leibhammer a custodian of the Traditional Collection of Southern African Art. Their book is an exceptional resource for historians, researchers, History teachers and History students. It is also relevant for other disciplines such as anthropology.

The partnership between the two editors significantly adds weight to the relevance of this project. As highlighted in the book's *preface*, the aim of APC is to "examine the public understanding of the past and the nature of the materials and conceptual tools available in the present with which to engage that past" (p.6). Against this background, the two editors who are respected researchers in their field allure the reader to an enticing piece of work that informs the contemporary debates around the role of historiography, particularly pre-colonial historiography, in understanding the present.

The focus area of this project is mainly between the Thukela and Mzuvubu Rivers in KwaZulu Natal. It is acknowledged that there is still more work to be done, with suggestions for the necessity of similar work in other provinces such as the Eastern Cape focusing on the Xhosa nation. Considering that the Archive of KwaZulu-Natal constitutes of years of written work from the perspective of the outsiders (mainly European colonizers) there is much that has been diluted, with limited consideration of the individuality in its representation. In a nutshell, this book encapsulates the experimental analysis of archival material (such as art) in an attempt to sift through the available the material until it is possible to uproot the stereotypical Eurocentric perspective of the Zulu nation, while empowering the knowledge of the past to allow individuals to see themselves as unique in experience and practices through the envisaged history before colonisation.

The book is composed of two volumes, with each volume having two sections that have different essays. The first volume has an opening essay written by both Hamilton and Liebhammer and it contextualizes the enquiry and eloquently defines the terms of the title *Tribing and untribing the archives*. A “tribe” is conceptualized as a verb and this understanding is then unpacked to define the discourse of understanding how tribes developed historically. Tribing on the other hand, places the role of Archive in the centre when considering the meaning, which involves the process of history in making material worthy to be archived.

Macotywa who was a speaker in the 2012 International Archives Conference highlights the need to start the collection of the archival material abroad and at home so as to participate in the conversation about identity and social cohesion. His assertion is not the only point which this book seems to attend, but also this radical project uses the Africanist historians’ lenses in relating and questioning the available and omitted archival material of the ever-changing South African tribes and traditions prior the European colonisation period. The art and practices of that time provide a different kind of knowledge in a discourse of the African moving towards the self and understanding his/her reality today using the reflection of the self through the archival material and arts defined and interpreted without the European.

The structuring of the book meshes well with the purpose and the methods used in the projects enquiry. Through each volume the reader can delve into pieces of work that have been contributed to by different authors who have different backgrounds and are specialists in their respective disciplines. What can also be appreciated as a strength of this work is the manner in which the project was conducted in that each essay was shared to a panel and discussed before being published. This helped in unpacking and digging layer by layer the years of ethnographic collections which have not assumed a space in the Archives of the present day.

The orderliness of the book conforms to the academic way of writing, particularly research. In the book there is clear evidence of this project being an empirical project that used both primary and secondary sources in the form of ethnographic collection and other published work. Moreover, the footnotes are informative as they provide the gaps to further research which would propel the reader who specialises in either Archives, Anthropology, or History to entertain the suggested gaps in their respected research field.

While this work is eloquently written, the language used is inaccessible to those outside of the field. It is difficult to find flaws in this work as some essays are abstracted from much bigger scale project under APC, however, it worth noting that it would have been beneficial for sections where key terms would be defined for the reader to use as they manoeuvre themselves through this work.

What outweighs this shortcoming is the visuals that form a mini-art gallery in this piece of work. They provide deeper insight and evidence of the written content which are in their own right an introductory sensory to the reader. One could further argue that they are an exemplary task of doing object enquiry and the task of interpreting such work into contemporary understandings and now knowledge.



CONFERENCE PROGRAMME HISTORY FROM THE CORE TO ZERO GRAVITY

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR HISTORY DIDACTICS (ISHD)

in cooperation with, and hosted by, the

SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY for HISTORY TEACHING (SASHT)
Riverside Sun Hotel, Cnr Wenning & Emfuleni Drive, Vanderbijlpark
1900 SOUTH AFRICA

13 - 15 September 2017



NWU, Vaal Triangle Campus

Wednesday 13 September

08:00 - 09:00	Registration all delegates ISHD & SASHT membership applications & renewals					
SESSION ONE						
Facilitator:	Dr Pieter Warnich					
09:05	Dr Pieter Warnich (Chair: Conference Organising Committee)					Venue 1: Heron & Sunbird
09:20	Prof Susanne Popp (President, ISHD)					
09:35	Prof Elize S van Eeden (President SASHT)					
09:45	Welcome Dr Herman van Vuuren (Director, School of Commerce and Social Studies in Education, NWU)					
10:00-11:00	Keynote speaker (1) Dr Falk Pingel (Georg-Eckert Institute, Germany) <i>Nation, supra-national communities, and the globe: Unifying and dividing concepts of collective identities in History teaching</i>					Venue 1: Heron & Sunbird
11:00 - 11:30	Mid-morning Tea & Coffee					
SESSION TWO						
Facilitators:	Prof Ackson Kandusa		Mr Barry Firth		Dr Oldimar Cardoso	
11:30-13:30	VENUE 1: Heron & Sunbird		VENUE 2: Darter & Swift		VENUE 3: Kingfisher	
	Exploring the core of History in teaching (1)		Assessing the status of History education (1)		History and its features of gravity (1)	
11:30-12:00	Dr Philipp Marti (FHNW School of Education, Centre for Civic and History Education, Switzerland)	<i>"Gesellschaften im Wandel": A competency-based history textbook for the 21st Century</i>	Prof Markus Furrer (University of Teacher Education, Switzerland)	<i>History: A school subject and its functional change from the 19th to the 21st century</i>	Dr Hannes Liebrandt (Historisches Seminar Didaktik der Geschichte, München)	<i>Augmented reality and virtual reality - the future of history teaching? Advantages and disadvantages of digital concepts inside and outside the classroom</i>
12:00-12:30	Prof Susanne Popp (University of Augsburg, Germany & President of the ISHD)	<i>Multi-layered meanings of visual sources: Global perspectives in national history curricula</i>	Prof Thula Simpson (University of Pretoria, South Africa)	<i>Transformations in the South African Higher Education system, 1994 - 2016</i>	Dr Michael Wobring (University of Augsburg, Germany)	<i>The "history of technology" as an approach to modify concepts of modernization and globalization in history teaching</i>
12:30-13:00	Prof Elisabeth Erdmann (University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, Germany)	<i>Sources in history lessons and "fake news"</i>	Dr Kate Angier (University of Cape Town, South Africa)	<i>The state of the subject: The who, what, where and with what success of school history since 1994 in South Africa</i>	Mrs Rika Odendaal-Kroon (Rand Girls' School, South Africa)	<i>Enhancing history teaching through blended learning: The integration of technological devices and online teaching in the history class</i>
13:00-13:30	Prof Rob Siebörger (University of Cape Town, South Africa)	<i>"Kyk weer": The use of political cartoons in South African school history teaching</i>	<i>Excursion session 1</i> Dr Claudia Gouws (North-West University): Snippets of history on the Vaal Triangle (Vanderbijlpark) area & Vrdefort Dome		Prof Claudia P Ribeiro & Prof Helena Vieira (Center for Transdisciplinary Research, Portugal)	<i>Implementing flipped classroom in History: The reactions of students</i>
13:30-14:30	Lunch: chef's choice menu					

SESSION THREE			
Facilitators:	Mrs Rika Odendaal-Kroon		
	VENUE 1: Heron & Sunbird	VENUE 2: Darter & Swift	
14:30-16:00	Exploring the core of History in teaching (2)		
14:30-15:00	Prof Terry Haydn (University of East Anglia, England)	<i>A conflict of ideas about how to teach history in schools: A new front in the 'history wars' in the UK</i>	
15:00-15:30	Mr Dennis Röder (University of Augsburg, Germany)	<i>"Schools without racism"? Report on a project seminar on the sensitive issue of "racism" in the German (history) classroom</i>	
15:30-16:00	Dr Urte Kocka (Retired from the Free University of Berlin, Germany)	<i>History classes for today's students</i>	<i>Yesterday & Today</i> Editorial meeting (15:30-16:30)
16:00-16:30	Mid-Afternoon Tea & Coffee		
16:00-16:30	Publisher Displays		Hotel foyer
16:30-17:30	Book Launch... Van Schaik Publishers (Mr Louis Gaigher, Publisher, Education/Health Science) ES van Eeden & PG Warnich (eds.) <i>Teaching & Learning History & Geography in the South African classroom</i> (2017)		VENUE 3: Kingfisher
18:00-19:30	SASHT Executive Committee meeting	Prof Elize S van Eeden (Chair SASHT)	VENUE 2: Darter & Swift
19:30 -	Gathering & dinner ISHD Board members & SASHT Extended Executive members		Host: SASHT Riverside Sun Hotel



Thursday 14 September

08:45-09:15	Registration delegates ISHD & SASHT membership applications & renewals					
SESSION FOUR						
Facilitator:	Prof Susanne Popp (President, ISHD)					
09:15-10:15	Keynote speaker (2)			Venue 1: Heron & Sunbird		
Mr Michael Harcourt (Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand) <i>Teaching 'difficult history' in an era of high curriculum autonomy: A New Zealand case study</i>						
10:15-10:45	Mid-morning Tea & Coffee					
SESSION FIVE						
Facilitators:	Prof Rob Siebörger		Dr Urte Kocka		Prof Terry Haydn	
	VENUE 1: Heron & Sunbird		VENUE 2: Darter & Swift		VENUE 3: Kingfisher	
10:45-12:15	Exploring the core of History in teaching (3)		Assessing the status of History education (3)		History and its features of gravity (2)	
10:45-11:15	Prof Harry Hauc (University of Southern Denmark, Denmark)	<i>The development of the use of normative ethical attitudes in Danish history textbooks, 1777-1993</i>	Dr Mare Oja (Tallinn University, Estonia)	<i>History teaching on the second school level in Estonia – success and challenges</i>	Mr Paul Haupt (The Settlers High School, South Africa)	<i>History education: Reaching beyond the confines of the class-room. A hands-on study of the implementation of rapidly improving technological tools and ease of connectivity in history pedagogy</i>
11:15-11:45	Dr Oldimar Cardoso (Anima Educational Transmedia, Brazil)	<i>History curricula and the social functions of History</i>	Prof Karl Benziger (Rhode Island College, USA)	<i>The strong state and embedded dissonance: History education and populist politics in Hungary</i>	Dr Mahunele Thotse (University of Limpopo, South Africa)	<i>Memories of violence and oppression: The relevance of the Time Travel methodology for South African history</i>
11:45-12:15	Ms Leevina Iyer & Dr Marshall Maposa (University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa)	<i>Student teachers' use of their historical consciousness in explaining their engagement with prejudices in History</i>	Prof Caio Lima (Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte, Brazil)	<i>A Brazilian historical trauma? Military dictatorship (1964 - 1985) and History Didactics</i>	Prof Ackson Kanduza (The Eastern University, Zambia)	<i>Founding the African State in the end of Empire</i>
12:15-13:15	Lunch: chef's choice menu					
SESSION SIX						
Facilitators:	Prof Markus Furrer		Dr Mahunele Thotse		Mr Michael Harcourt	
	VENUE 1: Heron & Sunbird		VENUE 2: Darter & Swift		VENUE 3: Kingfisher	
13:15-15:45	Assessing the status of History education (4)		History teaching and assessment (1)		History and its features of gravity (3)	
13:15-13:45	Dr Alžbeta Bojková (Pavol Jozef Safarik University in Kosice, Slovakia)	<i>We don't need no Roman Empire in Slovakia - teaching for society of 21st century</i>	Mr Jake Manenzhe (Limpopo Department of Education, South Africa)	<i>A comparative analysis of IEB and DBE assessments for History Grade 12 question papers</i>	Dr Valencia T Mabalanc (University of Johannesburg, South Africa)	<i>Exploring the role of folklores in the teaching and learning of South African history</i>

13:45-14:15	Dr Anu Raudsepp (University of Tartu, Estonia)	<i>Dealing with World War One's impact on the rise of Estonian national state: Challenges of recent researches for history teaching</i>	Dr Pieter Warnich (NWU Porchefstroom Campus, South Africa)	<i>Assesing history trainee teachers' experiences In utilizing historical enquiry as an assessment tool: A case study</i>	Prof Elize S van Eeden (NWU Vaal Triangle Campus, South Africa)	<i>Exploring the practicalising and decolonizing of local and regional histories in history curricula themes</i>
14:15-14:45	Ms Keneilwe Mosala (SASHT Regional representative, Mpumalanga Province)	<i>Educators as ancors : Challenges of 21st century history teachers</i>	Mr Phillip Modisakeng (NWU Porchefstroom Campus, South Africa)	<i>Assessment practices and challenges for history students in an Open Distance Learning (ODL) context</i>	Mr Barry Firth (Cape Peninsula University of Technology, South Africa)	<i>"Who killed Geertjen Visser?" Using the mantle of the expert to develop historical thinking in first year students</i>
14:45-15:15	Ms Henriette Lubbe (University of South Africa, South Africa)	<i>'Fix a Flar': The role of the Subject Advisor in empowering history educators</i>	Mr Knysna T Motumi (NWU Vaal Triangle Campus, South Africa)	<i>The place of nostalgia in teaching (e.g. museums, tourism, material culture, identity)</i>	Ms Marj Brown (Roedean School, South Africa)	<i>Visible Thinking: Lessons in applying visual skills to USA and SA topics and finding links</i>
15:15-15:45	Dr Boitumelo Moreeng (Sol Plaatje University, South Africa)	<i>History mentor teachers' perspectives of the Historical Pedagogical Content Knowledge (HPCK) that student teachers' possess</i>	<i>Excursion session 2</i> <i>Dr Claudia Gouws (North-West University): Snippets of history on the Vaal Triangle (Vanderbijlpark) area</i>		Dr M Noor Davids (University of South Africa, South Africa)	<i>Forced removals in District Six as a decolonized theme in the history curriculum</i>
15:45-16:00	Mid-Afternoon Tea & Coffee					
	VENUE 1: Heron & Sunbird					VENUE 2: Darter & Swift ISHD GENERAL MEETING
16:00 - 17:30	Panel Discussion on Textbooks in History Facilitator: Prof Johan Wassermann					
	<p>Prof Johan Wassermann & Mr Anand Naidoo (University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa) <i>An analysis of the depiction of "big men" in apartheid and post-apartheid era school history textbooks;</i></p> <p>Dr Denise Bentrovato & Dr Imke Rath (University of Pretoria, South Africa & Georg-Eckert Institute, Germany) <i>Transnational perspectives on global history: a comparative study of WW1 lessons in African and European history textbooks;</i></p> <p>Dr Annie Chiponda (University of Malawi, Malawi) <i>The contradiction between policy and the representation of people with disabilities in Malawian junior secondary school history textbooks</i></p>					
18:00-till late	Boat trip on the Vaal River and conference dinner on the Island					

Friday 15 September

08:30-09:00	Registration delegates ISHD & SASHT membership applications & renewals					
SESSION SEVEN						
Facilitator:	Mrs Henriette J Lubbe (Vice president SASHT)					
09:00-10:00	Keynote speaker (3) Prof Peter Kallaway (University of Cape Town, South Africa) <i>Knowledge for the people: Understanding the complex heritage of colonial education in South Africa</i> Dr Kate Angier will present the paper on behalf of Prof Kallaway					Venue 1: Heron & Sunbird
10:00-10:30	Mid-morning Tea & Coffee					
SESSION EIGHT						
Facilitators:	Prof Harry Haue		Prof Johan Wassermann		Dr Pieter Warnich	
	VENUE 1: Heron & Sunbird		VENUE 2: Darter & Swift		VENUE 3: Kingfisher	
10:30-12:50	Assessing the status of History education (5)		History teaching and assessment (2)		History and its features of gravity (4)	
10:30-11:00	Mr Philipp Bernhard (Augsburg University, Germany)	<i>Colonialism and National Socialism as an entangled history - an innovative perspective for teaching German 20th century history?</i>	Prof Jukka Rantala (University of Helsinki, Finland)	<i>Assessing historical literacy among elementary pupils</i>	Ms Nangamso Koza (Inkqubela Leadership Academy)	<i>Counter-cultural leaders</i>
11:00-11:30	Prof Caroline Pacievitch (Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil)	<i>Young students, teachers and History: Change factors for the past and future of Mercosul</i>	Ms Kinga Siejek & Prof Elize van Eeden (NWU Vaal Triangle Campus, South Africa)	<i>Sharing students' experience in being exposed to Miracle Rising® as a source for teaching and learning History</i>	Mr Johan Buys (NWU Potchefstroom Campus, South Africa)	<i>The decolonization of the South African history curriculum through indigenous knowledge</i>
11:30-12:00	Ms Michelle Friedman (University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa)	<i>Transition or transformation: Negotiating the interim history curriculum, 1990 - 1995</i>	Dr Mario Resch & Dr Christian Heuer (University of Education Heidelberg, Germany)	<i>"Diagnosing" and "being able to formulate tasks" – (Belonging) to the vignette-based gathering of didactical competences of history teachers at the beginning of the practical apprenticeship</i>	Dr Susan Bester (NWU Potchefstroom Campus, South Africa)	<i>A quest for the integration of African cultural and indigenous knowledge in the Social Sciences/ history curricula and textbooks</i>
12:00-12:30	Ms Leah Nasson (Herschel Girls High School, Cape Town)	<i>Is the grass always greener on the other side? ('Teaching IGCSE and A Level History in South Africa')</i>	Mr Jongikhaya Mvenenc (Walter Sisulu University, South Africa)	<i>The place and role of oral history in the teaching and learning of South African history in the FET phase</i>	Ms Murray-Hancke Oberholster (NWU Potchefstroom Campus, South Africa)	<i>Self-assessment of first year students in the history classroom: A luxury or essential?</i>

12:30-13:10	Review & closing the ISHD-SASHT Conference Prof Susanne Popp, Dr Pieter Warnich & Prof Elize van Eeden & Mrs Henriette Lubbe	Venue 1: Heron & Sunbird
13:10-14:30	Brown bag lunch	
13:30-14:30	SASHT ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING & Election (incl. SASHT Presidential Address)	Venue 1: Heron & Sunbird
13:30-14:30	ISHD GENERAL MEETING (continued)	Venue 2: Darter & Swift
14:00-14:20	Dr Claudia Gouws (North-West University): Information sharing on the Vredefort Dome a World heritage site	Venue 3: Kingfisher
14:30-18:00	Afternoon post conference excursion: <i>Vredefort Dome</i>	Transport arranged and will be communicated at the conference

EXCURSION

An excursion to the Vredefort Dome is organised at the cost of R150 per person. This can be paid at the registration desk during the conference.



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KEYNOTE PRESENTATION TO:
THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR HISTORY
DIDACTICS (ISHD) IN CONJUNCTION WITH
THE SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY FOR HISTORY
TEACHING (SASHT)

13 -15 September 2017, Vanderbijlpark, South Africa

TEACHING 'DIFFICULT HISTORY' IN AN ERA
OF HIGH CURRICULUM AUTONOMY: A NEW
ZEALAND CASE STUDY

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Preamble

It is a great pleasure to be in South Africa to talk about history education with you here today, especially on the 40th anniversary of Steve Biko's death and at a venue only a few kilometres from Sharpeville. I would especially like to pass on to the conference warm greetings from Graeme Ball, chairperson of the New Zealand History Teachers' Association. If you are interested in collaborating with New Zealand teachers in some kind of digital student exchange then please let me know, I know several that would be willing to discuss this further. Today, though, I'm here to talk to you about New Zealand's quite unusual approach to history curriculum.

Introduction

Most, if not all nations have aspects of the past that are hard to reconcile with their values today. These uncomfortable, 'difficult' histories tend to focus on violence - on historical instances of suffering and trauma. The ways in which countries deal with the challenge of teaching difficult history varies greatly. Some nations do not teach it at all, others prescribe a single narrative and others open up multiple and competing narratives for investigation. Generally, governments have a hand in the curriculum decision making around what content to include and how to sequence it. In New Zealand, the Ministry of

Education has a very hands off approach and allows schools and teachers to determine what history they teach. It is this high curriculum autonomy that I will talk about today. There are three parts to my talk; First, I will describe New Zealand's unusual level of curriculum autonomy in more detail and also how teachers have responded to it with the topics they select. Second, I'll outline some of the opportunities and challenges curriculum autonomy poses to teachers, especially with regard to teaching uncomfortable, difficult history. Finally, I'll conclude with some classroom strategies I have used with students to deal with difficult, sensitive aspects of history. To begin with, though, I will start with a little historical context.

Background

New Zealand and South Africa have a nineteenth century colonial administrator in common. In 1853, the governor of New Zealand, George Grey, left his role for positions in South Africa as the Governor for Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa. Grey left New Zealand having, in the eyes of settlers, successfully responded to two significant Māori military responses to British rule. Nevertheless, Grey strongly believed in the capacity of Māori to assimilate into European civilisation, claiming in 1852 that "both races already form one harmonious community...insensibly forming one people". In South Africa he set up schools and hospitals but was thoroughly convinced of European superiority and worked hard to replace African tribal structures and customs with ones he considered more civilised. In South Africa he was also responsible for dealing with the 'cattle killing millenarian movement'.

In 1861 Grey returned to New Zealand where he would launch a massive assault against some major Māori tribes, Māori being the indigenous people of New Zealand. A conflict with some equivalence in South Africa is perhaps the Anglo-Zulu Wars. Since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 between Māori chiefs and the Queen's representatives, European settlers had, at least from a Māori perspective 'poured' into New Zealand. This was, of course, part of a global phenomenon of explosive European expansion referred to as the 'white human flood' by U.K historian Niall Ferguson.

By the end of the 1850s the Māori and settler populations had equalised at about 60,000 and Māori political authority, guaranteed in the Treaty of Waitangi, was being steadily eroded, particularly through land loss. In 1860, war broke out on the west coast of the North Island, beginning 12 years of

brutal warfare across the North Island with consequences that endure today.

Arguably the most significant and decisive campaign of the New Zealand Wars was Governor Grey's invasion of the Waikato, a large, extremely fertile area south of New Zealand's largest city, Auckland. In total, more than 12,000 troops were involved, drawn from around the British Empire against a Māori force of about 4000.

Unlike the British Army, Māori forces were part time soldiers who worked in shifts, rotating between the front and their crops. Whereas British supplies for the war effort were ferried down the Great South Road and the Waikato River, Māori relied heavily on the "wheat bowl" of a place called Rangiaowhia, a small village in southern Waikato which supplied Māori fighters with key resources. This area was protected by three primary defensive lines, Meremere, Rangiriri and Pāterangi.

These are names that do not resonate in popular New Zealand collective memory in the same way that distant conflicts, such as the Battle of Little Big Horn or Waterloo do in other countries. In fact, it may be that Sharpeville and Soweto are more familiar names to the average person on the street.

Māori strategically abandoned the first line of defence and at the second Māori forces were defeated with many prisoners taken. The final line of defence against the wheat bowl of Rangiaowhia, was, according to historians "the largest chain of fortifications ever built by Māori" and presented significant problems for British Army (Belich, 1986).

Instead of launching a full frontal offensive, British troops silently crept around it under the cover of darkness and attacked the undefended village of Rangiaowhia where women, children and elderly were sheltering. According to official figures, 12 Māori were killed, some burnt alive in a thatched hut. The same number were wounded and over 30 people, mostly women and children were taken prisoner and the real number of casualties may be higher. It is impossible to convey in this presentation the depth of feeling associated with these events for some Māori today, and also those at another battle site a month later where other atrocities occurred. Although Governor Grey's invasion met with much more resistance than was expected, ultimately, for Māori, the conflict resulted in confiscated land, famine, economic destruction and the arrival of armed military settlers.

So that's where I'll end the history lesson and fast forward 150 years. In 2014 students from a rural high school in the Waikato visited Rangiaowhia,

Ōrākau and other local places relevant to the British Army's invasion. Taken to these sites by Māori with family memories and oral histories of the events, the experience of hearing about the atrocities moved students deeply. Shocked that the history of the invasion was not taught more widely, several of the students decided to launch a petition that called for:

- Compulsory teaching of the New Zealand Land Wars in the school curriculum.
- An official, national day of commemoration.

While they were unsuccessful at making the teaching of these events compulsory, they did contribute to the political climate supportive of a national day of remembrance, the first of which takes place next month in late October.

- <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/72303304/College-students-petition-for-a-national-holiday-to-recognise-Land-Wars>

It may surprise people to know that the New Zealand history curriculum does not prescribe any historical content. In most countries, I imagine that an event like the New Zealand Wars and the invasion of the Waikato would, on a curriculum document somewhere, be required teaching. I'm fairly certain that the Anglo-Zulu wars are a compulsory part of the South African history curriculum. Instead, New Zealand teachers are entrusted with high levels of curriculum autonomy. History departments design programmes of learning that respond to the needs of their students and community. Topics do, however, need to be "of significance to New Zealanders" which means:

- a past event occurring within New Zealand (e.g. the New Zealand Wars).
- an international event involving New Zealanders (e.g., New Zealand's involvement on the Western Front).
- an international event influencing New Zealanders (e.g., the impact of 9/11 of NZers).

Furthermore, history is not a compulsory subject. It becomes an elective option in the final three years of school and approximately 30% of students opt to take this subject. All students are required to take social studies up until year 10, when they are about 13-14 years old. Social studies is an integrated subject that explores contemporary, contested social issues, and, where appropriate, supports students to plan, carry out and reflect on a social action (Harcourt, Milligan, Wood, 2016). The majority of students encounter aspects of the past in their social studies classrooms, especially key

turning points such as the Treaty of Waitangi, which brought New Zealand into the British Empire in 1840. But social studies teachers are not necessarily disciplinary experts in history, and studies in New Zealand have shown that when a topic might be controversial, it tends to be avoided (Simon, 1992, Keown, 1998, Harrison, 1998, Kunowski, 2005).

It is perhaps worth emphasising these two points again because overseas visitors to New Zealand sometimes have trouble getting their head around it. In New Zealand:

- History is an optional subject, for most students only available in the final three years of school
- The state does not prescribe any historical content in the school history curriculum

I know of no other country in the world that takes a similar approach to history education. So how do we do it? Instead of prescribing content, the New Zealand history curriculum assesses students' ability to *think like an historian*, or as it is often referred to, historical thinking. Students are assessed on their ability to describe, explain and evaluate the historical thinking ideas of historical causation, perspectives, evidence and significance. These concepts help to make up the intellectual structure of the discipline of history, as practised by historians in the university. They are referred to, by educationalists, as you no doubt know, second-order or procedural concepts in contrast to first-order, substantive concepts such as revolution, feudalism, colonisation etc. History educator Mark Sheehan puts it succinctly when he argues that without "systematic instruction in the methodologies and vocabulary of the discipline" history education quickly becomes "a sentimental affair where the past is to be admired or scorned (rather than analysed)". Teaching students how to use first and second order historical concepts offers a powerful antidote to what Peter Seixas (2000) calls a "best story" approach to history teaching, or the delivery of simplified, often sanitised, nationalist, grand narratives that students are asked to uncritically accept. Clearly there is much in favour of New Zealand's heavy emphasis on historical thinking.

In New Zealand, each of these historical thinking concepts is assessed either as an in-class assignment, or in a traditional exam format. One of the most common history assessments sat by many thousands of 15 years olds asks students to describe the causes and consequences of an event. I'll use this exam to briefly illustrate the nature of assessment in a history curriculum with

no prescribed content.

For the students sitting this exam in 2016, their script opened with the instructions: "Write an essay on ONE historical event that you have studied this year, using the essay question below". Asked to focus their essay on a specific historical event in time or an historical development or movement, students are told to write paragraphs with supporting evidence.

ESSAY QUESTION

Identify and describe the causes of your chosen event.

What were the short-term and long-term consequences of the event for people and/or groups?

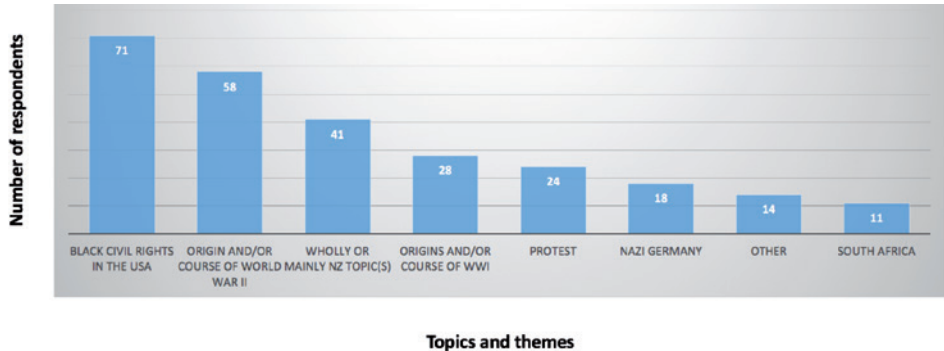
The level of curriculum autonomy enjoyed by teachers in New Zealand is a relatively recent phenomenon, but we have always had some freedom to select content. For example, prior to 2009, there was one primary topic for history students in their final year of school. Teachers could deliver a course on nineteenth century New Zealand or the Tudors and Stuarts of England. According to a survey carried out by the New Zealand History Teachers' Association in 2005, 58% of teachers taught the Tudors and Stuarts topic. At other year levels there were a range of topics teachers could choose from to prepare their students. According to one New Zealand educationalist the same 2005 survey revealed that "Despite the opportunities to do so, there is very little social history, women's history or history of indigenous peoples taught" (Brainfood, n/d). Other educationalists have accused teachers of 'avoiding' or 'sidestepping' Māori history. One historian even claimed that the country was giving itself a "cultural lobotomy" through the lack of attention to its own history.

Teachers' response to the autonomous history curriculum

How have teachers responded to the flexibility offered by New Zealand's highly autonomous history curriculum? To answer this I draw on another survey carried out in 2015 also by the New Zealand History Teachers Association. One consequence of our autonomous curriculum is that it is very difficult to know what history is taught across different schools. The Ministry of Education does not keep a record and teachers are agile in the way they change their programmes in response to world issues. Instead, we rely on voluntary surveys of teachers. The last survey, distributed in 2015 was completed by just over 100 teachers. Remembering that New Zealand's

population is 4.5 million (about the population of Johannesburg) and there are a total of 370 secondary schools, this sample is big enough to start to recognise some broad patterns.

Image 1: Top 8 most popular year 11 history topics in New Zealand

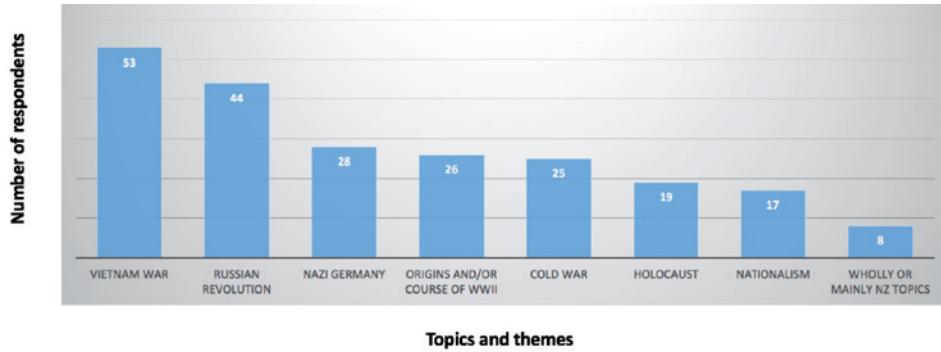


Source: New Zealand History Teachers Association (NZHTA), 2015.

This first graph shows the top eight most popular topics taught in year 11, the first year history becomes a stand-alone subject with national examinations and when students are about 15 years old. The questionnaire did not differentiate between topics or themes and it asked teachers to choose major and minor topics they taught from a pre-given list; either ones that were favoured before the 2007 curriculum change, were well supported with text books or ones that anecdotally were known to be popular. Teachers who taught topics outside the list in this survey ticked “other”. This group probably includes the teachers that allow students to choose some of the topics they study, which has become common practice.

As you can see, Black Civil Rights in the USA is very popular, with many teachers indicating that this topic formed a part of their year 11 curriculum. Students in year 11 are also highly likely to come across some New Zealand history and one or both of the World Wars.

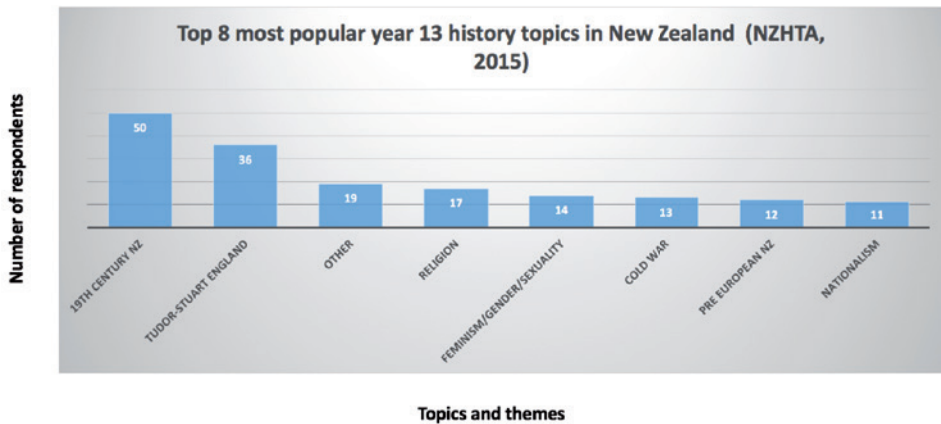
Image 2: Top 8 most popular year 12 history topics in New Zealand



Source: New Zealand History Teachers Association (NZHTA), 2015.

In year 12, war is a dominant theme and topics that focus purely on New Zealand history are less popular. I should add, this doesn't mean that teachers are not making links between these topics and New Zealand because, if you remember, all topics should connect to New Zealand in some way, either by taking place in New Zealand involving or influencing New Zealanders. Like in year 11, most topics are from the 20th century.

Image 3: Top 8 most popular year 13 history topics in New Zealand



Source: New Zealand History Teachers Association (NZHTA), 2015.

By year 13, the graph looks quite different. The old prescribed topics of nineteenth century New Zealand and the Tudors and Stuarts remain popular, though 19th century New Zealand history has overtaken the English history topic from previous years.

While not perfect data, some things stand out immediately from these graphs: i) the focus on the history of conflict in the 20th century, especially in the first two years of the history curriculum ii) New Zealand topics are less prominent than you might expect or find in other countries' history curricula. And iii) there is very little that can be readily identifiable as Māori history, pre or post European contact. All three of these trends have been examined and critiqued by educationalists. They remain persistent patterns that are impervious to significant curriculum changes, such as the 2007 curriculum with its focus on historical thinking and lack of topic prescription. Before I explore in more depth some of the challenges associated with New Zealand's high autonomy history curriculum, I'd like to highlight some of the generous opportunities it allows teachers, opportunities that I and many if not most of my teaching colleagues would be reluctant to give up.

Opportunities

In 2015 the New Zealand Ministry of Education funded the “Māori History Project”, an initiative that helped to build working relationships between teachers and local Māori tribal groupings. The purpose of this was to develop history curriculum that better reflected Māori historical perspectives, did not limit history to the arrival of European explorers or settlers and connected students to land-based approaches to teaching history that did not remain stuck in the classroom. It was developed out of concern that Māori history was not being included in social sciences curriculum.

This project included groups of teachers from around New Zealand, though the overall involvement of teachers relative to the size of the teaching profession was very small. While not funded for long enough to result in any real shifts in topic selection or approaches to teaching history on a wider scale, it did have a positive and enduring impact for many of the teachers who participated. In Wellington, where I teach, a small group of teachers in the central city designed an 8-10 week unit that was responsive to the stories of colonisation associated with the land immediately outside the doors of several large high schools. Designed and resourced in collaboration with local Māori experts, students compared the impact of colonisation on a Māori community with a settler family, were taken around key sites by descendants of Māori formerly in occupation of the areas now under the city, paddled in waka (or traditional canoes) around parts of Wellington Harbour's and engaged in a range of other locally produced activities and historical content

developed by teachers working with Māori.

The high autonomy entrusted to teachers involved in the Māori history project gave us considerable flexibility to design locally relevant history curriculum. Teachers were able to work with Māori to choose how students would be assessed and with what historical context. From the Ministry of Education's perspective, this is the intention behind New Zealand's flexible curriculum. Schools are self-governing entities with boards of trustees appointed by and from the local community. Although teaching staff are funded centrally by the government, the curriculum of each school is meant to reflect local community needs.

This is just one example of the enormous opportunities that our history curriculum makes not only possible, but actively encourages. Many other New Zealand History teachers have presented other examples of their creative and critically-minded teaching at conferences, in books, journals and on online forums. However, we need to acknowledge that despite these opportunities, no curriculum model is neutral and that there are some significant challenges to be overcome especially when it comes to the teaching of difficult histories.

Challenges to be overcome

For me, one important goal of the New Zealand history curriculum is to develop disciplinary understanding of the contested aspects of New Zealand's colonial past and its contemporary legacies. This requires teachers who have deep disciplinary knowledge of New Zealand's colonial history and the cultural abilities to work with their local Māori communities to incorporate authentic Māori perspectives. It also requires a pedagogy in which teachers are confident at engaging with and responding to controversy in their classrooms.

Unfortunately learning about the complexities of New Zealand's colonial past is extremely difficult when history is optional. One solution is for central government to do what other nations do and prescribe topics at a junior level when all students learn social studies. The petition to Parliament illustrated in the first video clip has in fact resulted in frequent calls for compulsory teaching of the New Zealand Wars, calls which the Ministry of Education has dismissed. Among the social sciences community in New Zealand the question of mandating certain topics is deeply controversial. For example, former history teacher and now educator Mark Sheehan (2017) argues that:

... the high-autonomy model mitigates against young people developing an understanding of the traumatic experiences of colonisation. In many schools, teachers are not sufficiently confident in their knowledge of controversial features

of the colonial past and/or not well supported by their school community to address such questions.

In response to Sheehan, one experienced classroom teacher, Paul Enright, doubts that teachers do not engage with New Zealand's colonial past. Rejecting any form of mandatory topics, Enright argued that teachers "need to be persuaded and empowered, not by direction, but by opportunity to discover, discuss and explore colonial and postcolonial contexts (within and beyond New Zealand)."

Personally I do not have anything intrinsically against some level of content prescription, but mandating certain topics is an inadequate measure on its own for dealing with the complex problems associated with teaching controversial history in New Zealand. If, for example, the New Zealand Wars are made compulsory in the history curriculum, most students would still not encounter them because history is an elective subject. If the New Zealand Wars were made compulsory in social studies, a subject all students do take, their teachers may well not be trained in the disciplinary practices of historical thinking, and whose version of the New Zealand Wars will be taught? And what about other important topics? Or other aspects of colonisation? The risk of mandating topics is that teachers be left in the cold to deal with the pedagogical challenges of teaching contested, difficult histories when issues of identity and emotion become of critical importance.

New Zealand needs a history curriculum that gives teachers autonomy to design curriculum that suits the communities of individual schools. At the same time, we need to better acknowledge the power dynamics inherent within any society that make uncomfortable, difficult history (usually the history of the marginalized), less likely to be engaged with. This is no easy task. Mandating topics is one response. I have heard others suggest quotas, where a certain percentage of a history course has to be New Zealand history. More formally listing a set of aims for history curriculum, such as students having the opportunity to engage with aspects of New Zealand's colonial past, might be something to consider. Teachers would retain the autonomy to select how they go about meeting that aim. And of course, much greater support from the Ministry of Education for initiatives such as the Māori History project would make a difference.

In the meantime, New Zealand's high curriculum autonomy in the social sciences remains and will likely do so for some time yet. So where does that leave history teachers? If students do not elect history in their senior years,

history departments shrink and the jobs of teachers are potentially on the line. New Zealand History teachers operate in a marketplace environment. One approach might be to make history as fun as possible, teaching the safe topics that they know the majority of students will enjoy. This to me is an abdication of our responsibility as teachers. We need to open the eyes of all students to New Zealand's troubled past. New Zealand teachers have the challenge of finding creative ways to engage students with New Zealand's history, especially the topics that are controversial such as colonisation and its legacies. So I would now like to offer three strategies that I think can help teachers in New Zealand, and possibly South Africa, to manage the pedagogical challenges of teaching difficult histories.

Strategies for teaching difficult histories in New Zealand

Develop powerful historical inquiry questions

Teachers in New Zealand dealing with the complexities of European colonisation could use historical inquiry questions as a key tool to design sequences of lessons. Historical inquiry questions are common practice in the United Kingdom. U.K history educator Michael Riley says that a good inquiry question comprises a sequence of 2-8 lessons. Led by the teacher, the question should i) foregrounds an historical concept, ii) be challenging and interesting for students to explore and iii) result in an outcome or performance opportunity of some sort.

UK authors Abdul Mohamud and Robin Whitburn's book *Doing Justice to History* (2016) is an interesting example of an approach to difficult histories that use historical inquiry questions. They developed an inquiry in South Africa that asks students to consider resistance to Apartheid and to challenge simplistic narratives that focussed entirely on Nelson Mandela. Their inquiry question: "Why did Beyers Naude break rank with his church in 1963?" held together a sequence of six lessons that explored the historical perspective of this interesting white pastor who slowly realised the oppressive nature of Apartheid and spoke out against it. A well designed inquiry question gives a sequence of lessons a sense of urgency and demands that students engage with the past, its traces and interpretations carefully and critically. Mohamud and Whitburn's inquiry showed how this was done in a way that was attentive to the interplay of students' historical understanding, moral values and multiple social identities.

Their chapter demonstrated how historical inquiry questions can enable a deep engagement with a difficult aspect of South Africa's past. If anyone has read this book and especially this chapter I'd love to know what you thought of it.

Acknowledge and respond to students' emotional reactions to difficult history

Irish educator Alan McCully and U.S educator Keith Barton (2007) suggest this strategy for teachers when dealing with controversial issues. They argue that a totally rational approach that responds to controversy through greater attention to the conventions of historical thinking is unlikely to work in topics that involve students' cultural identities. They write that ignoring or not acknowledging students' emotional responses to certain topics may put up barriers to careful, evidenced-based deliberation or mean that history simply ceases to have any relevance to them. Their specific recommendations are that teachers

- Hold their nerve when students respond emotionally
- Provide a chance to wind down at the end of class
- Allow extreme positions to be voiced
- Do not hide their own views
- Admit their uncertainties.

These suggestions were developed from research carried out in Northern Ireland and the authors are careful not to claim they apply everywhere. However, I see them as useful ideas to be experimented with in other countries to engage students with sensitive, controversial history. One topic that in my previous school would often elicit resistance from white students was the Treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840 between many Māori chiefs and the British Crown. Asking students to write down the nature of their emotional response to this topic, putting all of their responses on the board and analysing themes helped me to overcome some (though not all) of students' emotional resistance to this topic. It put the emotions on a piece of paper symbolically distanced from individual students which helped to create a space for good discussion about a contested issue and why it was that some students held particular beliefs. We also tracked, over time, the history of dominant reactions to the Treaty of Waitangi demonstrating that the views of people in the class had a history themselves and could be identified with certain historical trends. In short, I used to turn students' emotional response to a topic into a topic of inquiry, drawing on many of Barton and McCully's specific suggestions

Explore local history by getting outside of school

Young New Zealanders often prefer to learn about distant places far from New Zealand than the history of their own country (Levstik, 2001; Harcourt, 2016). I recently taught several classes that held this belief, which was amplified when I told them we would be learning about the history of people and places right outside the school gate. Over a period of three years I ran an assessment that asked students to investigate the historical significance of local events or places through the medium of an historical soundwalk. I define a soundwalk as an evidence-based tour around a particular location that actively uses combinations of the physical surroundings, pre-existent historical interpretations, contemporary ambient sounds and thoughts from people living, working or passing through a particular location. These features, in tight combination with sources, are used to construct a judgment of historical significance that actively draws the listener in to experiencing a place in new ways. A sound walk is recorded in MP3 format and uploaded to a public website. A true sound walk has to be recorded at the site and can only be fully experienced if listened to at the intended location. My students started the project by arguing that New Zealand history was not important and that “nothing happened in Wellington anyway” and finished with a much greater appreciation of some of Wellington’s hidden histories of violence, racism, sexism and other forms of oppression (Harcourt, 2016).

A group of public historians in Columbia, Missouri in the United States asked the evocative question “Is It Possible That Remembering Local History Can Heal Old Wounds?” (AASLH, 2015). The historians involved the community in creating public awareness of a painful past where a vibrant African American business district was shut down for so-called “public renewal”. Reflecting on my sound walks project, it should have been guided more deeply by their kind of question: “is it possible that remembering local Māori history through sound walks can heal old wounds?” I was successful in changing many of my students’ views on the significance of New Zealand history. But giving students choice over which “hidden history” they would focus on for their sound walk meant no one engaged with Wellington’s Māori history. The sound walks project was a start in the right direction. Asking students to consider the way that the past has been remembered, forgotten, and silenced through direct engagement with the material landscape resulted in a deeper appreciation of the importance of learning New Zealand’s difficult histories in ways that I haven’t achieved with more traditional classroom practices.

The common theme to all three strategies mentioned here is an appreciation of the affective components of history education. In my view, teachers need to take up the pedagogical challenges of engaging with students' emotions, identities and values as well as attending to rational, evidence-based historical thinking.

Conclusion

I would like to conclude today's talk with a story from a completely different country. I have been fortunate through my life to spend considerable time in Germany, which began in 1998 when I was an exchange student in Leipzig, in the former East. On a trip to Germany in the early 2000s I visited some friends in Nuremberg. It was a novelty to have a young New Zealander with some German speaking ability in town, and we talked about the fact that in World War Two my grandfather was captured in North Africa and held as a prisoner of war in Germany not far from Nuremberg. My friends were determined to take me to the Nuremberg rallying grounds. This group of 6-7 young Germans took me around this historical site, contextualised its history and with a mixture of seriousness and humour talked about this aspect of Germany's past. The Germans have a wonderful word to describe this, *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* which means:

- Dealing with, or coping with the past or
- The struggle to overcome the negatives aspects of the past.

I don't know how representative my friends' willingness to talk about the Nazi era is of young Germans, either back then in the early 2000s or today. But I think their ability to do so is related to German society's willingness to confront its difficult past of genocide and the Nazi terror, both in the school curriculum and in society more broadly.

It is my hope that German exchange students in New Zealand might also be taken by their Kiwi friends to some of the places I have mentioned today, or any of the numerous sites around my country associated with the uncomfortable histories of colonisation and European contact. These hypothetical German exchange students could have my country's difficult histories' acknowledged, explained and discussed by their New Zealand friends. At the moment such a situation is unlikely and it highlights a major challenge for New Zealanders.

This leaves one final question: so what? Why do the people in this room need to know about how we do things in New Zealand? Perhaps it comes back

to one important goal of education: creating non-violent spaces for critical dialogue where differences can be discussed and negotiated openly. Maybe understanding the opportunities and challenges to come from different forms of history curriculum can help us, as educators and teachers, to better realise that goal. Thank you!

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SASHT REGIONAL REPORT (2017)

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During 2017 the Executive Committee of the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) continued with its efforts to stimulate interest in History and History teaching in the various provinces of South Africa. Except for the Northern Cape, the SASHT currently has regional representation in all the provinces of South Africa. However, the regional representatives for Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal have changed career paths and need to be replaced.

The SASHT's regional representatives are expected to organise at least one History-related regional event per year, publicise the SASHT's many activities, compile a data base of History teachers where it does not yet exist, recruit new members for the SASHT, and act as a bridge between schools, universities, the museum sector and the Department of Education.

Regional representatives have apparently been facing severe work pressure this year, which may explain why only a few feedback reports have been received.

What follows below is a brief overview (in alphabetical order) of the activities that have been taking place in the provinces during 2017:

Eastern Cape, Free State, Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal

Unfortunately, no feedback was received from these provinces. This should improve in 2018 when two newly appointed regional representatives, Mr Knysna Motumi (Free State) and Dr Valencia Mabalane (Gauteng) will be joining the extended SASHT Executive. If the new Executive could find a replacement for KwaZulu-Natal and re-establish contact with (or replace) the Eastern Cape representative, feedback from at least eight of the nine provinces could be ensured.

Limpopo

For a variety of reasons History education has come under pressure in Limpopo during the last few years, witnessing a drop in the Grade 12 History pass rate in 2016.

The good news is that the provincial coordinator for History, Mr Jake Manenzhe, and his team of curriculum advisors are working around the clock to support History teachers and improve results in the province. While doing

so, they also promote the SASHT and encourage educators to attend the Society's annual conference.

SASHT regional representative for Limpopo, Mr Wilfred Chauke, reports that a number of strategies were devised during 2017 to improve learner performance:

Curriculum advisors from the five districts in Limpopo held meetings with the Provincial Coordinator at the beginning of the year. They also moved from one cluster to another and conducted subject meetings with the teachers. The focus of these meetings was the analysis of the Grade 12 exam results for 2016, unpacking the diagnostic report and tabling strategies to improve learner performance. During these cluster meetings teachers with marking experience shared common errors that candidates make in examinations and discussed strategies to minimize these mistakes. Similar to previous years, these errors included the interpretation and response to essay questions, paragraph questions and some high order source-based questions.

Several content workshops were also conducted to unpack the new History content for 2017. These workshops focused on the Cuban Missile Crisis, China, Independent Africa (Congo and Tanzania), the Civil Rights Movement in the USA, Black Power Movement and Civil Resistance in South Africa.

In addition, teachers were encouraged to use common tests in the districts and the same mid-year examination paper for Grade 12. Districts had to identify panels of teachers to set and moderate the papers for the lower grades. This exercise was aimed at building capacity among the teachers.

Following the introduction of new content in the 2017 History Curriculum, the Department of Basic Education conducted National Workshops for selected delegates from the districts in June 2017. In turn, districts conducted more content workshops following the National training. It is hoped that this latest drive will strengthen the teachers' ability to teach the subject in 2017 and beyond.

History teachers in Limpopo also received support from other institutions.

The Department of Arts and Culture facilitated a workshop for teachers and learners on oral history which would be followed by an oral history competition in September 2017. This initiative was aimed at strengthening the skills and interest in the subject among learners.

- The University of South Africa continued its support for History teachers in the Limpopo during 2017 via a community-engaged research project under the leadership of Henriëtte Lubbe of the Unisa History Department. This included a two-day 'Train-the-Trainer' History Skills Training workshop in August 2017 in Polokwane, during which 40 History teachers were equipped with the necessary facilitation, leadership and History skills to mentor fellow teachers throughout the province in an attempt to improve the teaching of historical research and writing.

- On 3 August 2017 the Ministerial Task Team conducted a consultative forum in Limpopo on the prospect of introducing History to all the learners in the Further Education and Training Band. Teachers from different districts, Union representatives, and other stakeholders attended the meeting. The Task Team presented scenarios from several countries and highlighted the challenges that South Africa has to deal with in preparing to introduce the subject to all the learners. Various speakers emphasised their conviction that it would be to the benefit of the country should the subject be taken by all learners.

Mpumalanga

SASHT regional representative for Mpumalanga, Ms Keneilwe Mosala (from the eMalahleni Sub-District), reports that SASHT membership forms were handed out to History teachers in her district to fill out and forward to the SASHT, but it is not clear how many of these teachers followed through on joining the Society. Various cluster meetings (during which the DBE marking reports and new content topics were discussed), intervention workshops (dealing with assessment and other curriculum matters) and content workshops (during which problem content areas were discussed and teachers shared ideas around how best to teach certain themes) were held during the year. In addition, the 4th Provincial Oral History conference (funded by the Department of Culture, Sports and Recreation) took place on 31 August in Ermelo. Unfortunately, teacher attendance was not good. Last but not least a revision session of content for the NSC final exam was conducted by teachers in the Steve Tshwete municipality together with the Subject Advisor in September 2017.

Despite these positive developments, a few challenges remain:

- The number of schools offering History in Mpumalanga are dwindling. Several schools have opted to become MST (Maths, Science and Technology) schools, blaming poor performance in the Grade 12 final History examination (largely as a result of a language barrier) as the major reason.
- The SASHT Regional Representative has limited contact with three of the four sub-districts in Mpumalanga as a result of vast distances. This makes it difficult to publicise the activities of the SASHT throughout the whole province and submit a more comprehensive report.
- The Province currently does not have a Provincial History Subject Head/ Provincial Coordinator and has imposed a moratorium on promotional posts.
- During April to June 2017 SADTU members (who are in the majority of the teaching component) embarked on disengagement with the Education Department. During this time no curriculum support could be given to the schools.

North West Province

The SASHT regional representative for North-West province, Dr Pieter Warnich, reports that a very successful five-day workshop was presented to 180 Grade 10-12 History teachers (including nine subject advisors) during the school holidays from 17 to 21 July 2017.

This workshop was presented by the lecturers of the History subject group at the University of North-West's Potchefstroom campus upon the request of the Department of Education in the North-West Province. The workshop was hosted at the Omaramba Holiday Resort near Rustenburg and was geared towards preparing for the end-of-year examination. The various sessions covered the contents of certain prescribed themes, the interpretation of historical sources, and the art of writing a good history essay. Each participant received a file with teaching and learning support materials for future use.

Apart from the teachers who were most appreciative, the Department officials expressed great satisfaction with the outcome of the workshop.



History teachers and subject advisors at the workshop

Western Cape

The regional representative for the Western Cape, Mr Barry Firth, reports that 2017 has been a relatively quiet year in the sense that there were no flagship events, such as workshops for teachers. However, there has been much qualitative contact between members of the SASHT and institutions of higher learning.

In an attempt to raise awareness of the SASHT, Barry arranged to meet with final year History students at the University of Cape Town (UCT), Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) in Wellington, the University of Stellenbosch (US) and the University of the Western Cape (UWC).

His visit to UCT students occurred in June 2017 and led to the planning of another session in October. Barry reports that he was impressed with the students' ability to identify the importance of History as a school subject. He also shared with them his own experience as an educator at a school with limited resources.

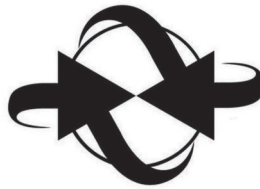
Barry was also invited to act as guest lecturer in the Sports History Department at the University of Stellenbosch in October. During this visit he also addressed Education students majoring in History and made use of the opportunity to publicise the activities of the SASHT.

A major highlight for the SASHT in the Western Cape was the request from the SASHT Executive to host the 2018 SASHT Conference in Cape Town. An organising committee is in place, and significant groundwork has already been completed.

We wish our Western Cape colleagues well and look forward to an exciting conference in 2018!

On behalf of the Executive of the SASHT, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the regional representatives who have worked hard during 2017 in promoting the Society and the historical discipline in their respective regions. I enjoyed my interaction with you and trust that you will give your full support to my successor.

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;

1.1.22 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 Journal, *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.
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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.
9. **Third level sub-headings:** '**History research**' – 11pt, bold, underline.
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:
Example: p.space23 – p. 23. / pp. 23-29.
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)’.

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

P Erasmus, “The ‘Lost’ South African Tribe – Rebirth Of The Koranna In The Free State”, *New Contree*, 50, November 2005, p. 77.

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

R Siebörger, Incorporating human rights into the teaching of History: Teaching materials, *Yesterday&Today*, 2, October 2008, pp. 1-14.

S Marks, “Khoisan resistance to the Dutch in the seventeenth and eighteen centuries”, *Journal of African History*, 3(1), 1972, p. 76.

Example of a shortened version of an article in a journal

From:

P Erasmus, “The ‘lost’ South African tribe – rebirth of the Koranna in the Free State”, *New Contree*, 50, November 2005, p. 77.

To:

P Erasmus, “The ‘lost’ South African tribe...”, *New Contree*, 50, November 2005, p. 77.

[Please note: ONLY the title of the article is shortened and not the finding place.]

Examples of a reference from a book

WF Lye & C Murray, *Transformations on the Highveld: The Tswana and the Southern Sotho* (Cape Town, David Phillip, 1980), pp. 7, 10.

JJ Buys, *Die oorsprong en migrasiebewegings van die Koranna en hulle rol in die Transgariet 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:

JA Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement: Calvinism, the Congregational Ministry, and reform in New England between the Great Awakenings* (Washington, Christian University Press, 1981), p. 23.

To:

JA Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement...*, p. 23.

Example of a reference from a chapter in a book

S Brown, “Diplomacy by other means: SWAPO’s liberation war”, C Leys, JS Saul et.al, *Namibia’s liberation struggle: The two-edged sword* (London, Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 19-39.

Shortened version:

S Brown, “Diplomacy by other means...”, C Leys, JS Saul et.al, *Namibia’s liberation struggle...*, pp. 19-39.

Example of a reference from an unpublished dissertation/thesis

MJ Dhlamini, "The relationship between the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, 1959-1990" (Ph.D, NWU, 2006), pp. 4, 8, 11.

Examples of a reference from a newspaper

P Coetzee, "Voëlvlugblik ATKV 75 op ons blink geskiedenis", *Die Transvaler*, 6 Januarie 2006, p. 8.

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)

K Rasool (Personal Collection), interview, K. Kotzé/E Schutte , 12 March 2006.

• Example of an Electronic Mail - document or letter

E-mail: W Pepler (Bigenafrika, 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 Dissel, "Tracking transformation in South African prisons", Track Two, 11(2), April 2002 (available at <http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za/two/11-2transformation.html>, as accessed on 14 Jan. 2003), pp. 1-3.

A source from conference proceedings

First reference to the source:

D Dollar, "Asian century or multi-polar century?" (Paper, Global Development Network Annual Conference, Beijing, January 2007), p. 7.

B Sautmann, "The forest for the trees: Trade investment and the China-in-Africa discourse" (Paper, Public Seminar: China in Africa: Race, relations and reflections, Centre for Sociological Research, University of Johannesburg, 28 July 2007), p. 7.

Shortened version:

D Dollar, "Asian century..." (Paper, GDN Conference, 2007), p. 7.

B Sautmann, "The forest for the trees: ..." (Paper, Public Seminar: China in Africa: ..., University of Johannesburg [or UJ]), p. 7.

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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.

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The Harvard reference method

References in the text

References are cited in the text by the author's(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**

Surname(s) and initials of author(s), year of publication, title of chapter, editor(s), title of book, place of publication and publisher: e.g. Masterman, L 1992. The case of television studies. In: M Alvarado & O Boyd-Barrett (eds.). *Media education: an introduction*. London: British Film Institute.

- **Unpublished theses or dissertations**

Fardon, JVV 2007. Gender in history teaching resources in South African public school. Unpublished DEd thesis. Pretoria: Unisa.

- **Anonymous newspaper references**

Daily Mail 2006. World Teachers' Day, 24 April.

- **Electronic references**

Published under author's name:

Marshall, J 2003. Why Johnny can't teach. *Reason*, December. Available at <http://www.reason.com/news/show/29399.html>. Accessed on 10 August 2010.

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.

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