

NO. 26
DECEMBER 2021

YESTERDAY
& TODAY



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Yesterday & Today is a scholarly, peer-reviewed and educationally focused history education 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 Department of Humanities Education in the Faculty of Education at the University of Pretoria. Open access to the journal is available on the SASHT, the SciELO, the University of Pretoria's UPJournals platform, and the Boloka websites. The Website addresses to find previous and current issues of the *Yesterday & Today* journal are:

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Two double-blind peer-reviewed issues are annually published. *Yesterday & Today* focus and envision research articles in the following fields of research:

- History teaching/education
- Educational history/History of education/History in education
- The History of any education-related theme
- History research that relates to any historical content or theme, especially represented in History curricula

The above covers 75% of the journal

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- Times New Roman 12 pt font and 1.5 spacing should be used
- Manuscripts in Microsoft Word should be submitted electronically to the editor
- Images (such as photographs, graphics, figures and diagrams) are welcome but the author(s) should secure the copyright of using images not developed by the author
- Six to ten keywords should be included in the manuscript
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Submissions accepted electronically via the UPJournals site -

https://upjournals.up.ac.za/index.php/yesterday_and_today/about/submissions

ISSN 2223-0386 (Print version) | ISSN 2309-9003 (Online version)

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EDITORIAL

History Education greetings,

Welcome to the December 2021 edition, volume 26, of *Yesterday & Today*. For the uninitiated, the journal is attached to the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT). This is the second edition since *Yesterday & Today* has moved home. Since its accreditation as an academic journal, *Yesterday & Today* had been housed at North West University. The decision of the editorial board was that *Yesterday & Today* should follow the editor-in-chief. Hence it is now housed by the Department of Humanities Education in the Faculty of Education at the University of Pretoria.

As authors, editors and reviewers, we are still burdened by COVID-19. However, my sense is that we have become better at working under such trying conditions. In this regard, I want to thank all that are involved with *Yesterday & Today*, in whatever capacity, for their unselfish efforts.

The December 2021 edition was meant to be a special edition on “History Curricula in African Contexts.” A substantial number of articles related to the theme were submitted for consideration. However, the rigorous double-blind peer review system employed by *Yesterday & Today* meant that a number of articles were either rejected or referred back for substantial changes. Two articles speaking directly to the call feature in this volume. In the first of these articles, Edward Mboyonga engages with the programmatic curriculum, examining the visual portrayal of women in Zambian senior secondary history textbooks. In the second, Rob Siebörger engages with the question of how, with reference to the South African History Curriculum and Policy Statement, a national curriculum can be quality ensured. These two articles are complemented with four pieces related to “History Curricula in African Contexts” in the subsequent “hands-on” section of this volume. Here, practicing history educationist from Eswatini, Kenya, Zambia and Zimbabwe shared experiences and thoughts on the history curriculum in their respective countries.

Apart from the works related to the special edition, five further articles are carried in the December edition.

- In the first article, Byron Bunt and Pieter Warnich investigated the use of historical sources by proposing a model, the Historically Imbedded Source-Based Analysis Model (HISBAM), for use in the History school classroom.
- In his article, Edwin Smith linked education for the public good by arguing for

the foregrounding of history in education.

- Mahunele Thotse, in his article, linked people, space and time by investigating the use of an image to teach history in a rural context.
- In the fourth article, Paul Maluleke engages theoretically with ideas of fallism as decoloniality and this could relate to the history curriculum in post-colonial-apartheid South Africa.
- In her contribution, Yolandi Woest used an autoethnographic lens to revisit a critical incident in the apartheid-era history class during her girlhood.

Finally, it is necessary to correct an error that appeared in the December 2018 article 'Reflecting the 2018 History Ministerial Task Team Report on Compulsory History.' It has been pointed out that the qualifications and teaching experiences of members of the History Ministerial Task Team were misrepresented. In this regard:

- Sifiso Ndlovu holds an MA in History Education. This was attained in 1993 at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
- Jabulani Sithole is an experienced school teacher who taught History at Sobantu High School in Pietermaritzburg. His qualifications include a History teacher's Diploma attained at Ndumiso Teacher College, Pietermaritzburg.
- Sekibakiba Lekgoathi has a postgraduate B.A.Ed. in History attained at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Take care and stay safe!

Johan Wassermann (Editor-in-Chief) and Denise Bentrovato (Guest Editor - History Curricula in African contexts)



Utilizing a Historically Imbedded Source-Based Analysis Model (HISBAM) in the History school classroom

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2021/n26a8>

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Abstract

This paper aims to elucidate upon a model that imbeds historical skills, concepts and categorizations into a source-based analysis approach utilizing levels of cognitive complexity by combining different types of sources into a coherent system. This model will focus on the South African school context. In this paper, concepts such as cause and effect and chronology will be explored, as well as historical categorizations of social, economic and political history. The taxonomy of source-based questioning will also be highlighted, as well as the variety of sources that could be used in a history classroom. Various theories and perspectives have emerged in the field of History, and these will also be explored to better understand the model in question. The paper will conclude with an in-depth explanation as to how this Historically Imbedded Source-Based Analysis Model could be used in the history classroom and the potential benefits that this model holds.

Keywords: Historiography; Levels of questioning; Cognitive complexity; Source-Based Analysis Model (HISBAM); History classroom; South Africa; Curriculum

Introduction

Using and analysing different types of historical sources teaches history learners to interrogate the past from political, social, economic and other perspectives to compel them to form their own interpretations and narratives (Warnich, 2006:23). The aim is to enable learners to extract, analyse and interpret evidence from sources, just like historians do, and write their own piece of history. The emphasis is therefore on the doing of history as a process rather than a product. (DoBE, 2011:8).

The focus on a source-based approach to the teaching, learning and assessment of history has been in place for several decades. In fact, this approach has been used in History classrooms around the world since 1910 and has been strongly supported in South Africa since the 1970s (Warnich, 2006:23). This source-based approach survived all the revisions of the History curriculum that started in 1994 as part of the democratization of South Africa's educational system, including the last revision in 2011, when the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) of the national curriculum statement (NCS) was promulgated (Reyneke & Bunt, 2022:55-68).

History learners tend to struggle with the interpretation of the sources as they do not always know how to prioritize information in order to extract relevant information to answer questions (compare, for example, GPG, 2019: slide 5; Misipa, 2016:vii). Furthermore, many learners are second- or third-language English speakers with cultural backgrounds quite distinct from those of the authors of the source materials being taught or utilized in exams. As a result, many learners find the source material confusing or incomprehensible. Therefore, cartoons are used sparingly, as teachers do not find them useful (Bunt & Bunt, 2019:42-59).

Teachers and examiners responsible for setting source-based questions also sometimes find it difficult to formulate questions based on the taxonomies of cognitive demand that are mostly based on Bloom's revised taxonomy (Anderson & Kratwohl, 2001). For these individuals, it is a challenge to find a common interpretation of the different levels of cognitive demand (see Table 1) as required by the NCS-CAPS (Umalusi, 2018:3,7; Umalusi, 2010:26-27). Furthermore, and as the research data in this article points out, teachers and examiners also struggle to identify appropriate sources that can test a wide variety of historical skills and concepts. An over-reliance on text-based sources or political sources seems to be the order of the day.

The Historically Imbedded Source-Based Analysis Model (HISBAM) seeks to address these issues by combining different types of sources and to achieve a common interpretation

of cognitive levels and historical categorizations.

Working with sources in the History classroom: An orientation

Sources are the raw material of history and can be considered as evidence that a certain event occurred (Howell & Prevenier, 2001:17-20). These include artefacts, letters, documents, books, photographs, drawings and paintings, speeches, monuments, statues and buildings, tables and graphs, maps, poems, diaries, songs, etc. (Dalton & Charnigo, 2004:400-425). They can be written, oral, visual or any other material that is useful to the historian to find historical evidence. Historians construct a view of the past by using what has survived to glean information/evidence (Dalton & Charnigo, 2004:400-425). These sources are often classified as primary, secondary or tertiary (Haw, 2016:104).

A primary source is produced at or around the time of the event or after the event by a witness to it (Marwick, 1994:16-23). It can include poems, original artwork, speeches, autobiographies, diaries, etc. It comes from the time the historian is studying and provides learners with opportunities to have a more direct encounter with past events and people (Dalton & Charnigo, 2004:400-425). It links learners to the human emotions, aspirations and values that prevailed in another time (Marwick, 1994:16-23).

A secondary source is written sometime after the event by someone who did not witness it (Camic, Gross & Lamont, 2012:135). It is usually the products of historians, journalists or writers who make use of the available primary and secondary sources in constructing a view of a specific historical event. Textbooks, journal articles, commentaries and encyclopaedias are all examples of secondary sources. Tertiary sources rely almost entirely on secondary sources and represent broad surveys. Dictionaries and Wikipedia are two examples of tertiary sources (Haw, 2016:104). Although knowing whether a source is primary, secondary or tertiary is important, it is more important to explain whether a source is useful or reliable (Dalton & Charnigo, 2004:400-425). Teachers need to get learners to understand that the usefulness of a source depends on the questions that are asked of it.

Perhaps the most important thing to know about these three types of sources is that teachers assess them differently when trying to decide such things as their usefulness and reliability (DoBE, 2011:33). Most of what will be said about reliability refers to primary sources, so what should teachers be looking for when assessing a secondary source? The key features are the reputation of the author and/or publisher, evidence of extensive

and balanced research (bibliography and footnotes) and, in the case of historians, some knowledge as to which historical school the historian belongs to (liberal, Marxist, nationalist, post-modern and so forth) (DoBE, 2011:42).

Skills and concept development

Working with sources in the History classroom contributes to the development of learners' historical skills and concept development. According to the History FET NCS-CAPS document (DoBE, 2011:9), several skills can be developed in the subject of History. These include (i) analysis, which is the ability to understand evidence, assess its reliability and recognize bias, prejudice, cause and effect, omissions and irrelevancies, (ii) evaluation, which is the ability to assess the authority of evidence and relate it to its historical context, to recognize bias and inappropriate emotional content, to evaluate human conduct in its historical context and to test hypotheses, (iii) communication, which refers to the ability to communicate using a variety of written forms, to present a case verbally, to pose questions, to discuss and listen and to make valid historical statements through art and drama, (iv) synthesis, which is the ability to select evidence, to analyse facts in sequence, to use historical data to make imaginative reconstructions and to organize material of the past into a coherent narrative, (v) judgment, which is particularly important when learners are asked to assess the reliability of evidence and helps learners arrive at an opinion or give an estimate of reliability that is based on critical reflection, and (vi) extrapolation, which is the process whereby learners learn to come to conclusions about a historical situation using inference from known facts. In so doing, they learn to apply their understanding of a particular period of time to other historical situations (DoBE, 2011:9; Salevouris, 2015:27-36).

From the abovementioned skills, it is apparent that, in the History classroom, utilizing skills to interpret and communicate ideas based on sources/evidence is of paramount importance. The HISBAM seeks to align these skills into a coherent system in which analysis of sources is carried out holistically. However, certain key concepts need to be clarified further, as these concepts were also imbedded into the HISBAM.

According to the History NCS-CAPS document (DoBE, 2011:10), several concepts are central to the understanding of History. These are (i) similarity and difference, (ii) continuity and change, (iii) cause and effect, (iv) chronology, (v) bias, (vi) empathy and (vii) reliability. The HISBAM is explicitly focused on continuity, change, cause and effect and chronology.

It is critical that learners utilize the abovementioned concepts in order to make sense of sources. The HISBAM incorporates the concepts of continuity, change, cause and effect and chronology in a systematic way, and they are always tested no matter how questions are phrased. The other concepts can be tested in the model, but this depends on how the questions are phrased.

Source specifications: Integrate and differentiate

For a holistic understanding of a certain historical topic/theme, it is necessary for the historical sources to be, as far as possible, an integration and representation of the social, economic and political historiography.

Social history, often called the new social history, is a field of history that looks at the lived experience of the past. A people's history, or history from below, is a type of historical narrative which attempts to account for historical events from the perspective of common people rather than political and other leaders (Tolley, 2017:471-477). A people's history is the history of the world that is the story of mass movements and of the outsiders (Conner, 2009:1-6). Individuals not previously included in other types of writing about history are part of this theory's primary focus, which includes the disenfranchised, the oppressed, the poor, the nonconformists, and the otherwise forgotten people (Tolley, 2017:471-477).

Social history is crucial within the classroom. The fact that our perception of the past changes and is contested makes it all the more important that we are able to make informed judgments about it and defend our own sense of who we are against those who would deny, dismiss or marginalize it (Tilly, 1995:1-17). Social history is a critical part of active citizenship in a democratic society. Growing up in poor or marginalized communities, it can be difficult to develop a sense of pride in where you come from and who you are, still less the sense of agency and possibility necessary to make the most of one's talents and aptitudes and change things for the better (Tilly, 1995:1-17).

Economic history is the study of economies or economic phenomena of the past. Analysis in economic history is undertaken using a combination of historical methods, statistical methods and the application of economic theory to historical situations and institutions (Kindleberger, 1990:13-14). The topic of economic history includes financial and business history and overlaps with areas of social history such as demographic and labour history (Whaples, 2010:17-20).

Economic history is important for History learners, as it is a way to make sense of how people of the past negotiated with the material world around them, including,

it should be stressed, other people (hence the common pairing of economic and social history) (Allender, Clark & Parkes, 2020:23-25). Teaching economic history also provides invaluable insight into the big global challenges of today's world and those of the past – whether it is trade wars, colonization, exploitation, financial crises, migration pressures, climate change or extreme political uncertainty (Allender *et al.*, 2020:23-25).

Political history is the narrative and survey of political events, ideas, movements, organs of government, voters, parties and leaders (Percy, Richard & Kirkendall, 2011:110-112). Political history studies the organization and operation of power in large societies (Parthasarathi, 2006:771-778) by focusing on the elites in power, their impact on society, popular response and the relationships with the elites in other areas of social history.

An important aspect of political history is the study of ideology as a force for historical change. Percy *et al.* (2011:110) assert that “political history as a whole cannot exist without the study of ideological differences and their implications”. Studies of political history typically centre around a single nation or leader and its political change and development. In particular, the focus on leaders can be linked to The Great Man Theory, which aims to explain history by the impact of “great men”, or heroes: highly influential individuals who, due to their personal charisma, intelligence, wisdom, or Machiavellianism, utilized their power in a way that had a decisive historical impact (Faulkner, 2008:57). However, only focusing on this type of history does not give learners an adequate understanding of the forces and events that have shaped the communities in which most of us live (Allender *et al.*, 2020:23-25).

Apart from using historical sources to integrate and represent the social, economic and political historiography, one should also differentiate, as indicated earlier, between various types of primary, secondary and tertiary sources. These must include different types of sources, such as speeches, graphs, diaries, cartoons, poems, etc. (Barton, 2018:1-11).

Source-based assessment and cognitive levels

The extent to which a learner has acquired the key historical skills and developed an understanding of the key historical concepts is usually established through their ability to answer source-based questions set specifically to determine these (DoBE, 2011:33). The questions can be set at three complexity levels. However, in terms of the HISBAM, a fourth level has been added, which will be elaborated upon. The following table outlines the three levels as set out in the History policy document of NCS-CAPS.

Table 1: Cognitive levels and source-based assessment

Cognitive Levels	Source-based assessment questions and tasks
LEVEL 1 (L1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extract evidence from sources
LEVEL 2 (L2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explain historical concepts • Straightforward interpretation of the sources • What is being said by the author or creator of the source? What are the views or opinions on an issue expressed by a source? • Compare information in sources
LEVEL 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpret and evaluate information and data from sources • Engage with questions of bias, reliability and usefulness of sources • Compare and contrast interpretations and perspectives within sources and by authors of sources

Source: (DoBE, 2011:33)

As can be seen from the above table, more cognitively complex thinking is required as we move from level 1 to 3. Level 1 merely requires learners to extract answers that are already present in the source, such as “Who is depicted in this photo?”. Level 2 requires a straightforward interpretation of a source using a historical concept. Very basic comparisons can be made, usually only with two sources. A question on this level could be “What symbols are being used in this cartoon?” or “What is the view of the author in this text?”. Level 3 would require learners to evaluate information from a given source, to assess reliability, bias and usefulness and to make wider comparisons of multiple sources. A question on this level could be something like “Evaluate the cartoonist’s message in this cartoon against your own knowledge and state whether you agree with it or not” or “Assess the reliability of this source and elaborate if any bias is present”.

The authors suggest that a fourth level be added to this taxonomy, which entails learners synthesizing information from a multitude of sources related to the central topic in question. These types of questions typically link to extended (essay) writing, which is a pivotal form of assessment in the History classroom.

This type of assessment provides an effective means of testing the learner’s comprehension of a topic. Learners must show that they have not only acquired knowledge of the topic but also fully understood the topic and the issues it raises. In history, writing an essay provides learners with an opportunity to explore a particular issue or theme in more depth. It should not be simply a list of facts or a description of opinions but a clear line of argument substantiated by accurate and well explained factual evidence gathered from the sources provided and the writer’s own knowledge (Van Eeden, 1999:111). Furthermore, extended writing embodies historical thinking as the learner progressively develop skills in

research, analysing different forms of source material, using different kinds of evidence, and writing strong, critical and clear arguments (Harris, 2001:13-14; Van Eeden, 1997:98-110)

Using sources as evidence in extended writing does not mean extracting information from them verbatim and putting it in paragraphs; it means extracting evidence from all the sources provided and using it as facts and opinions for your extended writing (Van Eeden, 1999:112). Mere copying of sources is a clear indication that the learner does not understand the question or does not know enough about the topic. Consequently, there is no proof of the application of any historical skills.

Level 4 questions will thus require that learners write an essay for which they will need to collect a wide variety of sources by themselves, prioritize the relevant information, synthesize the gist of the arguments, and sequence them into a coherent piece of writing. This is regarded as the highest level of source-based analysis. However, this is viewed as an overall balance and is not necessarily used in every question on the exam paper.

History as a fundamental science vs an applied science

The subject History has also been the subject of debate relating to its position as either a fundamental or applied science. This debate primarily focuses on whether History as a subject can be applied and whether skills can be developed within the subject (Roll-Hansen, 2009:30). This debate will also be investigated, as the HISBAM utilizes a source-based approach that expects students to apply skills to scrutinize sources. History as an applied science emphasizes constructivist models of learner engagement with the past, a world history encompassing the experiences of a variety of groups and a focus on historical skills and concept development through the scrutiny of sources. Historical thinking, reading and analysing sources, recognizing bias and critical thinking abilities were among the goals of teaching history to learners. Doing history is the main focus (Bertram, 2008:155-177).

Fundamental science (or basic science/pure science) is science that describes the most basic objects and forces, or the relationships between them and laws governing them, such that all other phenomena may, in principle, be derived from them following the logic of scientific reductionism (Schauz, 2014:273-328).

Applied science is the application of scientific knowledge transferred into a physical environment (Roll-Hansen, 2009:30). Examples include testing a theoretical model through the use of formal science or solving a practical problem through the use of natural science (Roll-Hansen, 2009:30).

To the layperson, History mainly revolves around the study of the known actions

and decisions of people within their society, especially those actions which have some significance for society. History is defined as communication of knowledge that has been obtained through enquiring (Joseph & Janda, 2008:63). It is important that human societies and their individual past experiences, as well as their collective past and the past of the human individual, be embedded in culture (Joseph & Janda, 2008:63).

The suggestion that history can also be, and perhaps is mainly suited to being used as an applied science will probably stir some historians. Generally, the modern way of thinking seems to be the other way around, namely that other sciences can be put to use in history. 'Applied' literally means 'to put to practical use' (Roll-Hansen, 2009:30).

However, many historians argue that history can be applied using various approaches (Bertram, 2008:155-177), particularly with source-based assessment that tests historical skills such as chronology or similarity and difference, which the authors believe in strongly. Historical thinking and skills can be used when analysing sources or engaging in role-play.

When working with sources, it is also necessary to differentiate between the types of sources. Apart from primary, secondary and tertiary sources, the sources should include speeches, graphs, diaries, cartoons, poems, and so forth (Barton, 2018:1-11).

In source-based assessment, students use sources to develop judgments about the past. Due to the need to assess a range of sources, both textual and visual, and integrate them to produce meaningful solutions to historical issues, this inductive approach requires higher-order thinking (Barton, 2018:1-11).

If possible, when illustrating historical events or time periods, for example, the sources utilized must be deliberately selected to pique learners' interest, and learners must be given the opportunity to ponder over them and create their own thoughts and views about the period under discussion. Reducing the use of visual sources such as maps, cartoons and pictures will not motivate learners (Barton, 2018:1-11).

Methodology

In this study, the researchers made use of a document analysis methodology (Maree, 2020:186-187) to gather data that was used to design the HISBAM. Document analysis, like other qualitative research methodologies, is a process of analysing or assessing documents that necessitates the examination and interpretation of data to extract significance, acquire insight and build empirical knowledge (Corbin & Strauss, 2008:1-3; Rapley, 2007:123-138). The following policy documents relating to source-based work were analysed: the History NCS-CAPS (FET), Grades 10-12 (DoBE, 2011), the National Protocol for

Assessment Grades R-12 (DoBE, 2012) and the History source work and extended writing guide for Grades 10-12 (DoBE, circa 2016). They were mainly studied to acquaint the authors with what these documents envisioned when it comes to the implementation of source-based material in the History class. Other documents analysed were exam papers and their addenda (in which the sources appear) for Grades 10 to 12 from 2017 to 2019. The researchers purposively focused on analysing previous History question papers and addenda to gauge the types of sources being used and familiarise themselves with the questions that were asked based on the sources.

Finding, choosing, evaluating (making meaning of), and synthesizing data contained in documents is part of the analytic method (Bowen, 2009:27-40). Document analysis produces data in the form of excerpts, quotes, or whole portions, which are then organized into main topics, categories and case examples using content analysis (Labuschagne, 2003:100-103).

An interpretivist phenomenological approach was followed, where qualitative document analysis was employed. In an interpretivist approach, the focus is on "...an in-depth understanding of how meaning is created in everyday life and the real-world" (Travis, 1999:1042) and the data are not accepted at face value – rather, researchers seek to go beyond this to identify hidden meanings (Newby, 2014:463). Apart from studying the mentioned school policy documents relating to the intended use of source-based material in the history classroom, data were collected by scrutinizing the sources used in past papers in order to identify possible gaps in the types of sources used (overuse of one type), whether all the domains of History were represented by the sources (social, economic and political) and the chronological representation of events depicted in the sources (causes, course and consequences).

Results and discussion

In this section, a tally of the sources found in the addenda of Grade 10 to 12 History examination papers from 2017 to 2019 is outlined and discussed. These papers were set by the DoBE as exemplars for Grades 10 and 11 and national exam papers for Grade 12. Table 2 differentiates the sources into different types, i.e. text, photo/visual, map or cartoon sources. It further differentiates types of history, i.e. political, social or economic history, as well as chronological sources, looking at causes, course or consequences of events.

Table 2: A representation of the tally for sources scrutinized for Grade 10, 11 and 12 examination papers from 2017 to 2019

Grade	Year	Grade 10			Grade 11			Grade 12		
		2017	2018	2019	2017	2018	2019	2017	2018	2019
Type of source	Text	11	7	10	9	9	9	9	9	9
	Photo/visual	1	2	3	3	1	3	2	2	2
	Map	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Cartoon	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	1
Type of history	Social History	5	6	5	6	3	9	2	1	0
	Economic History	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0
	Political History	6	3	7	5	7	3	10	11	12
Chronology	Causes	3	5	5	5	7	6	4	4	4
	Course	3	3	0	4	2	2	7	6	6
	Consequences	7	1	7	3	3	4	1	2	2

Sources: (AWSUM, 2020; DoBE, 2017-2020)

From the above table, it is clear that the majority of sources (11 out of 12) used in the **2017** History examination for **Grade 10** are text sources, with only one being a photo/visual source. This is not representative of the other types of sources, which can give the learners a deeper understanding and value of the subject. Another tendency noted is that of the overuse of socially (5 out of 12) and politically (6 out of 12) focused sources, with only one source being identified as focusing on economic issues. This is a clear gap in how the sources depict an event, as a portion of understanding could be developed by including economic sources. Lastly, the document analysis revealed a tendency to overuse sources that look at the consequences of events (7 out of 12). However, the other two historical concepts of cause (3 out of 12) and course (3 out of 12) were represented in this addendum.

Regarding the **2017** History examination addendum for **Grade 11**, the majority of sources (9 out of 12) are text sources, with only three being photo/visual sources. This is not representative of the other types of sources. Also noted was the overuse of socially (6 out of 12) and politically (5 out of 12) focused sources, with only one source being identified as focusing on economic issues. This shows a clear gap in how the sources depict an event, as a portion of understanding could be developed by including economic sources. However, a positive note is that this addendum had a healthy balance of social, economic and political sources.

For the **2017** History examination for **Grade 12**, again, a predominance of text sources is evident (9), with only two visual sources and one cartoon. In terms of the types of history

covered, political sources dominated, with ten sources. Only two social sources were used and no economic sources were consulted. In terms of chronology, only one source focused on the consequences of events, with four focusing on causes and the majority (7) focusing on the course of an event.

From the above table, it is clear that the majority of sources (7 out of 9) used in the **2018 Grade 10** History examination addendum are text sources, with only two being photo/visual sources. This is not representative of the other types of sources, representing a continuing trend from the 2017 paper. Also noted is a tendency to overuse socially (6 out of 9) and politically (3 out of 9) focused sources, with no source being identified as focusing on economic issues. This is a clear gap in how the sources depict an event and also continues the trend seen in 2017. Lastly, the document analysis revealed a tendency to overuse sources looking at the causes of events (5 out of 9), while the course of an event was depicted in three out of the nine sources. Only one source in the 2018 paper focused on consequences, as opposed to the 2017 paper, where the majority of sources focused on effects. This shows no clear consistency in source selection.

Regarding the **2018** History examination addendum for **Grade 11**, the majority of sources (9 out of 12) are text sources, with only two being cartoon sources and one being a photo/visual source. This is not representative of the other types of sources, representing a continuing trend from the 2017 paper. However, it is noted that this addendum did try to use cartoons, which can offer deep insight into events. Another tendency noted is that of the overuse of political (7 out of 12) focused sources, with the rest focusing on social and economic sources. Lastly, the document analysis revealed a tendency to overuse sources looking at the causes of events (7 out of 12), while the course of an event was depicted in three out of the 12 sources. Only two sources in the 2018 paper focused on the course, as opposed to the 2017 paper, where the sources were more evenly balanced.

For the **2018** History examination for **Grade 12**, again, a predominance of text sources is evident (9), with only two other visual sources and one cartoon. In terms of the type of history covered, political sources dominated, with 11 sources. Only one social source was used and no economic sources were consulted. In terms of chronology, only two sources focused on the consequences of events, with four focusing on causes and the majority (6) focusing on the course of an event.

From the above table, it is clear that the majority of sources (9 out of 12) used in the **2019 Grade 10** History examination addendum are text sources, with only three being a photo/visual source. This again represents a trend of overuse of text sources. Another tendency noted is that of the overuse of socially (5 out of 12) and politically (7 out of

12) focused sources, with no source being identified as focusing on economic issues. This tendency has repeated since the 2017 paper. Lastly, the document analysis revealed a tendency to overuse sources looking at the causes (5 out of 12) and consequences of events (7 out of 12). No source focused on the course of events. Once more, consistency is not evident in source selection.

Regarding the **2019** History examination addendum for **Grade 11**, the majority of sources (9 out of 12) are text sources, with only three being photo/visual sources. This again represents a trend of overuse of text sources. Another tendency noted is that of the overuse of socially (9 out of 12) and politically (3 out of 12) focused sources, with no source being identified as focusing on economic issues. With the Great Depression as a topic, it would have been easy to find economic sources. This tendency has repeated since the 2017 paper. Lastly, the document analysis revealed a tendency to overuse sources looking at the causes (6 out of 12) and consequences of events (4 out of 12). Only two sources focused on the course of events. Once more, consistency is not evident in source selection.

For the **2019** History examination for **Grade 12**, the same pattern emerges, with a predominance of text sources (9), only two visual sources and one cartoon. In terms of the type of history covered, political sources dominated, with 12 sources. No social or economic sources were consulted. In terms of chronology, only two sources focused on the consequences of events, with four focusing on causes and the majority (6) focusing on the course of an event. This is the same pattern as in the 2018 paper.

To summarize the above findings, it is clear that in all three grades, there is an overemphasis of text-based sources, with only some use of photo/visual sources. There were cases where cartoons were used, but these were extremely rare, normally only constituting one out of a number of sources. In terms of historical category, another clear trend is the overuse of political history, with only some focusing on social history. Economic history is the most underused type. In terms of chronology, it was evident that the focus of sources changed over the years from causes, to course, to consequences. This could be misconstrued as a positive finding; however, there is no consistency. It is important to have equal numbers of each of these sources to properly test cause and effect.

Therefore, from the above document analysis, it is clear that a more consistent framework of source selection ought to be utilized when setting up exam papers. To ameliorate this, the HISBAM is proposed.

The following section will delineate the HISBAM in depth.

The HISBAM

Based on the aforementioned discussion on history as an applied science, the authors wish to elaborate upon a model that seeks to develop an applied approach to source-based analysis, which imbeds chronology and cause and effect within the main historiographical categories of social, economic and political history.

Table 2 below displays the floor plan of the broader HISBAM as the three historiographies of social, economic and political history are the focus of this approach. The idea of chronology, as well as cause and effect, which are essential skills used in history, are imbedded in each historiography. This model can be used when looking at historical events, individuals who played a significant part in history, or historical institutions or groups of people. Therefore, the social history component will have issues surrounding origins or causes of events being dealt with explicitly, followed by the general course of the event/person's career, as well as the effects or consequences of that event/person on history.

The same type of approach is used for the economic and political historiographies, with chronology, as well as cause and effect, imbedded explicitly in both. The reason for this approach is that, most often, when history teachers use sources in their assignments or exams, they tend to overuse one type of historiography and neglect others. This notion was proven in Table 2, where history exam papers were scrutinized. So, for example, a teacher would focus on political sources that narrowly address the event or topic, which is to the detriment of learners as they are provided with a narrow view of the period. This approach holistically focuses on the three major historiographies, allowing the teacher to utilize all sources on a time period to allow for greater learner comprehension. The learners can thus be exposed to sources that teach them how society looked and operated at the time, how the economy functioned and how the political landscape functioned, including ideologies.

The use of chronology and cause and effect is also useful in each historiography. Again, teachers might favour sources that only look at the origins of an event/historical figure and not ones that look at the general course of an event or the consequences. The HISBAM stipulates from the outset that all sources chosen must be chronologically progressive and represent different times during the event. This helps learners compare and differentiate between the causes, course and consequences.

Table 3: Chronologically imbedded historiography

Social			Economic			Political		
Origins/causes	Course	Consequences/effects	Origins/causes	Course	Consequences/effects	Origins/causes	Course	Consequences/effects

Table 4 further analyses the HISBAM in terms of social, political and economic historiography and how different types of sources and levels of questioning can be imbedded to further optimize source-based analysis in the History classroom.

Table 4: The HISBAM

Source analysis level	Social					
	Origins/causes	Course	Consequences/effects			
Level 1: Extract evidence from sources	Text source	Photo source	Text source	Photo source	Text source	Photo source
	Map source	Cartoon source	Map source	Cartoon source	Map source	Cartoon source
	Origins/causes	Course	Consequences/effects			
Level 2: Straightforward interpretation of the sources	Text source	Photo source	Text source	Photo source	Text source	Photo source
	Map source	Cartoon source	Map source	Cartoon source	Map source	Cartoon source
	Origins/causes	Course	Consequences/effects			
Level 3: Engage with questions of bias, reliability and usefulness of sources	All sources combined		All sources combined		All sources combined	
	Origins/causes	Course	Consequences/effects			
Level 4: Compare and contrast interpretations and perspectives within sources and by authors of sources	All sources combined		All sources combined		All sources combined	
	Origins/causes	Course	Consequences/effects			

Source analysis level	Economic					
	Origins/causes	Course	Consequences/effects			
Level 1: Extract evidence from sources	Text source	Photo source	Text source	Photo source	Text source	Photo source
	Map source	Cartoon source	Map source	Cartoon source	Map source	Cartoon source
	Origins/causes	Course	Consequences/effects			
Level 2: Straightforward interpretation of the sources	Text source	Photo source	Text source	Photo source	Text source	Photo source
	Map source	Cartoon source	Map source	Cartoon source	Map source	Cartoon source
	Origins/causes	Course	Consequences/effects			
Level 3: Engage with questions of bias, reliability and usefulness of sources	All sources combined		All sources combined		All sources combined	
	Origins/causes	Course	Consequences/effects			
Level 4: Compare and contrast interpretations and perspectives within sources and by authors of sources	All sources combined		All sources combined		All sources combined	
	Origins/causes	Course	Consequences/effects			

Source analysis level	Political					
	Origins/causes	Course	Consequences/effects			
Level 1: Extract evidence from sources	Text source	Photo source	Text source	Photo source	Text source	Photo source
	Map source	Cartoon source	Map source	Cartoon source	Map source	Cartoon source
	Origins/causes	Course	Consequences/effects			
Level 2: Straightforward interpretation of the sources	Text source	Photo source	Text source	Photo source	Text source	Photo source
	Map source	Cartoon source	Map source	Cartoon source	Map source	Cartoon source
	Origins/causes	Course	Consequences/effects			
Level 3: Engage with questions of bias, reliability and usefulness of sources	All sources combined		All sources combined		All sources combined	
	Origins/causes	Course	Consequences/effects			
Level 4: Compare and contrast interpretations and perspectives within sources and by authors of sources	All sources combined		All sources combined		All sources combined	
	Origins/causes	Course	Consequences/effects			

The above table displays the basic premise of the HISBAM. At its core, the model merges the different levels of source-based analysis (levels 1-4) with the three major historiographies of social, economic and political history. As mentioned in the previous section, chronology and cause and effect are imbedded in all three historiographies. However, the approach is deepened when looking at each source-based level and what types of sources are used for each level.

Therefore, under the social history table, the division of chronology and cause and effect is stratified according to the source analysis level. At level 1, a History teacher can accumulate sources of social history on a given theme, based on origins/causes, course and consequences. In so doing, the History teacher may collect a wide variety of sources, such as texts, photographs, maps, graphs or political cartoons. When setting questions at level 1, learners only need to extract evidence from these sources, so the teacher would use each source separately to set basic questions. This is then done for the economic and political historiographies as well.

Moving to level 2, teachers would still need to accumulate different kinds of sources, but now the type of questions posed can include at least two sources, which require straightforward interpretations of the sources. So now, the origins of social history, as well as the course and consequences, can be interpreted for a particular theme.

When assessing on level 3, all sources are combined for the causes, course and consequences separately. Level 3 questions involve engaging with issues of bias, reliability and usefulness of sources. Here, learners could engage with all the sources pertaining to the origins of an event and compare the sources for usefulness and bias.

Finally, level 4 questions assess the entire chronological progression, using all sources to arrive at an answer. This includes combining sources relating to the origins/causes, course and consequences/effects to test learners' ability to compare and contrast interpretations and perspectives within sources, normally taking the form of an essay. This would require a lot of research on the part of the learner, and therefore a multitude of sources are necessary. The advantages of essay-writing have already been discussed and are directly related to assessment in the History classroom.

When moving between levels, the same sources used in level 1 may be used for levels 2 and 3 as the types of questions asked will change and test deeper insight and comprehension.

A practical example of the operationalization of the HISBAM

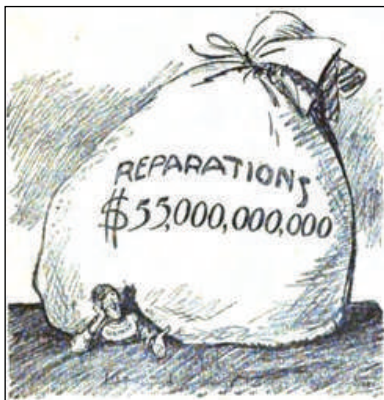
In this section, the practical operationalization of the HISBAM will be illustrated using one of the categorizations of history. Economic history was chosen because it was found to be underutilized in the scrutinized history examination papers. Each source will also be “tagged” as depicting the cause, course or consequence of World War 2 on the Nazi German economy.

Source A – Cause

Even before the war, Nazi Germany maintained a supply of slave labor. “Undesirables” (German: unzuverlässige Elemente), such as the homeless, homosexuals, and alleged criminals as well as political dissidents, communists, Jews, and anyone else that the regime wanted out of the way were imprisoned in labor camps. Prisoners of war and civilians were brought into Germany from occupied territories after the German invasion of Poland. The necessary labor for the German war economy was provided by the new camp system, serving as one of the key instruments of terror. Historians estimate that some 5 million Polish citizens (including Polish Jews) went through them.

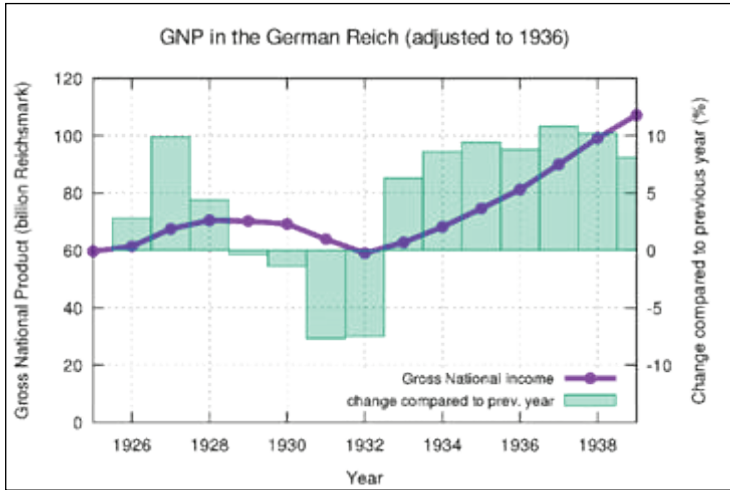
Source: (Grabowski, 2009:13-38)

Source B – Cause



Source: (Barton, 2021)

Source C – Course



Source: (Alex, 2016)

Source D – Consequence



Source: (Turner, 2015)

Source E – Course



Source: (<https://www.historyplace.com/worldwar2/holocaust/pop-up-map.htm>)

Source F – Consequence

In eastern Europe the devastation was even worse. Poland reported 30 percent of its buildings destroyed, as well as 60 percent of its schools, scientific institutions, and public administration facilities, 30–35 percent of its agricultural property, and 32 percent of its mines, electrical power, and industries. Yugoslavia reported 20.7 percent of its dwellings destroyed. In the battlegrounds of the western portion of the Soviet Union, the destruction was even more complete. In Germany itself, the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey found that in 49 of the largest cities, 39 percent of the dwelling units were destroyed or seriously damaged. Central business districts had generally been reduced to rubble, leaving only suburban rings standing around a destroyed core.

Source: (Hughes & Royde-Smith, 2021)

From the HISBAM, the four levels of questioning determine how deep the questions will be and how many sources are needed. The following questions will link to the sources and comprise all four levels. The content relates to World War 2, specifically Nazi Germany.

Question 1 – level 1

From source A, who were the so-called undesirables that were forced to work as slaves in the camps? (6)

Question 2 – level 1

From source B, what does the size of the bag compared to the size of the man represent? (2)

Question 3 – level 2

From sources C and E, what can be learned from the Nazi German economy between the years 1934 and 1938? (5)

Question 4 – level 3

Using sources D and F, evaluate the consequences of World War 2 on the German economy. (10)

Question 5 – level 4

Using all the sources provided, write an essay on the chronology of events that took place in Germany between the years 1934 and 1945. (50)

From the above example, only the economic sources were used, but the exact same approach would be used for social and political sources.

Conclusion

It is the belief of the authors that using the HISBAM for the assessment of sources in the History classroom holds tremendous benefits for History education in South Africa. If History teachers are able to explicitly assess chronology and cause and effect, as well as all three major historiographies, it will enhance learners' understanding of any historical theme presented to them. According to the study's findings, History examinations have an undesirable imbalance in that they ignore economic concerns while being too dependent on textual sources. Historical patterns and the fact that young people are increasingly

getting their knowledge about history from visual rather than textual sources make these problems critical today. The HISBAM may be used to monitor these imbalances (perhaps both in examinations and in ordinary classwork).

However, the authors want to acknowledge that this form of “doing” history might have its challenges. One of these is that it will be a very time-consuming process, especially looking for the appropriate sources in the three historiographies (social, economic and political). Although the authors sympathize, they are of the opinion that the HISBAM provides an opportunity to experiment with the compulsory source-based assignments required to compose the continuous assessment mark in History.

The authors also want to acknowledge that the current CAPS curriculum is very prescriptive and loaded and that, at the moment, trying to give equal weight to all forms of History might be considered an unrealistic expectation. There simply isn't the time or space for History teachers to give every topic the comprehensive, complex treatment espoused in this paper. Perhaps the examiners could push the boundaries. Any major change in education is examination-led. Therefore, perhaps History examiners could look at trying to implement the HISBAM at the Grade 12 level and leading the process.

Perhaps the creators of the new History curriculum, which will be published in the near future, should use this approach to guide their content selection and the direction of CAPS content in the future.

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Education and the public good: Foregrounding education in history

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2021/n26a8>

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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2021/n26a2>

Abstract

Historians can contribute significantly to education historiography to bolster education transformation. Contemporary scholarship in education, in the main, mostly wrestles with the current dispensation's transformation of education policy endeavours in the post-apartheid era. While there is no substantial or insurmountable disagreement on the education policy objectives in post-apartheid South Africa, much of the contestations seem to arise from how these objectives should be realised to achieve their lofty ideals. This is where learning from history is important. History is not merely concerned with constructing knowledge through relooking the past but also attending to the "selection" and "silences" over time. Among other things, South Africa's history also provides significant insights into how education contributed to developing a first-world economy in the country. This article argues that, because of education's ability to enable social and economic mobility to affect families, communities, and society in general positively, education is a public good that requires historians' involvement and attention. The article also considers the significance of funding education as a public good. Consequently, the paper argues that historians can make a significant contribution to transforming education in their continuous rewriting of history to learn from the past and foreground education as a public good in the past and present for the future.

Keywords: History; Education history; Education historiography; Education transformation; Public good.

Introduction

Through considering the historiography of education in South Africa, this article seeks to demonstrate a concern regarding historians' lack of engagement with the history of education and the disservice this constitutes to the national transformation efforts currently underway in the country. While there have been notable insights into the development of education over time, the continuous challenge of transforming education to meet the needs and demands of a developing South African education landscape often obscures some of the rich and novel scholarship and debates raging in education historiography. Contemporary scholarship, in the main, mostly wrestles with the current dispensation's transformation of education policy endeavours in the post-apartheid era. There is no substantial or insurmountable disagreement on the education policy objectives in post-apartheid South Africa. Much of the contestations seem to arise from realising the lofty ideals encapsulated in these objectives. As this article argues, because of education's ability to enable social and economic mobility, thereby positively affecting families, communities, and society in general, education in South Africa is a public good, albeit this is contrary to views expressed by some scholars in the developed world.

Education is broad and encompasses, i.e., primary, secondary, and post-secondary or tertiary education. However, this article mainly focuses on post-secondary education to illustrate the value, virtue, utility, and significance of education as a public good and its contribution to national development. Given contemporary contestations in the higher education sphere in South Africa, the article also considers the role and importance of higher education funding, particularly for those from historically disadvantaged backgrounds, linking this aspect to the challenges of transforming education in South Africa to the seismic changes post-1994. Although this article reiterates "a call to action" for historians previously issued by other scholars, it amplifies and underscores the significance and importance of historians' involvement in the history of education by locating this contribution within the context of education as a public good. Finally, this article does not seek to theorise, discuss or engage what kind of history of education South Africa needs nor what constitutes "good", "proper", or "useful" education history. These are essential concerns that we should address. As alluded to here, historians will attend to them when they enter the fray and bring their formidable intellectual and professional skills and capabilities to bear on the history of education.

Education historiography in South Africa

Quintessentially South African, the history of education can also be read along the pre-colonial, colonial, apartheid, and post-apartheid continuum and its fault lines. The traditional dichotomies of state imposition and control and public opposition or state-driven and market-directed pushes and pulls frame much of the scholarship on the history of education in South Africa.¹ With a few exceptions, the periodisation of education historiography also conforms to the categories present in general South African historiography. Consequently, the history of education can be considered, as suggested by Wessel Visser in 2004, that: “[t]raditionally, historical writings on the history of South Africa has [sic] been divided into broad categories or historiographical schools, namely, a British Imperialist, a settler or colonialist, an Afrikaner nationalist, a liberal, and a revisionist or radical school.” Visser further notes that: “[t]he emergence of social history is generally also regarded as a by-product of the revisionist school, while some historians argue that the emergence of a black nationalist historiographical tradition stemmed partly from the radical approach during the years of apartheid”.² Though the above framework is not the only way to categorise and periodise South African historiography, earlier education historiography focused overwhelmingly on education’s response to the development and imposition of racially segregated and apartheid education by state authorities or other economic and social forces shaping education in society.³

As indicated earlier, contemporary scholarship mostly wrestles with the transformation of education policy endeavours in the post-1994 context. Notwithstanding this, the utility of this approach continues to be relevant in understanding historical and modern contestations with education in the post-apartheid context. For Jürgen Oelkers and later Michael Cross et.al, “education historiography is not only a question of construction of knowledge but also of selection (of events, names and meanings) and of silences within

1 AH (Kalie) Strydom & M Fourie, “Higher education research in South Africa”, *Higher Education*, 38(2), 1999, p. 156; B Leibowitz, “Introduction: Reflections on higher education and the public good”, B Leibowitz, (ed.), *Higher education for the public good: Views from the south*. (Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 2012), p. xviii.

2 W Visser, “Trends in South African historiography and the present state of historical research”, (Paper, Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden), 23 September 2004, p. 1.

3 AH (Kalie) Strydom & M Fourie, “Higher education ...”, *Higher Education*, 38(2), 1999, p. 156; B Leibowitz, “Introduction: Reflections on ...”, B Leibowitz, (ed.), *Higher education for the public good, ...*, p. xviii.

the history of education”⁴. Oelkers sees this predicament as a challenge when he concludes that: “we have no other choice than to rewrite the history of education again and again and to put the process of selection in historiography on as rational a basis as possible”⁵.

Pre-colonial, South African (pre-British imperialist/colonial-settler historiography) education history scholars recently reached the consensus that formal European education in South Africa can be traced back to 1658, before the official establishment in 1662 of the Dutch East India Company’s (DEIC) refreshment station at the Cape.⁶ Johannes Seroto postures that “forms of formal and informal teaching and learning existed among the indigenous peoples of Southern Africa before the arrival of the European in the Cape Colony in 1652”⁷, which is now referred to as the pre-colonial period in history. According to Seroto, “the children of indigenous peoples in Southern Africa learned in different ways, where in the early years they learned much from their mother and extended family and formally through initiation ceremonies”⁸. However, “indigenous education, which was predominantly informal, prevailed before formal and institutionalised education was introduced by the European settlers on their arrival in the Cape”⁹.

Speaking about European schooling at the Cape, Wolhuter reports that the colonial period, which he dates as 1652 to 1910, was a typically colonial set-up based on racial segregation. The Dutch East India Company established the first formal slave school in 1658.¹⁰ From a very early age, Cape education was characterised by the colonial

4 J Oelkers, “Nohl, Durkheim, and Mead: Three different types of ‘history of education’”, *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 2004, 23, p. 365; M Cross et.al, “Unfulfilled promise: radical discourses in South African educational historiography, 1970-2007”, *History of Education*. 1(26), 2008, p. 3.

5 J Oelkers, “Nohl, Durkheim, and Mead: Three different ...”, *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 23, 2004, p. 365.

6 CC Wolhuter. “Teacher training in South Africa: Past, present and future”, *Education Research and Perspectives*, 33(2), 2006, p. 124; “History of Education in South Africa”. Available at <https://www.k12academics.com/Education%20Worldwide/Education%20in%20South%20Africa/history-education-south-africa> Accessed on 12 January 2021; “Amersfoort Legacy - History of education in South Africa”, South African History Online. Available at <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/amersfoort-legacy-history-education-south-africa#:~:text=The%20opening%20moment%20of%20education,school%20is%20begun%20in%201658>. Accessed on 12 January 2021.

7 J Seroto. “Indigenous education during the pre-colonial period in Southern Africa”, *Indilinga—African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems*, 10(1), 2011, pp. 77-78.

8 J Seroto, “Indigenous education”, *Indilinga—African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems*, 10(1), 2011, p. 78.

9 J Seroto, “Indigenous education”, *Indilinga—African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems*, 10(1), 2011, p. 85.

10 C Wentzel, “Interactive timeline of the history on the educational policy in South Africa”, *Sutori*, 29 November 2018. Available at <https://www.sutori.com/story/interactive-timeline-of-the-history-on-the-educational-policy-in-south-africa--xYiK8yVhmycHJqEclmR2X3w>. Accessed: September 2021.

government's involvement in the education of white children, recruiting teachers for white schools from the Netherlands, and after 1810 from England.¹¹ Literature on formal school education in South Africa supports the view that, following the colonisation of modern-day South Africa, the first "free" farmers who were allowed to settle in the Cape in 1657 were Dutch before England finally colonised the Cape in 1806.¹² Wolhuter also notes that the later Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State recruited teachers from the Cape Colony and the Netherlands. When the Rev SJ Du Toit became the Superintendent of Education and promulgated the Education Act of 1882, it provided for establishing an institution for the training of teachers and civil servants in Pretoria, the Transvaal capital at the time. Consequently, the institution was opened in 1883 and operated till 1887. Following the Transvaal becoming a British colony in 1902, the colonial administration, being reluctant to continue importing teachers from the Netherlands, established a teacher's training college, the Pretoria Normal College.¹³ The Pretoria Normal College was established on 2 September 1902, with its campus in Rissik Street, Sunnyside, Pretoria. Initially an English medium institution, it became an Afrikaans college in 1933.¹⁴

From 1910 to 1948 (Afrikaner Nationalism), also regarded as the pre-apartheid era, was characterised by continued racialised education and the establishment of the national education system.¹⁵ The Union of South Africa government was established in 1910. It was the amalgamation of the Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, Transvaal, and Natal, which had federal dimensions that assigned the responsibility of education for whites to the four provincial governments.¹⁶ During the apartheid era (1948 to 1994), historians describe racialised education as becoming draconian with the introduction of education policies to bolster racially separate and unequal education for the different population groups in the country. Accordingly, the state asserted control over missionary schooling and segregated black education through fragmentation and differentiation of the education system.¹⁷ A

11 CC Wolhuter, "Teacher training in South Africa", *Education Research and Perspectives*, 33(2), 2006, pp. 125-126.

12 CC Wolhuter, "Teacher training ...", *Education Research and Perspectives*, 33(2), 2006, p. 125.

13 CC Wolhuter, "Teacher training in South Africa", *Education Research and Perspectives*, 33(2), 2006, pp. 126-127.

14 "1902: Pretoria Normaal-kollege stigting", *Gelofteland*. Available at <http://www.gelofteland.org/index.php/ons-volk/23-kultuurdagboek/1551-1902-pretoria-normaal-kollege-gestig.html>. Accessed on September 2021.

15 P Kallaway, "The forgotten history of South African education", *Southern African Review of Education*, 18(1), 2012, p. 16.

16 CC Wolhuter, "Teacher training ...", *Education Research and Perspectives*, 33(2), 2006, p. 127.

17 M Cross, "A historical review of education in South Africa: Towards an assessment", *Comparative Education*, 22(3), 1986, p. 191.

host of legislation promulgated by the white minority ruling section of the South African population, generally under the auspices and leadership of the Afrikaner Nationalist government, supported this effort. Seminal education legislation such as the Bantu Education Act of 1953, the Extension of University Education Act of 1959, the Coloured Person's Education Act of 1963, and the Indian Education Act of 1965 were keystone achievements in setting the nature driving the tone of formal education in the country.

These various acts established different departments to operate and navigate the new education landscape. In the case of Bantu Education, the Department of Native Affairs took control of black education; the Department of Coloured Affairs took responsibility for the education of people of mixed descent, and finally, the Department of Indian Affairs took responsibility for the education of persons from Indian descent in the country.¹⁸ The Minister of Native Affairs later renamed the Bantu Administration and Development, drafted the Bantu Education Act.¹⁹ Apart from race, schools and universities were also classified and segregated according to ethnicity.²⁰ These efforts were not unchallenged or unopposed and formed the bedrock and foundation of education policy, thinking, and practice in South Africa. It resulted in Michael Cross considering the problem of race, gender, location, and authorship as major issues in the South African education history, from the apartheid era to the present.²¹

Peter Kallaway noted that there was “curiously little material on the apartheid period from 1948-1994”²² in education historiography. Cross postulates that the development of the school crisis between 1976 and 1980, triggered by the student uprising against the imposition of Afrikaans as an instruction medium in schools as part of apartheid education, resulted in many social scientists committing to a more nuanced approach to studying education in South Africa.²³ Cross *et al.*, argue that: “the transition from apartheid society and the process of national reconstruction came to be thought about within the horizon

18 Y Booley, “The role of education in the challenges faced by South Africa in the 21st century”, 2017, pp. 4-5. Available at <http://www.wynghs.co.za/storage/news/Science-essay-Yusra-Booley.pdf>. Accessed on 12 January 2021.

19 H Tomlin, “Contesting ideologies and the struggle for equality: Reconsidering the politics of education in South Africa”, *Policy Features in Education*, 14(6), 2016, p.848.

20 D Hay & M Monnapula-Mapesela, “South African higher education before and after 1994”, E Blitzer (ed.), *Higher Education in South Africa*, 2009, p. 12.

21 M Cross *et al.*, “Unfulfilled promise: radical discourses in South African educational historiography, 1970-2007”, *History of Education*, 1(26), 2008, p. 3.

22 P Kallaway, “The forgotten history of South African education”, *Southern African Review of Education*, 18(1), 2012, p. 17.

23 M Cross, “A historical review of education”, *Comparative Education*, 22(3), 1986, p. 185; M Cross *et al.*, “Unfulfilled promise”, *History of Education*, 1(26), 2008, p. 1.

of possibilities different from the rigid paradigmatic tradition in which radical change was conceptualised by the short-lived radical-neo-Marxist school of the 1970s and 1980s in South African education”²⁴

With the advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994, the new South African government formulated a national education policy. According to Wolhuter, it was based on the principles of democratisation characterised by active participation by all parties, particularly teachers, pupils/students, parents, and the community. There would be equal education opportunities for all and desegregation, where one of the first steps taken in the field of education should be the collapse of homeland education ministries. The white, Indian, and coloured education ministries would be combined into one National Department of Education. Multiculturalism, had to be established, where the entire education system was to be geared towards realising the potential of the entire population, with the societal objectives of economic development and the moulding of national unity as final goals.²⁵ Furthermore, Kalie Strydom and Magda Fourie observed that: “the changes in the political sphere and the omens of the demise of apartheid brought to the higher education debate other focus points, such as the conflict of values and interests in higher education; the tension between quality and equality; and the redefinition of the mission of higher education.”²⁶

As can be discerned, these policy objectives directly respond to the historical trajectory of formal education in South Africa, where colonial and apartheid governments sought to achieve the direct opposite of what the new democratic dispensation now aims to achieve. Furthermore, objectives similar to those of the post-apartheid education policy were also integral to the political struggle against colonialism and apartheid of the indigenous, oppressed, and exploited black majority of the South African population in partnership with sympathetic and supportive formations locally and abroad. Though laudable by any measure, these objectives have resulted in remarkable contestations in the modern South African education landscape. Currently, it is a landscape viewed by many as untransformed in terms of the lived experiences of the majority of the historically disadvantaged South Africans — a modern euphemism for black South Africans. They continue to be trapped in the colonial and apartheid geopolitical and spatial constructs of the townships and rural areas in the country and continue to suffer the legacy of the unequal funding of education

24 M Cross *et al.*, “Unfulfilled promise”, *History of Education*, 1(26), 2008, p. 2.

25 CC Wolhuter, “Teacher training in South Africa”, *Education Research and Perspectives*, 33(2), 2006, p. 131.

26 K Strydom & M Fourie, “Higher education research”, *Higher Education*, 38(2), 1999, p. 156.

bequeathed by the previous dispensations.

In his 2012 survey of South African education historiography titled “The forgotten history of South African education”, Peter Kallaway, echoing Andy Green, cautions that: “although there are many sound analyses of the fundamental role of mass education in the constitution of 20th century society and its successes and failures, it can be argued that this story has not fully taken its rightful place as a central aspect of mainstream history, despite numerous attempts by educational historians to chart the field.”²⁷ For Kallaway, what is revealed in his survey of South African historiography, “is that South African historians, whether liberal, Afrikaner nationalist, Africanist, revisionist or those belonging to the social history or popular history traditions, have on the whole not placed education at the centre of the historical picture.”²⁸ This leads him to further caution against what he sees as “the baby and bathwater phenomenon” in contemporary South African historiography and education policy development. Kallaway notes that: “in the South African case, the attempt to characterise the whole history of education as flawed on account of its association with apartheid led to the wholesale abandonment of educational traditions built up over two centuries.”²⁹ Kallaway postulates that it would serve South African historiography and policy development well if “the successes and failures of the post-1994 system are to be understood in terms of the continuity with that past as well as the ruptures and innovations”³⁰ that occurred during this period.

Kallaway also observed that the period before 1910 proved to be the least researched. The major focus had been on 1910-1948 when the national education system was established. He points out that there was curiously little material on the apartheid period from 1948-1994.³¹ Regarding this period, he notes that: “there is a major emphasis on black education and the opposition to Bantu Education, but there is very little consideration of the literature related to the People’s Education Movement or any careful exploration of the issues related to ‘liberatory education’ and the links to worker education in the emergent black unions.”³² Kallaway concludes that: “the 21st century [in South Africa] is notable for the lack of attention to history and an unwillingness to see contemporary political culture

27 P Kallaway, “The forgotten history”, *Southern African Review of Education*, 18(1), 2012, p. 9; A Green, *Education and state formation: The rise of education systems in England, France and the USA*, (London: Macmillan), 1990.

28 P Kallaway, “The forgotten history”, *Southern African Review of Education*, 18(1), 2012, p.12.

29 P Kallaway, “The forgotten history”, *Southern African Review of Education*, 18(1), 2012, p.12.

30 P Kallaway, “The forgotten history”, *Southern African Review of Education*, 18(1), 2012, p. 13.

31 P Kallaway, “The forgotten history”, *Southern African Review of Education*, 18(1), 2012, p. 17.

32 P Kallaway, “The forgotten history”, *Southern African Review of Education*, 18(1), 2012, pp. 16-17.

through the lens of past experience”.³³

Akin to some of the effects noted about the 1976 student uprisings on the study of education,³⁴ more recently, Linda Chisholm *et al.*, observed that “the #Rhodesmustfall and #Feesmustfall student campaigns of 2015 and 2016 in South Africa brought into sharp focus the centrality of history to the debate about the decolonisation of the university curriculum”.³⁵ In their study, they note that: “while there has been some research into the nature of the history of curriculum in post-apartheid [sic] South Africa, the nature of the history of education in teacher training has not received a great deal of attention”.³⁶ Their study, which echoes Kallaway’s observations noted earlier, revealed “the continued intellectual, academic apartheid that exists in South Africa, and the failure to create a history of education in South Africa that does full justice to the intellectual approaches and research that do exist”.³⁷

As observed earlier, there is no substantial or insurmountable disagreement on the education policy objectives of the post-apartheid South African context, and much of the contestations seem to arise from how these objectives are to be realised. While the first part of this contention may seem located in the technical sphere of policy development and implementation and the second part in the political sphere, nuanced reading of these issues reveals some consensus in the public’s view of the value and utility of education. That is education is a “public good” that needs to be harnessed to address the inequalities bequeathed by the colonial and apartheid legacies. As this article seeks to demonstrate, this view is also informed by the historical trajectory of the development and evolution of formal education in South Africa. Supporting this notion, Strydom and Fourie confirm that the higher education system in post-apartheid South Africa is characterised by, among other things,

an unmatched obligation, which has not been adequately fulfilled, to help lay the foundations of a critical civil society, with a culture of public debate and tolerance which accommodates differences and competing interests. It has to do much more, both within its own institutions and through its influence on the broader community, to strengthen the

33 P Kallaway, “The forgotten history”, *Southern African Review of Education*, 18(1), 2012, p. 18.

34 M Cross et.al, “Unfulfilled promise”, *History of Education*, 1(26), 2008, p. 1.

35 L Chisholm, et.al, “Decolonising ...”, *Southern African Review of Education*, 24(1), 2019, p. 75.

36 L Chisholm, et.al, “Decolonising ...”, *Southern African Review of Education*, 24(1), 2019, p. 75.

37 L Chisholm, et.al, “Decolonising ...”, *Southern African Review of Education*, 24(1), 2019, p. 87.

*democratic ethos, the sense of common citizenship and commitment to a common good.*³⁸

In her South African university history overview, Bronwyn Strydom of the University of South Africa notes that “[South African university] history has a long tradition of commemorative writing which, while breaking ground in terms of the recording of the history of individual institutions, does not always conform to historical methodology or critical distance.”³⁹ Strydom further notes that “South African universities have attracted some scholarly attention, especially more recently, and this new interest has also demonstrated the value of the historical study of institutions of higher education.”⁴⁰

The lack of involvement of historians in documenting the history of education is evident. It is critical in ensuring a deeper appreciation of the historical fault lines in the development of education in the modern context with possibly devastating consequences for the societal transformation project in contemporary South Africa. It also demonstrates the challenges and opportunities historians have in foregrounding education history to assist and support education policy development in addressing the historically generated disjuncture in education currently being attended to as modern challenges void of antecedents. The continuities and breaks in education policy development over the past decades in South Africa are critical in ensuring meaningful interventions with a greater chance of success in transforming education as a public good for the benefit of society in general and the historically disadvantaged in particular.

The value of education as a public good

As indicated earlier, while education encompasses primary, secondary, and post-secondary education, this article focuses mainly on post-secondary education. The purpose is to illustrate the concerns, contestations, opportunities, and implications for education historians to enable social and economic mobility and positively affect families, communities, and society in general, which is a crucial characteristic leading to education being viewed as a public good. However, and like so much else, the idea that education is a public good enjoys much debate in contemporary society and academic literature.

38 K Strydom & M Fourie, “Higher education research in South Africa”, *Higher Education*, 38(2), 1999, p. 161.

39 B Strydom, “South African university history: A historiographical overview”, *African Historical Review*, 48(1), 2016, pp. 56-57.

40 B Strydom, “South African university history: ...”, *African Historical Review*, 48(1), 2016, p. 57.

In his Edmund Rich Memorial Lecture at Oxford University in 1995, the economist Richard Smethurst argued that education is neither solely a public nor a private good. For Smethurst, it is both. Some education is overwhelmingly a public good as its benefits accrue very widely to society and the individual. Simultaneously, while benefiting society, some education offers more overwhelming benefits to the individual than society.⁴¹ Jan Polcyn offered another treatise in 2015 of “Education as a public good” in the *Bulletin of the Berdyansk University of Management and Business*.⁴² However, for economists, as argued by Jane Shaw earlier in 2010, a public good is not simply “good for the public.”⁴³ It is also something that benefits many people, including those who do not pay for it. Advanced education falls in this category as fostering greater productivity and innovation, improving the lives of everyone, not just those who bought the education.⁴⁴

Education carries with it the implications of improving the lives of individuals, enabling their social and economic mobility, which in turn benefits the broader society. This particular feature, i.e., individual before social benefits, seems to trouble the waters somewhat in the debate about whether education is a public good or not. From a business perspective, education is simply a private good for which the individual seeking it must pay. On the other hand, education as a public good is public investment and the state’s responsibility.

Furthermore, in Europe, education has also been regarded as a transnational (global) good. In this context, treating education as a public good allows for a strategic perspective on the benefits of education. On the one hand, it leads to the personal development of the individual, and, on the other, it provides global benefits for whole societies under the inductive effects of education because education undoubtedly contributes to the creation of social capital, which is treated as public, or at least a quasi-public, good.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the ministers of the European Union at a summit on higher education in Prague in 2001 jointly declared that higher education is “a public good” and “a public responsibility.” They further stated that education, especially higher education, was considered one of the most

41 R Smethurst, “Education: a public or private good?”, *RSA Journal*, 143(5465), 1995, p. 38.

42 J Polcyn, “Education as a public good”, *Bulletin of the Berdyansk University of Management and Business*, 1(29), 2015, p. 32; R Smethurst, “Education: a public or private good?”, *RSA Journal*, 143(5465), 1995, p. 37.

43 JS Shaw, “Education—A bad public good”, *The Independent Review*, 15(2), 2010, p. 241.

44 JS Shaw, “Education—A bad public good”, *The Independent Review*, 15(2), 2010, p. 241.

45 J Polcyn, “Education as a public good”, *Bulletin of the Berdyansk University of Management and Business*, 1(29), 2015, p. 33.

important public goods and, as such, a necessity and responsibility of the state.⁴⁶

In 2016 Gareth Williams from the University College London argued that the financial, socio-political, and ideological pressures on the public fiscus have contributed to replacing higher education as a public service, with it being considered a marketable commodity, subject to the laws of supply and demand by individuals and organised groups.⁴⁷ In this regard, the focus of the debate is on how higher education should be paid for,⁴⁸ instead of its value and meaning to society, particularly given the competition of other services on the public fiscus.

This debate has adopted a different tone in Africa. Mainstream, Western, higher education concepts and the public good, underpinned by particular understandings of higher education's nature and form and how knowledge is acquired, developed, and disseminated, are far removed from the reality of highly unequal, socially stratified, and politically complex societies within which higher education is often deeply embedded.⁴⁹ In 2008, Mahmood Mamdani traced the debate on education as a public good in Africa to the "Bretton Woods Institutions⁵⁰ and the Assault on the Developmentalist University" of postcolonial Africa. Here the "World Bank began with a frontal assault on African universities at a conference of Vice Chancellors of African universities that it called in Harare in 1986".⁵¹ Mamdani observed that "the [World] Bank had a substantial critique of the developmentalist university [which led it to conclude] that the beneficiaries should share a significant part of the cost of higher education and that the state should reduce [its] funding to higher education".⁵² Mamdani proffers that "overall, the Bank framed a debate in which the private and the public, the market and the state, were seen more as alternatives

46 E Kocaqi (Levanti), "Higher education a private or a public good?", *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, 4(3), 2015, p. 432.

47 G Williams, "Higher education: Public good or private commodity?", *London Review of Education*, 14(1), 2016, pp. 132, 134.

48 G Williams, "Higher education ...?", *London Review of Education*, 14(1), 2016, p. 139.

49 E Unterhalter *et al.*, "Conceptualising higher education and the public good", (Paper, CIES conference in Mexico City), March, 2018, p. 2.

50 The Bretton Woods Institutions are the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (later known as the World Bank), which were established at a United Nations' Monetary and Financial Conference held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, USA, in the summer of 1944 to facilitate international cooperation in the field of economics. These institutions were established near the end of World War II (1939 to 1945) to regulate and promote a new world financial order—JW Pehle, "The Bretton Woods Institutions", *Yale Law Journal*, 55, 1946, pp. 1127-1128.

51 M Mamdani, "Higher education, the state and the marketplace", *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*, 2008, p. 7.

52 M Mamdani, "Higher education, ...", *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*, 2008, p. 8.

rather than complementarities between which there needed to be appropriate relations”.⁵³

However, in her introduction to *Higher education for the public good: Views from the South*,⁵⁴ Brenda Leibowitz of the University of Johannesburg noted that: “[a]ll policy statements emanating from the South African state about higher education stress the imperative to transform education so that it becomes more equitable in terms of participation and governance, and so it contributes to the public good and social justice”.⁵⁵ Leibowitz further indicated that, for South Africa, the public good of education was concerned “with participatory parity and equality, not the privileged and wealthy administering charity to the marginalised”.⁵⁶ Joy Papier, in her 2014 review of *Higher education for the public good: Views from the South*, noted that rather than the “public good” being an esoteric notion, the book served to concretise the concept, through its combination of philosophical and empirical contributions.⁵⁷

In 2018, Elaine Unterhalter from the University College London and her colleagues further noted that there seem to be two rather distinct ways in which higher education and the public good have been conceptualised. In the first, higher education is “instrumental” in shaping a version of the public good where its qualifications, knowledge production, innovation, development of the professional classes, and expertise are perceived to lead to particular manifestations of public good, delineated as economic, social, political or cultural. The second is higher education as “intrinsic”, where the intellectual, physical, and cultural experiences enabled through higher education express and enact the public good, e.g., prejudice reduction, democratisation, critical thinking, and active citizenship.⁵⁸ A reconceptualisation of the public was required in these contexts and some challenge to contemporary conceptualisations of the private, given the strong obligations of individuals to extended families and the sharing of the benefits of higher education amongst their communities of origin.⁵⁹

There are visible shifts in the international community regarding who should pay for higher education. It suggests a shift from higher education being a public good, for which

53 M Mamdani, “Higher education, ...”, *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*, 2008, p. 8.

54 B Leibowitz, (ed.), “Introduction: Reflections on higher education and the public good”, *Higher education for the public good: Views from the South*, (Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 2012), p. xix.

55 B Leibowitz, (ed.), “Introduction”, *Higher Education for the Public Good: ...*, (, p. xxi.

56 B Leibowitz, (ed.), “Introduction”, *Higher Education for the Public Good: ...*, p. xxii.

57 J Papier, “Review: Leibowitz, Brenda (2012)”. “Higher education for the public good: Views from the south”, *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa*, 2(1), 2014, p. 89.

58 E Unterhalter et al., “Conceptualising higher education and the public good”, (Paper, CIES conference in Mexico City, March 2018), p. 18.

59 E Unterhalter et.al, “Conceptualising ...”, (Paper, CIES conference in Mexico City, March 2018), p. 21.

the state should be responsible, to being a private good for which the individual seeking such education should be accountable. In Africa there are debates about the public good of higher education that seek to reconceptualise the notion and contextual meaning and implications of this concept for the African experience.⁶⁰ It is due to several reasons, which, among other things, are rooted in South Africa's history with higher education and the recent massive transformation of South African society post-1994. Furthermore, and different from "the public good often [being] defined in material terms, as if it is visible, countable or weighable, [...] the public good is associated with how people or groups think and behave"⁶¹

The legacy of apartheid is an unequal society based on race and ethnic differences promulgated by statutes in the pre-1994 dispensation. There have not yet been debates on who must foot the bill for equity, equality, and access to higher education for those historically and deliberately barred from such access - despite the fact that the state is responsible for transforming South African society and addressing the historic disadvantages visited on the black majority of its citizens. Current debates grapple with the transformation of the higher education system and improving access for the majority of the traditionally excluded populations in the country. It is quite possible that sometime in the future, with the appropriate massification of the system, the debate on who must pay for higher education might also rear its head in South African society. Although there is consensus that the state is responsible for providing higher education to the historically disadvantaged community members, the issues are to what extent and how well this should happen.

In the context of this article, it is critical to note that, though education as a public good is currently being debated globally, in South Africa and on the African continent, education seems to be considered a public good. Though this can largely be attributed to education's ability to transform people and society from the ravages of colonialism and apartheid, it was also considered a public good in the context of the colonial and apartheid eras in South Africa, albeit with a clear focus on the good being for white South Africans

60 B Leibowitz, (ed.), "Introduction", *Higher education for the public good: Views from the South*, (Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 2012), p. xix.

61 B Leibowitz, (ed.), "Introduction", *Higher education for the public good: ...*, p. xxii.

only. Accordingly, the communities of the South⁶² are engaged in efforts to reconceptualise the public and the private aspects of education as a public good with the view to its utility for social development and transformation, which are critical challenges for these communities. Furthermore, the 2015 to 2018 movements driven by the #Rhodesmustfall and #Feesmustfall illustrated, among other contestations, a view of a large segment of South African society that higher education should be accessible to the historically disadvantaged populations in the country. Consequently, on 16 December 2017, Reconciliation Day in South Africa, the then South African President, Jacob Zuma announced that government would subsidise free higher education for poor and working-class students.⁶³ Responding to President Cyril Ramaphosa's State of the Nation Address (SONA) of 2019, the Minister of Higher Education, Science and Technology, Dr Blade Nzimande, reported that: "In line with the President's focus, over the next 10-year period our department will focus on the effectiveness and expansion of the new bursary scheme in both the university and TVET college sectors [and confirmed that s]tudents from families earning less than R350 000 per annum [will] receive comprehensive support in the form of a bursary for the duration of their studies."⁶⁴

Given the challenges of transformation in the higher education sector in South Africa, a fundamental impediment is a reality that "while South Africa's economy [may be] the largest in Africa, it significantly lags behind [that of] developed nations, and this restricts the extent to which it can fund public higher education. Furthermore, funding for public higher education in South Africa is comparatively lower than in countries at a similar stage of economic development".⁶⁵ Consequently, in agreement with Leibowitz, one of the severe limitations "of the sector, as well as a motivating force for change, is the degree of financial

62 According to David Slater in his inaugural address at Loughborough University in the UK in 1995, the terms "North/South" are categorisations that "have been employed within the interpretative arena to draw our attention to the nature of global disparities", whose usage raises significant questions concerning the representation of the other in international relations. For instance, they can encourage us to examine the dominant forms of enframing non-Western others that have been deployed across a long sweep of geopolitical history—D. Slater. "Geopolitical imaginations across the north-south divide: issues of difference, development and power", *Political Geography*, 16(8), 1997, p. 634.

63 Z Areff & D Spies, "Zuma announces free higher education for poor and working class students", *News24*, 16 December 2017.

64 BE Nzimande, "A Dream for a better South Africa", (Address, Minister of higher education, science and technology, 2019 State of the nation address debate), 25 Jun 2019. Available at <https://www.gov.za/speeches/minister-nzimande-debate-state-national-address-25-jun-2019-0000> Accessed on 30 June 2019.

65 I Scott, "First-year experience as terrain of failure or platform for development? Critical choices for higher education". B Leibowitz, S van Schalkwyk, and A van der Merwe, (eds.), *Focus on first-year success: Perspectives emerging from South Africa and beyond*. (Stellenbosch: Sun Media Press, 2009), p. 20.

inequality between higher education institutions and between individuals [...] and the low and skewed participation of the appropriate cohort of 18-24-year olds by race”⁶⁶

Conclusion: A call to arms for historians

Having considered the historiography of education in South Africa and the conceptualisation of education as a public good, it is clear that South African education will be wrestling with the ghost of its colonial and apartheid legacies for the foreseeable future. It is also clear that centering education history in these debates is critical in ensuring that the development and continuous evolution of education policy and practice benefit from the successes and failures of education in the country, from the pre-colonial to the colonial/apartheid era, right up to the post-apartheid context. The current state of education historiography also provides opportunities for renewed engagement with the history of education with a view to a fuller, more complex, and nuanced understanding of precisely how South Africa was able to achieve a first-world education status while simultaneously subjecting the majority of its citizens to education backwardness that threatens the embedding and development of a meaningful democratic dispensation in the post-apartheid context. Taking up Oelkers’s call to arms for historians, we need to consider, foreground, and rewrite the history of education. This could perhaps assist in developing meaningful solutions to South Africa’s pressing and serious policy challenges going into the new and unchartered future.

⁶⁶ B Leibowitz, (ed.), “Introduction”, *Higher education for the public good: ...*, p. xix.

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People, space and time strategy: Teaching History through image analysis at a rural secondary school in Limpopo Province

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2021/n26a8>

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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2021/n26a3>

Abstract

Efficient teaching approaches are critical to promote a positive attitude among learners of History at secondary schools. Learners' behaviour during History lessons and attitude towards the subject can be affected by a number of factors, including teaching methods, teaching styles, teacher's commitment and work ethic, etc. The study was conducted to examine the effect of using images in relation to the behaviour and attitude of learners towards the subject History. The study applies analytical research involving learners from a convenient group of schools around Mankweng in the use of the People, Space and Time (PST) image analysis strategy as a teaching strategy to affect the behaviour of learners towards the subject History. It uses image analysis to determine the effect of PST on the voluntary participation of learners in the History classroom. The results show that with careful organisation of visuals and crafting of questions, the PST method had a significant positive effect on learners' behaviour and attitude towards the subject. It was also observed that an increased number of learners responded comfortably to PST during class discussions. Teacher mentors have also shown interest in this strategy as learners seemed lively in class, with disinterest turning into interest as learner participation increased. The study concluded that an expert analysis of images is a key resource in the teaching of History.

Keywords: Image; Strategy; Analysis, Participation; Observation.

Introduction

Historical pictures or images play a critical role in the teaching of History in schools. Learners are not always enthusiastic about studying a past they cannot even imagine, so to bring the subject closer to reality and capture the learners' attention, it is important to make use of pictures. History teaching and learning has to be an exercise of engagement between instructor and learners, among learners, or between learners and the material studied, and pictures of the studied past will always come in handy. Further, History is about people who acted in a particular space and time in the past. Hence, it becomes even more relevant to apply the People, Space and Time (PST) image analysis strategy in the analysis of images that should explain that past. Participation during class discussions and overall learner engagement during History lessons at a few rural schools in Limpopo has been a worrying factor among History teachers. Learners are either shy or choose not to participate in class, including not asking questions, raising their hands or making comments unless requested by the instructor (Rocca, 2010). Reports indicate that only a handful of learners participate during lesson discussions, with interactions made by only a small group of learners. A noted observation has been that larger classes in rural schools seem to provide more opportunity for anonymity and less opportunity to participate in discussions.

Background to the study

Apart from the concerns of History teachers, reports of the 2017 Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) show that student teachers at one teacher training institution in Limpopo, upon returning from teaching practice observations at schools, were generally concerned about the state of History teaching in general, and at the schools where they were deployed in particular. Student teachers were seriously concerned about teachers using the age-old traditional methods of History teaching, in particular the lecturing method. I shudder to imagine what the situation is now with even more pressure brought about by the impact of Covid-19.

Apparently, teachers were under pressure to complete the curricula and syllabi as prescribed in the History National Curriculum Statement (NCS) Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS). The CAPS document prescribes 35 teaching weeks for Future Education Training (FET) for Grade 10 and Grade 11, with an average of six weeks per topic plus assessment activities. There are six topics each for Grade 10 and Grade 12 and five topics for Grade 11. The six-week prescription per History topic excludes topic

1 in Grade 10 and topic 4 in Grade 11, which are allocated 3 and 10 weeks respectively. The reason for this is that these topics are too small and too large respectively, which also explains why the Grade 11 topics are five weeks instead of six (CAPS 2011).

The student teachers further observed that in response to the lecture method, learners were often passive and disinterested participants in class discussions (Bonwell & Eison, 1991; Brookfield & Preskill 2012), and in most sessions, answers were heavily reliant on the History teacher. Against the observed picture, the student teachers recommended that it might be better if some of the strategies forming part of the History Method modules were introduced to the History teachers in the affected schools. To achieve this, it was proposed that such teachers be coerced to sit in as mentors during the Teaching Practice sessions of either the final-year students doing the Bachelor of Education in Senior Phase and Further Education and Training (BEEd SP & FET) programme or the PGCE programme. This would help them observe how a range of strategies can be used in the teaching and learning of the subject while learners are taught to become lively and engaged.

One way of dealing with the problem was to adopt the PST strategy of image analysis. The teacher trainees were grappling with methodology at the time, and it was perceived using images as resources in their History classes would have the potential to invigorate interaction not only between the teacher and the learners but also among the learners. This would support historical understanding and thinking, which would in turn support deliberation in the History classroom. The PST was then mooted as the technique and strategy to be adopted for use at some of these schools during the coming teaching practice sessions, with particular focus on the analysis of images during History teaching.

This study considered the use of the PST as a strategy that teachers can apply in the analysis of images when teaching History to encourage learner participation and understanding of the historical material.

Observations were conducted during History lessons while using a historical image to determine whether the treatment of photo images would lend into a different learner attitude and behaviour in terms of participation (be it positive or negative), which should also affect their confidence.

Critical social theory was used to understand the causes of poor performance in History teaching and learning as well as the schools' contextual factors that negatively impacted the teaching and learning of History in particular and in the school in general.

Literature review

The use of historical sources such as pictures and other forms of art in school classrooms has been a subject of ongoing research. Sundar (2020) believes that as History learners, like any other learners, process information through both visual and auditory memory, presenting historical information in these formats could maximise their capacity to receive and process new information. According to O'Connor (1987:1), History teachers are expected to be more concerned with teaching learners how to learn from the study of the past, so one of the alternative ways of teaching should be to integrate more image analysis into their History lessons/classes, but not to the exclusion of reading or at the expense of traditional approaches.

This approach of engaging in an analysis requires that a teacher takes considerably more time to prepare for an image-oriented lesson, but when carefully integrated into the lesson and properly handled by the sensitive History teacher, lessons based on image analysis can improve the effectiveness of History teaching (Armstrong & Boud, 1983:92; Dancer & Kamvounias, 2005).

Participation in discussion leads to learning, including providing learners with opportunities to develop and practice essential skills such as organising concepts, formulating arguments, evaluating evidence and responding to ideas thoughtfully and critically (Davis, 2009). It further allows learners to experience a realistic context (Liang & Wang, 2004) and master the language and thinking of a discipline (Krupnick, 1985). The strategy entails engaging learners in the analysis of images.

McCarthy and Anderson (2000:279) found that students who participated in collaborative and analysis exercises did better on subsequent standard evaluations than their traditionally instructed peers.

In a lecture, students passively absorb pre-processed information and then regurgitate it in response to questions. There is a need to effect significant change in the passive nature of the History learning experience, which perpetuates learning at the surface (passive) level rather than the deep (active) level. Marton and Saljo (1976) agree that the lecture format will likely continue to be important in the learning process. This only increases the need for balancing passive with active learning.

Bonwell and Eison (1991) note that active learning strategies and techniques help create a more stimulating and enjoyable classroom environment for learners. Teachers must cover large quantities of information/syllabi in a limited period, yet they have an obligation to nurture learners' intellectual skills.

Objectives

- To examine the impact of the PST image analysis strategy on the attitudes and perceptions of learners towards History lessons.
- To examine the influence of the PST image analysis strategy on classroom discussion as an active learning strategy.

Rationale

The quality of participation in History class debates and discussions is affected by a number of factors including teaching strategies, effectiveness of teaching resources, etc. Voluntary participation by History learners in class discussion has often meant that learners understood the material studied and were confident in their critical thinking and argumentation skills. The study of the PST strategy may contribute towards learners of History being inculcated with a positive attitude towards the subject. The number of schools offering History and the number learners taking the subject have been dwindling over the years. Effective strategies and the improved quality of teaching the subject through the deployment of PST (among other strategies) may go a long way in instilling positive perceptions about History as a school subject. Despite the limitations of the research period due to Covid-19, positive signs were emerging that this might be one of the vehicles teachers could consider accommodating in the teaching of History, at least at these schools.

History teaching through image analysis

Teachers must show learners how to engage their critical faculties when a picture is displayed. This study is aimed at analysing a photo as a historical document. In doing so, two faculties in the analysis of an image were considered: (1) a general analysis of content, production, and reception; and (2) the study of the photo as a representation of history, as evidence for social and cultural history, as evidence for historical fact, or as evidence for the history of photography. Strategies for the classroom were also considered.

Within the context of an open and democratic society, History teachers have a broader responsibility to their learners than simply relating the events of the past by way of lecturing or simple story-telling. They must also provide learners with the skills of critical evaluation necessary to perform as responsible citizens, i.e., learners need to learn skills of critical evaluation (CAPS 2011:8) for the viewing of images (O'Connor 1987:3). Learners need to

understand how the development of an image is an expression of technological limitations and media conventions (this is more relevant to TV and film).

This approach of engaging in analysis requires that a teacher take considerably more time to prepare for an image-oriented lesson, but when carefully integrated into the lesson and properly handled by the sensitive History teacher, lessons based on image analysis can improve the effectiveness of History teaching (Armstrong & Boud, 1983; Dancer & Kamvounias, 2005).

Discussions based on the group experience of a class viewing and analysis of a photo may be more productive than discussions of homework reading assignments, and poor readers and otherwise hard-to-motivate learners may find it easier to participate. If teachers were to devote some effort to taking a more active analytical approach to photo images, where applicable, this media would better serve the History classroom. Almost every course/theme in the History curriculum lends itself to at least some dimension of relevant image analysis. In addition to helping communicate subtle aspects of the historical subject matter, the structuring of a critical analysis of visual material within the context of traditional historical methodology helps teach learners the basic elements of historical thinking.

To achieve the stated aims of History teaching in schools through, among other things, participative discussion as a form of active learning, image analysis was adopted as an approach, and PST was the chosen strategy to execute that.

People, Space and Time strategy

Against the observed contextual situations in the schools, a decision was taken to adopt the PST strategy of image analysis espoused by Drake and Nelson (2005) as a methodology to invigorate interaction not only between the teacher and learners, but among the learners. This method was chosen for its potential to support understanding and critical thinking through deliberation in the classroom. Using this strategy, the aim was not for the facilitator to use the photo in a lecture where the teacher simply displays the photo and starts explaining its meaning to the learners. Even if the teacher were an expert on image analysis and could clearly analyse its key aspects, the lecture method would not provide for the planned, systematic class discussion as learners would only be involved to the extent that they would listen and take notes while thinking about the teacher's analysis of the photo (Fritschner, 2000). Then, when the facilitator asked if they had questions, or that they ask questions, only a few learners would participate. During such a session, every answer would

rely heavily on the facilitating teacher.

Deliberation in the classroom is widely used and highly valued for actively engaging learners in their own learning (Cooper, 1995). Recent studies have demonstrated that cold-calling, or calling on a learner whose hand is not raised, increases the number of learners who participate voluntarily in class discussions and does not make them uncomfortable (Dallimore, Hertenstein & Platt, 2013; Doty, Geraets, Wan, Saitta & Chini, 2020). Participation in discussion leads to learning, including providing learners with opportunities to develop and practise essential skills such as organising concepts, formulating arguments, evaluating evidence and responding to ideas thoughtfully and critically (Davis, 2009). It further allows learners to experience a realistic context (Liang, & Wang 2004) and master the language and thinking of a discipline (Krupnick, 1985). The strategy entails engaging learners in the analysis of images. In this case, it will be used to analyse a photo image in the History classroom.

Testing this strategy in the teacher training institution's microteaching practices, the team was convinced that with careful application, the strategy would resonate with the teaching of more topics in History to help learners reach their potential. The group believed that this strategy would propel learners of History to a positive developmental and academic path in the subject.

As History learners, like any other learners, process information through both visual and auditory memory, presenting historical information in these formats could maximise learners' capacity to receive and process new information (Sundar, 2020).

As a strategy used in class to analyse historical images, the PST consists of asking learners to examine "The Four Presidents" (see picture 1 below). Instead of an expert lecture, the PST strategy is used to analyse this image and construct its meaning about the recent past. In its use, the PST is coupled with a think-pair-share structure as a means to support discussion/participation by learners. The think component involves learners taking ownership of their contribution, while the pair component allows for sharing and discussion of their ideas with a fellow learner, to give them confidence that they can contribute to a discussion with the whole class (Drake & Nelson, 2005:175).

The teacher then gives learners a time limit (such as five minutes) to discuss the geographic, social, economic and political themes they believe are defined and underpinned by the image. Questions range from those that suggests to learners that the photo has a purpose and that the photographer is attempting to convey a story or idea in visual or image form, just as the historian conveys an interpretation in written form. These questions allow for creativity and the application of knowledge. It is also a good measure of a learner's

sophistication. Such questions allow learners to understand that history happens within a particular context (Linn & Eylon 2006).

The questions are designed to immediately cause learners to examine the photo. The PST strategy has a hidden purpose, which is to find out what learners already know. Learners are supported to participate in a discussion by being allowed a comfortable environment in which to extend their knowledge (when they pair with a classmate and exchange ideas).

Finally, during the share segment (when the teacher or facilitator asks learners the questions provided as a class/group), the teacher can call on any learner, knowing that they have a foundation from which to contribute to the discussion. In essence, learners will be confident that they can succeed because they have thought about the teacher's questions.

This approach to the analysis of a photo parallels the way a written document is studied. The image selection is treated as a historical document and studied using methods that reinforce historical thinking and develop learners' skills of virtual literacy. Treating the photo as a historical document allows teachers and learners to approach it with the traditional tools of historical analysis. One stage in the analysis involves the general analysis of the photo in order to establish as much information as possible about it. While certain data will be evident at first viewing, a more thorough analysis will require that learners explore questions of the photo's content, production, and reception through: (i) a close study of the content of the photo, i.e., people that appear on the photo, their attire, and the way they seem to relate to convey meaning; (ii) an investigation of social, cultural, political, economic, and institutional background of the production and the conditions under which the photo was made; and (iii) an examination of the ways the photo was understood by its original audience (O'Connor, 1987:6).

Picture 1: “The Four Presidents – A rare discovery...sponsored by Chief Mandla Mandela...four ANC presidents on one photo...they would have never imagined their future...” – a picture that was used for the grade 10 lesson as a primary source of reference.



Source: (<http://com.ft.imagepublish.upp-prod-us.s3.amazonaws.com/2>). Accessed on 13 February 2018.

The many and varied ways in which scholars and teachers have made use of photos and other images can be reduced to four frameworks of historical inquiry: image document as representation of history; as evidence for social and cultural history; as evidence for historical fact; and as evidence for the history of the photo. In its context as a representation of history, a photo is studied as a secondary document, but in the next two contexts it can be used as a primary source.

Firstly, the PST strategy of image analysis incorporates active learning (engagement/participation), comparative to teacher-centred discussions and lectures. McCarthy and Anderson (2000:279) found that students who participated in collaborative and analysis exercises did better on subsequent standard evaluations than their traditionally instructed peers.

Presented here is a discussion of active learning, descriptions of the two experiments, and an explanation of the outcomes and implications of the study.

In a lecture, learners passively absorb pre-processed information and then regurgitate

it in response to questions. There is a need to effect significant change in the passive nature of the History learning experience, which perpetuates learning at the surface (passive) level rather than the deep (active) level. The traditional format encourages students/learners to concentrate on superficial indicators rather than fundamental underlying principles, thus neglecting deep (active) learning. “Traditional” (for the purposes of this study) refers to facilitation of the memorisation of large quantities of information.

Active learning, as represented by the PST method, for example, refers to “experiences in which students are thinking about the subject matter” as they interact with their material, i.e., the photo, the instructor and each other (McKeachie, 1999:44). Human interaction is important, yet instructors too often expect learners to acquire relevant knowledge in a learning environment with little interactive content (Marton & Saljo, 1976). These authors also agree that lecture format will likely continue to be important in the learning process. This only increases the need for balancing passive with active learning. The PST activity requires learners to analyse “The Four Presidents” critically. The activity encourages active participation in learning and is an alternative to passive lecture and the teacher-centred discussion period.

As an active learning technique, PST stimulates inquiry and interest as learners acquire knowledge and skills (Montgomery, Brown & Deery, 1997). It is student-centred, maximises participation, is highly motivational and gives life and immediacy to the subject matter by encouraging learners to move beyond a superficial, fact-based approach to the material.

Bonwell and Eison (1991) note that active learning strategies and techniques help create a more stimulating and enjoyable classroom environment for learners. Teachers must cover large quantities of information/syllabi in a limited period, yet they have an obligation to nurture learners’ intellectual skills.

University teacher education experiences alone may have little impact on the future performance of prospective teachers (Slekar, 1998:487). What students learn from their “apprenticeship of observation” may be deeply embodied in their belief system (Slekar, 1998:488). At these schools, student teachers observed existing methods that challenged their new beliefs about teaching and conflicted with university teacher-education programmes. The context at these schools challenged student teachers into reflective conservatism – a reflex action to consider more familiar approaches to teaching when confronted with new and unfamiliar teaching methods (Slekar, 1998:488).

Research methodology

Research design

The research design involved gathering data during eight weeks of teaching practice evaluations at a few schools offering History in and around Mankweng Township in Polokwane. Research was conducted using an analytical research approach. Primary data were collected conveniently (Salkind, 2006; Leedy & Ormrod, 2006; Welman, Kruger & Mitchell, 2005) from a sample of History learners at a few schools in the township. These were the same schools where teacher trainees were deployed for their teaching practice over a period of eight weeks. Therefore, both the learners and the mentor teachers were conveniently available.

Two types of data were collected and integrated. A pre-photo viewing survey was administered in the first two weeks of teaching practice, followed by two periods of observation of the learners' behaviour in weeks 3 and 4. During weeks 5 and 6, learners viewed, discussed and analysed the photo image. Finally, a post-viewing survey was administered during the last two weeks of teaching practice.

The pre-viewing survey was meant to gather information on learners' attitudes and behaviours related to class participation in History lessons prior to viewing the photo. The post-viewing survey focused on learners' attitudes and behaviours related to class participation during and after viewing the photo. Therefore, data on learners' perceptions were collected using interviews both before and after the photo viewing and analysis.

Observations formed a critical part of the methodology (Salkind 2006; Leedy & Ormrod, 2006; Welman, Kruger & Mitchell, 2005). It was important to observe first-hand the extent to which learners' behaviour was being affected on a daily basis. Observation notes were taken during the session and refined immediately thereafter, with inferences and interpretations regarding what transpired as learners acted and interacted with the facilitator, the image and the questions posed. From these data, a picture was constructed of new levels of energy among the learners. The observation records took a descriptive form in order to maintain some level of objectivity by considering actuality. So, to some extent, mixed methods were applied as both qualitative and quantitative (descriptive) approaches were deployed, using an array of interpretive techniques to describe learner behaviours and decode, translate and construct meanings using units such as photos and groups of learners. These data were later to prove critical when the perceptions of a few learners were collated for corroboration.

Specific lesson sessions were selected for observation because they were devoted to image analysis and deliberate discussions. A responsible student teacher observer was assigned to each lesson session. All observers were trained to categorise questions in terms of levels of difficulty and to record data as learners responded. For each question asked, the observer noted whether the learners voluntarily raised their hands and participated or the facilitator cold-called before the learner could respond.

Learners had been given identity numbers at the beginning of the research study and retained the same numbers throughout. This was important for easy of reference and monitoring the behaviour of each learner pre- and post-photo viewing and analysis survey. Using the identification numbers, pre- and post-viewing surveys were matched for 103 learners. All learners present for the first and second observations at were still present during the two class lessons observed, mainly due to the interest aroused by the photo image lessons.

Data analysis and findings

The primary focus in this study was to assess differences in learners' behaviour during deliberative class discussions pre- and post-photo viewing in response to PST as a method of encouraging learners to participate in analysis of an image. Based on observations of the percentage of learner participation in discussions before photo viewing, the percentage of learner participation during and after viewing the photo had improved. The improvement could be attributed to several factors ranging from the use of visual source material on which questions were based to the realisation that, indeed, History is about people who lived in particular spaces at particular times, thus exposing learners to a hybrid form of presentation different from the traditional form of lecture delivery to which they are accustomed. All of these factors were seen to have aroused learners' interest in the History subject matter.

Findings noted that with careful crafting of questions, learners responded voluntarily to visuals by raising their hands and not only engaging with the teacher but with their fellow learners as well. It was also observed that an increased number of learners responded comfortably to PST during class discussions. It was interesting to note that in their engagement with the discussion of the image, some learners were prompted to remember some of former President Mandela's speeches and former President Mbeki's robust debates on the issues of HIV and AIDS. One learner even noticed absence of former President Kgalema Motlanthe from the picture, even though he only served on an interim basis. Teacher mentors have also shown interest in this strategy as learners seemed lively in class,

with disinterest turning into interest as learner participation increased.

From the perspective of some of the learners interviewed, it was concluded that straightforward teacher-centred and textbook-based approaches perhaps meant history is objective (objectivist history). Images allow learners to make their own discoveries and become experts in their own right. Use of images encourages guided reflection in learning.

Limitations

The results presented must be interpreted in the light of the research limitations. The data were gathered at selected schools. Eight weeks was obviously not enough time to make a compelling judgment on the achievement of the set objectives. Thus, whether the results could be generalised to more schools is not clear yet. Unfortunately, due to the Covid-19 situation, which limited the period of study, the effect of PST on objective measures of learning such as final summative grade scores for individual learners could not be examined.

Due to the small number of schools offering History in the targeted area, only a few teachers and learners could be conveniently sampled. The findings range from a lack of exposure to quality competency in History teaching strategies, which results in elements of incompetency, to a lack of quality historical material resources and challenges of at-home assistance with the subject due to high levels of illiteracy and language deficiency.

In conclusion, when History subject results are blamed for, among other things, negatively affecting the performance of schools, the result is often the scrapping of the subject from the school's curriculum. Furthermore, the Department of Basic Education is often blamed for not providing adequate school resources and infrastructure for the creation of a conducive learning environment and delivery of quality education and learning overall. This study recommends that teachers be exposed to continuous enrichment programmes in History teaching and delivery strategies and that conditions in schools be improved to enhance levels of teaching and learning overall.

Conclusion

This study investigated whether the PST strategy of image analysis affected learners' behaviour in relation to the subject History in selected schools. In particular, two areas explored were the effect of PST on the voluntary participation of History learners in the classroom as well as its effect on their comfort with responding to being cold-called to respond to questions. To assist the learners, the study emphasised the use of the PST

strategy of image analysis. During the pre- and post-photo viewing lesson sessions, trained observers gathered data on whether learners voluntarily participated and contributed to deliberative discussions or facilitators called on learners. In addition, data were gathered using pre- and post-photo viewing surveys regarding learners' perceptions about and behaviours related to deliberative discussion in the History class.

The primary results indicated that in the use of at least the photo image, a larger percentage of learners participated voluntarily, with a somewhat-increased number responding comfortably to being cold-called by the facilitators or teachers to voice their opinions. The study makes a valuable contribution to the discussion on how History as a subject can contribute to improved school performance generally and to the use of PST as an instructional strategy in encouraging individual learners to engage in the subject of History in particular. It has further demonstrated that learners can, of their own volition, choose to contribute during History class discussions without the necessity of teachers calling on them and that learners can in turn respond to being called without feeling discomfort, provided the right resources are provisioned. Recognising that both the pre- and post-photo viewing surveys have shown a strong linkage between learner participation frequency and learning, it is recommended that all learners of History be motivated to participate in deliberative lesson discussions through strategic means.

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Fallism as Decoloniality: Towards a Decolonised School History Curriculum in Post-colonial-apartheid South Africa

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2021/n26a8>

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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2021/n26a4>

Abstract

The 2015/16 student protests in South Africa, dubbed #MustFall protests, signalled a historic moment in the country's post-colonial-apartheid history in which student-worker collaborations called for the decolonising of the university and its Eurocentric curriculum and, by extension, basic education and its Eurocentric curriculum too. Since then, there have emerged two dominant narratives of decolonisation in South Africa. The first is what I call a nativist delinking approach that recentres decolonial and Africa-centeredness discourses, ontologies, and epistemologies relatively separate from Euro-north and American-centric ones. The second is a broader, inclusive approach to decolonisation, which this study adopts. However, both these dominant narratives fail to counter much of the knowledge blindness informed by a false dichotomy advanced by positivist absolutism and constructive relativism that defines the sociology of education, including many of the calls for decolonisation. Thus, through a decolonial conceptual framework and Karl Maton's Epistemic-Pedagogic Device as a theoretical framework, fallism as decoloniality is adopted in this study to propose ways to transcend the Eurocentrism that characterises the current school history curriculum in South Africa, as well as the nativist and narrow provincialism of knowledge. Equally, an argument is made for the advancement of an inclusive decolonial project that is concerned with relations within knowledge and curriculum and their intrinsic structures.

Keywords: Fallism; Decoloniality; Decolonisation; School History; CAPS; Epistemic-Pedagogic Device; Curriculum knowledge; Fees Must Fall.

Introduction

For many years, South Africa's black¹ youth have been engaged in protracted struggles for the decolonisation of their education system. The 2015/16 black student-led protests, dubbed #MustFall protests, intensified these struggles seeking to decolonise the contemporary South African education system. In this article, I propose an argument for the decolonisation of curriculum knowledge in the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) School History Curriculum (SHC) for Further Education and Training (FET) phase in post-colonial-apartheid South Africa through the adoption of an inclusive decoloniality that centres fallism. The article begins with a brief discussion of Maton's (2014) Epistemic-Pedagogic Device (EPD) and its usefulness in allowing me to employ and apply fallism to a basic education subject when, in the main, it is exclusively employed and applied in higher education settings and their academic disciplines. This is followed by a discussion of the decolonial conceptual framework adopted by centring *fallism as decoloniality*. The use of theories of the Global North (e.g., EPD) jointly with theories from the Global South (e.g., fallism) is deliberate because the decoloniality advanced in this article is an approach that is for knowledge pluralisation. It is what Hountondji (1997:17) terms *endogenous knowledge* – an approach to knowledge that “create[s] bridges, [and] recreate[s] the unity of knowledge, or in simpler, deeper terms, the unity of the human being”. Thirdly, a brief discussion on post-1994 SHCs and how they continue to be colonised is made. Fourthly, a discussion on forms of curriculum and knowledge is carried out. Lastly, I propose ways in which curriculum knowledge that characterises the CAPS SHC can be decolonised.

Karl Maton's epistemic-pedagogic device

Karl Maton introduced the EPD, drawing heavily from Bernstein's pedagogic device (PD). This is because Bernstein's PD is useful in understanding the mechanics behind relating what he called the three key “message” systems, namely curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation (Bernstein, 1975). Bernstein also argues that the PD comprised three different yet internally related fields of practice:

¹ Black, in this article, is used in a similar way to the Black Consciousness understanding of blackness to refer to all those who were oppressed under colonial-apartheid.

The production field

The production field is where new curriculums or specialised knowledge, discourses and ideas are continuously established, developed, and produced. This field is regulated by distributive rules that in turn regulate power relations between social groups. Thus, these distributive rules “help distinguish between two classes of knowledge: – the thinkable and the unthinkable, the esoteric and the mundane, the knowledge of the oriental other, and the otherness of knowledge” (Bernstein, 1996:28-29). In the post-colonial-apartheid South African context, the former is thought of, in Bernsteinian (1996, 1999) understanding of knowledge structures, as being part of the *vertical discourse* that is made of knowledge forms considered to be explicit, coherent, and organised. These are Euro-Western forms of knowledge that are characterised by ideas of the modernity/coloniality project. These forms of knowledge are conceptualised and represented as being formal, scholarly, or specialised. The latter are forms of knowledge thought of as being part of a *horizontal discourse* that is made of knowledge forms that are vague, incoherent or muddled, and jumbled or disorganised (Bernstein, 1996, 1999). These are considered informal, non-scholarly or non-specialised forms of knowledge. Usually, these are marginalised African-centred knowledge forms.

The recontextualisation field

The recontextualisation field is a site where curriculum or specialised knowledge, discourses and ideas produced in the production field are selected and transferred to sites of reproduction, which are mainly, but not exclusively, the school. For Bernstein (2000), this process entails the principles of *de-location* (i.e., selecting a discourse or part of a discourse from the field of production, such as a university), and *re-location* (i.e., the placement of that part or whole discourse into a field of reproduction, such as the school). Moreover, Bernstein stresses that during the de-location and re-location process, the original discourse can undergo an ideological transformation.

This field is regulated by recontextualising rules which regulate the formation of specific pedagogic discourses (Ensor, 2004). Pedagogic discourse is “... the principle by which other discourses are appropriated and brought into a special relation with each other, for the purposes of their selective transmission and acquisition. Pedagogic discourse is a principle for the circulation and the reordering of discourses” (Bernstein, 1996:46-47). For instance, pedagogic discourses can speak to curriculum design decisions made by curriculum

designers and policymakers relating to knowledge, pedagogy, and assessment. These decisions usually result in, for instance, the inclusion and exclusion of certain knowledge. A case in point is the continued inclusion of Euro-Western forms of knowledge in the SHC in post-colonial-apartheid South Africa at the expense of African-centred knowledge forms. Hence, for Bernstein (1975, 1996) these recontextualising rules are governed by two sets of rules (or logics), which are the instructional discourse (ID) and the regulative discourse (RD). The ID denotes what is usually referred to as content knowledge, and this may include facts, specialised texts or theories based on a subject discipline. The RD, on the other hand, concerns moral values, behaviour, orderliness, character, identity, and attitude. It is concerned with what pupils exhibit in, or what attitudes they are encouraged to bring into, the classroom.

The reproduction field

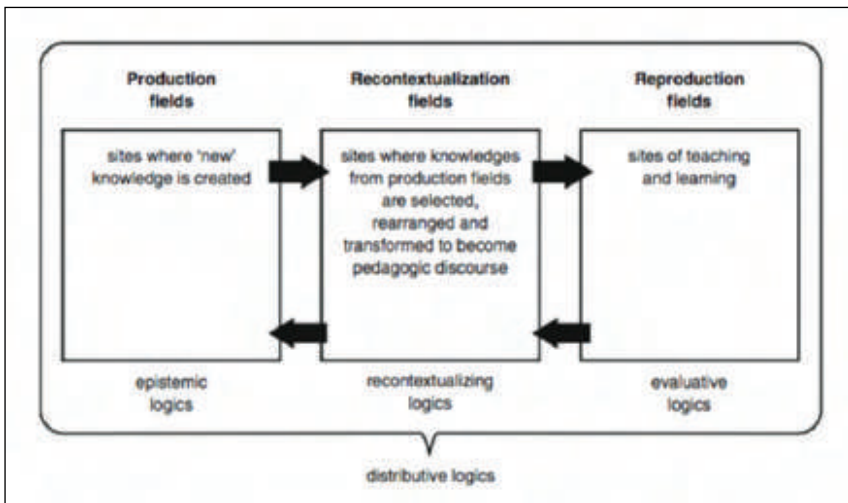
The reproduction field is a site where processes and decisions from both the production and recontextualisation fields find expression. In other words, the new curriculum or specialised knowledge, discourses and ideas produced in the production field are recontextualised in the recontextualisation field, and the other curriculum design imperatives advanced by curriculum designers and policymakers are implemented. This means the reproduction field is where teaching and learning, characterised by various dominant and favoured knowledge forms of the day, dominant pedagogics choices, and assessment practices, take place. Thus, this field is regulated by evaluative rules, which in turn “regulate the recognition, selection and recontextualisation of official knowledge. It is within this field of reproduction that educators employ their pedagogy to determine processes involving, for example, the selection of knowledge; sequencing of content; pacing of lessons” and the evaluation or assessment of their learners (Gerassi, 2016:17).

Additionally, Gerassi (2016:17) notes that:

Bernstein acknowledges that learners, too, have the opportunity to further recontextualise the pedagogy used by the educator. They may, for instance, use their own processes of knowledge recognition or their own “evaluation criteria” to legitimise or challenge school knowledge. In this way, the pedagogic practice provides a means for initiating change in the power relations and mechanisms of control between educators and learners.

Maton (2014), drawing from PD, developed the EPD to argue that the fields of practice are not only interrelated but are dialectical and intersectional too. This means that EPD, for instance, does not view the conceptualisation, development, and production of new curriculums or specialised knowledge, discourses and ideas as only happening in the PD's production field. Rather, what EPD argues is that such new knowledge can also be conceptualised and produced in the reproduction field. In other words, new specialised knowledge, discourses, and ideas are not always or only produced in the production field, and it is only through specific pedagogic discourses embedded within the recontextualisation field that they can find expression in the reproduction field. What EPD argues is that such new knowledge can be produced in the reproduction field and thus can *dialectically* and *intersectionally* move from this field to the production field through specific pedagogic discourses embedded within the recontextualisation field. Figure 1 depicts processes embedded within the EPD (Maton, 2014:51):

Figure 1: The arena created by the EPD



Source: (Maton, 2014:51)

In this article, drawing from both PD and EPD's interrelational, dialectical and intersectional posture, I focus on the reproduction field as a field in which the 2015/16 student movements and their protests are located. I argue, therefore, that the students

were able to produce new specialised knowledge, discourses, and ideas, i.e., fallism, that in turn, have been recontextualised in the recontextualisation field and been (and continue to be) dialectically and intersectionally moved to the production field. From this logic, it is then possible to employ fallism and apply it to basic education, specifically SHC. This is because, from Bernstein's PD, whatever is produced in the production field (mainly but not exclusively universities) gets recontextualised by curriculum designers and policymakers for educators and schools to adopt and apply in the reproduction field. So, EPD stretches the PD by strongly arguing that this process is not only straightforward but both dialectical and intersectional too. Over and above this, it is important to note that the 2015/16 black student cohort and those who came before and after them had already been exposed to colonial education and its effects before entering higher institutions of learning. Hence, their struggles and articulations of the need for a decolonised university should be read to speak directly to the need for the decolonisation of the basic education system too. This is because their encounter with colonial education dates back to their first day of formalised education. Hence, I am of the view that it would be a futile exercise to even begin to view basic education and higher education and their operative logics in South Africa as operating relatively separate from each other.

Fallism as decoloniality

On 9 March 2015, black students at the University of Cape Town (UCT) under the banner of #RhodesMustFall drenched the bronze statue of racist Cecil John Rhodes, situated on the lower part of Sarah Baartman Hall steps overlooking the university's rugby fields, in human excrement, demanding its removal from their campus. They viewed it as a symbol of white supremacy thinking, white arrogance, and white fragility that has deep historical roots dating back to colonial-apartheid years, being further entrenched, protected, and promoted in the post-colonial-apartheid university and society, and as needing to be dismantled. These acts were followed by many protest actions by students and workers across all public university campuses under the banner of #FeesMustFall over exorbitant tuition and hostel fees. These protests initially started at the University of the Witwatersrand (WITS) on October 14, 2015.² However, it should be noted that student protests over exorbitant tuition and hostel fees in post-colonial-apartheid South Africa did not start in 2015 at

2 I was among the students who protested in 2015/16 against the exorbitant tuition and hostel fees imposed by the University of the Witwatersrand.

WITS. In fact, for many years, students from the so-called historically black universities (HBUs) across the country have been protesting over such issues with little to no media coverage. So, students from HBUs are the first fallists.³ However, they are not seen as the first fallists because coloniality and its power matrix continue to construct these students, who are predominately black, as non-beings.

What then is fallism? And can it be decoloniality? First, it should be noted that there is no single all-encompassing definition of what fallism is. This is because those of us who consider ourselves as fallists come to interpret, reconstruct, and represent fallism differently in our different sites of struggles, many of which are similar and intersectional. Therefore, fallism is a collective noun we use to describe student movements at universities in post-colonial-apartheid South Africa that use the “Must Fall” hashtag (Ahmed, 2019). For this article, I too understand fallism to mean “an attempt to make sense of the experiences of Black people in a white, liberal university [and school], through decolonial theories centred on [intersectionality,] Pan-Africanism, Black Consciousness, and Black radical feminism” (Ahmed, 2019:np). This attempt was inspired by (South) Africa’s rich history of struggles for decolonisation and youth uprisings.

Therefore, fallism, as employed in this article, seeks epistemic justice by challenging the continued expansion of the Western knowledge canon in the SHC through what decolonial scholars call “coloniality” (Fataar & Subreenduth, 2015). Coloniality is a term used to understand how the colonised continue to be dehumanised even though formalised colonialism has ended. It is also used to explain the “darker side” or “underside” of modernity that is often hidden and should be unveiled or unmasked. This side of modernity exists as an embedded logic, and EPD’s distributive logics allow us to unveil and unmask its enforced domination, suppression, and exploitation of *the oriental other*. Maldonado-Torres (2007:243) asserts that coloniality:

...survives colonialism. It is maintained alive in books, in the criteria for academic performance, in cultural patterns, in common sense, in the self-image of peoples, in aspirations of self, and so many other aspects of our modern experience. In a way, as modern subjects, we breathe coloniality all the time and every day.

It is also maintained in the school through its curriculum, especially the SHC, and

³ Fallist is a term that those of us who were part of the #MustFall protests use to describe each other and ourselves.

the general operative logic of the school, i.e., learners' codes of conduct, schools' visions, mission statements, and so on. Therefore, coloniality reproduces itself in three dialectical yet interrelated domains that include: "coloniality of power", "coloniality of knowledge", and "coloniality of being" (Maldonado-Torres 2016).

Coloniality of power

Coloniality of power seeks to explain "the structures of power, control, and hegemony that have emerged during the modernist era, the era of colonialism, which stretches from the conquest of the Americas to the present".⁴ It tells a story of how the Global North articulates its power to characterise, label, classify, totalise, and organise the world according to its narrow perceptions of the world through the SHC and other avenues. It is imposed through control of the economy; control of authority; control of gender and sexuality; and control of knowledge and subjectivity (Mignolo, 2007). Hence, Taylor (2013:598) asserts that "coloniality of power thus entails not only physical oppression, political authoritarianism and economic exploitation but most fundamentally *epistemological domination*". Within the EPD, coloniality of power can be allocated as operating in the distributive logics.

Therefore, the type of fallism employed here seeks to challenge this coloniality of power and ultimately the epistemological domination by bringing into the distributive logics of EPD as many players as possible. For instance, instead of having a situation whereby only white, cisgender men are at the centre of controlling the epistemic logics in the production field; we open up to accommodate the colonised too but not for the sake of accommodating. With that, we should be allowed and supported to theorise our lived experiences from our theoretical traditions. In that way, a pluralised knowledge production enterprise can be realised.

Coloniality of knowledge

Coloniality of knowledge explains the continued monopolisation of knowledge production. This results in the systematic and institutional exclusion of other forms of knowledge in the curriculum and its knowledge-building and structuring processes (Boughey & McKenna, 2021). In challenging this, the type of fallism advanced here proposes an additive-inclusive

4 S Martinot, "The coloniality of power: Notes toward decolonization", accessed on 8 August 2021, from: <https://www.globaljusticecenter.org/papers/coloniality-power-notes-toward-de-colonization>

and intersectional approach to curriculum knowledge production and building that “recognises and values existing canons of knowledge and its addition to established world knowledges” (Jansen, 2017:160). This means that in our attempt to decolonise curriculum knowledge, we should not provincialise, marginalise and exclude other forms of knowledge the same way the Western knowledge canon sought to do and continues to do.

Instead, what we should strive to do is create a knowledge environment within the EPD’s distributive logics in which knowledge pluralisation and intersectionality are at the centre of the academic enterprise. In this way, we can, for instance, recentre and “reconceptualise research participants [*oMakhulu*, etc.] as not only information mines, but as co-creators of knowledge, [because] *oMakhulu* have for decades analysed their social world thus creating knowledge in the process. But, because they may not have used “academic” theories and concepts, this knowledge exists outside of the academy” (Maluleka & Ramoupi, in press 2021). Magoqwana speaks about the need to reposition and re-historise *uMakhulu* in the SHC “...as an institution of knowledge that transfers not only ‘history’ through *iintsomi* (folktales), but also as a body of indigenous knowledge that stores, transfers, and disseminates knowledge and values” (Magoqwana 2018:76).

Coloniality of being

Coloniality of being explains the Manichean allegoric mode of binaries that continue to be used to categorise people and their culture as either Christian/barbarian, good/evil, primitive/civilised, inferior/superior, rational/irrational, white/black, knowledge/myths, and developed/undeveloped (Maldonado-Torres, 2016). This categorisation happens across the EPD’s distributive logics.

The type of fallism employed here seeks to contribute to the *rehumanisation* of the dehumanised in and through the SHC. These are colonised people that Fanon (1961) described as *the wretched of the earth* who live in the “zone of non-being” (Mignolo, 2007), which for De Sousa Santos (2014:10), in a different context, designates a zone as “between No Longer and the Not Yet”. This is because coloniality continues to socially produce what journalist Nat Nakasa⁵ called “natives of nowhere”, who are primitive, inferior, irrational, and black. These are colonised people who, through the systemic and institutional exclusion of their ways of knowing and being, are dislocated from their being, culture, and indigenous

⁵ Nathaniel Ndazana Nakasa (1937–1965), better known as Nat Nakasa, was a South African journalist who worked during apartheid.

identities (Kumalo 2018). This has resulted in these colonised people being pariahs who are *homeless, de-homed, unhomed* and *worldless* (Madlingozi, 2018). However, in its process of rehumanising the dehumanised, the type of fallism employed here also seeks to create a new white person who is a “fully conscious”, free from all biases and the weakening effects of the abyssal imperial attitudes (Fanon, 1961).

Post-1994 school History curriculums: CAPS

Since the dawn of democracy in 1994, the South African democratic state, in partnership with stakeholders, has initiated numerous constitutional and educational reforms in a bid to *ukuhlambulula* the SHC from its colonial-apartheid past with the hope of re-establishing *seriti sa MaAfrika*⁶ (Maluleka & Ramoupi, in press 2021). Tisani conceptualises *ukuhlambulula* as a process of cleansing, which entails “cleansing – inside and outside, touching the seen and unseen, screening the conscious and unconscious. This includes healing of the body and making whole the inner person, because in African thinking ‘there is an interconnectedness of all things’ (Thabede, 2008:238)” (Tisani, 2018:18). Therefore, the process of *ukuhlambulula* was initiated because colonial-apartheid education and its distributive logics were Eurocentric, racist, homophobic, sexist, misogynistic, authoritarian, prescriptive, unchanging, context-blind, and discriminatory (Maluleka, 2018). For instance, the apartheid school curriculum was underpinned by ideals of Christian National Education (CNE), Afrikaner Nationalism, white supremacy, and pseudo-scientific racism. Hence, Article 15 of the CNE policy of 1948 stated that:

We believe that the calling and task of White South Africa [concerning] the native is to Christianise him and help him culturally and that this calling and task has already found its nearer focusing on the principles of trusteeship, no equality and segregation. We believe besides that any system of teaching and education of natives must be based on the same principle. [Following] these principles, we believe that the teaching and education of the native must be grounded in the life and worldview of the Whites most especially those of the Boer nation as senior White trustee of the native ... (cited in Msila, 2007:149)

6 Loosely translated, this means the restoration of the dignity of Africans. Seriti literally means “a shadow” and is also more than an individual’s existential quest for appearance. It is a “life force by which a community of persons are connected to each other” (Muvangua & Cornell, 2012, p. 529).

Therefore, the 1990s were a period in South Africa that could be characterised as “a decolonising moment” for various reasons (Christie, 2020:201). The first reason was the first *ukuhlambulula* process that began with the adoption of the democratic constitution of 1996, the National Education Policy Act 1996, and the South African Schools Act 1996, which saw 18 racially differentiated departments of education collapsed and replaced with a single, centralised national department of education assisted by nine provincial departments of education.

The second *ukuhlambulula* process entailed the adoption of the Curriculum 2005 in 1997. This was an Outcomes-Based Education (OBE) strategy which focused on the main outcomes of the educational process. This curriculum “was presented as an attempt to alter in the short term the most glaring racist, sexist and outdated content inherited from the apartheid syllabi” (Jansen, 2001:43). It was one of “the most radical constructivist curriculum ever attempted anywhere in the world” (Taylor 2000, cited in Hugo 2005:22). Its evaluative logics on the EPD were learner-centred (something that both educators and learners were not accustomed to), as opposed to being teacher-centred, as was the case under colonial-apartheid. Its epistemic and recontextualisation logics were still very much dominated and controlled by government officials, academics, policymakers, curriculum developers and so on, who were still very much aligned with colonial-apartheid. Thus, OBE failed.

But OBE also failed in South Africa for many other reasons. For instance, Jansen, in a paper entitled “Curriculum reform in South Africa: A critical analysis of Outcomes-Based Education”, gave an account consisting of “10 major reasons” as to why he thought then that OBE would fail. His main thesis was that OBE would fail “...because this policy is being driven in the first instance by political imperatives which have little to do with the realities of classroom life” (Jansen, 1998:323). So, OBE failed because it was “primarily a political response to apartheid schooling” (Jansen, 1998:321). In other words, “naïve optimism prevailed, driven by very sincere attempts to sweep out the old and usher in the new as speedily and completely as possible” (Siebörger & Dean, n.d.:3). Moreover, OBE’s market fundamentalism outlook and its obsession with demonstrable proficiency of specific skills, knowledge, or behaviour meant that it was near impossible to meaningfully foreground African-centred knowledge forms in its curriculum knowledge structures. This is the knowledge that was still considered, and continues to be by some (see: Horsthemke, 2004a, 2004b), as forming part of the *horizontal discourse*, i.e., knowledge considered to be vague, incoherent or muddled, and jumbled or disorganised.

Due to the challenges that were identified by Jansen and others as constraining OBE,

the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) was introduced in 2002, which signalled the third *ukuhlambulula* process (Chisholm, 2005). The RNCS was sold as being “designed on the principles of social transformation, human rights, inclusivity, as well as environmental and social justice” (Naidoo, 2014:4). Hence, it was characterised by three different pathways that learners could access after the end of Grade 9. These pathways included the general pathway, which was offered by all schools and incorporates grades 10 to 12; the general vocational pathway, which was to be offered by colleges who would, in turn, prepare learners for work that involves vocational skills; and the trade, occupational and professional pathway, which was to be offered by mainly industry-based providers through leadership (DoBE, 2002). Even with these pathways, the RNCS too was confronted with challenges. For instance, like OBE, it continued to foreground a market fundamentalist outlook, which meant that learner-centred approaches continued to dominate its evaluative logics, even though there was little to no training for educators. Its epistemic and recontextualisation logics continued to be dominated and controlled by those aligned with colonial-apartheid even though there was some form of transformation⁷ (inclusion of some individuals from the previously colonised groupings) taking place in both logics.

Moreover, the absence of a soundly communicated plan for the implementation of the RNCS and the support of educators (DoBE, 2009) meant that “many educators who were reliant on the prescriptions of the colonial-apartheid SHC [were] forced to develop their learning programmes and learning support materials, which was something they never did under colonial-apartheid rule because everything was provided to them. Many decided to go back to teaching from the colonial-apartheid script because that was what they had access to” (Maluleka & Ramoupi, 2021). Equally, the fact that educators were themselves “products” of the colonial-apartheid education system (i.e., slave, mission, the extension of university education and Bantu education) exacerbated the problem because they were given few if any opportunities for *unlearning* internalised colonial attitudes and ethnics and *relearning* attitudes and ethnics founded on democratic principles. This is indicative of the government’s failure to adequately prepare educators, especially those moving into peri-urban and rural schools that did not have strong school and district leadership and thus were not helped in acclimatising to the “decolonising moment” and its imperative, nor were they guided in developing resources (Maluleka & Ramoupi, 2021). Equally,

⁷ Transformation is understood in this instance to refer to the inclusion of those previously excluded from certain spaces.

Euro-Western forms of knowledge continued to enjoy much coverage in the curriculum at the expense of African-centred knowledge forms. For instance, the RNCS even CAPS continued to “...privilege ‘masculinist’ interpretations of the past which contribute not only to the general marginalisation of women [minority groups and indigenous peoples’ experiences] as subjects of history but more importantly reinforces or ignores oppressive gendered [and othering] ideas” (Wills, 2016:24).

A fourth *ukuhlambulula* process was initiated to review the RNCS. This resulted in the CAPS being announced in 2010, and it is currently in use. According to the Department of Basic Education (DoBE) Minister, Mrs Angie Motshekga, CAPS is not a new curriculum but a revision of the RNCS (DoBE, 2011). The evaluative logics of CAPS attempt to strike a balance between teacher-centred and learner-centred approaches to teaching and learning. Within this logic, we see more and more young educators joining the teaching profession. These are young professionals who, one hopes, understand and appreciate the importance of democratising knowledge in the classroom. By this I mean the teaching of history from a perspective informed by a plurality of knowledge forms to “pursue a robust social science by triangulating a wide range of partial perspectives, which would yield ‘stronger objectivity’ than the ‘God trick’ of supposed objectification from a dis-interested universal perspective” (Haraway, 1988 as developed in Zipin, Fataar & Brennan, 2015:16). One also hopes that these young professionals are aware of school history being part of the *horizontal knowledge structures* within the *vertical discourse* (Young, 2008). I elaborate further on this point in the next section.

CAPS recontextualisation and epistemic logics are, however, not yet fully transformed despite 27 years of a democratic dispensation. This is telling of a coloniality/modernity project hellbent on preserving the status quo that is characterised by epistemicide, culturecide, and linguicide. For instance, Wills (2016) critiques CAPS at the level of both of these operative logics. She argues that despite CAPS making inroads in as far as attempting to include and re-historicise “women’s experiences, and scholarship in women’s history” (Wills, 2016:24); “as it stands if we are to pursue decolonisation of the curriculum at all, ‘mentioning’ women is not a radical enough move towards conceptualising women and representing gendered historical concepts in ways which do not re-inscribe a practice of epistemic erasure or the textual inscription of damaging stereotypes and ideologies” (Wills, 2016:24-25).

In an attempt to transcend this, at least at the level of recontextualisation and evaluative logics, the current South African government, through its DoBE, initiated what I see as its fifth *ukuhlambulula* process in its curriculum reform. This saw the appointment of a

History Ministerial Task Team⁸ (HMTT) on 4 June 2015 that was mandated to work within outlined terms of reference, which were officialised publicly in October 2015.⁹ These terms of reference were centred around the HMTT needing to conduct a “comparative case study on compulsory History in certain countries...”¹⁰ because the “Minister further made comments about the content of the history curriculum and the way history is being taught in our schools”.¹¹ The actual terms of reference that the HMTT had to work within include:

To advise on the feasibility of making History compulsory in the FET phase;

To advise on where History should be located in the curriculum (for example, should it be incorporated into Life Orientation or not);

To review the content and pedagogy of the History curriculum with a view to strengthening History in the curriculum; and

To investigate the implications (for teaching, classrooms, textbooks, etc.) of making History a compulsory subject.¹²

In its final report to the ministry of the DoBE, the HMTT made several suggestions that have profound implications for the distributive logics of CAPS. Firstly, the HMTT’s interim suggestion was that CAPS needed to be strengthened. They rationalised this by arguing that they were “... against the exercise of wholesale changes or a complete overhaul of the CAPS syllabus and content at this present time. [They] felt that this was too soon, instead, the MTT focused on the exercise of using the CAPS syllabus as the basis of strengthening the content in the interim, hoping that a complete overhaul of the CAPS syllabus and content will be carried out by the DoBE in future. This will depend, among other issues, on whether history will be a compulsory, fundamental subject at FET phase.”¹³

In terms of what could be read as a decolonising imperative, the HMTT suggested that:

... that Africa centeredness becomes a principle in revisiting the content, and in particular bringing both ancient history and pre-colonial African history into the FET curriculum. Ghana’s History syllabus at Senior High School, 1-3, that is, Grades 10, 11 and 12 is instructive in this regard. This is critical to understanding the layered history of South Africa and the continent of Africa at a more developed conceptual level. We recognise that

8 Republic of South Africa (RSA), Department of Basic Education (DoBE), “Executive summary of the History Ministerial Task Team”, ca January 2018.

9 RSA, DoBE, National Education Policy Act (Act no 27 of 1996), Establishment of the History Ministerial Task Team. Government Gazette (GG), Notice no 926, 9 October 2015.

10 RSA, DoBE, “Executive summary of the History Ministerial Task Team”, ca January 2018, p. 9.

11 RSA, DoBE, “Executive summary of the History Ministerial Task Team”, ca January 2018, p. 8.

12 RSA, DoBE, “Executive summary of the History Ministerial Task Team”, ca January 2018, p. 8.

13 RSA, DoBE, “Executive summary of the History Ministerial Task Team”, ca January 2018, p. 84.

certain aspects of pre-colonial history are taught in the GET curriculum, however, this tends to be portrayed as a “happy story”, appropriate to that level, but fails to provide the nuanced and complex history which should be taught at a higher level at the FET phase. A conscious move away from this superficial history would also provide a bridge between GET, FET history and history taught at universities. Problematic and controversial issues and themes in ancient history and pre-colonial history of Africa should not be avoided. For example, themes about class, social stratification, kings and commoners, the status of women and workers in ancient history and also in pre-colonial history must be included.¹⁴

The DoBE is yet to work at materially implementing some of these suggestions from the HMTT. There has, however, been some critique of the work of the HMTT, especially in academic spaces. For instance, Van Eeden and Warnich (2018:18) reflect, firstly, on “the History MTT’s discussion of the status of, specifically, compulsory History in Africa and further afield, and to establish whether the MTT’s report can in this regard serve as a reliable indicator for making any informed decision on whether History Education in South African schools should indeed be compulsory up to the Grade 12 level.” Secondly, they “... contest the quality of the research conducted by the [HMTT about] compulsory History in other countries, which in turn questions the reliability of the Report in its entirety” and blame this on the “lack of inclusivity of expertise in the [HMTT], especially experts in History education” (Van Eeden & Warnich 2018:38). And finally, given what they say, their “contestation on [the] quality [of] the first section of the [HMTT] report” (Van Eeden & Warnich 2018:38), Van Eeden and Warnich make recommendations to the DoBE as to what aspects they think were ignored by the HMTT in their research and reporting, and why these aspects should be considered for further research before recommendations by the HMTT can be implemented.

All of these developments highlight an embedded contestedness of the distributive logics of a curriculum like the SHC, especially in countries like South Africa, whose present is still characterised by divisions from its historic past.

Forms of curriculum and knowledge

Curriculum, as a concept, is deeply contested because conceptualisations and

14 RSA, DoBE, “Executive summary of the History Ministerial Task Team”, ca January 2018, p. 132.

meanings are understood differently. Generally, the curriculum is understood to be within the following considerations:

the ontological level (that is, the nature or essence of curriculums in different historical moments and time), the level epistemological (that is, the theories of knowledge that underpinned curriculum studies at various times) and methodological level (that is, the theories of methods that focus on curriculum studies which concern the different approaches to learning, teaching, assessment, and others) (Du Preez 2017, as developed in Hlatshwayo, 2018:76).

Eisner (1985) suggests that we note other considerations in our quest to understand curriculum in its entirety. These include the *explicit*, *implicit* (hidden) and *null* curriculum. The *explicit* curriculum is what is provided to learners by teachers, and this usually includes prescribed textbooks, assessment activities and guidelines. It is thus located in the recontextualisation and reproduction field. The *implicit* curriculum speaks to the culture and values (i.e., ways of knowing and being) of those who are dominant or powerful in a society, which are taught to unsuspecting learners (Apple, 1971). This curriculum can also be seen as a site for what Young (2008) terms *knowledge of the powerful*, which speaks to *who defines* what counts as knowledge and has access to it. This curriculum should be seen as a site where coloniality most implicitly reproduces itself. It operates in the EPD's distributive logics. The *null* curriculum is what is left out in officialised curriculums – what is not taught to learners. African-centred knowledge forms form part of this curriculum. These are forms of knowledge that the 2015/16 cohort of students sought to recentre through their struggles located in the EPD's reproduction field.

Thus, all of these considerations suggested by Hlatshwayo *et al* are grounds for contestations, struggles for decolonisation (Le Grange 2016). I propose ways in which some of these aspects of the curriculum can be decolonised in the next section. I now turn my focus to different forms of knowledge.

Sociologists of education are of the view that knowledge is differentiated (Young 2008) into two types, namely the formal, scholarly, or specialised knowledge (i.e., *school knowledge* that is part of the vertical discourse) and the informal, non-scholarly, or non-specialised knowledge (i.e., *non-school knowledge* that is part of the horizontal discourse). School knowledge is curriculum knowledge or subject-matter knowledge that is officialised and goes through the PD. It is the knowledge that Young (2008) termed as *powerful knowledge* and Bourdieu (2011) termed as *symbolic capital*. This knowledge is also *disciplinary*

knowledge, which for Young is “context-independent” because it is developed for informed generalisations about the natural and social world – what Bernstein (2000) sees as being part of *hierarchical knowledge structures* because academic disciplines such as physics located in this knowledge structure “tend to have a vertical knowledge structure in which scholars are cumulatively building knowledge on “testable” and “objective” uniformities that comply with general propositions and agreement in the field, on how knowledge is produced, and who counts as a *legitimate knower* in such a field” (Hlatshwayo, 2018:43). This community of practice usually *universalises* any understanding of knowledge, which in turn becomes a breeding ground for coloniality and Eurocentrism. This is because any understanding of knowledge that is not legitimated within this community of practice and their fields of practice is rejected, the case in point being African-centred knowledge forms. In contrast, academic disciplines within the humanities and social sciences, such as school history, form part of Bernstein’s *horizontal knowledge structures* within vertical discourse. Knowledge in these fields is underpinned by a series of specialised *languages of legitimation*, which for (Maton, 2013:23) refers to the “claims made by actors for carving out and maintaining spaces within social fields of practice”. For Hlatshwayo (2018:44), knowledge governed by *horizontal knowledge structures* “tend to be segmented, with different scholars not cumulatively building knowledge atop one another, but rather introducing new theories, concepts, even competing with one another and replacing each other. This means that horizontal knowledge structures do not generally attempt to create general propositions and agree upon theoretical and conceptual tools that ‘conform’ to ‘objective’ or ‘testable’ realities.” An example of such are the varied debates on meanings attached to the decolonisation of the SHC to which this very article seeks to contribute. Beyond these knowledge structures, Bernstein has also introduced us to discursive and ideational formations of knowledge that assist us to grapple with his concepts of *classification* and *framing*, which provide one with a special language for the description of pedagogic discourse (Hoadley 2005).

Bernstein (1975:88) defines classification as “the degree of boundary maintenance between content”, i.e., the strength or weakness of the boundaries which exist between different categories such as academic subjects, agents and spaces agencies, contexts, discourses, or disciplines. This means that classification can be *relatively* stronger (C+) or weaker (C-). In other words, C+ refers to the structure of a curriculum extremely differentiated and separated into specific academic disciplines and subjects (Gerassi 2016). This then enables academic subjects and disciplines to differentiate themselves amongst each other. Thus, any form of multidisciplinary, interdisciplinarity, or merged disciplinarity

are discouraged in this instance. Moreover, C+ maintains that a boundary exists between school knowledge that is formal, scholarly, and specialised and non-school knowledge that is informal, non-scholarly and non-specialised. Therefore, C- does the opposite of C+ because it collapses the boundaries in curriculum structures that differentiate and separate specific academic disciplines and subjects. Thus, C- encourages any form of multidisciplinary, interdisciplinarity, or merged disciplinarity between academic subjects and disciplines. It also creates room in the curriculum structure for non-school knowledge to be integrated with formal, specialised, and scholarly curriculum knowledge. These have profound implications for how we think of a decolonised SHC and how can be achieved. For instance, C- collapses the power relations that exist between educators and their learners when C+ is in place, i.e., the integrations of specialised curriculum knowledge and “everyday” knowledge “challenges the distinction between educators and learners and, by way of extension, their relations of power (Bernstein 2000)” (Gerassi, 2016:13). In other words, where C+ “refers to clearly defined pedagogic identities between educator and learner (and, through systems of prefecture, between learner and learner)”, C- “refers to poorly defined or blurred pedagogical identities” (Gerassi, 2016:13). Moreover, the fact that under C- learners are considered active participants in knowledge production, as opposed to *tabula rasas* under C+, challenges the pedagogical distinction between educators and learners and, by extension, specialised curriculum knowledge and non-school “everyday” knowledge.

Framing, on the other hand, refers to “...the degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection, organisation, pacing and timing of the knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship” (Bernstein 1977:89), i.e., the control of meaning in pedagogic communication (Maton 2010), because it “...regulates the form of its legitimate message” (Bernstein 1999:100) and addresses “the strength of the boundary between what may be transmitted and what may not be transmitted” (Bernstein 1975:89). Hlatshwayo (2018:41-42) explains framing as “...concerned with the control over knowledge construction and its pedagogic transmission, through selection (what counts as legitimate knowledge), sequencing (how this knowledge is arranged in the curriculum), pacing (the expected or anticipated rate of acquisition for students in the curriculum), and evaluation (assessment and criteria of ensuring that this knowledge is received and reproduced)”. Therefore, like classification, framing can be *relatively* stronger (F+) or weaker (F-) too (Hlatshwayo, 2018:41-42).

F+ means that educators have full control over pedagogic processes and can determine what is legitimate or valid knowledge (C+) and what is not (C-), i.e., what knowledge can

be deemed specialised or “everyday”. This makes F+ a teacher-centred approach to teaching and learning because educators have more control over the selection, pacing, sequencing, and evaluation of the curriculum knowledge (C+/F+). F- is the opposite of F+. Under F-, the approach to teaching and learning is learner-centred as opposed to being teacher-centred. Thus, learners, instead of educators, have more control over the selection, pacing, sequencing, and evaluation of the curriculum and can determine, to some extent, which knowledge to focus on and which to ignore (C-/F-).

Therefore, Bernstein’s understanding of different forms of knowledge is significant to any project that seeks to decolonise curriculum knowledge.

Conclusion: Towards a decolonised and inclusive school history curriculum

There is still much to be done when it comes to the decolonisation of SHC in South Africa (Godsell, 2019). Therefore, with this article I have attempted to contribute to this project by suggesting ways in which decolonisation of the SHC can be approached. This I did by firstly suggesting a decolonial conceptual framework and Karl Maton’s Epistemic-Pedagogic Device as a theoretical framework that, in turn, enabled me to employ fallism as decoloniality. Through that, I was able to review why post-1994 SHCs continue to fail when it comes to decolonisation. Thirdly, I was able to review forms of curriculum and knowledge and then suggest ways in which decolonisation can be prioritised in the relations within knowledge and curriculum and their intrinsic structures (Lilliedahl, 2015).

With this, I argue that a mere replacing of Euro-Western knowledge with African knowledge forms does not constitute decolonising. In fact, what it constitutes is yet another marginalising act that results in other forms of knowledge being excluded – knowledge forms that can enrich the academic enterprise we are trying to create. Thirdly, to truly begin attempting to decolonise the SHC, we need to move beyond the rhetoric, metaphoric, and romanticisation of decolonisation. Therefore, what fallism as decoloniality offers to any decolonial project that seeks to decolonise the SHC is a space that values and allows for the emergence of knowledge pluralisation. This, in turn, compels all stakeholders involved in the making and implementation of what could be a decolonised SHC to know, understand, and create from different forms of knowledge and curriculum an SHC that allows educators and learners to engage with knowledge in ways that are open and inclusive. This means that when it comes to the classification (+/-) and the structuring of knowledge in the curriculum in any of the distributive logics offered by EPD, there needs to be an integration of what is

usually considered everyday knowledge into the curriculum, which will, in turn, allow for multidisciplinary, interdisciplinarity, or merged disciplinarity with other disciplines and other forms of knowledge. By this, I do not mean that decolonial knowledge or African-centred knowledge is everyday knowledge and therefore illogical, disorganised, etc. And yes, there is knowledge that is everyday, illogical, disorganised, and does not belong in any school curriculum. Equally, not all knowledge can be included in the school curriculum.

However, what I mean by this is that any form of decolonial knowledge or African-centred knowledge forms that would be integrated into the school curriculum should also be subjected to disciplinary skills that any knowledge incorporated into a school curriculum would undergo. In other words, when learners and educators engage with decolonial knowledge or African-centred knowledge forms, they should do so in ways that promote *reading, writing, and thinking* like a historian (see Wineburg, 1999; Seixas, 2017). Therefore, the process of integration of decolonial knowledge or African-centred knowledge forms into the curriculum will in turn elevate the status of that very same knowledge, especially knowledge constructed by *oMakhulu* that is often acquired outside of the classroom. This will, in turn, dismantle, collapse, and undermine the privileged status that Euro-Western knowledge forms currently enjoy and create a situation whereby all centres or forms of knowledge are seen and treated equally. Thus, engaging them will be from that basis.

This has implications for pedagogy and how it comes to be framed (+/-). One thing about fallism is that it advanced a pedagogy approach that enabled and negotiated for different kinds of knowers to be legitimated (Hlatshwayo, 2018). Therefore, in our thinking of how we integrate decolonial knowledge or African-centred knowledge forms in a decolonised curriculum, we also need to think about the pedagogies, as well as assessments that will need to accompany this. Godsell (2019) offers an account of how poetry can be employed as a decolonising pedagogy in a history curriculum. Many such studies looking into pedagogy and assessment are imminent.

Acknowledgements:

The financial assistance of the National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences (NIHSS), in collaboration with the South African Humanities Deans Association (SAHUDA) towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the NIHSS and SAHUDA

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“Better a barefoot than none”: Influences of Nationalist ideologies on girlhood in the history classroom

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2021/n26a8>

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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2021/n26a5>

Abstract

This study adopted autoethnography as a research methodology to relive and reflect on my experiences as a White Afrikaner girl in a history class during the apartheid era in South Africa. This paper focuses on how the grand narratives of Afrikaner Nationalist ideologies and Whiteness in South Africa influenced girlhood or girl-becoming within the History classroom during apartheid in the late 1980s. This paper purposefully interrogates how ideologies of white supremacy, such as *ordentlikheid* (ethnicised respectability), found their way into the micro-context of a primary school history classroom through small acts of oppression. Epistemologically, I underpin this paper by an interpretative paradigm to justify the meaning-making of personal experiences, which form the core of this paper. Methodologically, the study adopted a qualitative approach, and the research design comprised of an autoethnography. Data consisted of a personal narrative developed from a reflective piece of personal free writing into a crafted story by relying on memory work and checked by verisimilitude to remember specific details. I was the sole participant in that I generated the data through my narrative. An analysis of the findings showed ‘place’ as predominant convergence of identity marker, namely the place of ‘outsider-girlhood’ within the socio-educational context and intersectionality as Nationalist influence on white girlhood. I conclude the paper with my final reflections as a form of meaning-making.

Keywords: Afrikaner; Autoethnography; White girlhood; History education; Role-play, Whiteness.

Introduction

It was allegedly Gabrielle Bonheur Chanel, whom we might know better as Coco Chanel, who said, 'a woman with good shoes is never ugly'. It is easy to believe a fashion icon such as Coco Chanel with her tremendously successful career. Winnie Madikizela Mandela describes how her first pair of shoes, although very painful to wear, inspired her lifelong fascination with shoes and clothing against poverty and white oppression (Du Preez-Bezdrob, 2003). In certain religions and cultures, the act of removing one's shoes when approaching a sacred person or place is a mark of reverence and respect for the hospitality of the host. In other cultures, the opposite is also true. For example, in the Middle East, it is traditionally considered highly insulting to hit someone with the bottom of a shoe, which is considered to be dirty. To show the sole of your shoe and throwing shoes to someone in the Arab world are signs of extreme disrespect (Curtis, 2018). Shoes also have a strong religious connotation, and the Bible is rife with symbolic references to shoes. Moses was instructed to remove his shoes before approaching the burning bush (Exodus 3:2). The anger of God is shown by the Psalmist writing, "Over Edom, I shall throw My shoe" (Psalm 108:9). Solomon describes the beauty of the feet in the sandals of the prince's daughter (Song of Solomon 7:1), and Isaiah writes about the boots of warriors in battle (Isaiah 9:5).

In some cultures, empty shoes symbolise death. During the tenth-anniversary memorial of the September 11 attacks in the USA, 3 000 pairs of shoes represented those killed. The Jews who were massacred by Fascist Hungarian militia in Budapest during the Second World War are honoured by the memorial erected on the east bank of the Danube River in Budapest, Hungary (Curtis, 2018). The shoes represent the Jews who had to take off their shoes before being shot at the edge of the river so that their bodies could fall in the water and be carried away. Figuratively, shoes got a foot in the door of Western civilization and culture and became an integral part of a culture, social practices, arts, and the stories we tell.

This autoethnographic paper tells the story of a 'shoe-less girl' within a specific racial-socio-political context in the South African educational space of the late 1980s. The National Party's national education curriculum at the time, explicitly and implicitly, became a powerful tool. Through the curriculum, they entrenched Nationalist ideologies using distorted content, learning opportunities, standards, learning, and teaching support material, pedagogies, and the contexts in which the curriculum was enacted as part of Christian National Education (CNE) (Fogle-Donmoyer, 2017; Isaacs, 2016). The 'vehicles of policing' to ensure white exclusive and separatist education, and a distorted curriculum

based on race, were usually white Afrikaans-speaking men who strategically controlled national and provincial policy formulation and its implementation in the classroom. Against this background, the paper's focus is on the influence of Nationalist ideologies on girlhood during the apartheid regime in 1989. The purpose of the paper is to interrogate the impact and effects of this strategic control as it manifested in the micro-context of a history classroom. Firstly, I provide a theoretical backdrop to situate the paper within the relevant existing scholarly literature. Secondly, I describe autoethnography as a research methodology. Afterward, I give an autoethnographic account of the critical event that inspired the writing of this paper and served as a data generation method. Next, I engage deeply with the data by analysing and discussing the data and relevant scholarly literature. I conclude the paper with a final, personal reflection.

The literary and theoretical backdrop to the paper

In this section, I provide the academic background to my paper. I focus on three concepts: girlhood studies, white women and girls, and the Afrikaner *volksmoeder* ideology.

Girlhood studies

My paper focuses on the broader scholarly field of girlhood studies. Previously, several researchers have combined studies about boys and girls, assuming that the experiences of these groups are similar (Mendes, Silva, Duits, Zoonen, Lamb & Edwards, 2009). However, since the rise of feminism in 1970, more studies about girls as a unique group have emerge. Some of the aspects that have interested girlhood researchers during the last four decades are girls' lives, sexualities, identities, roles, and interests in society, education, and popular culture, among others (Mendes *et al.*, 2009). More recent research on girls interrogated their consumption of cultural products and cases where girls brought forth their own popular culture in response to existing popular cultures in various societies (Duits & Van Romondt Vis, 2009). However, mainly conducted in Europe and the United States, most studies focused on white, privileged girls from middle-class families. In support, De Finney (2015) believes that girlhood studies continue to be primarily hetero-normative and Eurocentric, which aligns with the findings from my literature review on girlhood studies.

My distinct memory and the increasing scholarship in girlhood, which challenges hetero-, gender- and race-normative conceptualisations, inspired this study. International literature on girlhood studies abroad seems to be growing. More recent international

studies show a strong tendency towards the inclusion of the lived experiences of black girls. Until recently, historians interested in black girls and girlhood had to work at the margins of several fields, including the history of childhood, black women's history, and girls' studies (Field, Owens, Chatelain, Simmons, George, and Keyse, 2016). This notion appears to be changing since international interdisciplinary studies about 'black' girlhood seemed to have become more prominent. International studies on girlhood include aspects such as intergenerational relations, structural, macro-, and micro-contexts of girls' experiences that shape gender as a biased embodiment and modern girlhood, indigenous girlhood, and black girlhood studies across education disciplines (De Finney, 2015; McLeod, 2014; Owens, Callier, Robinson & Garner, 2017). The Covid-19 pandemic has influenced the field of girlhood studies and ignited various studies about girls related to the pandemic (Bellerose, Diaw, Pinchoff, Kangwana & Austrian, 2020; Copley, Decker, Delavelle, Goldstein, O'Sullivan & Papineni, 2020).

Post-1994, South Africa gave birth to various studies and reports about women and girls across a broad spectrum, ranging from their sexual behaviour, females as primary victims of gender-based violence, their role in science and technology, and their contribution to the history of a country (De Finney, 2015; Mitchell & Rentschler, 2016). Other aspects that South African researchers on girlhood wrote about include girls' roles in decolonisation, academic success and school culture, girls' sexualities, and the role and effect of politics on girls (Mitchell & Rentschler, 2016). One study was conducted about the influence of the Covid-19 pandemic on South African girls (Mitchell & Smith, 2020). It seems as if research on white girlhood studies has not ultimately made its way into South Africa. Consequently, there appears to be a silence in South African literature especially about, what I call 'white girlhood' and white girls. Much has been written about the Afrikaner *volksmoeder*, and the notion of the *volksmoeder* holds an important place in historical research about the Afrikaner *volk* (Du Toit, 2003; Van der Westhuizen, 2007, 2017; Prescott, Rees, & Weaver-Hightower, 2021). Yet, there is limited focus on the lived experiences of the daughters of the *volksmoeders*. It is this presumed gap in the South African scholarship to which my study attempts to contribute. In the next section, I address the theoretical position of the *volksmoeder* concept.

White women and girls within the context of Afrikaner nationalism

The role of women in patriarchal societies is generally understated. However, most nationalist ideological formulations, initiated mainly by men, have generally regarded the

role of women as paramount (Vincent, 2000; Hunter, 2021). The woman's figure as a mother recurs throughout the history of nationalist political mobilisations (Van der Westhuizen, 2016; Vincent, 2000). In Afrikaner nationalism, the symbolic figure of the woman took on the form of the *volksmoeder* (mother of the nation) icon, commonly assumed to describe a highly circumscribed set of women's social roles. During the South African war¹ (1899-1902), Susanna Maritz Smit was part of a group of Afrikaner Voortrekker women involved in a dispute with a British commissioner (De Beer, 2017). During this dispute that Susanna Smit uttered the well-known words: "Rather barefoot over the mountains than to suffer under the yolk of British rule". These words encapsulate the idea of the *volksmoeder* idea. The concept of the *volksmoeder* came into being through how the ideal womanhood was depicted by society in a British context (Prescott, Rees, & Weaver-Hightower, 2021). Womanhood extended into fanciful notions upheld by white Afrikaner women and translated into the *volksmoeder* ideology. The *volksmoeder* concept had strong connections to and was complicit with Afrikaner nationalism and Afrikaner identity (Pretorius, 2019).

The levels of conditional power granted by the *volksmoeder* ideology highlighted the reasoning behind the Nationalist ideology's resilience and influence on Afrikaner culture and identity (Van der Westhuizen, 2017). Women were often identified as consumers of a "male-constructed ideology" (Du Toit, 2003:155). This was expressed by women fulfilling inferior roles in a white male-dominated socio-political-economic environment through their positions in the economy and state, their clothes, language, religious activities, sexual orientation, and general behaviour. Although they were not regarded as producers of Afrikaner nationalism, they reproduced the ideology through childbearing and the cultivation of Christian, Calvinist, and Afrikaner traditions in their children, including their girl children.

The emphasis on women as mothers, not only of their own families but of all their people, held huge possibilities for women to engage in a wide range of projects outside of the private sphere of the home. Women adopted the *volksmoeder* role to domesticise Afrikaner nationalism in how they behaved towards white men and the volk through philanthropic, cultural, and party-political organisations. The *volksmoeder* concept was adapted along with society to pass on from one generation to the next. To this end, the Afrikaner woman was associated with *ordentlikheid* (ethicised respectability), which spoke to their femininity, heterosexuality, whiteness, and middle-class status (Van der Westhuizen, 2016; 2017).

¹ The South African War is also referred to as the Boer War, Second Boer War, Anglo-Boer War, or the Second War of Independence by some Afrikaners.

Ordentlikheid encapsulates good manners, politeness, humility, decency, and subscribing to Calvinistic principles. Van der Westhuizen (2017) further elaborates on how *ordentlikheid* is the face of the *volksmoeder* who promotes a “mode of whitening”, as well as serving as a “generator of Afrikaner identity” (Van der Westhuizen, 2017: 33).

Drawing on Van der Westhuizen’s analysis (2007; 2017), *ordentlikheid* is “a normative and analytical concept.” British imperialism and Afrikaner nationalism adopted respectability as a nineteenth-century bourgeois European invention. Apart from tidiness and respecting others and oneself, respectability clearly distinguishes between man/woman, heterosexual/homosexual, masculinity/femininity, and white/black (Van der Westhuizen, 2017). In a series of books written and published by two male authors, called *Die Vrou* (Albertyn & Van der Merwe, 1973), they discuss Afrikaner women’s ways to be ‘perfect’. This series consists of a wide variety of topics, ranging from caring for your body, dressing yourself, and taking care of your house, husband, and children. Writings such as these became the basis on which Afrikaner women built their identities as mothers of the nation. Against this backdrop, white Afrikaner girl children were raised. Characteristics such as modesty, chastity, tidiness, calmness, and serenity were deeply instilled in them. The girls who did not adhere to these norms experienced various forms of punishment and ostracization. Scholarly literature about the influences of these norms on the identity of white Afrikaner girls in South Africa is limited. This paper attempts to fill the presumed gap in the literature.

Afrikaner nationalism and the history curriculum

Afrikaner nationalism as a political ideology was born in the 1870s and the first half of the 1880s among white Afrikaners in South Africa. Afrikaner identity emerged from the fear that the Afrikaans-speaking white Afrikaners or *Boers* occupied a “lesser white” status concerning the dominant colonial, Anglo-whites, and English aristocracy (Van der Westhuizen, 2017: 26). They were disqualified from being part of a super white race and compared with the indigenous and native people, based on their perceived indolence, ignorance, slow-wittedness, rowdiness, and living a “debauched and irregular life” (Giliomee, 2009: 22). White Afrikaner people’s uncultured nature did not conform to the normative white English-speaking South African at the time, which ascribed to them a subaltern whiteness. The Afrikaners earned themselves derogatory names such as “Dutchman”, “bywoner”, “rock spider” and “boertjie”. Although they did not want to be integrated into Englishness, there was the constant aspiration to be assimilated into the

economic and cultural prosperity of the British (Van der Westhuizen, 2017).

Strongly influenced by anti-British views, Afrikaner nationalism was based on the premise that white Afrikaners should be the ‘chosen’ people, superior to other races. The Afrikaans language, Christian and Calvinist values, and most importantly, distinct segregation between races, distinguished them from the rest (Van der Westhuizen, 2007). Van der Westhuizen (2017: 32) argues that after the South African War of 1899-1902 between Great Britain and the two Boer (Afrikaner) republics, namely the South African Republic (Transvaal) and the Orange Free State, coupled with British subjugation, the Afrikaners strived to move out of the “margins of respectability,” “cultural non-conformity” and “racial degeneration” by embarking on a “bourgeois gender project” to produce a superior volk, which they wanted to achieve through the segregation of races as well as Christian Nationalist Education.

During the period, most aspects and elements in the curriculum pointed towards the grand idea of the Afrikaner volk and their ideals and struggles towards superiority. Two iconic historical moments set the South African scene from which patriarchy/Nationalist ideologies/*volksmoeder*-idea/place of white girls stemmed. These were the Great Trek and the South African War. Central to history teaching at the time was the Great Trek of the white European emigrants. Siebörger (2018: 41) noted how South Africans who went to school before the democratic era (pre-1994) “would have no hesitation in identifying the Great Trek as the dominant narrative and prevailing public history theme in the history they experienced at school”. During the reign of the National Party from 1948–1994, the trek occupied a dominant space in the South African history curriculum. It engaged a significant amount of the content of the (then) Standard 4, 6, and 8 history curricula (Siebörger, 2018). For many teachers, the history of the Great Trek compounded by Nationalist ideologies were narratives they knew well, which spilled over into their teaching methodologies and hidden messages evident in their teaching philosophies. Textbooks and other learning and teaching support material carried messages of the Nationalist ideology throughout the entire curriculum, especially in history. Pingel (2010:7) postulates that “History and Geography textbooks attempt to explain our roots, how and why we happen to be living in a certain place and how that place can be described and characterised – in other words, who we really are”.

Central to the CNE curriculum in 1989 (the time of the narrative), was the history curriculum. Hues (2011: 74) describes the school subject of history as having a “particularly pernicious ideological role under apartheid”. Two key factors that played a significant role in teaching history were history textbooks and teachers. Although history textbooks

are not the focus of this article, it is important to highlight their role in the educational context as part of the toolset with which the white-controlled state attempted to imprint apartheid ideologies on school-going learners. Colley (2017) refers to how misconceptions were created by the ways in which history educators present specific topics. He further comments on the absence of women and women's history in traditional textbooks, thereby indicating the tangential degree to which the stories of women are seen compared to the conventional political and economic histories (Colley, 2017). Through teachers, textbooks, and the hidden curriculum conveyed by both teachers and textbooks, the National Party could prolong the apartheid agenda. Even twenty-one years ago, Özkirimli (2000: 193) noted that studies of nationalism often "neglect the micro-level and that one has to look in the family and household, in the unspectacular details of everyday life". South African history classrooms in the late 1980s as educational micro-level contextual spaces were explicitly vulnerable to the manifestations of the apartheid agenda and are therefore worthy of exploration at micro-level contexts.

Bertram and Wassermann (2015) view school history textbooks as embodying "ideological messages about whose history are important, as they aim to develop both an 'ideal' citizen and teach the subject of history" (p.156). South African history textbooks were relentless teaching tools to achieve the CNE's goal of developing 'ideal' citizens. The Afrikaner Nationalist agenda allowed "little critique or critical engagement with the texts that learners studied, and teachers used to teach" (Bertram & Wassermann, 2015: 156). In addition, history, by its status as a compulsory school subject up to Standard 7 (now Grade 9) at the time, was a comfortable vehicle to shape young, susceptible minds into identities to fit neatly into the safe cocoon of Nationalist ideals.

Research methodology

In this section, I discuss the methodological move of interrogating a critical incident of girlhood under apartheid. I discuss the research methodology and the rationale for my methodological decisions.

Methodological choices

The argument in this article is a critique of the socio-politicised educational contexts of the told time, and I purposefully made the methodological decisions in accordance. My epistemological stance comprises an interpretative paradigm, an approach where

understanding the context is vital to interpreting data gathered (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017). I adopted autoethnography as a research methodology based on the premise that it is “an autobiographical genre of writing and research that displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural” (Ellis & Bochner, 2000: 739).

Autoethnography as a research method

A key feature of autoethnography is that it compounds an individual’s life story with ethnography which studies a particular social group, white Afrikaner girls (Jarvis, 2015). Allen-Collinson (2013) writes about how the analysis of autoethnographic narratives links the micro-level with the macro-cultural and structural levels in the author’s personal lives. Additionally, she discusses embodiment and how the human body must be located within “radically contextual politics; it must focus on the active, agentic flesh-and-blood human body” (Allen-Collinson, 2013: 298), which aligns with the gendered nature of my paper.

Autoethnography is autobiographical and bridges the personal life narrative and the cultural and socio-political dimensions of an individual’s lived experiences (Coia & Taylor, 2010; Lewis & Wassermann, 2020). Ellis (2004) argues that it is often the voices of the previously silenced or marginalised groups who have begun to bring themselves in from the margins through autoethnographic retelling of experiences set against a specific socio-political background. Formerly silenced, marginalised groups and individuals, have evocative and powerful stories to tell; in this case, one story represents of collective white girlhood. Since autoethnography is research that “makes the experience come alive” (Walker, 2009: 26), silences are shattered in this way, and normative forms of research practices and representations are disrupted. I attempted to break one such silence in the partial literature about white girlhood by sharing and analysing a personal memory of my own experience as a white girl in a history classroom during the apartheid regime.

Data generation and analysis of my narrative

The data of my study consists of a narrative account of a profoundly personal critical incident in my life. This specific memory was triggered (Arrelano, 2018) by a comment by a colleague made in passing about the shoes I was wearing to work one day. Although the statement was not intended or hurtful in any way, I was immediately again sitting with my back against the wall outside my history classroom in 1989. I then decided to write about this specific incident years ago as part of reflecting journal writing (Erdogan, 2019), which I

do as a hobby. The more I wrote, the more I started thinking about the place of this incident in our broader society and the significance to educational pedagogy.

While I was writing my story, I was also thinking about my story, and when I analysed the story, I was thinking about my story (Ellis, 2004; Lewis, 2019). I was able to think with, and about my story from a different perspective since I had processed the trauma I experienced at the time, and the memory was now less painful. Through deep thinking, my story gained philosophical meaning. Writing and thinking about the story was liberating as I could remember the incident without the pain and shame I had experienced at the time. This resonates with Chang's (2008) notion of distinguishing between interpretation and analysis in autoethnography. According to her, data analysis entails the identification of the essential features of autoethnography. It also involves the systematic description of the interrelationships between the identified components. On the other hand, data interpretation is about looking deeper into the autoethnographic text to uncover the hidden cultural meaning of a story (Chang, 2008).

My autoethnographic narrative

The premise of my article is that past dominant Nationalist discourses in education manifested in the micro-contexts of the history curriculum. It is, therefore, fitting that the events described in the autoethnographic account played off in (or outside) the history classroom. The critical incident I describe occurred during 1989 when public history had occupied the school curriculum. In this section, I relate my crucial memory in the form of an autoethnographic retelling of events.

I was born into a white Afrikaner working-class family with a father who worked for the South African government as a fitter and turner at the Department of Water Affairs. Both my parents had completed their schooling up to Grade 9 (then Standard 7). They were then both expected to join the workforce in South Africa to support their respective families. Like many Afrikaner wives, my mother stayed at home to care for my two younger brothers and myself and oversaw the general household. Like in many white Afrikaner families, my father was regarded as the family's traditional breadwinner and my mother as the caregiver. Although my father was at work during the day, he was the protector, provider, and final decision maker regarding managing the family. My mother deliberately inculcated a sense of respect for him by instructing us to be home from wherever we might be, for my father to share a meal with his family after work. His material provision for the family and patriarchal position seemed to earn him respect. Hence, I developed the habit of not contradicting my

father from a young age, and even when I was an adult, our differences ended in conflict. Though strong in her views, my mother, the soft-spoken white Afrikaner woman, faithfully fulfilled her role of wife and caregiver. Our children regarded her as the confidant with whom we spontaneously shared our problems and our achievements.

Due to my father's occupation at the Department of Water Affairs, I grew up close to water. His work required our family to relocate several times. During my schooling years, when my father completed his water supply projects and his services were required at new sites, we had to move to a new town, house, and school and build new relationships. Due to my family's nomadic lifestyle, I never made permanent relationships with teachers and other learners as I moved from school to school.

In 1989 we relocated to Kirkwood, in the (then) Cacadu district², a small, rural town in the now Eastern Cape situated in the heart of the Sundays River Valley. At the time, I did not know we lived in the Cacadu district, nor why districts' names were important and why they changed later. From a geopolitical point of view, what was important in our lives was the water canal feeding into the 250 km long Sundays River that ran a few yards behind our house. In the Sundays River Valley, we resided in an area specifically allocated to the families of white working-class people employed by the Department of Water Affairs. All the houses built by the government looked the same. There was a distinct separation between management and workers. The families of the department's management were separated from the workers in that they owned their properties in town. My father did not occupy a managerial position; hence we never had a house in town and resided in the "water affairs camp" where all the houses looked the same.

We usually resided in warm, tropical-like places in South Africa. We experienced warm summers in the Sundays River Valley, which was exquisitely beautiful with citrus fruit orchards across the canal behind our house. My friends mainly included the boys from fellow white working-class families. As a girl, I went against the norm by playing rugby and cycling with the boys in the neighbourhood. I hated shoes and was frequently in and out of the water with my brothers and friends after school. I perceived myself as physically strange at the age of 10. Everything about my body was, in my view, 'wrong' and different than those

2 In 2015, roughly ten years after apartheid ended, the Cacadu District was renamed as the Saartjie "Sarah" Baartman district, a Khoikhoi woman of historical significance. Sara Baartman (also Saartjie or Sarah) (1789 – 29 December 1815) was the best known of at least two South African Khoikhoi women due to the European objectification of their buttocks' physical features. She was exhibited as a freak show attraction in nineteenth-century Europe under the name Hottentot Venus. "Hottentot" was the name for the Khoi people, now considered an offensive term and "Venus" referred to the Roman goddess of love and fertility, (Shibamoto, 1988).

of my female friends. I used to dress boyishly merely because it was easier to play several kinds of sports in shorts rather than dresses. My father supported this notion and told my mother numerous times 'to leave the child'. I was often mistaken for a boy, mainly when my hair got wet and curly, which was often the case. I distinctly remember two occasions when strangers approached my parents and told them they had three lovely 'sons'. They would touch my curls, and I was unsure who was most embarrassed by my mother, who had to point out that I was a girl - the stranger or myself. I was barefoot but cushioned and protected by parents, relatives, and a wall of white privilege. There were many things I was unaware of, among others, the political situation and the barefoot children in Kirkwood. They could not afford shoes based on their skin colour and the socio-political situation in which they found themselves due to the apartheid government's legislation.

As a ten-year-old girl, I found myself in a context where there was only one primary school in the town for white children where the medium of instruction was Afrikaans, my home language. I was in Standard 2 (now Grade 4). One summer morning, we were waiting in two neat and silent gender-separate rows for the arrival of our history teacher, Mr Burns³, who was also the principal of the school. Early morning temperatures were already exceptionally high, ranging from 30 – 35 degrees Celsius. Most boys were dressed in their customary white shirts, grey pants, white socks, and black shoes. The girls were dressed more demurely with white school frocks underneath green school dresses and matching ties. Together with black school shoes and long bobby socks, we were meant to be a tidy white picture. I was not wearing school shoes on that specific day as I had played soccer with the boys in the scorching sun during the first break, and it was just too hot to put them back on. I was fully aware that this behaviour was completely out of order for a girl and reserved for certain boys in some cases. I bargained on the extreme heat to save me should my teachers see me. At my school, it was a severe infringement for a girl to be without shoes. In line with the Christian National Education, schools, especially white Afrikaner schools, symbolised order, discipline, rules, tidiness, hard work, and staying in line. The school's motto was, after all, "*Arbeid Adel*"⁴ for a specific reason.

When Mr Burns arrived, he immediately noticed my bare white feet while the boys and girls filed alphabetically into the stifling classroom. I was the only girl without shoes. After having been permitted to take our places, he read out the dress code. Mr Burns sent out the barefoot boys with a single command in his dictatorial voice: "All boys not wearing shoes,

3 Pseudonym for the protection of real identity.

4 "Arbeid adel": Translated into English means 'working' and 'nobility'.

leave the classroom". At least ten barefoot boys left the classroom. Then followed a long lecture about how terrible and worse an offense it was for girls to appear anywhere without shoes. Mr Burns earnestly pointed out that girls should always be dressed appropriately and that it was inexcusable for a girl to show her bare feet. He made it clear that the heat was no excuse at all. If we, the girls, continued this 'wild' and unruly behaviour, we would indeed not become 'proper' women as expected. He was perturbed about our future as 'proper women' and had bought strongly into the idea of the idealised norms ascribed to white Afrikaner women. He stressed that behaviour like this was what got girls 'in trouble', and eventually, they could even end up unmarried and single for the rest of their lives. I was not sure what this trouble entailed, nor did I understand why it would be such a bad idea not to get married. Nothing could alleviate my embarrassment at that moment of the shame that I had brought upon Afrikaner womanhood. Amidst sniggers from my male classmates, I was ordered to leave, and I took my place alongside the barefoot boys outside the classroom.

Since I was the only girl not wearing shoes, I rightly felt the moral scolding was directed at me. My embarrassment was compounded by sniggers, giggling, and fingers pointing to my soil-covered feet by my classmates. If I now recall what bothered me most, it was the fact that Mr Burns never made eye contact with me despite clearly addressing me. At that moment, I thought it would have been more tolerable if he had scolded me directly so that I could do something, apologise, or take the blame in some way.

On that day, Mr Burn's history lesson was on the Anglo-Boer War.⁵ In this war, British soldiers destroyed Boer farms as part of their "Scorched Earth" policy. While I was sitting with the boys outside the classroom under the open window, I could hear Mr Burns teaching about the destruction of crops, the slaughtering and looting of livestock, and the burning down of the Boers homesteads and farms. Thousands of Boer men, women, and children (Mr Burns never mentioned black people's concentration camps) were forcibly moved into concentration camps. The experiences of the Boers, their wives, children, and animals riveted me, as the monotonous voice of Mr Burns filtered through the windows to the shoeless boys and me. I was sitting with my back against the outside wall of the classroom, listening to Mr Burns telling the story of the struggling Afrikaners, 'my people'.

Trying to relate to the events as they filtered through to us, I felt the walls of an invisible concentration camp ensconcing me. I was imprisoned for the immorality of not wearing

⁵ The Anglo-Boer War (1899 – 1902), now called the South African War, was fought between the British Empire and two Boer republics, the South African Republic (Republic of Transvaal) and the Orange Free State, over the British Empire's influence in South Africa.

shoes, unable to escape back into the classroom, which at that moment had captured not only my attention but my entire being. I felt more 'outside' than ever. I was sad, angry, and humiliated at the same time. I wanted to look like my female friends and sit together in the history classroom, making notes with pink pens in books decorated with butterflies. Sitting outside, I intensely related to the women and children in the concentration camps and started to parallel my banishment to theirs. Eventually, I lost complete interest in the humming tone of Mr Burns' voice, and I stopped wearing shoes altogether.

Analysis and discussion of my narrative

In this section, I analyse and interpret my story through in-depth thinking about my experiences and the context in which it occurred for my account to obtain symbolic and philosophical meaning (Jarvis, 2015; Lewis, 2019). My narrative acquires deeper philosophical and sociological meaning through meta-theorising (Lewis, 2019). I present this section in three moves with 'place' as connecting concept. The concept of 'place' overarches my entire narrative. As a white, female, Afrikaner girl child, I had to know my place and remain in my place.

Place as predominant convergence of identity markers

The concept of 'place' is central to my narrative and the meaning-making thereof. All my identity markers, namely my female gender, young age, standing in the social strata of my white society, my nationality as a white South African, and my place in a socio-political context by birth, culminated in 'place'. Creswell (2014: 38) says that experiences are never out of context, that we experience things "in place". In my narrative, it is evident that I had occupied several places, different roles, and all of these in a specific place. In all the places I had occupied, I had to *know* my place and *remain* in my place, my physical place, and my physical and gendered place as a white Afrikaner girl in the grooming process to become a *volksmoeder* in my own right. I conceptualise 'place' as my dialogical self, manifesting as a psychological construct that describes the mind's ability to imagine the different positions of participants in an internal dialogue in close connection with an external discussion (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). During my narrative, I was continuously engaged in interlocutory actions and reactions to navigate my young, white, female self within the different contextual places I had occupied. All these interactions took place in predetermined places and from a contextual and social disposition. These places

were already firmly set and created long before I was born and deeply instilled in the minds of Afrikaner women by literature such as *Die Vrou* (Albertyn, & Van der Merwe, 1973).

As the eldest child of a working-class family, I had a particular place in society, which constituted my place in the larger community. There was also the question of my 'place as a child', firstly at home and secondly at school. The children of white Afrikaner families occupied a very stringent place. White families, in my context, considered the English proverb "children must be seen and not heard" seriously. As the child of a strict father, this notion implied a stern order and a clear sense of where I belonged. Casey (2016: 8) writes about a "complicating strict father morality", which weighs heavily on Afrikaners and the effects are far-reaching into later life. The respect and reverence children had to demonstrate towards their parents and especially their fathers in hetero-normative, white Afrikaner families extended to teachers, which included my history teacher. I stepped outside my 'place' by not adhering to the school rules and thereby not only violating rules but 'violating' my male teacher through my disobedience.

My place as an outsider within the socio-educational sphere of the 1980s

The educational arena during the 1980s was very much an extension of the political context of the time in that education policies were created and enforced as part of the Christian National Education ideologies. The content of learning material, specifically in the history curriculum, consisted of solid messages of Nationalist ideologies (Pingle, 2010; Siebörger, 2018). The hidden curriculum and the academic curriculum were included in all South African classrooms (Siebörger, 2018). The hidden curriculum, which had subtle messages about the Nationalist agenda, were transferred to learners by enforcing norms and values, all in an attempt to strengthen the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism, which was based on the 'chosen people' principle and centred around the Afrikaans language and Christian values (Van der Westhuizen, 2007). The enforcement of this curriculum profoundly influenced me as a white Afrikaner girl child in my history classroom. Mr Burns made sure that I was acutely aware that I was *not* part of the 'chosen people' by my shoeless behaviour. His lecture directed to me as a girl formed part of the strong but indirect message of the "ideal citizen" (Bertram & Wassermann, 2015: 156).

My history teacher successfully fulfilled his role as an agent of the state in the history classroom and, through his actions, confirmed the role of the school subject of history as having a "particularly pernicious ideological role under apartheid" (Hues, 2011:74). From

Mr Burns' position of power, he had the mandate to instil the norms and values of the Nationalist agenda. He did so by shaming me first from a gendered perspective: the fact that I, as a girl, did not wear shoes was a much worse offense than the boys who violated the rule in the same way. By doing so, he elevated the critical roles of the white Afrikaner. It is evident in his comment about his supposed concern about the 'loose' woman I might become if my behaviour did not change. Contrary to certain literary positions, which hold that women were absent from history books, he made sure that I was aware of the vital role of white Afrikaner women, albeit that of a *volksmoeder*.

Secondly, Mr Burns embarrassed me from a perspective of ideological, social class stratification and, in so doing, fulfilled his role as state agent policing the progress and growth of the superior Afrikaner *volk*. I did not look like the other girls in my class and did not behave like them. My shoes (in this case, my bare feet) were a symbol of class differentiation. I could not occupy the same space of the accepted 'girlhood' because I would taint the accepted whiteness. More so, I was the child of an uneducated civil servant who resided in state housing and fitted into what could be viewed as lower social strata. My family did not own property, and my father was a mere uneducated skilled worker. In a small primary school consisting of about 120 learners, my history teacher knew this. I was an example of a family or individual who had not yet moved from the "margins of respectability" and was still part of the "racial degeneration" (Van der Westhuizen, 2017: 32). From his perspective, he fulfilled his duty by creating a "superior volk", (Van der Westhuizen, 2017: 32).

To ensure that I conformed as a 'real girl', a girl well on her way to the idealised *volksmoeder*, he punished me through exclusion from the history classroom, the content, and my female peers, which was a visible act and a lesson for all of us. For the girls dressed and behaved correctly, wore shoes, and showed the emergent, accepted *volksmoeder* traits, Mr Burns' actions were comforting. He indirectly assured that they were accepted as the insider group. Through wearing shoes, they were upholding Nationalist ideals and belonged somewhere safe. I did not belong to them, but I belonged to the shoeless boys outside the classroom. A dual 'dis-belonging' was created in an embodied way by placing me outside with the boys. I was not part of the collective and 'correct girlhood' inside the classroom, and I did not belong with the boys; hence I was doubly out of place. Extending Mr Burns' policing, he taught me to remain 'in place', but this also served as a veiled warning for the rest of the girlhood of what could happen should you disobey the rules. As I was sitting outside listening to the lesson, I was the picture of the separate development of the white *volk*. Not all white Afrikaners were equal or treated equally, and there needed to be some

exclusion to accentuate the fact that there indeed *was* a *volk* who was now different and ‘better’ than previously. My exclusion confirmed the inclusion and status of superior white girlhood.

The place of intersectionality within Nationalist influences

My narrative displays a strong interrelationship between race, class, and gender. It portrays my racial, class, and gender classification as a white Afrikaner female, how I acted like a girl, and how people reacted. White Afrikaner superiority was enforced through micro-aggressions in the classroom, in my case, the History classroom. Instead of conforming to the norm by wearing shoes, I contested white Afrikaner girlhood and traditions through my bare feet. I was not good enough to be included in the establishment, so I was excluded from the *volk*. As determined by the Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950, the normative physical appearances such as skin colour, hair texture, and other features were extended to include class and gender during apartheid. Maxwell (2021) acknowledged that clothing communicated ‘something of sex, occupation, nationality, and social standing. In my case, my history teacher applied sexuality, gender, class, and race as co-constitutive markers in his reaction to my bare feet (Van der Westhuizen, 2017).

I did not conform to the norms of whiteness and *ordentlikheid*. My bare feet made me unworthy of the white Afrikaner girl and the *volksmoeder* image. He saw me as low class and not conforming to the norm. I was not worthy of being included in the *volksmoeder* and *ordentlikheid* fold. I deserved to be banished in exile as an ‘outside insider’ by being outside the classroom and Afrikaner *ordentlikheid*. As Van der Westhuizen (2017) explains, in most nationalisms, women are the bearers of respectability through their bodies, conduct, and clothing. They contribute towards higher civilisation and the decency of a nation. My teacher’s action could also be regarded as a social Darwinism – the evolution of cultures. Those at a higher civilised state should assist, through punishment, those who must evolve to the desired level of civilisation.

My history teacher’s reaction to my bare feet was also sexually charged by separating me from the other girls. It resonates with Du Toit’s (2003: 173) argument that *ordentlikheid* among Afrikaner females was developed through specific interventions such as differentiation or isolation to ‘save’ them from the “uncertain edges of whiteness”. My bare feet displayed racial and sexual degeneration and even sexual promiscuity and immorality. This was especially evident in Mr Burns’ expression of concern about our “future as proper

women" and that such behaviour might get us "in trouble" and result in not getting married. Through these acts, the National Party ensured that the regulation of sexuality became the foundation of the purity of White women and the production and maintenance of the apartheid nation-state (Klausen, 2010).

My narrative also displays the interplay of class in the manner that my teacher acted towards me. He knew my social status as a working-class child who needed punishment to ensure respectability regarding dress and behaviour. It resonates with Bullen and Kenway (2005) who posit that the underclass is generally associated with images of dependency on the state, teenage pregnancy, crime, an impoverished culture, and a lack of Afrikaner values. Afrikaner nationalism was also an expression of class interests. Van der Westhuizen (2017) posits that respectability was as a key element in the construction of an Afrikaner middle-class.

Final barefoot reflections

History is not a beauty contest. Emiliano Zapata reminds us that "It is better to die on your feet than to live on your knees". Therefore, our stories about our feet and shoes are important among our other stories from our collective pasts. Ignoring the stories of others causes destruction or violence because the problem with the past is that it does not stay down. If we face the past courageously and share our stories honestly, we create yesterdays with which we can live. In addition, one cannot accept a single yesterday. We need to understand – or at least try to make sense of all yesterday's stories. If we fail to do this, we risk becoming non-persons, less-than-individuals, which results in lives not worth living. Researchers agree that good auto-ethnographies should advance the hope of a better world, with the auto-ethnographer always searching for democracy and social justice (Bochner, 2000; Clough, 2000; Denzin, 2000), appropriately fitting with the intention and aim of this article. The gist of this narrative was about white womanhood and what was expected from girls and the process of becoming a "ordentlike", good white Afrikaner woman in a society dominated by white males. In this study, two 'social groups' were implied: teachers as agents of the state and extensions of church and households who kept the Nationalist ideology intact through micro-aggressive acts, and young, impressionable female children subjected to ideologies upheld by their teachers.

In that critical moment outside the history classroom my questioning and confusion about the two sexes' differential treatment were born. The binary division between boys and girls ran along clear, unperforated lines. There was no in-between. You had to belong

to one of those, or you were outside – trapped in a third desolate space with no sense of belonging, much like the concentration camps. My history teacher embodied Afrikaans white males in positions of power with whom this was only my first encounter with several to follow. White Afrikaner males became the agents creating these bounded spaces, and in a patriarchal manner, as expected, they favoured boys. White men curated spaces for white boys and dictated the boundaries of the spaces for white females. I was neither in the protected female, nor in the privileged male space.

The demise of apartheid, and in a significant way Afrikanerdom, resulted in destabilisation and confusion about the articulation of white Afrikaner identity (Marx & Milton, 2011; Van der Westhuizen, 2017). The once, powerful and stable minority of a white Afrikaner population with its own culture and language experienced a perceived marginal and liminal position within the new multiracial and democratic society of South Africa. The fall of apartheid weakened hegemonic articulations such as Afrikaner nationalism (Van der Westhuizen, 2013). During apartheid, Afrikaner identity contributed towards the political, economic, and social development of those who called themselves Afrikaners (Van der Westhuizen, 2017) - to the detriment of those who did not subscribe to the Afrikaner normative of race, class, gender, and sexual orientation. The break from apartheid and white domination necessitated a range of strategies to ensure the integration and survival of Afrikanerdom and its culture within the “rainbow nation”⁶ especially for young white Afrikaners (Steyn, 2016). It can thus be argued that the post-apartheid condition ‘unsettles culture’, and in this case, especially white Afrikaner culture, as it seeks to decentre power, privilege, and normalisation.

In a constitutionally non-racial and non-sexist society, I as a white female, absorbed into Afrikaner nationalism through birth and education, and as a member of the church and cultural organisations, have to reconfigure my identity. Afrikaners find themselves in a “fading position”, (Steyn, 2016: 485), within the rainbow nation. The demise of Afrikaner nationalism requires me to redefine my identity as I face my daily tasks as a university lecturer at a former white Afrikaans university, which is still struggling to reform itself regarding race, gender, and class. Again, I feel like the barefoot girl who resists submitting to the *volksmoeder ordentlikheid*. With my embodied whiteness, I am often on the other side of the table fighting against dominant definitions of ethnic identity, male superiority, racial and sexual discrimination in the forums where I am present. I am critically aware

6 The term rainbow nation was coined by the Nobel Prize winner, and Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, to describe the post-apartheid multi-racial population of South Africa.

of the collective guilt, accountability, and collaboration of Afrikaner nationalists to the pain and suffering of those who did not ascribe to the race and *ordentlikheid* of Afrikaners in the 1980s. I continue to cleanse myself from the stains of selfishness and privileges of nationalism and apartheid that cling to the Afrikaners' identity.

Conclusion

The focus of my paper was the influence of Nationalist ideologies on girlhood during the apartheid regime in 1989, driven by state agents. In this paper, I referred to state agents as male history teachers who acted as 'vehicles of policing' to ensure the growth and progress towards the purity of the Afrikaner *volk*. The purpose of my paper was to understand and make meaning of these influences as they manifested in the micro-context of my history classroom. I framed the article theoretically by including the concepts of girlhood studies, the role of white women and girls in the context of Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid. I then discussed autoethnography as a research design and provided a rationale for all methodological decisions. I shared my critical personal memory as a method of data generation, after which I analysed and discussed my narrative by juxtaposing it against relevant scholarly literature. Findings revealed that through an auto-ethnographic process of meaning-making, I realised the liberated position in which I find myself now and how this realisation can inspire a mindset of growth towards a more open stance on social justice and issues of the past.

Further findings pertain to the *volksmoeder* ideology and our current understanding thereof. It is safe to say that more research into the place of white Afrikaner girls in South African history and how the *volksmoeder* ideology influenced white girlhood, might prove valuable. I concluded the paper with final, personal reflections.

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Silenced and Invisible Historical Figures in Zambia: An Analysis of the Visual Portrayal of Women in Senior Secondary School History Textbooks

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2021/n26a8>

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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2021/n26a6>

Abstract

Despite their significant contribution to the country's historical development, women's influence is commonly underestimated and ignored in Zambian history literature. Subsequently, their role remains undocumented in secondary school textbooks to the extent that the sex blindness of traditional historiography, which sustains male dominance in history, remains unchallenged in the books. Through a qualitative approach and purposive sampling of two Zambian secondary school Grade 12 learners' history textbooks, the study examined the portrayal of women. Located within the decoloniality paradigm, it counters the coloniality of power manifested through the insularity of dominant patriarchal historical narratives entrenched in the secondary school history curriculum, largely reflecting the remnants of colonial epistemologies and historiographical traditions. The findings in both textbooks reveal that the female characters are silenced and invisible compared to their male counterparts, reflecting the patriarchy hegemony in the secondary school Zambian history curriculum. In decolonising colonial power manifested in the curriculum, the study recommends mainstreaming gender equality in the history curricula and teaching and learning materials, mainly the learners' textbooks, to reflect women's achievements.

Keywords: Decoloniality; Visual images; Gender; History textbooks; Secondary school; Women; Zambia.

Introduction

Since the launch of the 1995 *Beijing Platform for Action* in ensuring gender equality, the world has made great strides towards the realisation of gender equality (UNICEF, 2020). Zambia has made steady progress in empowering women in education, sports, military, engineering, and politics. Over the past decade, the country has witnessed an unprecedented rise in female leaders serving in influential national positions. Among the notable women are Inonge Wina, the first female Republican Vice President; Nelly Mutti, the first female Parliament Speaker; Stella Libongani, the first female Inspector General of the Zambia Police Service; Justice Irene Mambilima, the first female Chief Justice and Prof Hildah Ngambi, the first female Vice-Chancellor at a public university. While this development is heralded as a big step in promoting female involvement in governance, history shows that their influence in leadership is not limited to the contemporary period. Women's participation in influential leadership roles dates as far back as the pre-colonial era. For instance, through its podcasts entitled *Leading Ladies*, the Women's History Museum of Zambia documented how women in pre-colonial Zambia held significant leadership positions in military, politics, peace-making, and religion, among others from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries (Samanga, 2019). However, despite their significant contribution to the country's historical development, women's influential role is commonly underestimated and ignored in Zambian history literature.

Several scholars have highlighted that textbooks continue to perpetuate patriarchy by silencing the historical roles played by women (Schocker & Woyshner, 2013; Chiponda & Wassermann, 2015; Nasibi, 2015). Textbooks continue to perpetuate gender stereotypes in aspects of images, text, and the selection of topics. This paper builds on such arguments and advocates for the need to decolonise power and knowledge in textbooks by recognising women as equally important historical agents. Globally, there have been various efforts in addressing gender issues in learning materials, such as revision and assessments of curricula, textbooks, teacher training materials, and teaching practices (Blumberg, 2007; UNESCO, 2016).

In 2012, the Zambian government introduced a new curriculum framework that recognised gender as one of the primary cross-cutting issues in education and called for gender sensitivity in learning materials and pedagogies as per the *National Gender Policy of 2000* (Ministry of Education (MOE), 2013). With these curriculum reforms, it was envisaged that the learning and teaching materials like charts, textbooks, and posters would be free from gender biases. Accordingly, the new curriculum led to revising the learners'

textbooks for both primary and secondary schools. Schools have also been called upon to address gender issues of equity and equality in the curriculum by embracing gender-sensitive teaching methodologies in the provision of education (MOE, 2013). However, there is limited empirical knowledge on the gender sensitivity of the textbooks currently being used in Zambian secondary schools. To date, there is a shortage of scholarly data on the aspects of gender and history in the senior secondary school curriculum, despite the significant breakthroughs of women and their contribution to Zambia's historical development. Against this background, this study seeks to bridge this gap by examining the portrayal of women characters in selected senior history textbooks in Zambia. In so doing, this article contributes to addressing what Chiponda (2014) identifies as a critical lack of research on the portrayal of women in history textbooks in the African context.

Research objectives and questions

The study's main objective is to examine the representation and portrayal of female characters in senior secondary school history textbooks and specifically examine women's visual presentation in two Grade 12 Zambian history textbooks. Accordingly, the following three questions are posed:

- i. How are women represented numerically through visual images in senior secondary school history textbooks in Zambia?
- ii. How are women portrayed in visual images in the senior secondary school history textbook in Zambia?
- iii. What are the implications of the visual portrayal of women in history textbooks to the learners in Zambia?

Literature review

History teaching and value formation in learners

The teaching and learning of history play a critical role in understanding historical developments in society and value formation among the learners. History equips individuals with the knowledge of understanding the course of change in their communities and continuity in human affairs (Kabombwe, 2019). In this way, history highlights how societies have evolved in social, political, and economic development and

may help us understand how past occurrences have shaped current events. History may help the learners develop the aptitude to evaluate existing social, political, economic, and cultural challenges and offer possible solutions (Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Childhood Education (MOESVTE, 2013). In her blog entitled “*Why Teaching of History is Important?*” Osleen (2019) further echoes the vital role history plays in fostering historical knowledge and value formation where she states that “history’s value lies in how to apply the lessons from past to our present and future”. Osleen argues that the application of history is significant for the learners in that they will acquire specific values based on the historical bodies of knowledge exposed to them.

Additionally, history offers the learners a valuable opportunity to learn about some of the historical figures that had played instrumental roles in shaping the history of their societies in different spheres (Osleen 2019; Mburu & Nyaga, 2012). It offers a platform through which the learners study the lives of individual leaders who shaped history. For example, by evaluating why particular leaders made certain decisions, history puts the learners in the shoes of past leaders and challenges their decision-making capabilities. This function of history may make learners appreciate and hero-ise inspirational leaders as they get inspired and seek to walk in the shoes of such leaders. It is imperative in the Zambian context, where history has been envisioned as a subject that can equip learners with values such as reflection, bravery, appreciation, courage, and patriotism, among others (MOESVTE, 2013). It is no wonder that history has been an essential aspect of most leadership and public service courses in many institutions in Zambia.

In line with the social functions of education, the teaching of history is central in the inculcation of Ubuntu norms (Chimbunde & Kgari-Masondo, 2021). For instance, the Zambian history syllabus aims to foster the values of compassion, reciprocity, dignity, teamwork, harmony, forgiveness, and other humane tenets among the learners (Kabombwe & Mulenga, 2019; MOESVTE, 2013). Hence, history is deemed significant in upholding society’s ethical and moral fabrics crucial for building and sustaining justice and mutual care. In this vein, history may help the learners be rooted in their environment by gaining knowledge that does not alienate them from their culture.

Furthermore, in this era of globalisation, history is the vehicle through which the young generation gets connected with the world (Osleen, 2019). Teaching history in schools also expands the global outlook of the learners since they learn histories of different geographical regions and periods. While history is instrumental in value formation, it is worth recognising that values are not universal. History can also teach negative values that might sustain hegemony based on race, gender, religion, or economic status. In this light,

it suffices to conclude that history plays an essential role in society, so it should not be taught in a manner that may perpetuate negative values in the minds of young learners (Bentrovato, Korostelina & Schulze, 2016; Bentrovato, 2017).

History textbooks and gender

There is a consensus in the literature that learners' textbooks reflect the curricula, which ultimately, in terms of gender, shapes the understanding of social and historical roles of men and women in society (Blumberg, 2007 & 2008; Alayan & Al-Khalidi, 2010; Chiponda & Wassermann, 2011 & 2015; Atchison, 2017; Bair, 2020). In elaborating the significance of textbooks in learning, Chiponda and Wassermann posit that the "ideologies of society are kept in the form of [an] organised body of knowledge through textbooks [hence] they can canonise the social norms of the society" (2011:23). Given this, when it comes to influencing gender norms in society, one should not underestimate the value of textbooks. Furthermore, particularly in their formative years, the learners are bound to be highly influenced by what they see and read in textbooks. Indeed, what children learn in their formative years has a profound influence throughout the lives of their learners, more especially in influencing their value systems (Alayan & Al-Khalidi, 2010). Therefore, textbooks must be produced with a gender perspective to provide all learners with a balanced and gender-sensitive education.

In locating the nexus between history textbooks and gender, a plethora of studies has shown that textbooks are crucial in shaping gender roles in the minds of learners (Chick, 2006; Blumberg, 2007; Mutekwe & Modiba, 2012; Chiponda, 2014; Chiponda & Wassermann, 2011 & 2015; Acheson *et al.*, 2020). Collectively, these studies have pointed out the role of history textbooks as agents of the hidden curriculum that may reinforce patriarchal values in schools. As part of the hidden curriculum, the textbooks serve as a medium for learners to pick up different gendered and patriarchal values, subtly conveyed in schools (Mutekwe & Modiba, 2012) and transmitted across different generations (Alayan & Al-Khalidi, 2010). Therefore, textbooks remain an essential blueprint in the lives of school learners, a reason not to underestimate their influence in the acquisition of gender norms among school-going children.

One of the critical aspects of the textbook, which is also central to the current study, is visual images, which serve as an essential aid in ensuring effective teaching and learning in a classroom. The use of graphical images in education owes much to the Moravian philosopher John Amos Comenius (1592-1670). In 1658, the *Orbis Pictus*, a pioneering

textbook in using pictures for illustrations when teaching, was published by Comenius (Szórádová, 2015). He contended that visual images in textbooks are significant in helping learners perceive the object and the phenomena in the syllabus through illustrations. Similarly, Chiponda and Wassermann (2015) also note that visual images in textbooks help learners form a fundamental symbiotic relationship with the written text. They argue that “in History textbooks, therefore, visual images render human experiences less abstract” (2015:208). In this regard, the significance of visual images in the pupils’ learning experiences and their influence in shaping learners’ perceptions of gender norms should not be underestimated.

Literature is replete with evidence that women are underrepresented in history textbooks in both written text and visual images in many countries. For instance, a study on gender and agency in history and civics in Jordan and Palestine established that “men are consistently named as prominent figures in the shaping of history, and defence of the state, in leading positions characterised with valour and bravery, and as leaders, influential persons, clerics, and scholars” (Alayan & Al-Khalidi, 2010:33). Similarly, studies on gender sensitivity of secondary school history textbooks in the USA (Chick, 2006; Schocker & Woysner, 2013), Malawi (Chiponda, 2014; Chiponda & Wassermann, 2011, 2015), Kenya (Nasibi, 2015), South Africa (Schoeman, 2009) and Zimbabwe (Dudu *et al.*, 2008) have all pointed to the over-representation of male characters.

The aspect of gender representation in history textbooks is underexplored in Zambia. Instead, studies have focused on teacher involvement in curriculum development (Mwanza, 2017), integration of digital technologies in teaching social studies (Mboyonga, 2019) and implementing a competency-based curriculum in history (Kabombwe, 2019; Kabombwe & Mulenga, 2019). A common finding across these studies is that curriculum development in Zambia is based on a horizontal approach that limits teachers’ meaningful engagement in the process. Musilekwa (2019) analysed the development of learners’ textbooks for Junior Secondary following the integration of civics, history, and geography into a single subject called Social Studies. The study revealed that textbook production in Zambia is affected by political influence, lack of national textbook policy, profit motives, and inadequate quality assurance process. However, like the previous studies, Musilekwa’s (2019) study did not highlight the gender perspectives in the textbooks, a premise for my study.

A decolonial theoretical perspective

In analysing the visual portrayal of women in senior history textbooks in Zambia, the study is theoretically situated within the decolonial framework. I drew on decolonial theory because the study addresses the patriarchal historical narratives that marginalise women's contribution to history. According to Gebriel (2018:21), "decolonial workers in the academia have for years sought to bring the marginalised to the centre-stage of scholarly labour; to memorialise and elevate their perspectives, histories, and struggles, which would otherwise be lost in the throes of oppression". At issue is that knowledge is power. By not teaching the significant role women playing shaping our history, we deny them their agency as contributors to history. Therefore, the secondary school curriculums must shift from the current forms of historical discourses advancing coloniality of power through dominant man-centred history writing, and move towards decolonising knowledge by highlighting women's contribution in shaping the country's history.

Concerning teaching history at the secondary school level, decoloniality entails questioning whose power, ideology, and knowledge have been advanced in the curriculum and through the learners' textbooks. To this end, studying the portrayal of female characters within a decoloniality framework enables us to "reflect on what kinds of historical knowledge about women are considered 'legitimate' by the curriculum, and to evaluate how this knowledge sustains or challenges an otherwise androcentric or masculinist history" (Wills, 2016:22). Indeed, this is instructive in the Zambian case, whereby the dominant historical narratives have continued to neglect and discount the contributions of women. In doing so, decolonial discourses help us counter the coloniality of power manifested through the insularity of the dominant patriarchal historical narratives entrenched in the secondary school history curriculum, which are remnants of colonial epistemologies and historiographical traditions. The coloniality of power refers to the legacies of European colonialism in knowledge, social forms, and institutions like universities and schools (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). In the case of secondary school resources like learners' textbooks, coloniality of power is conveyed through unbalanced gender power relations in the contents of such books.

While gender inequalities in Africa manifested through indigenous cultures during the pre-colonial period, European influence exacerbated it (Anunobi, 2002). In particular, European colonisation of the continent "undermined sources of status and autonomy that women had and strengthened elements of indigenous male dominance or patriarchy" (Anunobi, 2002:43). Before colonialism, women, especially in matrilineal societies, held

political positions such as chiefs, advisors, or rainmakers, which were part of their power sources. However, with the advent of colonialism in Africa, male-dominated government structures were introduced that did not recognise women's role in governance. Additionally, the colonial forms of religion, education, and economy which they introduced heightened patriarchy by undermining women's indigenous sources of power and further isolated them from active participation in the socio-economic and political activities of their societies (Anunobi, 2002; Jaiyeola & Aladegbola, 2020; Spencer-Wood, 2016).

Nelson Maldonado-Torres, a leading decolonial scholar, has highlighted that colonial practices manifest in various knowledge domains in Africa, including textbooks. In buttressing his views, he argues that "it is maintained alive in books, in the criteria for academic performance, in cultural patterns, in common sense, in the self-image of peoples, in aspirations of self, and so many other aspects of our modern experience" (Maldonado-Torres, 2007:243). These views resonate with the formal education system in Zambia and much of Africa, which exists in the form of transplanted learning institutions where the curriculum replicates colonial systems of power hegemony that negate the contribution of women. For instance, the development of learners' textbooks in Zambia is traced to colonial periods when the Catholic Church established a missionary press that printed different literature in churches and schools (Musilekwa, 2019). However, the content of most history books produced at that time reflected the patriarchy exacerbated by the missionary church groups and the British government (Sharma, 2019). In this regard, the presence of patriarchal undertones in the Zambian history curriculum, five decades after independence can be explained aptly in the words of Mulenga Kapwepwe, a co-founder of the Women's History Museum of Zambia, who stated that:

Pre-colonial Zambia was 80 per cent matrilineal and matriarchal, but this was changed to patriarchal rule by British colonisers and Christian missionaries. Many women chiefs were either ignored or not recognised by the colonial government, who were now keeping the historical records. The patriarchal biased system continued after the colonial period, and post-colonial historians took up and maintained the male perspective of history. Oral history has kept female history, but little of it made its way to print or schools (Kapwepwe cited in Sharma, 2019).

Based on the above, there is an urgent need to address the various aspects of coloniality in Zambian history narratives by bringing on board the knowledge of the silenced ones. When considering the significance of learners' textbooks in legitimising the curriculum, it

is imperative to address the coloniality of power and knowledge in secondary school books, charts and other educational material that conveys various forms of historical knowledge. Doing so requires the representation of the marginalised groups in society whose voices and agency in history curricula are often disregarded based on race, physical abilities, or gender. In addressing the coloniality of power in secondary school learning material, “gender should be an essential consideration for a decolonised curriculum” (Wills, 2016:22). Therefore, applying a decolonial perspective to examining the visual portrayal of women in senior history textbooks in Zambia would help highlight how the patterns of power and knowledge productions have been maintained in the learners’ textbooks.

Methodological approach

The study adopted a qualitative inquiry through a purposive sampling of two senior history Grade 12 textbooks. A qualitative investigation is more suitable for a study seeking a deeper exploration of an issue (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2007; Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). The approach was deemed relevant for studying how women are portrayed in history textbooks and gaining a detailed understanding of gender and curriculum in the Zambian context. The choice of a qualitative inquiry was further informed by earlier studies that have analysed the pictorial representation of women in textbook books and have since argued for its use in gaining an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon (Chiponda, 2014; Chiponda & Wassermann, 2011 & 2015; Acheson *et al.*, 2020). The sample for the study comprised all visual images containing people in two Grade 12 history textbooks approved for use in Zambian secondary schools by the Ministry of Education. The textbooks selected are:

- Assa Okoth, Agumba Ndalo & Jason Mashwekwa (2017). *Achievers senior secondary history learner’s book, 12*. Lusaka: East Africa Educational Publishers Ltd.
- David Sikanyiti (2017). *Excel and advance in history: learner’s book, Grade 12*. Lusaka: Grey Matter Ltd.

The above textbooks were purposively sampled based on three factors. Firstly, they are approved for use in Zambian secondary schools by the Curriculum Development Centre (CDC). Due to the adoption of liberal policies in service provision, the textbook development process in Zambia is mainly in the hands of private authors or publishers who develop textbooks according to the given guidelines (Ministry of Education, 1996). The

approval by the CDC implies that the selected texts are up to standard for usage, having met the set requirements for textbook production in Zambia. Ideally, all schools are supposed to use the prescribed textbooks where they are available.

Secondly, I selected the case study texts because they were the first two Grade 12 history textbooks produced according to the New Curriculum Framework of 2013. While secondary schools use many books, most did not meet the study's criteria because they were written before implementing the curriculum. The Ministry of Education distributed the two textbooks in all public secondary schools to implement the new curriculum. In fact, according to the authors of the *Achievers senior secondary history learner's book, 12*, the textbook was developed to cover the new senior secondary school syllabus. It does so by fulfilling the aims and objectives outlined in the revised history syllabus (Okoth, *et al.*, 2017).

Thirdly, the two textbooks are the commonly used reference resources in teaching Zambian history at the senior secondary school level. Each senior grade has a specific focus regarding the thematic focus of history coverage. The Grade 11 textbooks focus on world history from 1870 to the present, whereas Grade 10 textbooks focus on the history of Southern Africa. Southern African history in the Zambian history secondary school syllabus predominantly covers the history of South Africa with few topics on Lesotho, Swaziland, Namibia, Botswana, Angola, and Mozambique. Thus, I deliberately chose Grade 12 textbooks because Zambian history is taught at that level as part of Central African history, which comprises Malawi and Zimbabwe's history.

In terms of data analysis, the study employed content analysis in analysing the visual images of human characters in the two textbooks. The research implied a systematic analysis of physical tallying (see Tables 1 & 2) of all the clear visual images of people in the textbooks by counting how many female characters were portrayed in each book compared to the male characters. It also allowed the identification of those characters in terms of their names and their role in history. In this regard, the units of analysis included all the visual images of people and names associated with the said images in the textbooks. By interpreting the meaning of the graphic images, I drew on the decolonial theoretical paradigm to understand the importance of images by asking what type of knowledge they present and represent and how that can impact the learners. It enabled me to interpret how women are portrayed in terms of identity, numerical interpretation, and occupation compared to men. Based on the physical tallying of the visual images, frequencies and percentages of images according to gender were employed to analyse the data. I also inserted the picture captions depicting the female characters to enrich the findings (Figures

1, 2 & 3). For easy analysis, the first textbook authored by Okoth *et al.* (2017) I will refer to as Textbook A, whereas *Excel and advance in history: learner’s book, Grade 12* by Sikanyiti (2017) will be referred to as Textbook B.

Findings of the study

The portrayal of women in the visual images in the senior secondary history textbooks

The findings on women’s numerical representation in visual images in the two textbooks appear in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Percentage distribution of the number of visual images of people in the textbooks according to gender

Textbook	Visual images of people	Visual images of women	Percentage of visual images of women	Visual images of men	Percentage of visual images of men
A	71	02	2.8%	69	97.2%
B	16	01	6.3%	15	93.7%

From the table above, it is evident that women are underrepresented in the two history textbooks. In Textbook A, there are seventy-one (71) visual images of people. When analysed according to gender, there are sixty-nine (69) pictures for male characters translating to 97.2% against two (2) for females, which amounts to 2.8%.

Furthermore, women characters in Textbook A are portrayed as submissive and timid compared to the authoritative display of men, thereby perpetuating patriarchal authority in learning materials. In the first image, on page 41 of the textbook, an unknown young woman is shown in the company of two (2) Mbudy male officials of the Luba Kingdom; the book does not capture the role woman played (Figure. 1). Learning about the Luba Kingdom for Grade 12 learners in Zambia provides them with the prerequisite knowledge for understanding the origins of most ethnic groups in the country. In the Luba Kingdom, the Mbudy officials were responsible for maintaining the oral histories of kings, their villages, and the land’s customs. Even though these officials were men, they believed that the king was a “woman”, because the first royal diviner was a woman (Roberts, 2013). Among the pre-colonial Luba society, it was recognised that spiritually, the source of political

power came from women, but this was disrupted by the advent of Belgium colonialism which opposed such practices (Roberts, 2013). Considering that several Zambian ethnic groups migrated from the Luba Empire, the revised textbooks needed to highlight the role of women in the pre-colonial political systems. Such historical knowledge may offer new insights and challenge the current male-centred historical narratives, often presented to the learners in Zambian schools.

The second female character is also unknown and depicted as a spectator of the male military heroes of the Zimbabwean liberation struggles (Figure.2). In this regard, the military is portrayed to the learners as the sphere of men, and women's involvement in the liberation struggles is invisible. The prominence of male figures in history is also reflected in Textbook B, where out of the sixteen (16) visual images of people in the textbook, fifteen (15); 93.7% are male, whereas one (1); 6.3% is female.

Figure 1: Mbudye officials of the Luba Kingdom



Source: (Okoth et al., 2017:41)

Figure 2: ZIPRA/ZANLA guerrilla fighters



Source: (Okoth *et al.*, 2017:228)

In the second analysis, the study sought to determine how female characters are portrayed in terms of identity through names concerning their male counterparts. The findings are presented in the table below.

Table 2: Percentage distribution on the identity of visual images of people portrayed in the textbooks according to their gender

Textbook	Visual images of named people	Images of women named	Percentage of images of women named	Images of men named	Percentage of images of men named
A	51	00	00%	51	100%
B	13	01	7.7%	12	92.3%

The above table shows that more male figures are identifiable by their names and roles than women. In textbook **A**, all the images of the named historical characters are men, translating into a 100% identification for male characters with no single female character named. In Textbook **B**, out of the thirteen images of the named people, there are twelve (12); 92.3% male characters and only one (1); 7.7% identifiable female figure, namely Joyce Banda, the former president of Malawi and Africa’s second female republican president between 2012

and 2014 (See figure 3). While this can be deemed a significant step in documenting the success of women in contemporary politics, it is still overshadowed by the dominant visual images of men in textbooks. Across the two textbooks, only one-woman leader is portrayed in the visual images compared to the sixty-three images of male political figures. Strikingly, there are no Zambian female historical figures included in both texts.

Figure 3: Joyce Banda, former president of Malawi.



Source: (Sikanyiti, 2017:13)

The above findings collectively suggest that the secondary school history learners in Zambia are not exposed to the contribution of women in their society either during the pre-colonial period or the post-colonial era. The following section discusses the findings drawing on the implications of gender-blind textbooks on learners' value formation and aspirations. The section further addresses the results within the current discourses of decolonisation of power and knowledge.

Discussion of the findings

Portrayal of women in visual images

This study revealed that gender biases in Zambian secondary school history textbooks are prominent, as evidenced by the over-representation of male characters in visual images.

The findings are in sync with other studies that have established that women's contribution to history is often underrepresented in learner's textbooks (Chick, 2006; Schoeman, 2009; Schocker & Woyshner, 2013; Chiponda & Wassermann, 2015; Nasibi, 2015). Through the dominant images of male characters in the textbooks understudy, coloniality of power is conveyed by portraying men at the centre of historical knowledge, whereas the role of women as essential agents in shaping history is covertly annihilated. Thus, while the few women characters in the textbooks are confined to the peripherals, we see the active role played by men in shaping history as missionary explorers, pre-colonial state builders, agents of colonisation, and heroes of African independence to modern-day politicians. An underlying factor for this is that the visual images in history textbooks focus more on Zambia's military and political history. Women's involvement in such roles became less visible with the advent of institutionalised patriarchy that was part of the British colonial education system (Sharma, 2019). The control of gender and knowledge production is what Anibal Quijano (2007) identified as the critical contours of the colonial matrix of power. Therefore, the continued silence of the learners' textbooks on the historical roles of women embodies coloniality of power, which may reinforce stereotypes and propagate a history that can be termed as "his-story". In this regard, secondary school learners in Zambia are often presented with incomplete accounts of historical knowledge, which would otherwise be addressed by decolonising the curricula. At issue is that decolonisation is not about 'cancelling' history; instead, it is an additive process to knowledge essential for educational development (Meghji, 2021). Concerning gender equity, this entails promoting a gender-sensitive curriculum reflected in the learners' textbooks that will acknowledge the epistemic contributions of both males and females as significant agents in shaping Zambia's history.

Given that the publication of the case study textbooks was in line with the New Curriculum Framework of 2013, calling for gender sensitivity in learning materials, the evidenced under-representation of women, however, indicates that the prescribed books used in schools do not follow the curriculum framework in so far as eliminating gender biases. Thus, there is a disjuncture between the government policy of gender integration in curriculum and practice, which perpetuates gender biases in learning materials. The mere fact that policies that recognise women in history constitute an essential component of school history does not simply translate into changes at the classroom level (Schoeman, 2009). The transformation depends on various factors, such as the content of the textbooks in use and the teacher's classroom practice, among others. Based on the findings, it suffices to argue that the current packaging of the secondary school history curriculum

as reflected in textbooks still epitomises the coloniality of power by sustaining patriarchal knowledge systems, which can reinforce the gender stereotypes embedded in most Zambian societies. The two textbooks are a missed opportunity for “engaging students in meaningful discussions about gender and female roles in society across cultures” (Acheson *et al.*, 2020:127). However, this study advances that teachers could still pick up this missed opportunity and turn the lack of female visual representations into a chance to address gender issues. Teachers can act as agents of decolonising the curriculum at the classroom level by adding ‘marginalised’ knowledge to the current body of historical discourses.

The study demonstrates that despite revising the curriculum, promoting gender sensitivity in learning materials such as history textbooks has remained a challenge owing to the continued subversion of the historical agency of women. For instance, the Zimbabwean liberation struggle is reinforced as a hegemonic norm for male militancy. The only visible woman in the image is a mother and spectator in the background (Figure 2). There is also no mention of the role played by women during the liberation struggles in the written text, even though some women, such as Joyce Teurairopa Mujuru, had risen to command ranks in the Zimbabwe National Liberation Army (ZANLA) (Lyon, 2002). Thus, the evidence from my study supports the argument that how women are portrayed in textbooks can manifest a sexist hidden curriculum that covertly implies that women’s place is in traditional domestic roles such as childbearing and rearing (Alayan & Al-Khalidi, 2010; Dudu *et al.*, 2008).

Although Zambian women have played crucial roles as kingdom warriors, founders, religious leaders, and rainmakers during the pre-colonial era, and as active leaders in the independence struggle (Samanga, 2019), their contributions seem to have been engulfed in the “patriarchal centred curriculum” in textbooks. The concern is the absence of Zambian female characters in the visual images of people in both textbooks. The pictures that authors use usually decode the content of their books, and these books convey the curriculum contents. I argue that patriarchy in these textbooks is reminiscent of colonial knowledge. The historical sources used in producing the learners’ textbooks rely heavily on nationalistic historiography, which often has side-lined women (Sharma, 2019). Revisionist historical studies in Zambia have shown women’s influential role in shaping the country’s history, such as the Women’s league, during the independence struggles (Geisler, 1987) and Alice Lumpa Lenshina in promoting African religious beliefs (Gordon, 2008; Munga, 2016), among others. From a decoloniality discourse point of view, the current form of the Zambian history curriculum, as reflected through the visual images in the prescribed textbooks, ignores the voices and resilience of women. In so doing, it erases and silences

women's achievements by not reflecting their rightful role as historical agents, thereby leading to epistemic violence of historical knowledge. By rendering women's historical agency invisible, the visual images lead to what de Sousa Santos (2007) refers to as the normalisation and privileging of some forms of knowledge, in this case, the patriarchal historiography. Given this, it is therefore imperative that we question and eliminate the exclusion and discrimination of women in existing knowledge domains as it deprives the world of other knowledge (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2019).

Implications of the portrayal of women in learners' history textbooks

Visual images in a textbook are not in a vacuum, and should not be explained in isolation because they reflect the prescribed textbooks produced to legitimatise both the written and the hidden curriculum. In this regard, "what students learn at school generally depends on ideologies about gender that are embedded in the curriculum in both explicit and hidden forms" (Mutekwe & Modiba, 2012:371). The structure and functions of institutionalised education systems aim at producing and reproducing institutional conditions through inculcation and reproduction (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). History textbooks can instil shared gender values and norms in the learners. In the process, these learners may acquire skills and attitudes that will sustain society by reproducing roles. Consequently, given that textbooks constitute the most important and common forms of teaching and learning resources in Zambian schools, the dominant patriarchal narrative which continues to silence female contribution in the country's history can have more profound ramifications for the learners. In light of the findings, the study argues that women's rightful place in history may not be valued among the learners because of the hegemony of the male figures, which is highly documented and pronounced in their textbooks and classes.

Additionally, since textbooks are pivotal in instilling values among the learners in secondary schools, what learners see in textbooks, may profoundly influence their career aspirations. For that reason, a gender-sensitive curriculum is critical, especially for the Grade 12 learners who are in their last year of secondary school journeys and are preparing to take up roles in the broader society. As espoused by Chiponda and Wassermann, "the way women are portrayed in history textbooks, therefore, in all likelihood influences the way the youth understand the contributions of women to history" (2011:14). It is clear that, despite the influential roles played by women in society, Zambian secondary school students are not exposed to female role models who can inspire them, even though women

have played a pivotal role in shaping the country's development in many sectors. Therefore, it is not surprising that female learners may develop a low interest in politics and military careers, usually portrayed in the history textbooks as arenas for men. Broader literature also confirms that learners are more disposed to imitate characters and conduct themselves in a manner portrayed by the people of their gender in particular textbooks (Mburu & Nyaga, 2012; Mutekwe & Modiba, 2012).

Conclusion and recommendations

This study established that the patriarchal nature of the visual images in secondary school history textbooks has neglected the role of women as historical agents. Despite recognising gender equity as a cross-cutting issue in the 2013 revised curriculum, an analysis of the portrayal of women through visual images in the textbooks reveals that they remain silenced and invisible. In the two textbooks examined, there is little appreciation of the significant role played by women in the country's history, thereby exacerbating the coloniality of power in the history curriculum. If left unattended, the current man-centred historical narrative taught to the younger generations would blind them to the many achievements scored by women in the country and heighten the current status quo of trampling upon women's rights. In moving towards gender equity, there is a need to revise history learners' textbooks to reflect the contribution of women as significant agents in Zambian history. These reforms can help actualise the new curriculum's aspirations to promote gender-inclusivity in learning and teaching materials.

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How should a national curriculum for History be quality assured?

The case of the South African Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS)

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2021/n26a8>

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Abstract

The South African Council for Quality Assurance in General and Further Education and Training, known as Umalusi, embarked on a project to quality assure the South African Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) curriculum for schools (2011) in 2012. This article analysis the process in terms of the history curriculum and provides a commentary on universal principles for the quality assurance of national curricula in general. Six quality assurance measures are identified and discussed: comparison between the outgoing and the incoming curricula; entry- and exit-level requirements; internal comparison between Phases [Key Stages] of the curriculum; comparison of the history curriculum statement with statements for other curriculum subjects; current trends in history education; and comparison with history curricula in other countries. Conclusions are drawn for Umalusi and its practice, the CAPS curriculum itself, and the history curriculum.

Keywords: Curriculum; Quality assurance; Accreditation; Umalusi; CAPS; NCS; Intermediate phase; Senior phase; FET; historical knowledge; historical skills.

Introduction

This study is a retrospective analysis and evaluation of the quality assurance processes followed for the present South African national curriculum for History (Grades 4 to 12; approximate ages 9 to 17). It offers an insight into the issues involved when quality assuring a national curriculum for history¹ and suggests potential lessons for future practice.

Background

The South African Qualification Authority (SAQA) was instituted in 1995. Amongst other responsibilities, it was entrusted with “registering national qualifications and standards; ensuring compliance with provisions for accreditation; [and] benchmarking standards and registered qualifications internationally” (SAQA Act, 58 of 1995). In 2008 these responsibilities were devolved to three Quality Councils: Umalusi - the Council for Quality Assurance in General and Further Education and Training, including schools; the Council on Higher Education (CHE) and Quality Council for Trades and Occupations (National Qualifications Framework Act, 67 of 2008).

In 2011 the South African Department of Basic Education (DBE) promulgated a new national curriculum, known as the *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS)*,² to replace the previous curriculum, the *National Curriculum Statements (NCS)* of 2002 and 2003.³ The DBE had previously insisted that it had statutory responsibility for the school curriculum and did not, therefore, require additional accreditation from an outside body. In this instance, however, it requested Umalusi to “quality assure” the CAPS curriculum for all four phases of schooling.⁴

In the event, Umalusi decided that they should tackle the Further Education and Training (FET) phase (Grades 10-12) first, as the final year examinations (for the National

1 Quality assurance of a national curriculum for schooling as a whole or of a specific subject(s) conducted by a quality assurance authority appears to be very rare. I have been unable to find any instances of it other than this one. My belief is that it is a valuable process. This article seeks to draw attention to its benefits and pitfalls.

2 The full documentation for the CAPS curriculum is available at [https://www.education.gov.za/Curriculum/CurriculumAssessmentPolicyStatements\(CAPS\).aspx](https://www.education.gov.za/Curriculum/CurriculumAssessmentPolicyStatements(CAPS).aspx). Accessed on 14 November 2021.

3 The full documentation for the NCS curriculum is found at: <https://www.schoolnet.org.za/teach10/cd/10/index.htm>. Accessed on 14 November 2021. Note that the curriculum was initially published as the Revised NCS for Grades R-9 in 2002 and the NCS for Grades 10-12 in 2003.

4 Umalusi (2014a:12). Phase = Key Stage. Foundation Phase (Grades 1-3); Intermediate Phase (Grades 4-6); Senior Phase (Grades 7-9); Further Education and Training (Grades 10-12).

Senior Certificate (NSC)) were to be written on the CAPS curriculum in 2014 (Umalusi, 2014a:14,18; Umalusi, 2014b:8). It created a template and set of criteria for undertaking a comparative study of the NCS and the CAPS⁵, which was used to analyse 13 FET subjects in 2013. Subject specialist teams employed by Umalusi, each consisting of six members, drawn from schoolteachers, provincial subject advisors and subject coordinators, universities, and curriculum developers, undertook the work (Umalusi, 2014a:22). Umalusi published an overview report and nine individual subject reports⁶ in 2014.

The study of the Intermediate Phase (IP; Grades 4-6) curriculum (Umalusi, 2013b) was conducted using the same template in 2013 and the third study, the Senior Phase (SP; Grades 7-9), followed in 2015 (Umalusi, 2015), also employing a similar template. Although it was intended to publish these two studies in the same manner as the FET study (Umalusi, 2014a:12), this was not done, and they remain unpublished.

The Umalusi comparative study provides a convenient means of highlighting principles of the quality assurance of a national curriculum. The examples to hand are the South African CAPS curriculum and the school subject history, but the curriculum principles are universal. Six quality assurance measures are identified and discussed.⁷

Comparison between the outgoing and the incoming curricula

Umalusi must have regarded this measure as especially significant to its project, as it titled its study *A Comparative Study of the National Curriculum Statement and the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement*. One might wonder whether there was any meaning attached to the calling it NCS and CAPS, instead of CAPS and NCS, when presumably the intention was to devote more attention to the new, and as yet untested, curriculum rather than the old.

5 The Umalusi authors of the template are not identified per se. Celia Boooyse, Manager: Curriculum, conceptualised the project, which she co-managed with Sharon Grussendorff (Umalusi, 2014a:03). The same template, suitably adjusted, was used for each of the three phases.

6 The reports are available at <https://www.umalusi.org.za/documents/reports/#1558861281476-f372550b-8d6f>. Accessed on 28 September 2021. Geography and history are combined into one report as *social sciences* (Umalusi, 2014b); accounting, business studies and management as *business, commerce and management*; life sciences and physical sciences as *natural sciences*.

7 Five of the six measures were employed in some manner in the Umalusi study, which included more detailed criteria derived from them. They have, however, been amended and expanded here. Measure 5, Current trends in history education, is included in the analysis in order to highlight its complete absence in the Umalusi study.

The idea was clear that such a comparison would allow both the authorities and the public, in general, to be able to conclude whether, and in what ways, the new curriculum might be better or worse than the old. Considerable disquiet about some aspects of the NCS curriculum pressurised the Department of Basic Education⁸ to make improvements. It may be assumed that Umalusi was desirous of indicating to what extent they had done this.⁹ There had, however, been significant restrictions placed upon the writing teams for the CAPS curricula, including to “(r)emember that you are not starting from scratch. You are rewriting the content as it appears in the National Curriculum Statement to make it clearer, to ensure coherence from one grade to the next and one phase to the next, and to fill in content gaps where they exist.” And that “A starting point would be to look at the current documents and to capture everything that is there” (Dada *et al.*, 2010:11). The CAPS was, therefore, not a new curriculum but a revised curriculum.

However laudable the comparison between the old and new curriculum might have been in theory, there was a limit to what a paper-based, pre-textbook curriculum analysis could reveal, even with experienced and carefully selected evaluators. The issues chosen by Umalusi to include in this aspect of the study were: curriculum objectives, contents and skill coverage; breadth and depth; design, coherence, and structure; and pacing, sequencing, and progression. Each is discussed below.

Curriculum objectives

It was helpful for the Umalusi subject teams to compare the CAPS objectives with the previous NCS objectives. Predictably, they found no fundamental differences in the objectives regarding the purposes of teaching and learning history. Still, the analysis did reveal what might otherwise have been hidden: that CAPS underplayed aspects such as human rights, human agency, heritage, and democracy (Umalusi, 2014b:74-75).

Content and skill coverage: breadth and depth

The knowledge structure of history as a subject (Siebörger, 2019) does not lend itself to the comparison of content, whether in breadth or depth as the study also concluded: “It

8 See the *Report of the Task Team for the Review of the Implementation of the National Curriculum Statement* (Dada *et al.*, 2009).

9 Hence the title of its 2014 published reports: *What's in the CAPS package?*

is thus not possible to indicate which content is ‘left out’ in any grades as such a list would be almost infinite...,” and, “It is not possible to make judgements about the depth in which topics should be covered according to the NCS, as the amount of time that teachers should spend on each topic is not given in the curriculum document, and the level of specification of the topics is not very detailed” (Umalusi, 2014b:75, 80). It was possible to comment on the breadth of content relative to the teaching time available in a year, particularly in the CAPS, which indicates the anticipated teaching hours per topic. As topics in the CAPS were specified in far more detail than in the NCS, it was much easier to interpret them and select relevant content knowledge (Umalusi, 2013b:24).

The Umalusi specialist team took the view that the CAPS content was well-selected overall and that “FET learners will develop a good overview of the key events in the world over the past 400 years” (Umalusi, 2014b:85). It expressed reservation about certain aspects of the historical content but concluded that “It is difficult to balance the breadth of coverage of world history, African history, and national history, together with sufficient depth to achieve understanding. The CAPS manages the tensions between breadth and depth as well as is possible, although there is probably still a greater emphasis on breadth than depth. Overall, the assessment of the team was there are no major omissions of content topics” (Umalusi, 2014b:86-87). These conclusions were necessarily subjective, and another teams might well have differed substantially from them. However, the Umalusi templates and processes demonstrated that it was possible to have an informed discussion on the choice of content of a curriculum under quality assurance review.

Regarding the “skills coverage” criterion, an attempt was made to identify which skills appeared to be present in each curriculum. However, it did not show much, other than that most skills were present in both curricula. A general conclusion was that the specification and coverage of skills were very similar in the two curricula but were approached differently. In the NCS, teachers chose to teach skills according to their choice of Learning Outcomes and Assessment Standards. In the CAPS, however, there was a table of skills. An accompanying observation on the CAPS was a quotation from it to the effect that “memory skills remain important” (DBE, 2011c:11; Umalusi, 2013b:29).

Design, coherence, and structure

One of the purposes of the Umalusi study was undoubtedly to demonstrate how the CAPS curriculum had departed from outcomes-based education (OBE) as a design principle, as per a Ministerial Project Committee instruction (Dada *et al.*, 2009:49; Ministerial Project

Committee, 2013). There was no similarity at all. In CAPS the curriculum was designed around the topics, while the NCS was designed around the Learning Outcomes (Umalusi, 2013b:42). Pursuing coherence as a profitable means to compare the two curricula in the Intermediate Phase was regarded as equally fruitless. It was found that in history there was no single central idea or overarching principle that could be employed to create coherence. Both the NCS and CAPS IP curricula had only attempted to do so in their use of the same four main ideas: more South African than world history; restricting South African history to pre-1600 (i.e., long ago); studies in development over time using universal themes; and relevance to the interests and needs of learners (Umalusi, 2013b:54).

Pacing, sequencing, and progression

The Umalusi FET study paid specific attention to these aspects. They defined pacing as “the relationship between the volume of learning material (topics to be covered) and the particular timeframe given to the subject”. Sequencing was “the order in which topics are taught” and Progression was “the increase in the level of complexity or difficulty at which a topic is addressed through a grade or across the phase¹⁰” (Umalusi, 2014a:31,32,33). In each of the three phases, the information sought from the specialist teams’ comparison of the NCS and the CAPS, involved establishing to which extent each curriculum specified the involved aspects in enough detail and, thereafter, whether any conclusions could be drawn from the data gathered.

The general finding was that as the CAPS was specified in more detail than the NCS, one could find better evidence for all three of these aspects in the CAPS than the NCS. Arguably, the most effective device for pacing in the IP and SP CAPS was that there was one topic per term, which prompted teachers not to extend their teaching to the following term, or shorten it unnecessarily (Umalusi, 2015:20). To draw more meaningful conclusions, one would need detailed study examples from the curricula, rather than simply tallying instances of “High, Moderate, or Low” occurrences, which is what the Umalusi research template required. There is some evidence of examples being used in the final, Senior Phase study due to learning from the rather unfruitful results of the FET and Intermediate Phase studies in this regard.

¹⁰ While this definition is possibly appropriate for a national curriculum, it stresses the structural element of progression only, not the learning involved. Watts and Grosvenor (1996:24-25) define progression in history as learners’ progress, “from where they are at a given point to what it may be hoped they can do at another.”

Concerning pacing, the Intermediate Phase study commented that it was influenced mainly by the teacher and the learners' interests and available resources. However, it was difficult to judge whether the pacing of the curriculum was too fast, too slow, or appropriate for the level of the development for learners in the different grades in the NCS, because that curriculum relied entirely on the ability of the teacher to achieve appropriate pacing (Umalusi, 2014b:32).

Apart from chronology and long-established curriculum tradition, the studies found little basis for sequencing content knowledge in history (Umalusi, 2014b:90). Content topics in both the NCS and the CAPS were self-standing units, which did not reveal different levels of complexity and could be taught in any sequence without consequences (Umalusi, 2015:33).

The FET study approached its comments on progression by noting that, "It is difficult in History to assess the complexity and difficulty of content topics, as this depends entirely on the depth of engagement. A topic like the French Revolution, for example, might be taught by just focusing on the causes and the events, which is not difficult for learners to understand. Alternatively, it may be taught with a stronger focus on the abstract philosophical ideas which underpinned the Revolution, which would be more conceptually demanding" (Umalusi, 2014b:91). For the Senior Phase, it was considered that there was some increase in content complexity and application in both curricula. Skills progression was marked in the NCS by the Assessment Standards, but it was scarcely present in the CAPS (Umalusi, 2015:33). The Intermediate Phase study baldly stated that there was no content/topic progression in either history curriculum. In history, progression was indicated in skills and concepts only (Umalusi, 2013b:40).

Entry- and exit-level requirements

At first, comparing the curriculum documents against acknowledged entry- and exit-level requirements for the phases represents an essential and valuable means of quality assuring the curriculum. There is universally much to commend it. However, in South Africa, it only applies tangentially in subjects such as history (though it may have greater relevance in mathematics and the sciences).

The obvious exit-level requirements for the curricula are those set for the Grade 12 school-leaving National Senior Certificate examinations. Here, the CAPS history improved considerably on the NCS by including the examination requirements in the curriculum document, together with exemplars (DBE, 2011a:39-50), thus making the link between

the curriculum and the examination evident. There was previously no direct link between the NCS and the NSC. But, most curiously, Umalusi, the certifying body for the NSC, did not examine these exit-level requirements in its FET study¹¹.

The Umalusi IP and SP studies did, in contrast, attempt to analyse the exit level of each phase – what the outcomes were for Grade 6 and Grade 9, respectively. In each instance, the specialist teams responded by examining the table of eight *Specific aims and skills of History CAPS for the Intermediate and Senior Phases* (DBE, 2011c:11). They concluded that it was possible to develop higher-order thinking and higher-order skills in history in the Intermediate Phase. This required a thorough grounding in the lower order skills as a basis, a structured progression in both aims and skills [the exit level outcomes], and how the content was specified (Umalusi, 2013b:132). Unfortunately, it is far from measuring to what degree the curricula matched a set of exit-level standards. However, it does indicate that it would be possible to construct and validate a history curriculum according to set entry and exit levels per phase.

Internal comparison between Phases [Key Stages] of the curriculum

As the CAPS curriculum was envisaged as a single curriculum from Grades R[ecption]-12 (Dada *et al.*, 2010:62)¹² the internal consistency between phases is important. An analysis of how this operates contributes to the quality assurance of the curriculum as a whole. The Umalusi study was not designed to enable such a comparison. The fact that the instruments used to investigate each phase were similar in many ways and that membership of the three Umalusi specialist teams overlapped to some extent between phases, makes it possible to comment on internal comparison between them.

The three Umalusi specialist teams' reporting in the phase studies on the CAPS is similar, indicating a substantial measure of internal consistency. Two examples illustrate this. The first is the "specification of topics,¹³" which required a choice of "High, Medium or Low" specification and a justification for the option chosen. In all three instances, the decision was that the CAPS had a high degree of specification. The justifications provided

11 The only reason for this that comes to mind is that not all the CAPS subjects included the NSC examination requirements in their curriculum. Geography, for instance, did not (DBE 2011b) and they are sourced separately.

12 There were, however, three separate teams of curriculum writers for the CAPS Foundation Phase, Intermediate and Senior Phases and the Further Education and Training Phase, who did not work together, though they exchanged information,

13 For the IP: Umalusi, 2013b:28-29; for the SP: Umalusi, 2015:16-17; for the FET: Umalusi, 2014b:82-83.

by the teams corresponded, referring in each instance to the numbers of bullet points and their use in the CAPS' content descriptions.

The second is “curriculum coherence.”¹⁴ The three studies agreed that the curriculum coherence was based on a chronological approach and that it was stronger in the CAPS than the NCS. The logic of each, though, was expressed somewhat differently. Except for chronology, there was no single central idea or overarching principle to create coherence in history for the IP. For the SP, the coherence of both the NCS and the CAPS was developed through chronological sequencing. However, the CAPS both strengthened and weakened coherence, as the skills were more plainly expressed and explained but were not linked directly to the content knowledge. For the FET, the CAPS employed a broad chronology of events from the seventeenth century to the present. Both CAPS and the NCS made connections between topics, but they were more explicit in the CAPS.

Comparison of the history curriculum statement with statements for other curriculum subjects

To what extent should there be external coherence between the curricula for all CAPS subjects, beyond the broad general requirements set at the time for all the curriculum writing teams? This question has been key in constructing South African curricula since the late 1990s. With *Curriculum 2005* in 1996-1998, the answer was that there ought to be a large amount of collaboration and cross-checking between Learning Area Committee writing teams. With the NCS, there was less collaboration, but the writing groups all met at the same time and place and compared notes daily. With the CAPS, there was no collaboration at all between the different subject curriculum writers.¹⁵ One may ask whether the quality assurance of the CAPS subject curricula would not have been more thorough had it included more comparison with other subjects. Although there was some accidental comparison when history and geography subject specialists worked together in a “Social Sciences” team, which merely confirmed that had Umalusi included it in their research template, they could have directly compared the subjects.

However, the Umalusi project managers took the opportunity to compare aspects of the findings of the FET subject specialist teams when they compiled the *Overview Report* at the end of the study. These are their main observations:

14 For the IP: Umalusi, 2013b 41-42; for the SP: Umalusi, 2015: 31; for the FET: Umalusi, 2014b:96.

15 Personal involvement.

- **Regarding the design principle of the CAPS**

All... agreed that the design principle of the CAPS has shifted from outcomes-based in the NCS to being content-driven or syllabus-based (Umalusi, 2014a: 45).

- **Regarding curriculum objectives**

The general finding across the subjects was that the objectives are very similar for both curricula. And, “[t]aken together, these observations suggest a profound shift in the curriculum, which has become a technical instruction with academic performance as the single most important indicator of educational achievement (Umalusi, 2014a: 45).

- **Regarding the breadth of curriculum coverage**

The Economics and Mathematics evaluation teams reported an increase in the breadth of content across the FET Phase in the move from the NCS to the CAPS... English HL, Accounting, Business Studies, and History evaluation teams concluded that the breadth across the FET Phase is similar for the NCS and the CAPS... The Physical Sciences, Life Sciences, Geography, and English FAL evaluation teams reported a reduction in the breadth of content across the FET Phase in the CAPS compared with that in the NCS (Umalusi, 2014a: 46).

- **Regarding depth**

An increase in depth from the NCS to the CAPS was noted for Economics and Mathematics... The Accounting, Business Studies, Geography, and Physical Sciences evaluation teams reported similarity in depth required across the FET Phase for the NCS and the CAPS... The English FAL and Life Sciences evaluation teams reported a reduction in overall depth.... The History evaluation team could not compare the depth of the curricula because the structure of the content outline provided in the NCS does not give sufficient detail... (Umalusi, 2014a: 48-49).

- **Regarding specification of content**

On the whole, it was found that the level of specification of content is higher in the CAPS than in the NCS. More detail is provided on the exact scope and depth of the content that is to be taught and assessed. However, three of the evaluation teams, namely Economics, English HL and English FAL, did not report an increase in specification of content in the CAPS” (Umalusi, 2014a: 50).

- **Regarding pacing**

For the CAPS, all of the subjects except for Geography, Mathematical Literacy, and Life Sciences made the comment that pacing is likely to be experienced as fast by the learners... (Umalusi, 2014a: 52).

- **Regarding sequencing and progression**

For the CAPS, no clear trend is evident across the subjects in terms of the sequence of topics allowing for progression within each grade... all of the subjects, with the exception of the language evaluation teams, reported a clear progression across the grades” (Umalusi, 2014a: 53).

Current trends in history education

The only reference to current literature in history education in any of the Umalusi research studies was a quote by Jamie Byrom (2014) used to support an argument regarding exit-level outcomes in the SP CAPS (Umalusi, 2015:52). It read, in part,

Getting better at history requires all aspects of the discipline to be developed together. We may be able to set out separate summaries of the “historical knowledge” and “historical skills and concepts” in describing a course but they need to be carefully blended in all planning and teaching.... Only when both aspects of history are carefully and thoroughly mixed in the appropriate balance is the subject discipline really being developed. It is as foolish to say that “It is the skills that matter” as it is to say that “It is the knowledge that matters.”

By its authority and clarity, this quotation eloquently illustrates the necessity for conducting a survey of current literature in history education to do curriculum evaluation and quality assurance in an informed manner. The absence of such a survey was a very significant gap in the Umalusi approach to quality assurance.

Comparison with history curricula in other countries

It is an open question whether comparisons with the national history curricula of other countries can assist an accreditation process. But, such comparisons will inevitably contribute useful insights into quality assurance, if through nothing else, by focusing on conspicuous omissions. It was a fairly bold move by Umalusi¹⁶ to attempt such “benchmarking” (their term) when so many subject curricula were involved, and it met

16. Umalusi had, however, had some prior experience of such comparisons. See Umalusi, 2008 and Umalusi, 2010.

with mixed results¹⁷. The curricula of three English-speaking Commonwealth countries — British Columbia, Kenya, and Singapore, were selected for the exercise.¹⁸ The investigation adopted the template of the NCS-CAPS comparison and comprised in the main a set of tables to be completed, specifying either numerical analysis, percentages, or High/Medium/Low prevalence estimations, together with a textual comment to elaborate on the results.

As may be seen from the following summary conclusions, there was much of interest to be gleaned from the task, yet not a great deal that one could immediately apply to the CAPS. The Intermediate and Senior Phase studies (Umalusi, 2013b:159-161, and Umalusi, 2015:78-79) determined:

CAPS is very explicit in the instructions about content to be covered. All the topics are specified in detail and provide assessment and revision sections that assume that the content has been covered in the described manner. The implied role of the teacher in the CAPS suggests that teachers are primarily transmitters of a structured and rigid curriculum and facilitators of enquiry. Much of the responsibility for planning learning programmes is taken away from them. The evaluation team notes the absence of guidance on how to integrate skills and content. The level of content specification could reduce the scope for creativity in teaching, but this specification also guides less experienced teachers.

The *British Columbian* curriculum follows an enquiry-based approach with a high degree of specification. Detailed guidance is given on how to follow an enquiry approach. The curriculum document provides clear prescribed learning outcomes, how these are to be achieved by learners, and how teachers can enable this learning. It is reinforced through the explicit attempt to link enquiry skills and content. Five curricula organisers are used to group a set of prescribed learning outcomes that share a common focus. These learning outcomes and achievement indicators are intended to provide a framework for the curriculum to support the skills and processes essential to social studies and to specify content.

The Social Studies syllabus in *Kenya* specifies content topics in detail, and specific objectives under each topic guide them. It follows a fact-based approach to the teaching

¹⁷ This might explain why the published FET report, (Umalusi, 2014b), excludes this aspect of the research.
¹⁸ It is likely but unverified that Umalusi used the same three countries for all the subject curricula included in the studies.

and learning of history, with a clear link to Kenyan realities. The level of specification is low, as there is no explicit indication of a pedagogical approach. However, direct [teacher-centred] instruction can be implied from the verbs in the specific objectives provided for each topic.

In the *Singaporean* curriculum, an inquiry focus question anchors the study of a topic. At the same time, the key understandings reflect the main insights that pupils would gain through the study. These are further guided by knowledge, skills and values outcomes, and key concepts. There is an enquiry-based approach linking content to the real world. This association is more evident in the upper secondary combined humanities curriculum. A high level of specification is provided, which indicates what an enquiring student can and cannot do. Clear links are made between knowledge, skills, and concepts to be taught and practised.

Concluding commentary

The research studies undertaken by Umalusi demonstrated for the first time the role that a quality assurance body could play in the evaluation and quality assurance process for a national curriculum for schooling in South Africa and perhaps in the world. They were thorough and substantial enough to give any doubters reason to re-consider and appreciate what an independent quality assurance body could contribute to a state-sponsored national curriculum project. Suppose the studies had taken place when they should ideally have done, between the final draft submission and the publication of the curriculum, before any textbooks were written, there is no doubt that they would have resulted in a significantly improved curriculum. From a research and development point of view, there is much that Umalusi can learn about its processes and research templates to tool itself for the next round of curriculum renewal in the country.¹⁹

There is also much that this work can inform one about the CAPS. Most prominently, the CAPS improved on the NCS in important facets. With relatively few exceptions, it delivered what the Department of Basic Education and its Ministerial Project Committee desired. A comparison of the studies revealed what was lost by adopting the CAPS curriculum, and in some instances, what one might do to put this right. The focus on the

¹⁹ This might happen sooner for history than other school subjects, depending on how the proposals-in-the-making of the Ministerial Task Team for History are acted upon by the Department of Basic Education.

aspects such as pacing, sequencing, and progression is both novel and crucial for a South African national curriculum.

For history as a subject, there are also essential takeaways. The investigations showed how relatively arbitrary the content knowledge in the three CAPS curricula is. Its choice required far more justification than is provided in the NCS and CAPS²⁰. They further highlighted the fact (see Byrom above) that historical skills and concepts had to be developed together with historical knowledge. The CAPS had failed to bring them into proper conjunction. The studies showed very clearly that the discipline of history is the key to evaluating a curriculum for schools, as it determines how one analyses the intended results. Thus, the need for thorough literature surveys in history education to accompany any evaluations. They also revealed that for meaningful comparison and benchmarking, ‘like’ must be compared with ‘like’. There was little point in some of the comparisons made between the NCS history and the CAPS history when there was no common basis for them. Neither was there very much to be gained by comparing social studies curricula in British Columbia and Singapore with a history curriculum in South Africa. A final observation is that when one compares the history curriculum with the curricula for other subjects, it is essential to pay careful attention to the knowledge structure of each of the subjects involved in the comparison.

²⁰ As has been highlighted by the work of the Ministerial Task Team for history (DBE, 2018) and, for example, by the present debates around powerful knowledge in history, see Chapman, 2021.

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TEACHERS VOICE / HANDS-ON ARTICLES

Navigating and adapting the History curriculum as an official policy to realities on the ground in Eswatini, Waterford Kamhlaba United World College

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History is one of the most valuable subjects in the school curriculum. History plays a vital role in facilitating the political, social and economic development of Eswatini through the improvement of life skills such as empathy, tolerance, critical thinking, communication and proper decision-making. It is the responsibility of teachers to navigate the History curriculum and adapt it as an official policy to realities on the ground, thus yielding responsible citizens. This article outlines various strategies that teachers can implement to fulfil this responsibility.

According to Park (2020), there exists a profound gap between the pedagogical expectations embedded in the written curriculum and the actual intended local standards. It is my role as a teacher to bridge the gap, so as to ensure that the instructional strategies used are constructive and align with the local education policies for developing the learners. In the learning of History, there are some sensitive topics that directly contradict the reality on the ground. These include topics about the governing of people, for example, the Russian revolution. As a History teacher in Eswatini, which is a kingdom with a highly discontent population, I teach topics regarding the issue of discontent using sources from contrasting perspectives. The local education policy advocates for the use of the History subject to develop patriotic citizens; therefore, I handle such topics vigilantly. Using sources from contrasting perspectives helps develop critical thinking and empathy among the learners, thus enabling them to consider the issues from a wider perspective.

The use of pedagogies that foster Education for Sustainable Development in the curriculum and align it with the local norms and values is key in the learning of History. These are mainly pedagogies that encourage learners to become tolerant, critical thinkers

and improve their communication skills (Laurie et al: 2016). These may include the use of debates and discussions, among other techniques that enable learners to analyse issues critically. Since I am currently teaching in an international school, which happens to have a great diversity of learners (in terms of culture and race, to name a few), debates help to foster those skills among my learners. However, I always prepare my debates well in advance to ensure that the diversities in my class are considered and prepare their reading material to make the debates educational. I consider it worth mentioning that these debates always bring unity among my learners as they work as a team, despite their differences. I always ensure that my debates are based on contemporary issues, which adds value in terms of the learners' social development. This further provides a platform where learners can critique and analyse issues in the global context while at the same time protecting the local values. That, on its own, enables learners to align the content to local realities and develop an interest in the subject. In one of the lessons on nation-building strategies, I used a debate. My learners were debating the notion that "the reed dance ceremony is no longer significant in the life of the girl child in our current societies". This enabled the learners to explain the importance of the ceremony while at the same time outlining some of the loopholes. The lesson was beneficial even to the learners who had never attended the ceremony; it fostered a love for their own cultural practices and aligned the subject to the realities on the ground.

In adapting the History curriculum as an official policy in line with the local realities, I further navigate the curriculum through the incorporation of technology in the classroom, such as the use of video clips and documentaries. This helps stimulate enthusiasm and love for the subject as our learners are highly interested in technology. The use of technology can help enable the learners to lead their own learning and aligns it with international as well as local standards through the guidance of the teacher. When teaching topics such as the peace settlement, I usually share a website link of a documentary for learners to watch. It can then be aligned to the local realities by making direct comparisons. In the documentary, they learn about international heroes such as Woodrow Wilson (and about his 14 points). A lot can be applied to local realities, mainly regarding issues around peace. Some of Woodrow Wilson's points can be adopted into the classroom policy regarding peace-keeping, and in that way, learners can learn to apply those peace principles in their communities.

Furthermore, the curriculum can be navigated through the use of interactive strategies such as discussions, especially when dealing with contemporary issues. This calls for proper preparation, especially if the issues are sensitive enough to raise an argument among the learners. This is mainly because the subject History plays a significant role in developing an appreciation for the local political system and stimulates interest in participating in

politics. Consequently, preparing in advance helps put controls in place, thus catering to any issues that might threaten the local moral values and aligning the subject with the local realities. This further helps learners to develop a sense of social justice and self-efficacy as community members.

Huxham et al. (2015) mention that it is very important that the teacher interprets the instructional resources (such as worksheets) in a manner that ensures proper coverage of the learners' diverse needs. This further enables me to cater for the learning needs of my learners while meeting the curriculum standards and aligning them with the local realities through the application of local examples, which are, in turn, aligned with the lesson objectives. Worth noting is the fact that successful curriculum design and interpretation is marked by a process of dynamic interaction between teachers and their learners in order to meet the local standards as indicated by the education policy. For instance, when teaching about the local history, the teacher takes learners on an excursion to the national museum where they can find out about their own local history.

In a nutshell, History teachers play a crucial role in nation-building by navigating the curriculum and adapting it as an official policy to realities on the ground through the use of local examples. This could also be achieved through manipulation of the pedagogies so that they are aligned with the standards while meeting the needs of the learners.

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The History curriculum in Zimbabwe: Wishlist versus realities on the ground

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One historian once wrote that the best historians need stronger boots and not a big library, a testament to the fact that the best historians need to be on the ground and do research in order to find information. In many countries, the History teacher needs a strong heart, for they always have to straddle the line between teaching realistic history and kowtowing to the dictates of the syllabus, which in some cases has been bastardised by the political elite. While it is an accepted fact that history is always taught from the point of view of the victors, that mantra has been stretched to a ridiculous extent in some instances. This is not to say that the history curriculum has been stretched to irrelevance. In fact, the new history curriculum implemented in Zimbabwe is relevant but has largely been infected with unnecessary and unrealistic patriotic overtones. The job of the history teacher in Zimbabwe has generally been made more difficult by the large doses of patriotic “history” that they are now obliged to pass off as fact to learners at all stages of learning.

While the official policy is that history teachers have to emphasise the virtues of those who brought the country independence, including their contributions to various developments after independence, the fact on the ground is that the teacher no longer has a monopoly over information. That has made it difficult, for instance, to whitewash certain parts of the country’s independence. Teachers therefore have had to teach learners about the reality of corruption and other vices that affected the country, especially after independence. While the official position is that the syllabus should cover these, there is an overwhelming tendency to self-censor. Teachers therefore teach the learners about corruption, political violence and other vices, but to avoid endangering themselves, they stop short of actually naming perpetrators, preferring to speak about these in general terms. The major reason for this, of course, is that due to polarization, should the learner make use of real examples in examination answers, they never know the political affiliation of the marker, who might not take kindly to the message written by the student. Teachers therefore have had to walk a fine line between real history and what may be termed “the official unofficial line”.

The heroism of the Second Chimurenga/Umvukela, that is, the war of liberation, fought from 1964 to 1979, is another part of the curriculum that presents the teacher with

a conundrum. The official position is that learners must be taught the heroism of African nationalists and guerrillas. However, in the examination questions on the era, while they mostly punt the virtues of the liberation struggle, when talking about the role of Africans, dark chapters like the abuse of women and the unjust killing of people who crossed the paths of the guerrillas sometimes get discussed, to the chagrin of those who participated in the war and their supporters. Naturally, the teacher is expected to self-censor, lest he/she be accused of not being grateful for the role played by the African nationalists.

The land issue is always an emotive one in this country, having been at the core of the war of liberation as well as being a defining factor in relations between blacks and whites since independence. The fast-track land reform implemented by Zimbabwe started in 2000 but remains a live landmine 21 years on. Assessments of its success therefore always present pitfalls for teachers and students alike. This is because history has a multicausal approach, but the official and oft-repeated claim by government and the ruling party is that it is just the land reform that caused the imposition of sanctions on Zimbabwe by Western countries and not the other egregious factors that accompanied the land reform, such as the assault and murder of opposition political actors. From the foregoing, therefore, it is clear that the job of the history teacher in Zimbabwe is not a particularly enviable one, but it remains very interesting.

Politics is not the only fodder in the study of history. Discussions on social development since early times also take centre stage, making it all the more necessary to take a comparative approach with modern societies. Issues such as abortion and infanticide to control population growth, believed to have been used during the colonial era, are discussed. The history teacher does not shy away from the reality that these methods, heavily illegalised and punished today, are still in use, with or without official sanction. But once again, the teacher is forced to tread the topic with caution, as they do when teaching the all-important topic of spirit mediums. Unfortunately, the topics have to be discussed, but usually without much commitment of veracity by teachers, given the fact that most Zimbabweans, including learners, have an antipathy to traditional religion and view some of the claimed exploits of traditional religion with incredulity.

Having said that, the History curriculum is one where thousands of teachers and learners have staked their reputations and futures, and despite its focus on centuries of the past, it remains part of the hoped-for future.

Reflections on Sessional Paper No 10, 1965, a government policy paper that widened the economic, social and political divide in Kenya

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Backdrop

In Kenya, national philosophies are taught in History and Government form 4, unit 27. According to Julius (2011), national philosophies refer to a set or system of ideological beliefs and values which became widely accepted within a particular country. The History curriculum has approved the teaching and learning of three national philosophies: African socialism and Harambee and Nyayo philosophy.

This article reflects on African socialism, which is anchored in Sessional Paper No 10, 1965, titled “African socialism and its application to planning in Kenya”. African socialism, as noted by Emmanuel (2012), was born out of the desire by African leaders to create a new society, different from colonial society, which embraced equity devoid of race, oppression and social injustice. Sessional Paper No 10, 1965, aimed at promoting political equity, social justice, human dignity, freedom from want, diseases and exploitation, equal opportunities and high and growing income per capita, as well as equitable distribution of resources and services (Julius, 2011). Sessional Paper No 10 was built on equity based on African socialism, equity implying fairness, as noted by Shem (2016). The ideas of Sessional Paper No 10, 1965, were acceptable and desirable by every Kenyan, against the backdrop of colonialism where equity was a pipe dream for Africans.

During the colonial period, Kenyans were familiar with inequality, which basically referred to uneven distribution of resources, both material and services. Therefore, Sessional Paper No 10, 1965, was welcome as it was seen to ensure equity.

Scholars in Kenya have critiqued Sessional Paper No 10, 1965, in various ways (Shem, 2016):

- Barack Obama Snr and Dharam Ghai: The paper is not socialist enough.
- David Ndii: The paper is development fundamentalism.

- Mutakha Khangu: The paper is a policy Malfunction.
- Okoth Ogendo: The paper is neither a political philosophy nor a plan but a simple answer to public clamour for an ideological government.
- I share my voice on this policy paper, which forms the basis of African socialism, which I teach in form 4 under the following reflections:

Economic reflections

Sessional Paper No 10, 1965, article 133, states that “to make the economy as a whole grow as fast as possible development money should be invested where it would yield the largest increase in output”. This strategy favoured and encouraged development in areas with abundant natural resources and people receptive and active in development. Usually, these are areas where the political elite came from and could influence for more allocation of public resources and services. This resulted in economic marginalisation of many parts of Kenya, particularly the arid and semi-arid areas, which were thought not to have the potential to yield the largest increase in output, like the tea and coffee growing areas. However, the arid and semi-arid areas had high potential for livestock production and other natural resources, which, by the time of publication of this sessional paper, had not been well exploited.

Sessional Paper No 10, 1965, widened the economic divide, thereby increasing levels of poverty in Kenya, which other sessional papers in Kenya and the Kenya Constitution (2010) attempted to address.

Social reflections

Sessional Paper No 10, 1965, failed to develop Kenya socially as envisaged because freedom from want (poverty), eradication of diseases and social justice have largely remained in the realm of political rhetoric (Shem, 2016) with no tangible achievements. Today, high levels of poverty fuelled by runaway corruption and unprecedented youth unemployment remain the greatest challenge and task facing the people of Kenya. As noted by Sessional Paper No 10, 1965, the enemies of independent Kenya were poverty, ignorance and diseases. The same have persisted to a certain extent. Equity, in terms of equal opportunities, has been hijacked by rewarding of political cronyism both at the national government and county government levels. Access to both public offices and resources suffers from the same problem of political cronyism. Cronyism has fuelled ethnic-based politics, reflected in

tribal political parties and political appointments. This has aggravated ethnic attitudes and sentiments.

Political reflections

Sessional Paper No 10, 1965, was implemented politically by the ruling elite through calculated constitutional changes—the first being the abolition of the progressive Majimbo constitution that had been adopted at independence (1964) and its resultant political consequences. Constitutional amendments were made at an average of one per year (Shem, 2016). These constitutional amendments are taught in form 2, unit 6, under the sub-topic “constitutional amendments in Kenya since independence”. They climaxed in the creation of a dictatorial one-party state in Kenya with the 19th Amendment Act of 1982, section 2A.

The constitutional amendments were occasioned by the desire of the political elite to shake off opposition and strengthen themselves through instruments of law (Shem, 2016). Kenya drifted towards an undemocratic and authoritarian administrative structure centred on imperial precedent. Indeed, Sessional Paper No 10, 1965, failed politically by downgrading the constitution, and African elitism replaced colonial masters—a sad scenario that has been a burden and concern for the Kenyan people since independence.

Politically, this caused a clamour for change to the constitution, which saw some success with the 1991 amendment to section 2A that reverted Kenya to a multi-party state and continued pressure for a new constitution, which was achieved in 2010. The new constitution was born of blood and tears, a cost Kenyans had to pay for over four decades. Indeed, it was a high cost for Kenya, economically, politically and socially.

Conclusion

Sessional Paper No 10, 1965, was a false start for Kenya’s economic, political and social agenda, occasioned by the greedy appetites of the Kenyan political elite to entrench themselves at the expense of the Kenyan masses. Kenyans have paid a heavy price in trying to start again, particularly through the long road to the adoption of the 2010 constitution. The way forward is to embrace and fully implement the 2010 constitution and its national values such as inclusivity, public participation, integrity and equity, among others.

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CHALLENGES RELATED TO THE ZAMBIAN HISTORY CURRICULUM

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The value of history to Zambian society is indisputable. A person who does not know their history will have no sense of belonging and hence will have very little motivation to contribute to the well-being of the communities in which they live. According to Simakando, “to an ordinary person who has no historical lenses that can help him or her to appreciate the value of history, it is very difficult to appreciate why history should be taught to learners in Zambia” (Simakando, 2020: 9). It is for this reason that I write on the historical challenges in relation to the Zambian curriculum and see the appreciation of history by both learners and people who value human development.

The history curriculum has tended not to be liked by teachers and learners because it has not been practical. This is because the content is mostly theoretical. For instance, learners are never taken to historical sites where they can appreciate the features that are talked about (like *Ing’ombe Ilede*, the Mumbwa caves, *Isamu pati*, Victoria Falls, etc). This would help learners relate to and subsequently love the subject.

The phrase *Ing’ombe Ilede* is Tonga (one of the tribes in Zambia) and means “a sleeping cow”. *Igo’mbe Ilede* is a historical site situated in the Siavonga district of Southern Province of Zambia. It was discovered by J H Chaplin while constructing Lake Kariba in 1960. Among the archaeological remains excavated at *Igo’mbe Ilede* are richly decorated skeletons with Indian glass beads, cloth, cowry shells, *mpande* shells, bracelets, gold, copper crosses and others. Hantobolo (2009b: 18) contends that “*Ing’ombe Ilede* therefore, became a centre of trade. Since many foreign traders visited *Ing’ombe Ilede*, the area developed an extensive network of trading contact with people in the interior of Africa”.

Isamu Pati is also a Tonga phrase that means “a big tree”. It is a historical site in the Kalomo district of Southern Province, Zambia. It was one of the earliest sites to be discovered, dating back to the early Iron Age. Archaeologists excavated bones of men, sheep, goats, cattle, dogs and chickens. This is one of the historical sites worthy of being visited by learners to help them appreciate history.

Mumbwa caves is a site that yielded artefacts dating from the Mesolithic, Neolithic and Iron Age. The caves are significant in the study of Zambian history because they have helped archaeologists reconstruct the history of prehistoric Africans. It is the length of

human occupation at this site that makes it interesting to study.

The curriculum has not been very inclusive, particularly in terms of the content that is taught in schools. There is some content that has seemingly been left out, and such information will be lost. Historical figures like Adamson Mushala, Captain Solo (Stephen Lungu), Harry Mwanga Nkumbula and Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe are left out. Local history is not prioritised, and learners may not know its importance.

The Mushala rebellion, led by Adamson Mushala, was a significant armed internal rebellion in the history of Zambia, and yet it is not included in the Zambian history curriculum. Miles Larmer and Giacomo Macola (2007: 471) state that “from the mid-1970s to 1990, Zambia experienced one of the most disruptive insurgencies in the history of the country, Adamson Bratson Mushala, the leader of 200 plus rebels organized the only significant armed rebellion against the United National Independent Party (UNIP) government”. Adamson Bratson Mushala was a Zambian rebel leader who rebelled against the Zambian government during the rule of the first republican president, Kenneth David Kaunda, and was shot by Zambian Army soldiers in 1982.

Stephen Lungu, commonly known as Captain Solo, was a former Zambian Army captain who, in 1997, together with the late Captain Jack Chiti, attempted a coup d'état during the rule of the second republican president of Zambia, Dr Frederick Chiluba. This is rich history that should be included in the curriculum.

Harry Mwanga Nkumbula was one of the nationalist leaders who was involved in the movement for independence of Northern Rhodesia, as Zambia was known until the end of British rule in 1964. Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe was another Zambian politician, an anti-colonialist and author who served as the second vice-president of Zambia from 1967 to 1970.

The history curriculum is Eurocentric and does not show coherence because most writers who document it have a negative approach towards Zambian and African history. This is because some European authors assaulted and doubted Africa's historical heritage; one even went as far as saying Africa had no history. According to Trevor Roper (1963: 871), “Africa had no history prior to European exploration and colonization, but there is only the history of Europeans in Africa. The rest is darkness, her past...”. Another European, Hegel (1956: 99), once asserted that “Africa is no historical part of the world, it has no movement or development to exhibit”. Europeans took the absence of written records in Africa to mean there was no history in Africa before their arrival and that history only began after they started documenting it. It was written to favour them and not Africans. This calls for more care to have more locals involved in documenting local stories.

The history curriculum is quite bulky, which makes it impossible for the teachers to finish the syllabus within the stipulated time. It covers topics that are somewhat irrelevant, such as the history of Japan, Korea, China and Canada. Learners thus have little interest in the subject. Instead of covering a lot of world history, more local history should be included.

The merging of history at junior secondary with geography and civics to make social studies is a challenge for both teachers and pupils. This is because the curriculum was not revised by reducing topics from each subject to manageable levels that can easily be handled by both pupils and teachers. Simakando (2019: 116) observes that “when it came to teaching, the ministry expected one teacher to handle social studies in a given class. This was despite the fact that there were no teachers that were trained in social studies”. Additionally, there are no teachers who have done a specialised course in social studies. Having teachers of different specialities take up the role of teaching things they never studied makes it difficult for them to deliver to the expectations of the curriculum developers.

There is no further training for history teachers, such as refresher courses on how to deliver their work. Once a history teacher graduates from college, it is unlikely that they will be accorded time and space to interact with others on the multidimensional issues that might ensue. If such a teacher decides not to further their education, chances are that they may be teaching outdated work with a heavy reliance on supplied books. This affects the curriculum in that some teachers may have difficulty in interpreting the curriculum. Simakando (2020: 11) further contends that “when facts are correctly presented by a historian, the readers will have confidence in the writer and finally develop interest in the subject, if the facts are presented to the contrary, people with less interest in history will completely lose it”.

Teachers need proper orientation on the curriculum. The competence-based curriculum (that looks at reality and life skills) is difficult for teachers of history to deliver as it does not show the current realities on the ground relating to life skills. History talks about the past, and so it makes it difficult to match with the current undertakings (Zambia Education Curriculum Framework, 2013).

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BOOK REVIEWS

Teaching African History in schools: Experiences and perspectives from Africa and beyond.

Edited by: Denise Bentreovato and Johan Wassermann

Publisher: Brill Sense. Leiden Boston

ISSN 2542-9280

ISBN 978-90-04-42540-8 (paperback)

ISBN 978-90-04-42541-5 (Hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-44571-0 (e-book)

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This book provides a remarkable collection of contributions that raise and discuss serious issues associated with teaching African history in schools. All the case studies show an exceptional sensitivity to the dangers and opportunities associated with teaching and learning African history across the continent and beyond. Cases are drawn from South Africa, Kenya, Rwanda, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Cameroon and Tanzania, as well as the teaching of South African history outside Africa in the United Kingdom and Canada. This is relevant in raising Afrocentric voices and contributions to existing debates in the global field of history education. The book provides an in-depth examination and analysis of nine individual and comparative empirical studies. It highlights thematic issues related to the history curricula and textbooks with content knowledge, pedagogical content knowledge and activities on how African history is diffused in schools. The book presents thoughts and dialogical conversations of teachers and learners on history curriculum implementation coupled with pedagogical practices on African history focusing on primary schools, secondary schools and preservice teacher education at the tertiary level. Additionally, consideration is given to the challenges and opportunities of tackling sensitive and controversial issues in the history classroom such as engaging with national

histories of trauma, racial or ethnic discrimination and intercommunal wars and conflicts. The proceeding sections, present a chapter-by-chapter summary highlighting a few details aligned with the main argument of the book.

In the first chapter, Carol Bertram begins by questioning the knowledge that is included in the official curriculum and how the selection is made. She alludes to the fact that the purpose of school history in a particular country is influential in designing a history curriculum. Consequently, she presents an analysis of the purpose of secondary school curriculum documents underpinned by the relevancy of content knowledge with case studies from Kenya, Rwanda, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Bertram investigates the influences of both substantive and procedural knowledge of history complemented by the ideological beliefs surrounding the role of school history. The findings reveal that, in the cases of Kenya and Rwanda, the policies and purpose of school history closely align with a memory-history discipline that mostly requires learners to recall and memorise facts. For South Africa and, to some extent, Zimbabwe, the policies adopted a procedural knowledge in history focused on thinking historically, doing history and hermeneutical interpretations of the past (Oldham, 2020). However, while Bertram focused on the purpose and content knowledge of official curriculum documents in the four case study countries, it would be useful to take the reader through, or conduct further research on, the unofficial history (hidden curriculum) covering key aspects such as social structures in the classroom, learning activities, school context/cultures and history teachers' roles, as these greatly influence the curriculum content, how the selections are made and who makes them (Dlamini, 2019).

In the second chapter, Annie Chiponda's study seeks to explore the extent to which the policy of inclusion of people with disabilities (PWDs) in school curricula and textbooks is adhered to in curriculum development and textbook publication. This study hinges on the background of the government policy of inclusion of PWDs in curricula and supporting inclusive education coupled with increased numbers of such students at the different levels in the Malawian education system. Chiponda's research fills the gap in literature by investigating whether there are policies and frameworks for representation of PWDs in junior secondary-school history textbooks. She engages with two theoretical underpinnings of disability, namely the medical and social disability models, to inform her understanding of the portrayal of PWDs in history textbooks. The medical model indicates that PWDs are sufferers, are a problem to others, cannot make decisions about their own lives and need professionals to look after them. The social model of disability, on the other hand, views disability as a social construction aligned to barriers that exist in society such as physical,

organisational and attitudinal barriers. Chiponda engages with the theoretical constructs to analyse the visual images and verbal texts of four purposively selected junior secondary history textbooks. Her argument for the choice of the sampled history textbooks was that they were commonly used in schools as the government-approved history textbooks for implementation of the new junior secondary-school history curriculum. Chiponda's findings revealed that PWDs are marginally represented in the content topics included in the sampled history textbooks in the junior secondary textbooks. Therefore, she concluded that the way in which historical characters with disabilities were represented in Malawian junior secondary-school history textbooks contradicts the policies that favour inclusive education for PWDs. However, the medical and social disability theoretical underpinnings are not sufficiently used to inform the analysis and interpretation of findings as indicated earlier in the text. An in-depth engagement with theoretical language would have been welcome.

In chapter three, Marshall Maposa's study continues with the conversation on history textbooks and focuses on the representation of the experiential notion of postcolonial Africa in contemporary South Africa history textbooks. Maposa makes a strong case for engaging with history textbooks as teaching and learning resources/educational media in South Africa. He engages with the postcolonial theory to understand the images and meanings of Africa found in four purposively selected history textbooks. He argues that the rationale for selecting the sampled textbooks was that they were approved by the Department of Education, were contemporary and contained topics and units of study on postcolonial Africa. He generated data from the verbal and visual texts in the selected history textbooks. Maposa engaged with Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA), focusing on three dimensions: description, interpretation and explanation. He asserts that his ability to explain the representations in the textbooks as discursive constructions was obtained from the contemporary postcolonial conversations at both macro and micro levels. In conclusion, Maposa's study echoes two important issues—firstly, that textbook authors need to be aware of the implications of their linguistic and visual choices when representing Africa because of the textbook users (South African teachers and learners) as key agents of pedagogical change. Secondly, following South Africa's exceptionalism, her position in Africa should be under scrutiny as teachers teach African history. However, it would have been useful to inform the reader how personal prejudices and bias were revised and dealt with in the research process (Gander, 2015).

In chapter four, Raymond Nkwenti Fru and Johan Wassermann explore the silences in history education focusing on the reunification of Cameroon in a Francophone

Cameroonian history textbook. The authors conceptualise reunification as a discourse related to the 1961 “marriage” or union of the former British and French Cameroon. The authors argue that while the curriculum stipulates the teaching of reunification as a topic in the history classroom, the concept is absent among history texts in the Francophone sub-system of education in Cameroon. Yet, Francophone Cameroonian textbooks represent the official government position on the Francophone Cameroonian educational sub-system. Against this backdrop, the authors analyse a widely used history textbook as a case study in the Francophone sub-system of education with a view to understanding the silence on reunification. The theory of silence is used to inform the authors’ understanding of the nature and power of silence and the analysis of the sampled textbook. Both visual and verbal texts of the case study secondary-school history textbook were analysed. The finding reveals a purposive and manipulative form of silence on reunification influenced by both producers and stakeholders such as Francophone politicians and ideologues. As observed in chapter three above, it would have been useful to inform the reader how the personal prejudices and biases (preconceptions) of the authors were revised and dealt with in the research process (Gander, 2015).

Chapter 5, authored by Nancy Rushohora, focuses on the challenges of teaching the Maji Maji war in contemporary Tanzania. Rushohora describes the Maji Maji war (1905–1907) as a form of African resistance to German colonialism in Tanzania (formerly German East Africa). She opines that the war was included in the Tanzanian school history curricula to facilitate a memory history and patriotism. Consequently, she engages with features of history education—textbooks, teacher’s content knowledge, curriculum, teacher training, local oral history and nationalistic projects—to investigate the potential and challenges of teaching the war memory history. She utilises the agency conceptual framework with a grounding in community and daily life as an analytical lens to the formal school history pedagogy and unofficial war memory accounts of the affected indigenous groups. The findings reveal two major challenges of teaching the Maji Maji war: firstly, the decline of war memories among the Maji Maji community, partly because the silenced oral narratives have not been integrated into history education, and secondly, research output in history learning has not been used to influence the pedagogy of Maji Maji. To this end, Rushohora recommends that history teachers encourage learners to bring their everyday life and indigenous ways of knowing to the school curriculum and pedagogy. This is relevant as attending to students’ pre-understanding of historical knowledge, based on their families, communities and cultural inclinations, brings a sense of unity, ownership, inclusion and brotherhood (Seixas, 1993). However, the chapter is silent about the challenges/limitations

of subjectivity, exaggeration and distortions in community oral narratives. A provision for validation of community, learners' and teachers' oral accounts by stipulating strict rules, procedures and multiple understandings would be welcome. Accordingly, Seixas (1993) postulates that there are no means of assessing the many myths and distortions that students (communities) might present to the history curricula.

Chapter 6, authored by Denise Benvolato and Jean-Leonard Buhigiro, offers preliminary insights into the role of emotion in history teachers' approach to the sensitive topic of genocide in Rwanda's secondary-school classrooms. The authors align genocide with the colonial legacies of divide-and-rule between the Hutu and Tutsi, which caused adverse effects such as trauma and mental and emotional stress among Rwandan children. They employed the social constructivist theoretical lens to inform their understanding of emotions influenced by the historical trauma of genocide. Following an exploratory qualitative ethnographic approach, the authors draw data from in-depth interviews of 11 Rwandan secondary-school history teachers. The sampled history teachers highlighted their personal experiences and teaching practices in the emotionally sensitive topic of genocide as stipulated by the Ministry of Education. The findings revealed silence on the emotional atmosphere in history education classrooms. The authors align this with the possibility of the emotional professional journey experienced by teachers, which involved fear, nervousness and futurist stances. Additionally, faced with both desirable and undesirable emotions within themselves and learners, the teachers tended to fall in line with official policy, encouraging particular emotional dispositions towards the past, present and future. The teachers' pedagogical choices concerning the teaching of genocide appeared controlled and guided in such a way that personal experience and memories that may lead to negative emotions and dangerous discourses were contained. However, the limitations of the research are not sufficiently discussed. Taking the reader through the limitations of the research and how they might have been addressed would have been appreciated.

Chapter 7, by Reville Nussey, focuses on teaching another sensitive and emotive topic—that of apartheid in South Africa. In the introductory section, Nussey quotes a teacher who compared the teaching of controversial issues about South Africa's recent past to having "emotional elephants and other baggage" in the classroom environment. She echoes the epistemic phrase in the chapter title as she researches teachers' roles in embracing the controversial issues in the South African primary-school history classroom. Nussey argues that the contested issues in South African history are reminiscent of engagement of oral history and cooperative learning pedagogies in the classroom context. Drawing on data from classroom observations and interviews, Nussey examines teachers' attitudes in

dealing with the sensitive and traumatic topic of apartheid in the South African primary-school history classroom. Findings suggested a need to engage with a re-description of the teacher's role in helping to deal with sensitive and emotional topics in the teaching and learning of history in primary schools in South Africa. Nussey concludes with three major recommendations: (1) teachers to engage in continuous trainings on controversial issues; (2) teachers to become empathetic to the way apartheid has affected them by shifting roles from risk taker to enabler; and (3) engaging with active pedagogical methods of inquiry and questioning. Future research on emotive and controversial issues could come up with pedagogical frameworks grounded in theory to inform teachers (and indeed learners) in dealing with sensitive topics.

Chapter 8, by Robin Whitburn and Abdul Mohamad, examines the teaching of race and apartheid in different history classroom contexts in South Africa and the United Kingdom. The authors postulate that racism is a global aspect of injustice that has had a historical and contemporary impact on society. Inquiry-based learning on racism in South African (particularly apartheid) and British history were the highlighted topics in the respective history classrooms. Informed by the social justice framework, the authors conducted focus-group interviews with questions centred on the curriculum and the impact of historical inquiry on high-school students in South Africa and the United Kingdom. Findings revealed that, in the case of British history classrooms, learners engaged in historical thinking and moved beyond the binary of race, questioning master narratives while engaging with epistemic ideas outside the classroom context, while in the South African classroom, findings suggested more possible personal impacts as the history inquiry had disrupted conventional narratives and the psyche of students. Given the sensitivity of the topic of race and apartheid, it would have been useful for the authors to exhibit an awareness of their personal preconceptions and biases.

Chapter 9, by Sabrina Moisan, examined the teaching of South African apartheid history through the lens of human rights in the context of a Quebec high school (Canada). According to Moisan, apartheid is a global historical culture, which provides a better understanding of the concepts of structural racism, change and human rights. Moreover, Quebec teachers are required to teach anti-racism where apartheid is covered under history and citizenship education. Moisan engaged with theoretical frameworks of human rights education in the history classroom and social representation of social change to inform her study. Drawing on qualitative data from case-study teachers and learners from three secondary schools located in urban, semi-urban and rural areas, the findings revealed that none of teachers felt that they needed to develop the concept of racism during their study

of apartheid. Teachers avoided tackling the issue of racism with limited or no connections to the concepts of discrimination, segregation and repression. The results point to limited concerns on the issue of human rights in the Quebec classroom context as this is seemingly an issue in foreign countries. As I commented on chapter six, taking the reader through the limitations of the research and how they might have been addressed would have been desirable.

In conclusion, this is a timely and much-needed volume and should be read by history teachers, social studies teachers, teacher educators, teacher trainees, scholars, policy makers, students and all those teaching aspects of citizenship and history education. In the concluding chapter 10, Johan Wasserman and Denise Bantovato reflect that “Teaching African History in Schools serves as a channel that gives a quality voice to the history educationists writing about and for the continent” (p. 211). The authors argue that the book foregrounds Afrocentrism and representation of silenced voices and marginalised views as partially addressing the colonial legacies in the contemporary history education context. Wassermann and Bantovato echo a pertinent aspect of ownership and inclusion that is evident among African history educators, and indeed students, to be able to see themselves or similarities with themselves represented in the narratives. This fosters an understanding of the personal and local within a wider regional and global context. Thus, the book aligns with calls and global debates on decolonising the curriculum, particularly African history education curricula and pedagogy (Wassermann, 2018; Chimbunde & Kgari-Masondo, 2021; Sebbowa & Majani, 2021). Anchoring the studies (case studies) in theoretical frameworks and drawing on multiple sources of evidence in the form of history textbooks, interviews, observations and focus group discussions strengthened the credibility of the book in terms of its contribution to the development of historical content knowledge and pedagogical content knowledge. However, the book did not say much about the limitations of the studies conducted. Discussions on limitations of the studies would help readers contextualise the research findings.

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U Zulu: Umlando Nobuqhawe BukaZulu (The history and heroism of the Zulu nation)

Author: Shalo Mbatha

Publisher: I Zigi zamaMbatha Pty (Ltd)

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Introduction

The book basically provides a narrative account of the long history of the Zulu nation during and after the colonial period. It focuses on the series of battles and wars fought during the reign of King Shaka, including their encounters with the colonial forces, which caused the displacement of many tribes and their settlement in various parts of the African continent. The battle of Isandlwana in 1879, where the Zulu troops conquered the British forces, is a classic example. The author attempts to paint a picture of different layers of the struggle for colonial emancipation of the black people in general and the Zulu nation in particular. Mbatha believes that black South Africans should be writing their own history as they were directly impacted by colonialism. The eyewitness accounts provided by the elders who were directly involved in colonial battles and wars should inform the writing of such histories. The author seeks to address competing perspectives on the subject of colonialism and its impact on the Zulu nation.

Shalo Mbatha was born and raised in Soweto, which is located in South Africa's Gauteng province. After the Soweto uprisings of 1976, she went into exile in Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Germany and Australia. She has a strong background in journalism and communication, which enabled her to work as an interpreter, analyst and expert in the field of communication. She worked as a speaker on Robben Island where political prisoners

were kept during the apartheid regime. It was later converted into a historical museum. She also worked as the spokesperson of the University of Zululand, Director in the Department of Basic Education in Limpopo province, Director-General in the office of the Minister of Arts and Culture in Pretoria, as well as the Director in the Gauteng Film Commission in Johannesburg. Mbatha's political activism accounts for her interest in the history of the Zulu nation. However, her academic background does not seem to provide a solid foundation to venture into the terrain of mainstream history. She has a strong background in journalism and communication, but her courage in taking on such a challenging academic assignment is commendable.

Structure

Cover page

The picture of King Zwelithini of the Zulu nation on the cover page of the book was a brilliant and relevant choice. It helps define the national character of the Zulu nation. The role played by King Zwelithini encompasses a very important segment of the Zulu history. One cannot discuss the history of the Zulu nation without tapping into the pivotal role he played. This visual image helps the reader draw parallels between the king and expectations of what the book is most likely to cover.

Title

The title of the book, *The history and heroism of the Zulu nation*, is somewhat restrictive. It compels the author to confine her narratives to segments of the Zulu history where the nation emerged victorious. Furthermore, the heroic character of the Zulu nation, informed by acts of heroism, should be the only key drivers of the historical narratives in the book. "The history of the Zulu nation", for example, would have been an all-encompassing title as the book deals with various facets of Zulu history across the social, cultural, economic and political spectrums. Contradictions are therefore anticipated in terms of what the title spells out and the actual contents of the book.

Foreword

The book does not have a foreword. It only presents a list of individuals who provided support and the personal rationale behind the writing project. The omission of a foreword

lends credence to the supposition that the book was never critiqued, particularly by seasoned scholars in the field of history. Subjecting it to high levels of intellectual and academic scrutiny would have been helpful in the conceptualisation and refining process. Furthermore, its credibility and validity would have been enhanced through various forms of critical engagements with esteemed minds from diverse academic backgrounds. It would easily compete with other publications on the history of the Zulu nation. As things stand, it might be difficult for the book to reach a wider audience on a global scale. It might also struggle to permeate social, political and academic spaces, chiefly because of its limited interaction with the most influential people who could be instrumental in its promotion and marketing.

Language

The book is written in Isizulu, a gesture which is congruent with the subject of the narrative. It seems logical to write about the Zulu nation in their own language. It fits the current discourses on transformation and decolonisation, as well as South Africa's recognition of 11 official languages. Isizulu is one of the official languages and is widely spoken across the country's nine provinces. The Isizulu version of the book might accommodate the majority of South African citizens. However, a large segment of the global community might be left out, thereby limiting the opportunity for competition in the international arena. One may argue that English is spoken and understood by people in all corners of the globe. Books written and published in English accommodate everyone in terms of readability and understanding. The bitter truth is that it will take a very long time for other languages to compete with English successfully on the international platform. The issue of languages and their status on a global terrain, remains debatable and controversial. Mbatha is therefore well within her rights to write in Isizulu as one of the indigenous languages of South Africa. In fact, it has made her book unique and more attractive to previously marginalised ethnic groups.

Chapters

The book has 14 chapters wherein the author provides incisive accounts on the history of the Zulu nation. However, it turns out that the word *ubuhawe* (heroism) does not fit the context. As previously stated, the narrative is not confined to acts of heroism by the Zulu nation; it cuts across various episodes, some of which are shameful. The conquering of the

formidable army of King Zwide, the son of Langa Ndwandwe, compelling the small clans to form a strong Zulu nation, could well be regarded as *ubuhawe*. Another Zulu King who could be associated with heroism is King Cetshwayo because of the role he played during the battle of Isandlwana in 1879. On the contrary, King Dingane, who was King Shaka's successor, gruesomely killed Piet Retief, who had presented himself for land negotiations. This treacherous act of King Dingane culminated in the battle of Incombe where the Zulus were defeated. The role played by Princess Mkabayi in Zulu royalty presents another layer of betrayal which resulted in the loss of human life. She was instrumental and supportive in Shaka's rise to kingship. Ironically, she was equally instrumental and supportive in plotting his death. In the battle of Ndongakusuka in 1856, which is mentioned on page 209, King Mpande's sons Cetshwayo and Mbuyazwe fought each other as brothers. The battle of Tshaneni in 1884 near Mkuze, between Usuthu (under the leadership of King Dinizulu) and Mandlakazi (under the leadership of Zibhebhu of Maphitha), was more of a domestic feud, wherein people of the same bloodline fought each other. The Bhambatha rebellion of 1906 was merely an attempt to fight against colonial taxation that was imposed on the Zulu nation. However, this battle did not yield the desired result as the colonial tax continued. Some of the Zulu kings, including King Zwelithini and his predecessors King Cyprian ka Bhekuzulu and King Solomon, did not engage in battles in which their heroism was clearly demonstrated. This goes to show how crucial it would have been for the title of the book to be carefully revised in order to ensure congruence with the narrative presented in the text. The only Zulu king in recorded history who succeeded in setting the tone of heroism within the Zulu nation was King Shaka. He demonstrated his military prowess in expanding the Zulu Empire and succeeded in extending its sphere of influence and consolidating its military strength. It therefore stands to reason that King Shaka's role must feature prominently in any historical narrative on the heroic character of the Zulu nation. This sentiment should have come through as one of the dominant narratives in the book, given its title.

Conclusion

The author must be credited for her extensive coverage of the Zulu history, featuring some episodes of heroism. Her use of Isizulu and choice of words clearly demonstrate her rich vocabulary, which is also highly commendable. The chronological presentation of the Zulu regiments, including the genealogy of kings in the concluding section of the book, is absolutely phenomenal.

History of South Africa from 1902 to the present

Author: Thula Simpson

Publisher: Penguin Random House South Africa

ISBN: 9781776095964 (print)

ISBN: 9781776095971 (ePub)

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Introduction

The book explores South Africa's journey from the aftermath of the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902) to the democratic dispensation. Drawing on documentary evidence including letters, diaries, eyewitness accounts and diplomatic reports, the book tracks down South Africa's journey to liberation through battles, repression, resistance, political conflict, strikes, massacres, as well as economic and health crises. Furthermore, it covers the influence on the country's political landscape exerted by some of its key political figures such as Pixley ka Seme, Lilian Ngoyi, Nelson Mandela, H F Verwoerd, Jan Smuts, P W Botha, Steve Biko, Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma and Cyril Ramaphosa. The book provides accounts of the events that shaped South Africa's character. These include the 1922 Rand Revolt, the Defiance Campaign, the Sharpeville Massacre, the Soweto Uprisings and the Marikana Massacre. The book also explores the role played by figures from further afield: Mohandas Gandhi, Fidel Castro, Winston Churchill and Margaret Thatcher. Global military conflicts such as the world wars, armed struggle and border wars are also explored in the book. It further explores South Africa's transition to democracy and traces the phases of the ANC's rule from the Rainbow Nation to transformation and state capture to "New Dawn". The book also examines the divisive and unifying roles of sport, economic challenges and the pandemics.

1. Title and pictures on the cover page

The title of the book has been clearly outlined in terms of what the book seeks to achieve. The period to which the narrative is confined, within the broader scope of South African history, has been clearly articulated (1902 to the present). The pictures on the cover page have been carefully selected to represent the themes covered in the book. Perspectives on the narrative accounts captured in the book are shared by scholars from various academic backgrounds:

Narrative history at its best, with prodigious detail and eloquent prose, Thula Simpson places Black South Africans at the centre of the country's historical evolution and claims his place at the head table of contemporary historians... A masterpiece. (Xolela Mangcu)

Thula Simpson charts key episodes in South African history with a peaceful narrative and illuminating detail. His attention to sources and the role of individuals makes this a valuable reference and teaching text. (William Beinart)

In this pacy and compelling political history of South Africa, Simpson draws on fresh sources to extend the arc of Apartheid and resistance into the current moment. By doing so he skillfully illuminates the country's current predicaments. (Saul Dubow)

Two themes stand out in the industriously researched history of modern South Africa. One is the extent to which South African political and social life has been shaped by organised violence. The second one is the persistence of extreme forms of inequality between South Africans both in terms of power and with respect to livelihoods. These tragic features of this national story continue to shape South African life. For anybody interested in why we are where we are today, this engaging and illuminating book will provide powerful insights. (Tom Lodge)

These enhance the credibility of the book and affirm its place in the mainstream accounts of political histories, particularly in the South African context.

A brief account of the various themes explored in the book on the cover page provides the reader with an idea of what the entire text entails.

2. Structure

2.1 Opening

In the opening section, the author provides perspectives from selected journalists on the composition of the book as well as the various themes of South Africa's political history:

History of South Africa is a very readable and invaluable resource for general readers, students and academics. Covering the period from the aftermath of the South African War to the present, it is the first comprehensive history of South Africa to come out since those surrounding the achievement of democracy, is long overdue. (Alan Kirkaldy, Rhodes University)

Simpson's book is a magnificent achievement based on thousands of interviews, recounting what happened at all levels in an almost day-by-day way. Sometimes it feels as though one is right there, trudging through the bush with barely prepared soldiers or fighting back and forth across various borders committed and persistent infiltrators or setting bombs with the later saboteurs in the streets of South Africa's cities. (Shaun de Waal, Mail & Guardian)

For romantics like me who naively believed that armed insurrection was an option for South Africa, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's Armed Struggle by Thula Simpson is for you. Through the eyes and experiences of real soldiers and real commanders, Simpson tells the story of the people's army without over glorifying its history and achievements. (Mondli Makhanya, City Press: Book of the Year)

True to the military genre, the present tense narrative bloods the reader directly in the heat of the action with a vantage point from all operational angles. This is not a glorified historiography of Umkhonto we Sizwe or armed struggle. It respectfully treads the terrain of botched operations, leadership and command failures, ill-discipline, corruption in a matter-of-fact manner, depicting the historical dialectic of the armed struggle as a whole and all its internal contradictions without judgemental hindsight. (Jeremy Veary New Agenda)

Simpson has given us what is undoubtedly the richest collection of incident and claim assembled about MK. Most of the book consists of attacks, firefights, bombings, the capture

*of fighters, disputes within the ANC and MK and cruelties on both sides. The accounts are drawn from among others interviews with MK fighters, court records and other scholars. Simpson writes each in the historic present tense. The style puts the reader in the situation being described which enhances the drama and readability. It will please the scholar looking for more empirical detail and others, adult or child who want to know how things happened. (Howard Barrell, *The Conversation*)*

*This recent and massive tome identities, extraordinary number of incidents including MK. (Ronnie Kasrils, *Daily Maverick*)*

*A text that illuminates many operations, trials, mistakes and challenges the ANC guerrillas faced as they duelled, often in the shadows with the Apartheid state. Furthermore, it is an excellent chronological history of MK's armed struggle. Through his rich engagement with primary sources, gleaned from government, security force and liberation movement archives and personal accounts. Simpson offers as balanced an account as possible of the many operations of the MK. (Toivo Asheeke, *Social Dynamics*)*

*A straight factual narrative of the three decades of Umkhonto we Sizwe told from the viewpoint of guerrilla fighters, policemen and soldiers on the ground. This history makes one painfully aware of the high proportion of fatalities and other casualties which as the inevitable trade-off which guerrilla war makes against the superior technology, budget and other resources of the state. This book is an antidote to the current revisionist fad of marginalising the armed struggle as irrelevant or trivial in our history. (Keith Gottschalk, *African Independent*)*

*This is not a triumphalist narrative depicting an inevitable popular victory over the evil Apartheid system. Rather it is a painstaking assembly of incidents and events from forgotten beginnings in the 1950s to the never-to-be forgotten glory of the 1994 democratic elections. This work is so comprehensive and takes such a ground-up approach that the great diversity of voices excludes bias. Simpson more than achieves the required distance needed by an historian. What Simpson has done with great success and as a result of meticulous and comprehensive research, is to gather and link the widest range of diverse voices and reminiscences. (Graham Duminy, *Pretoria News*)*

The above comments by journalists and intellectuals may lend credence to the

assumption that the book has been widely critiqued and highly commended. However, pointers to some weaknesses and aspects that need to be strengthened would have been welcome in order to improve on future editions. There may have been some pertinent issues within the ambit of South Africa's political history which were not covered extensively in the book. More balanced critiques by experts from diverse academic backgrounds would have been helpful.

Preface and acknowledgements

In this section, the author clearly articulates the rationale behind the writing of this book. He also provides a brief outline of the chapters for the reader to get a sense of what the book entails.

Chapters

The sub-heading of chapter 1 is somewhat confusing to the reader as it begins with the aftermath. The impression is thus created that the author chose to start with the consequences of South Africa's political history, thereby defeating the ends of logic. Providing specifics of the aftermath would have been more welcome, as South Africa went through several colonial wars that defined its history and national character. One may assume that it is the Anglo-Boer War that is being referred to here; however, there were two phases of this war, namely the First Anglo-Boer War and the Second Anglo-Boer War. The importance of specifics when referring to the wars the country was subjected to cannot be over-emphasised. On a more positive note, the author managed to take the reader down memory lane in terms of how South Africa was impacted by the Anglo-Boer War as well as the extent to which the political landscape of the country was shaped and influenced. Here, Simpson begins with Louis Botha's address to the commandos in Moelbandspruit in northern Natal in April 1902 and as one of the representatives of the Transvaal and Orange Free State in the peace talks with Lord Kitchener at Melrose House in Pretoria on 12 April 1902.

The subsequent chapters have been well coordinated, there is an organic link of events and coherence which makes it easy for the reader to grasp the import of the text. Simpson has succeeded in painting a clear picture of where we come from, where we are currently and, most importantly, where we are heading as South Africans, given our painful and complex history. The incisive accounts of South Africa's history enable the reader to get

a fresh perspective on the current political climate of the country and to determine future possibilities. It is interesting how the author pays close attention to detail in his engagements with the historical themes he has chosen to drive his narrative. The chronology of events presented in the book is equally fascinating:

- Founders
- Union and disunion
- Imperial Impi
- Revolt
- Red peril
- Dominion
- Springboks and swastika
- Apartheid
- Defiance
- Charterists and Africanists
- State of emergency
- Freedom fighters
- Silent sixties
- Homeland
- Tar baby
- Adapt or die
- Total onslaught
- Ungovernable
- Rubicon
- Liberators
- The world turned upside down
- Born free
- The settlement
- Rainbow Nation
- Transformation
- The second transition
- Into the whirlwind
- Captive state
- False dawn
- The reckoning

Simpson is to be commended for providing a brilliant narrative account of South Africa's political history and for a good choice of themes that are pertinent to the country's experiences of oppression and liberation. The referencing style, particularly the end-notes on each chapter and the list of abbreviations used in the book, makes it easy for the reader to track references. However, the book does not have a conclusion, which would have been useful in highlighting the practical lessons from the discourses presented. Furthermore, recommendations and determinations of future possibilities could have been provided in the conclusion.



Editorial policy

1. *Yesterday & Today* is a scholarly, peer-reviewed journal and is accredited since the beginning of 2012.
2. History Education, History in Education, and the History of Education and where research related submissions are welcomed.
3. Authors may submit individual contributions or contributions created in teams.
4. All manuscripts are subjected to a double-blinded review process.
5. The language of the journal is English. However, abstracts may be in any of the 11 official languages of South Africa.
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7. The titles of articles should preferably not exceed 15 words.
8. The names of authors and their full institutional affiliations/addresses, city and country of the institution must accompany all contributions. Authors also have to enclose their E-mail addresses and orchid numbers.
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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 eighteenth 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 Khumalo (Bigenafrica, Pretoria/Z Dube (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.

GENERAL

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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.

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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 D.Ed. 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

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Personal interview, B Ndlovu (Journalist-singer)/S Ntini (Researcher), 2 October 2010.

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 Pretoria, South Africa
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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.
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